

Run, Hillary, Don't

No, the sins of the husbands should not be visited on their wives. So why is it that I am unhappy that Hillary Rodham Clinton seems to be running for the Senate? Is she not a distinguished person, easily the intellectual peer of the best of the Senate (though not of the retiring, but scarcely shy, Daniel Patrick Moynihan)? Is she not uncommonly articulate? Is she not, by virtue of interest, passion and experience, conversant with the



THE HOUR
LEONARD FEIN

central issues that will come before the Senate? Do I not find myself in agreement with her view on matters of public policy nine times or more out of 10?

Since the answer to each of these questions is decisively in the affirmative, what is it that troubles me? Truly, I cannot blame her for her husband's childish dalliances, nor would I presume to judge her reaction and response to said reckless, thoughtless, exploitive, presumably compulsive, actings-out.

But: Enough, already. Enough of the Clintons. I do not want to be reading about them, about any of them, for the rest of my days. I need a break — and so, I strongly suspect, does the nation. We've had six-and-a-half years now, and that means they've been right there, right in our face, for just about 2,372 days. That's too long for a Woodstock. Let their marriage be crowned with bliss, or let it dissolve; let Chelsea become a neurosurgeon in Palo Alto or an elementary school teacher in Nepal; let them be invited to dinner at the Gore White House or be snubbed by the Bush White House. I do not want to know. I want, instead, to be able soon to muse: "Say, whatever happened to the Clintons? Remember them?"

The last time I was in President Clinton's presence — this was at the dinner honoring my esteemed friend Rabbi David Saperstein on the occasion of his 25th anniversary as director of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism — the president did it again. He spoke, quietly, movingly and persuasively, about the connections between Littleton and Kosovo. This he did without missing a note, yet another in a string of virtuoso performances. His gifts are not merely prodigious, they are seductive. One must fight the temptation to fall in love with him.

So why fight it? Why not just give in? Because he will break your heart. He will break your heart not only by his personal behavior; he will break it by his policy choices. And it's not even that those choices are dramatically worse than others might have made; it's that we're entitled to expect more of this immensely thoughtful, truly gifted man. It is inconceivable that he does not know better.

Which, obviously, has nothing

*Why is it that I am
unhappy that
Hillary is running
for Senate? Or am I?*

whatever to do with Mrs. Clinton. But she is stuck as an inextricable part of the acute case of Clinton Fatigue from which I — we — suffer. If she is elected, we will be treated to detailed accounts of every twist and turn in the path of her relationship with her husband, reports on her doings will overshadow those regarding other and not less worthy colleagues, Washington will stay Hollywood. Please, enough.

But then the little birdie who will not leave my shoulder whispers one word, over and over: Giuliani, Giuliani. And I become a docile Democrat again, resigned to Clintonitis, to a politics of breathless gossip columns. Giuliani? They say, of course, that he's a friend of the Jews. But how can you be a friend of the Jews if you are an enemy of everyone else, especially of poor people? How can you be a friend of the Jews if you are an enemy of public education? Does donning a yarmulke and showing up at rallies in Williamsburg make you a friend of the Jews? So the trains run on time, so what?

There's more to it, of course; there always is. It turns out that David Luchins has been invited to advise Mrs. Clinton. Mr. Luchins, who has worked for Senator Moynihan for a bunch of years, is an old friend and colleague. We've learned, he and I, how to disagree most agreeably, and have now and then joined forces, he representing the Orthodox community, I the Reform, in order to smooth the troubled path between the two. A senator, any senator, may be measured not only by her or his own merits, but by the virtues of the people she or he chooses as advisers. Score a big one for the putative candidate from Little Rock, Ark.

The "her/his" and "she/he" of the preceding sentence deserves a moment of front-and-center attention. New York, like most states, has never had a female senator. California does not appear to be suffering from the fact that it has two women, Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer, in the upper chamber. Might not New York benefit from having at least one? For yes, there is a difference. It is inconceivable to me that a U.S. Senate with substantially more women among its members would not have endorsed a much tougher piece of gun control legislation than the incumbent, heavily male and distressingly pusillanimous Senate did last month. (And yet it out-did the craven House of Representatives.)

So, score two for Hillary, and the Clinton Fatigue be damned.



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Facing the 'Carpetbagger' Question



Hillary Clinton Confronts Issue Sure to Dog Campaign

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton pauses to admire a baby after holding a news conference with retiring U.S. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan at his country home. (Mike Segar/Reuters)

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By Brian Hartman
 ABCNEWS.com

ONEONTA, N.Y., July 7 — As she launched a campaign to get to know New York while considering a Senate bid here, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton this morning took on those who call her a “carpetbagger.”

“I think it’s a very fair question,” Mrs. Clinton told more than 200 reporters gathered at the Derrymore farm of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y. “I think I have some real work to do to get out and demonstrate that what I’m for is maybe as important, or more important, than where I’m from.”

Moynihan passed the torch to Mrs. Clinton, endorsing her run after a brief meeting with the first lady in a tiny one-room schoolhouse on his 900-acre farm in the Catskills.

“I hope she will go all the way,” Moynihan said before introducing Mrs. Clinton. “I mean to go all the way with her; I think she’s going to win; I think it’s going to be wonderful for New York.”

Mrs. Clinton said the best she can do to deflate the “carpetbagger” jibe is to listen, learn and hope New Yorkers realize she will truly fight for them in Washington.

'No Illusions' About Easy Campaign

And listening is what Mrs. Clinton has come to the

SUMMARY

Hillary Rodham Clinton comes to a small New York town to listen, learn and launch her Senate bid.

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And listening is what Mrs. Clinton has come to the small city of Oneonta to do. After a trip to the Soccer Hall of Fame this afternoon and lunch at a barbecue house, Mrs. Clinton plans to hold meetings billed as "listening sessions" at the two colleges in town.

And as she travels through some of the most Republican Country in the state this week, the first lady says she has "no illusions" that a Senate campaign will be easy.

Asked about lingering questions regarding her role at the center of Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr's investigations, Mrs. Clinton said, "I think we've moved beyond all of it."

And she changed the subject when a reporter asked whether she thought her husband's affair with Monica Lewinsky would help win her sympathy in the state.

Though a smattering of sign-waving protestors waited along her route to the event, a larger protest — aimed at highlighting a Clinton aide's reported remark that Mrs. Clinton would not vacation in the Adirondack Mountains because of a fly infestation problem — never seemed to materialize. The state GOP put out word that those judged to show up in Binghamton in the "best fly costume" would win a free trip to the Adirondacks.

But when Mrs. Clinton arrived, there were no human flies in sight.

Day of Firsts

No first lady has ever run for public office and, if she decides to continue after this "summerlong listening tour," Mrs. Clinton also is set to become the first woman to run for Senate on a major party ticket in her own right in New York. Former Lt. Gov. Betsey Ross won as George Pataki's underling. Geraldine Ferraro lost her bid to win Democratic Party backing for her Senate bid last year. But should Mrs. Clinton decide to go the distance, it appears she would coast to her party's nomination without opposition.

Mrs. Clinton's trip to Oneonta marks the launch of a four-day campaign-style swing across central New York. The Clinton campaign filed formal papers Tuesday in Washington that allow her to begin raising money to explore a Senate run, and much of that cash will be used to shuttle her across the state throughout the summer.

"I have some obligations in my present responsibilities that I intend to fulfill," she said. "But I'm going to spend as much time as I possibly can meeting with and listening to New Yorkers and learning about the issues facing New York."

If they both become official, who would you vote for if you lived in New York?

☐ Hillary Clinton

☐ Rudy Giuliani

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[Hillary 2000 Web Site](#)

Another Arkansan in New York

As first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton faces critics who say an Arkansan born in Illinois has no business running for Senate in the Empire State, she can find inspiration from one woman in the Oneonta area.

Judge Jeannie Scarzafava (a cousin-in-law of diner owner Paul Scarzafava) made history by becoming the first Democrat elected to a judgeship in Otsego County in more than 110 years. And she was the first woman judge here ever.

But more remarkable, given Mrs. Clinton's interest in the state, is where Scarzafava was born: in the Ozark Mountains of Arkansas.

"The mountains are still where my roots are," Scarzafava says with an Arkansas accent that remains thick after 20 years in New York. "The property where I was born is still in my family. We're still mountain people."

After meeting her Oneonta-born husband during law school in Texas, Scarzafava moved to central New York in 1981. Less than 12 months later, she ran a successful campaign for a town judgeship. And her opponent, she says, didn't raise the carpetbagger issue, perhaps because she turned it to her advantage.

"It wasn't much of an issue because this area is a rural farm area much like where I grew up," she says.

And settling here, amid the rolling hills of the Catskills, Scarzafava says it's easy for an Arkansan to feel right at home.

"It looks very much like the Ozarks here," she says.

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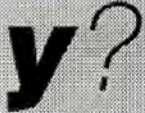
Hillary Rodham Clinton

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TIME CQ

First lady sets off on 'listening' tour

July 7, 1999

Web posted at: 1:01 p.m. EDT (1701 GMT)

DAVENPORT, New York (AllPolitics, July 7) -- Sounding a great deal like a Senate candidate, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton launched a "listening tour" Wednesday in upstate New York, kicking off an important phase in her attempt to be the first wife of a sitting president to run for political office.

After meeting with retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan on Wednesday morning, Mrs. Clinton said the issues facing New York are issues that she has been working on all her adult life. "What's new to me is being on this side of the microphone," she told the reporters questioning her.

She acknowledged that "the question on everyone's minds" is why she is considering running for the Senate from New York.

"You know, the Senate when it's at its best, is really there to represent what the people need and how best that it should be accommodated, so I would be, if I run and am honored to be elected, a strong and effective advocate on behalf of the people of New York," she said.

Mrs. Clinton said the question of whether she is a "carpetbagger" is a fair one and fully understands why people have raised it. The first lady never has lived in New York and currently is looking for a home there.

"I think I 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 where I'm from," she said.

Mrs. Clinton deflected a question about the White House scandals that have shadowed her husband will affect her candidacy.

"I have no illusions that it will not be a very

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"I have no illusions that it will not be a very difficult and challenging race, but that's what should happen in a democracy. I think that is to be expected. We need that kind of back and forth and exchange of ideas from people," she said. "So I'm very anxious to get out and listen to New Yorkers and learn from them, and I'm very excited figuring out ways we can work together."

While Mrs. Clinton has traveled to New York several times this year, Wednesday's trip comes after she filed papers Tuesday creating an exploratory committee for a possible Senate run. The committee enables her to raise and spend money for campaign expenses.

Her candidacy is drawing intense attention. About 200 reporters and cameramen to record her remarks at Moynihan's farm.

Moynihan, whose relationship with the Clinton Administration has not always been smooth, said he supports Mrs. Clinton and said he hoped she would "go all the way." She said it was "only proper" to start a listening tour by "listening to probably the wisest New Yorker that we can know of at this time."

And when asked about a New York-specific question about trade with Canada, she deferred to Moynihan, saying, "Well, I'm going to let the expert speak on that."

She said she did not see a contradiction in a first lady running for office, comparing it to a congressman or governor running for another office.

"I have some obligations in my present responsibilities that I intend to fulfill but I'm going to spend as much time as a possibly can meeting with and listening to New Yorkers, and learning about the issues facing New York," she said.

Asked if it takes "chutzpah" to run for office in a state where she hasn't lived or worked, Mrs. Clinton said that thought crossed her mind when the idea of her candidacy was mentioned. But she also said: "I'm told that characteristic is not all bad in certain parts of New York. I may need a little of that, I think."

After stopping at Moynihan's farm in Oneonta, she will travel over four days to travel into the heart of GOP strength in the state, the upstate area north of New York City and the suburban

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counties surrounding it, including stops in Albany, Cooperstown, Syracuse and Utica.

The reception may not always be warm. There were supporters waving signs as Mrs. Clinton arrived at the Binghamton, N.Y. airport Wednesday and was greeted by a group including state Democratic Chairwoman Judith Hope and former state Democratic Chairman John Burns. But traveling away from the airport, Mrs. Clinton could see a tractor-trailer carrying a sign that read, "Go Home Hillary" in large letters.

She likely will face no major competition in the Democratic primary. On the GOP side, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and two congressmen from Long Island, Rick Lazio and Peter King, could make the race.

Republicans are playing up the carpetbagger issue. Lazio cited it during an appearance's on CNN's "Late Edition PrimeTime" Tuesday evening.

"Well, It's an interesting thing ... that when she travels to New York, she calls it a tour. When I come back to New York from Washington, I call it coming home," Lazio said.

Giuliani also drew a contrast between himself and the first lady. "I have a very significant knowledge of the whole state. I've spent a lot of time in different parts of the state throughout my life, vacationed in all different parts of it, used to love to go to Saratoga and play the horses," he said during a Tuesday news conference.

Giuliani formed a Senate exploratory committee in April. Lazio already has a federal political action committee that could pay for campaign expenses before a formal announcement, expected within the next two months.

The latest Quinnipiac College Polling Institute poll of New York voters shows Mrs. Clinton and Giuliani in a statistical dead heat with Mrs. Clinton at 46 percent and Giuliani at 44 percent. In a matchup of Mrs. Clinton and Lazio, Mrs. Clinton gets 50 percent with Lazio at 34 percent.

The Associated Press contributed to this report.

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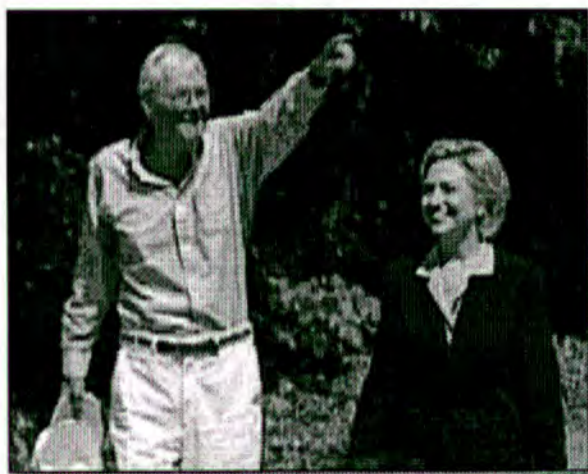
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MSNBC

Hillary Clinton strolls with Senator Patrick Moynihan in Pindars Corners, N.Y. before her press conference Wednesday

MSNBC STAFF AND WIRE REPORTS

PINDARS CORNERS, N.Y., July 7 — Declaring that “what I’m for is maybe as important, if not more important, than where I’m from,” Hillary Rodham Clinton began her first full-scale campaign tour of New York on Wednesday. “I would be — if I run and am honored to be elected — a strong and effective advocate on behalf of the people of New York,” she said at a press conference at the farm of Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the man she hopes to succeed.

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NBC's Andrea Mitchell reports on the challenges facing Hillary Clinton's run for the Senate.

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STANDING AT her side on his farm in Pindars Corners, N.Y., Moynihan said, "I hope she will go all the way. I mean to go all the way with her. I think she's going to win. I think it's going to be wonderful for New York, and we'll be proud of our senator and the nation will notice.

When a reporter asked her if it took "chutzpah" (audacity) for her to move to New York and run for a Senate seat, Hillary Clinton laughed and said "that thought crossed my mind." She added that "that characteristic is not all bad in certain parts of New York."

She said that despite the chutzpah allegation, "the more encouragement I got," to run for the Senate, the more "I really thought that maybe I could make a contribution."

"When New Yorkers began talking to me 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," Hillary Clinton said.

VICTIM OF LEWINSKY SCANDAL?

When a reporter asked whether she considered herself a victim of the Monica Lewinsky scandal, Hillary Clinton side-stepped the question, saying merely that she looked forward to meeting New York voters and that "they'll have a lot to tell me about what they think about me."

AUDIO Hear what the pundits are saying about Hillary Clinton's political future

Asked about reaping a \$100,000 profit from a \$1,000 commodities investment, she said, "New Yorkers will make their own judgment about that."

Video



NBC News

Hillary Clinton vows she'll be "a strong and effective advocate" for New Yorkers and deflects "carpetbagger" charges.

"I care deeply about the issues that are important in this state," she said. "I am very much concerned that we work together to try to find answers to the challenges that face New York.... I'm going to be listening very hard and I'm going to be learning a lot."

She said one of her priorities if elected would be "making sure that the economy is built in a way that creates good jobs in every region of the state."

Born in Illinois, Hillary Clinton, 51, spent much of her adult life in Arkansas as the wife of Gov. Bill Clinton.

ÉMIGRÉ CANDIDATES

Empire State voters have a mixed history when it comes to émigré Senate candidates:

- In 1964, Attorney General Robert Kennedy, a resident of Virginia, won a Senate seat in New York, defeating Republican incumbent Kenneth Keating.

- In 1970, Conservative Party candidate James Buckley, who had spent most of his life in Connecticut, won a Senate seat in New York. Buckley lost his seat in 1976 to Moynihan. In 1980, after having moved back to Connecticut, Buckley ran for the Senate there, losing to Democrat Christopher Dodd.

- In 1974, another former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, a transplanted Texan, ran in New York as the Democratic candidate against Republican Sen. Jacob Javits and lost.

Wednesday's Pindars Corners appearance is the first stop on Clinton aides describe as a summer-long "listening tour" of the state.

At her arrival at the Binghamton Airport, Clinton was greeted by about 50 supporters, including state Democratic Chairwoman Judith Hope and former state Democratic Chairman John Burns. Outside the airport, about three dozen supporters waved placards while farther along the road a tractor-trailer carried a sign that read "go home Hillary" in large letters.



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Clinton's campaign on Tuesday filed a single page with the Federal Election Commission in Washington, declaring that she had formed a committee to explore a

Senate race. That enables her to raise and spend money for political travel, polling and advertising.

How key counties voted in 1998 Senate race

- Nassau (suburban Long Island): Republican, 53 percent, Democrat, 46 percent
- Suffolk (suburban Long Island): Republican, 52 percent, Democrat, 47 percent
- Erie (Buffalo and environs): Republican, 42 percent, Democrat, 56 percent
- Kings (Brooklyn): Republican, 25 percent, Democrat, 74 percent

"She has to do it herself," former state Democratic Chairman John Marino said. "It's time now to have the friends and advisers shut up."

"She doesn't need to spend time — and I say this with all due respect as a former state chairman — with people like us. She needs to spend time with people who are Democrats and independents and Republicans; who have kids in schools, parents who are sick and need care, and who worry about taxes."

But that might be difficult given the horde of 200 reporters, including television crews from Europe and Asia, who are expected to trail her around the state.

"She's going to have to somehow or other break through that Secret Service cocoon and show that she's not just the great lady," Maurice "Mickey" Carroll, head of the Quinnipiac College Polling Institute, explained.

THE BATTLE FOR SUBURBIA

Three Republicans, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and two congressmen from Long Island, Rick Lazio and Peter King, are considering running for Moynihan's seat.

Clinton is not expected to face serious opposition within the Democratic party.

Democratic candidates traditionally amass big margins of victory in the five boroughs of New York City: last year, for instance, Democratic Senate candidate Charles Schumer carried Brooklyn with 74 percent of the vote and Manhattan with 82 percent. In 1996 President Clinton carried both Brooklyn and Manhattan with 80 percent of the vote.

But it is the suburban counties around the city will likely prove the decisive battlefields in next year's Senate race.

"Giuliani is unbelievably strong in the suburbs," Marino said.

Nassau County on Long Island —which casts more votes than any other county in the state —went for its native son, Republican Sen. Al D'Amato last year, by a margin of 53 percent to 46 percent over Schumer.

D'Amato also carried neighboring Suffolk County,

but lost in Westchester County, north of New York City.

In the 1996 presidential election, Clinton carried Nassau, Suffolk and Westchester by wide margins.

The Associated Press and MSNBC's Tom Curry contributed to this report.

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July 7, 1999

Hillary Clinton Begins First New York Campaign Tour

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By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

WEST DAVENPORT, N.Y. — Launching her historic campaign for the Senate, Hillary Rodham Clinton pledged on Wednesday to be a "strong and effective advocate on behalf of the people of New York."

She was immediately asked to address criticism that she is a "carpetbagger" for choosing to seek election from a state where she has never lived or worked.

"What I am for is maybe as important, if not more important than where I am from," Mrs. Clinton said.

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NEWYORI

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Mrs. Clinton was introduced by the man she hopes to succeed, retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

"I hope she will go all the way," he said, after giving the first lady a tour of his farm. "I mean to go all the way with her."

Mrs. Clinton said she was very grateful for Moynihan's support, but wouldn't say if she will definitely run until she listens to what New Yorkers have to say.

Mrs. Clinton has been to New York a dozen times this year as the nation's first lady, but today's trip was her first as a candidate for the Senate. Aides described this as a first stop on a summer-long "listening tour" of the state.

At her arrival at the Binghamton Airport, Mrs. Clinton was greeted by about 50 supporters, including state Democratic chairwoman Judith Hope and former state Democratic chairman John Burns. Outside the airport, about three dozen supporters waved placards while further along the road a tractor trailer carried a sign that read "Go home Hillary" in large letters.

Moynihan, who lives near this Delaware County hamlet about 75 miles southwest of Albany, is retiring next year after 24 years in the Senate.

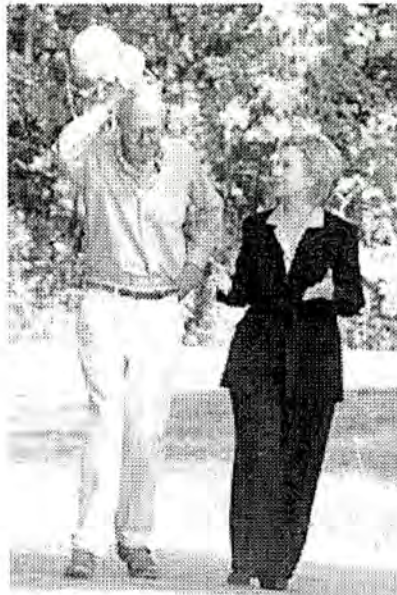
The race to replace Moynihan is being eyed on the Republican side by New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and two congressmen from Long Island, Rick Lazio and Peter King.

Giuliani formed a Senate exploratory committee in April. Mrs. Clinton formed hers on Tuesday.

Relations between the Clinton administration and Moynihan have not always been warm.

In 1994, Moynihan became the first Senate Democrat to call for appointment of an independent prosecutor to investigate the Clintons' involvement in the Whitewater real estate venture. Two years later, while criticizing the president's backing of welfare reform legislation, the senator said "the current batch in the White House ... have only the flimsiest grasp of social reality."

Nonetheless, the four-day swing planned this week by Mrs. Clinton through eastern and central New York, a traditional GOP stronghold, has generated enthusiasm from many Democrats.



By Keith Meyers/The New York Times

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton walks with retiring U.S. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan at his country home near Oneonta, N.Y. on Wednesday. The two met for about thirty minutes before holding a joint press conference where he supported her run for his seat in the Senate.

Republicans were poking fun.

"It's the 'I'm-Not-A-Carpetbagger Tour,'" veteran New York GOP strategist Jay Severin proclaimed.

In fact, some of Mrs. Clinton's own advisers conceded the listening tour and subsequent visits to the state, to go with her 12 previous visits to the state this year, are designed to turn the first lady into a New York fixture, thus blunting the carpetbagger charges.

Recent independent polls, showing Mrs. Clinton either trailing or tied with Giuliani, indicate her political team has its work cut out for it.

A June poll from the Quinnipiac College Polling Institute found that 53 percent of registered voters statewide do not believe Mrs. Clinton understands the issues and problems facing New York, up from 43 percent in a March poll from the Hamden, Conn.-based institute.



By Keith Meyers/The New York Times

Hillary Rodham Clinton waded into crowds here that waited outside the airport where she landed to begin her campaign tour of upper New York State.

While Republicans, including Giuliani, have been making much of the fact that Mrs. Clinton has never lived or worked in New York.

Severin said Republicans should instead attack her as intent on using the New York Senate race as "a stepping stone to run for president."

"If (Vice President Al) Gore loses in 2000 and Hillary

Clinton wins this Senate seat, anybody who says she's not the front-runner (for the 2004 presidential nomination) is out of their mind," Severin said.

Not all New York Democrats are convinced Mrs. Clinton will win the Senate seat.

State Assembly Majority Leader Michael Bragman, a Syracuse-area Democrat helping arrange Mrs. Clinton's four-day New York trip this week, said he has told her as much and that "it will be a very difficult race" in large part because of the carpetbagger issue.

Nonetheless, Bragman said if Mrs. Clinton spends enough time stumping across the state "people will tend to forget that she is not a resident" and she could win.

Mrs. Clinton's decision to visit the Moynihan homestead brought a flurry of activity to the normally placid place. Workmen constructed an outdoor platform to hold the more than 200 reporters and television crews, some from as far away as Asia and Europe, expected for the event.

"Today, we're cleaning out the barn in case it rains tomorrow ... It's full of pigeon guano," the senator's wife, Liz, said on the eve of Mrs. Clinton's arrival.

"It'll be better on Thursday," she added wearily.

Following her visit with Moynihan, Mrs. Clinton planned to visit Oneonta to discuss education issues with a group of local residents at the State University of New York campus. Aides said there would be a number of other stops throughout the day that would give Mrs. Clinton a chance to talk with New Yorkers on a more spontaneous basis.

Later this month, Mrs. Clinton plans to visit the politically crucial suburbs surrounding heavily Democratic New York City.

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The Leader-Herald

ESTABLISHED AUGUST 30, 1887

GLOVERSVILLE-JOHNSTOWN, N.Y., THURSDAY, JULY 8, 1999

P1

First lady becomes a candidate



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton shows two baseball bats and a baseball presented to her Wednesday at the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown.

The Associated Press

Upstate N.Y. trip transforms Hillary into senate hopeful

COOPERSTOWN (AP) — At the Baseball Hall of Fame, the transformation of first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton into candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton was much in evidence.

She autographed the baseballs handed to her, she hugged the babies and she worked the crowds Wednesday as she began her first full-scale political trip into New York since forming her Senate exploratory committee on Tuesday. Even her advisers noticed the difference.

"She seems to be enjoying it," state Democratic Chairwoman Judith Hope said. "I think her political instincts are extremely fine. She seems to know when to give you a hug or kneel down and talk to a baby."

Friend Mandy Grunwald, a media consultant who worked on President Clinton's campaigns and is now advising Mrs. Clinton, said, "You can talk about it and plan it, but until you actually get out and do it, you never are quite sure."

For Mrs. Clinton, Wednesday was a day packed with a half-dozen events spread across 10 hours, not including the impromptu visit to the Unadilla rest stop along Interstate 88 between Binghamton and Oneonta.

HILLARY — On Page 7

'Glovertown' gaffe receives national scrutiny

By DIANNE NEVICH
The Leader-Herald

GLOVERSVILLE — Repercussions were still being felt today among local officials in the wake of a recent national reference to Gloversville as "Glovertown," attributed to Hillary Rodham Clinton.

An article in the Washington Post, quoting a friend of Hillary Rodham Clinton and her "devotion to upstate New York," ruffled some feathers. The article included the "Glovertown" reference and was picked up by the news wires and even the New York Post.

It prompted criticism from local Republicans, a little disappointment from the Fulton County Chamber of Commerce and a personal invitation from the Gloversville Mayor Abe Seroussi to visit the area this fall.

The story, which ran Tuesday, quoted Sara Ehrman as saying if Mrs. Clinton did run for the Senate from New York she would "learn everything there is to know about New York." She'll know the dairy

'GLOVERTOWN' — On Page 7

'Glovertown' gains national attention

farms in Watertown. She'll know that Glovertown is a big labor area. She'll know the best corn is in Suffolk County ... Then she'll show people how hard she'd fight for them."

But some residents think if Mrs. Clinton and her associates are to have success on her present "learning and listening tour," they should learn the names of the places she hopes to represent.

Seroussi said his phones at City Hall were "ringing off the hook" Wednesday, with reporters seeking reaction to the misnomer.

Seroussi spent some time on the phone Wednesday, extending a personal invitation to Hillary Clinton to tour Gloversville. He said he was contacted by a "very senior member" of her exploratory committee, who he described as very cordial and apologetic about the slight made to Gloversville.

Although Seroussi confirmed the First Lady won't be able to change her plans and stop by on her swing through New York this week, he said there is a good chance she will put in an appearance in Gloversville in September or November.

Seroussi did not release details, but said it will tie in with a local event.

There was no official comment issued from Clinton. All requests directed to her exploratory committee in both Washington D.C. and New York were referred to spokesman Howard Wolfson, who did not return repeated calls.

Seroussi noted this is not the first time Gloversville has caught the attention of the national media, since it achieved a certain notoriety during a string of murders in 1998.

"With the murder trials it broke my heart (to be contacted for comment)," Seroussi said. "But this is fun. Nobody was really hurt. It gives us some free publicity."

Although Seroussi is not placing blame, he gently scolded that "a little bit more research from everybody would have been nice."

"It shows a certain amount of disrespect," Seroussi said. "This is very historic area, American history passed through here."

"I wish I could show (Mrs. Clinton) our economic development," Seroussi said. "That's what hurts. We have worked so hard to recuperate. There is lots of stuff going on here."

Lisa McCoy, president of the Fulton County Regional Chamber of Commerce and Industry was dismayed that when Gloversville finally made the big time, it had to be for a goof-up.

"If the First Lady is serious about campaigning in New York, she better realize that details count," McCoy said. "She will alienate people in these small communities."

McCoy said this is not the first time the name has been mispronounced, but what makes this different is that it is of national magnitude this time.

"When you try so hard to get a place on the map, you want it to get it right," McCoy said.

Al Hayes, Fulton County Democratic chairman, chalked the misnomer up to a simple mistake, and one not even made by the first lady.

"Anybody can mispronounce something," Hayes said. "Things get blown out of proportion."

Local Republicans did not mince words.

"The name of our city is 'Gloversville,'" Deputy Mayor Carol A. Reppenhagen said. "This is a classic example of why we don't want someone from out of state coming in to New York and thinking they can sway upstate voters."

Reppenhagen said this mistake is a points out why the state needs "a senator who knows where we are, who we are, and what our strengths, problems and concerns are."

She said Mrs. Clinton's trek to central and eastern New York to listen to people will tell her in no uncertain terms "that upstate New York does not need or want her as our U.S. senator."

Fulton County Republican Committee Chairman Michael A. Rose said he was "insulted and dismayed that Mrs. Clinton and her advisor are unable to give the city of Gloversville the respect it so rightly deserves."

Rose said local residents are hard-working people, who are now gaining notoriety for local economic development efforts — "people from Gloversville not Glovertown," pulling together to create a solid community.

"It is absolutely amazing to me that Mrs. Clinton obviously feels so inclined to force herself upon upstate cities like Gloversville, touting herself as a caring learner while assuming no one will notice that she is a self-serving outsider," Rose said. "I think Mrs. Clinton's advisor, Sara Ehrman, would be a perfect tour guide for her upstate visits. They can both spend their time with Mapquest, looking for Glovertown

while the city of Gloversville is spared a visit by an uninvited, unwanted guest."

The Leader-Herald was unable to confirm Mrs. Clinton's relationship to Sara Ehrman. The Washington Post reporter who wrote the original story was out of the office and Ehrman did not return phone calls to her Washington D.C. home. A staffer in The First Lady's press office in the White House described her as as "close personal associate of Mrs. Clinton that has known her for years and helps out on occasion."

Hillary's gaffe irks officials

GLOVERSVILLE (AP) — Where ... in the world ... is Hillary Rodham Clinton?

That reworking of the theme from the PBS geography game show "Where in the World is Carmen Sandiego?" might become a haunting melody for a longtime friend of the first lady. The friend, Sara Ehrman, was apparently snared in the latest upstate New York misstep for Mrs. Clinton's exploratory senate campaign.

Speaking of the first lady's devotion to the upstate New York she may try to represent in the U.S. Senate, Ehrman is quoted in Tuesday's Washington Post as saying: "She'll learn everything there is to know about New York ... She'll know the dairy farms in Watertown. She'll know that Glovertown is a big labor area. She'll know the best corn is in Suffolk County ... Then she'll show people how hard she'd fight for them."

If she can find them.

Glovertown doesn't seem to show up on New York maps.

"I do wish she was a little more careful," said Mayor Abraham Seroussi, of Gloversville, which does show up on New York maps. "We're very proud of our city and where we come from," he said of the gateway to western settlers and commerce along the old Erie Canal.

"I wouldn't be surprised if everyone is up in arms tomorrow," the mayor said Tuesday night.

The idea of Gloversville as a "big labor area" might also be off a bit, by a few decades. An exodus of glove manufacturers to the Philippines and elsewhere has taken a toll. Some in the area still talk bitterly of a strike in 1948.

"It may not mean much in Washington. But it really effects us."

Abe Seroussi

Gloversville mayor

"It may not mean much in Washington," said Seroussi, an independent, of the apparent misstatement. "But it really effects us."

His predecessor, Republican Frank DeSantis, said the mistake is a bit telling.

"It just shows she isn't familiar with the area," he said.

She will be, if this keeps up.

Last month, an unidentified adviser was quoted saying the first lady wouldn't want to vacation in the "fly-infested Adirondack Park."

That drove residents and lovers of the mountains buggy. The forest preserve, like many areas of upstate New York, thrives on summer tourism has substantially curbed its insect annoyance.

And much of the remaining swarms are decimated by summer's first scorcher in those mountains, the midsection of which begins just a few miles north of a city called Gloversville.

The Leader-Herald

ESTABLISHED AUGUST 30, 1887



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Partly sunny

Saturday

High Low

75° 60°

Map Page 4

GLOVERSVILLE-JOHNSTOWN, N.Y., FRIDAY, JULY 9, 1999

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First lady continues New York trip

Hillary voices her opinions about upstate New York

ROME (AP) — Wading into the nitty gritty of New York politics, Hillary Rodham Clinton today told a central New York dairy farmer that she supported allowing New York and other states to join the Northeast Dairy Compact.

New Yorkers offer first lady advice, on Page 4.

New York's push to join the dairy compact is currently before Congress. It is a controversial New York issue, with upstate dairy farmers saying it could mean higher prices for them while some New York City consumer groups have warned it could mean higher prices for families buying milk.

"From what I now know it's a very important step for the dairy farmers and I would argue over the long run for the entire population," Mrs. Clinton said.

Mrs. Clinton also said that New York must address the high cost of electric power, transportation, and taxes if its upstate economy is to thrive.

Kicking off the third and final day of her

HILLARY — On Page 7



The Associated Press

Ninety-two year old Gilda Mazzura from the Betsy Ross Nursing Home in Rome gives first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton a kiss after Mrs. Clinton arrived for a lunch stop in Clinton on Thursday.

Woman says 'Glovertown' gaffe was a misquote

By DIANNE NEVICH
The Leader-Herald

GLOVERSVILLE — The friend of Hillary Clinton, whose reference brought the Glove City to the national attention, claims she never called Gloversville "Glovertown." She put the responsibility for the misnomer on the Washington Post reporter who wrote Tuesday's front page story.

"I was misquoted," said Sara Ehrman, the woman credited with the gaffe. "I know Gloversville. I've been up there many times. I know I did not say Glovertown."

Ehrman said she was vacationing in Maine and was unaware of the whole controversy brewing until Thursday afternoon.

"I am so mad. I have so many fond memories of Gloversville," Ehrman said in a phone interview.

Stories pointing out the mistake were picked up by news wires and ran in papers across the country, especially New York state, where Mrs. Clinton is presently on a Senate exploratory tour.

The last paragraph of a long story titled

GAFFE — On Page 7

Gaffe called a misquote

P2

Continued from Page 1

"N.Y. Will Test First Lady's Fighting Form," by Michael Grunwald, included comments from three of Hillary Clinton's friends. Ehrman was quoted as saying if Mrs. Clinton did run for the U.S. Senate from New York, she would "learn everything there is to know about New York. She'll know the dairy farms in Watertown. She'll know that Glovertown is a big labor area. She'll know the best corn is in Suffolk County ... Then she'll show people how hard she'd fight for them."

The remark was tied into Mrs. Clinton's campaign and local officials were offended at the lack of respect to even get the name of their city right. Republicans jumped at the chance to bash Clinton as an outsider, such as Gloversville Deputy Mayor Carol Reppenhagen.

Reppenhagen remarked that "this mistake points out why the state needs a senator who knows where we are, who we are."

Ehrman said she does know where Gloversville is and spent one fondly remembered summer at a nearby lake. She recalled buying a powder blue leather coat that year.

Ehrman, who is senior advisor of the Center for Middle East Peace and Economic Cooperation, has been acquainted with Hillary Rodham Clinton since 1972. Clinton lived in Ehrman's house while she was one of the lawyers in Watergate Committee, and Ehrman worked as a senior advisor for the Clinton/Gore campaign in 1992 and 1996.

Ehrman said the reference to "a big labor area" (which also came in for its share of criticism) were her impressions of the area from several decades ago, as a strong union town centering on the glove industry.

"At least you can be sure Mrs. Clinton will never forget Gloversville," Ehrman said.

Several calls to Grunwald and his editor at the Washington Post went unanswered.

Howard Wolfson, press spokesperson for Hillary Clinton, was puzzled the typo ever became an issue in the first place, whether the error was from Ehrman or the Post.

Ehrman was quoted in the story in her status as a longtime friend of Mrs. Clinton, but is not on the campaign staff or involved in the exploratory "listening" tour that started Thursday and is winding its way through upstate New York.

"This has nothing to do with Mrs. Clinton's campaign," Wolfson said. "We have had a great couple of days listening to New Yorkers. We look forward to con-

tinuing the tour in the summer and upcoming months.

Wolfson said it is "unfortunate this has turned into a political thing," since they are "having a great reaction" from New Yorkers.

Gloversville Mayor Abe Seroussi, the city's staunchest supporter, has been quoted in papers across the country. His smiling face most recently graced a story in Thursday's "New York Post" scolding politician's for their failure to get the name of a place correct.

Seroussi said he agreed with the gist of the story, but is hoping the snafu can be turned into something positive for the Glove City.

"It has driven home a point, you need to know these little cities," Seroussi said. "And politicians haven't been that good at getting things right." He said it shows a certain level of disrespect, whether on the part of "downstate and big city politicians" or metropolitan media, when they don't get the facts straight.

"They seem to forget we have a name and heritage," Seroussi said.

On a more positive note, the mayor said it has focused the spotlight on Gloversville, in a much more flattering hue than some stories, such as coverage of a series of murders and the ensuing trials or features on urban decay and high unemployment.

"Those times were so depressing," Seroussi said. "It's nice to be in the papers for something good, this is a good notoriety and has given me a chance to talk about all the positive things going on here, our economic upswing."

Seroussi, an Independent, has invited Mrs. Clinton to tour Gloversville, and after speaking to senior advisors on her present campaign, he hinted there is a good chance she may make an appearance later this fall.

"I would be very pleased if they come," he said. "If she comes, people will line the streets. Every restaurant in town will be jammed and that will mean more sales tax coming in," said Seroussi, former longtime city commissioner of finance.

Although Gloversville, and all of Fulton County, is a Republican stronghold, Seroussi said he thinks the reception toward the First Lady would be warm, and it could only help the city.

"I don't care if the Republicans picket," Seroussi said - just so long as they don't picket the restaurants.

Wolfson said Mrs. Clinton's entourage will be staying on their scheduled tour this week, so won't be making any unannounced stops in Gloversville. But he noted they are still drawing up schedules and didn't rule anything out.

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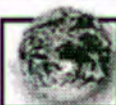
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Beyond the City

Hillary Runs in Sun Stops by Jones Beach for surprise visit

By **MICHAEL R. BLOOD**
Daily News City Hall Bureau Chief

Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday turned her budding Senate campaign into a beach party — strolling the Jones Beach boardwalk like a tourist, hugging bronzed lifeguards and basking in the applause of stunned sunbathers. The First Lady's midday beach stop provided a sun-splashed contrast with the mostly formal regimen of her "listening tour," in which she's been meeting with groups of New Yorkers in carefully choreographed events.

But on her first trip to Jones Beach's boardwalk, the First Lady donned sunglasses and waded into the surfboard-and-suntan crowd to pose for pictures and pump hands.

"I feel like I'm on 'Baywatch!'" she beamed after finding herself surrounded by hunky lifeguards.

"I've heard about it [Jones Beach] literally all my life, from many friends who would come here and spend lots of glorious summer days," she said. "I'm just delighted to be here."

The First Lady is dangling a toe in the political waters, but she didn't get too close to the ocean. Dressed in a blue pantsuit, she scanned the whitecaps of the Atlantic from behind a boardwalk railing.

As TV cameras rolled, an excited crowd swarmed her like a celebrity, occasionally bursting into cheers. "We need more women in politics," said Melanie Antonelli of upstate Cornwall, a Republican who said she's likely to vote for Clinton if she runs for the Senate seat next year.

In rare banter with reporters, Clinton said she's still house-hunting in New York, predicted she'd end up renting and grouched about the difficulty of finding a home that meets Secret Service security demands. "I'm taking any suggestions,



Savulich NEWS
Hillary Clinton
stopped at Jones
Beach yesterday as
part of her
'listening tour.'

ideas, recommendations. Anyone have any neighbors that are moving?"

The First Lady's day took her through the politically crucial suburbs of Westchester and Nassau counties, which strategists predict will be the battlegrounds that decide the 2000 election.

She spent the morning at Westchester Community College, where she met for about 90 minutes with 62 residents and discussed issues from tuition assistance to welfare reform. She also met privately with local Democrats and state Controller Carl McCall.

The First Lady's likely rival for the Senate seat — Mayor Giuliani — spent the day out of the public eye in Boston, where he planned to watch baseball's All-Star game at Fenway Park last night.

John Gross, treasurer of Giuliani's Senate campaign exploratory committee, said the mayor will report raising \$2.75 million in the first half of 1999 when semiannual fund-raising reports are filed tomorrow with the Federal Election Commission. That brings the mayor's total fund-raising to \$3.2 million.

At Jones Beach, the lifeguard vote was split.

Kellie Bleakney, 22, said she hadn't made up her mind but was leaning toward Clinton. "We need the woman," she said.

But Andrew Terry, 52, said he's a Giuliani man. "I just think the whole thing of her not being from here I find insulting. I don't think she's earned the right to become a New York senator."

Rudy vs. Hillary: See our special on the N.Y. Senate Race

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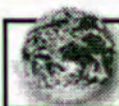
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Beyond the City

Jewish Voters Back Clinton in Poll

WASHINGTON

Jewish voters nationwide give Hillary Rodham Clinton high marks, according to a new poll released as the First Lady begins to court that key constituency. Some 72% of American Jews surveyed said they had a favorable opinion of Clinton, according to a poll to be released today by the Israel Policy Forum, a nonpartisan organization that promotes the Middle East peace process.

GOP pollster Ken Goldstein and Democratic pollster Mark Mellman polled 606 American Jews from June 27 to July 1 — before the First Lady's declaration last week that Jerusalem should be Israel's "eternal and indivisible capital" and the U.S. should move its embassy there.

Her position on Jerusalem, which conflicts with her husband's policy, drew cheers from the American Jewish community.

Her most high-profile statement on the Mideast before that was a statement last year in which she said she favored a Palestinian state, drawing Jewish ire.

Kenneth R. Bazinet

Original Publication Date: 07/14/1999

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AP Photo
Hillary Clinton talks to reporters at Jones Beach yesterday.

Hillary On LI Turf And Surf

Backs deduction for tuition

By Liam Plevin
Albany Bureau Chief

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON displayed her husband's taste for policies aimed at middle-class voters - as well as a flair for political barbs - yesterday during her first visit to crucial suburban battlegrounds in Long Island and Westchester since she formally began exploring a Senate campaign.

Speaking at a forum on education at Westchester Community College in the morning, Clinton called for making college tuition tax deductible, a potentially sweeping and expensive change in federal tax policy, but one that may be attractive to parents wrestling with college payments.

Later, while briefly taking questions from reporters under a bright afternoon sun on the boardwalk at Jones Beach, Clinton qualified her earlier statement by saying, "I am very much in favor of making tuition as tax deductible as we can afford."

Then, after Clinton disappeared into a boardwalk restaurant for a crab cake lunch with the treasurer of her exploratory committee, her campaign spokesman, Howard Wolfson, said the first lady's aim is to "build on the administration's success" in making tuition more affordable. Wolfson cited a \$5,000 tuition deduction and \$1,500 tax credits that are available to some parents, which President Bill Clinton pushed for in 1997.

At the Westchester event, Clinton also offered an oblique but pointed response to Republican Gov. George Pataki's frequent criticisms of her potential Senate campaign, attacks that culminated over the weekend with his comment that she is motivated by personal ambition and the prospect of her candidacy is "cockamamie."

After a woman in the audience at the forum commented about school budget problems in Yonkers, Clinton - without naming Pataki directly - noted that the state budget Pataki is negotiating with legislative leaders is late.

"I don't see how you can get your budgets ready when you don't have a state budget," Clinton said, a tone of bemused incredulity in her voice. "I really don't understand how you plan."

The budget is the second latest in state history, at 105 days today, drawing criticism to Pataki and others in Albany in part because it puts state-aid payments to school districts in limbo.

In Albany, Pataki spokesman Michael McKeon responded, "If she lived in New York, she would know the budget is being held up by the Assembly Democrats."

Clinton said she is having difficulty finding housing in New York State, in part because of security concerns. She said she may end up renting a house.

At the community college event, in suburban Valhalla, Clinton also displayed a talent for side-stepping potentially embarrassing questions. Sarah Stern, a Westchester parent and registered Republican who was part of the audience selected by the college, asked Clinton if she was willing to support higher credentialing standards for teachers if it meant bucking potential financial supporters in state teachers' unions, which have strongly backed Democrats.

Rather than answer directly, Clinton deferred to Nettie Webb, a grade school principal who was part of her assembled panel of education experts, and Webb said that as a principal, she considered dealing with underperforming teachers her responsibility.

The maneuver did not win over Stern, who said afterward, "She's a masterful politician. I asked a tough question, and she deflected. I would expect no less from a Clinton."

On the Jones Beach boardwalk, Clinton's reception was more favorable, as a mixture of summertime beachgoers and supporters who heard about a last-minute schedule change gathered for a quick glimpse of the first lady, who is also making appearances in Rockville Centre and Great Neck today.

Clinton arrived at the Central Mall at Field 4 at 1 p.m., and began wandering around talking to people, as Secret Service officers cordoned off reporters. Looking out at the sand, Clinton proclaimed, "I feel like I'm on 'Baywatch.'" She took pictures with several well-wishers, including two lifeguards, Chris Zany, 33, of Long Beach, and A.J. Hepworth, 24, of Oceanside.

Later both men, each dressed in blue and yellow shorts, sunglasses and open windbreaker jackets, said Clinton had lamented not being able to go for a swim.

"She said, 'I should have brought my suit down to go swimming because it looks like you got this place covered,'" Hepworth said. Zany added, "She asked how long I've been a lifeguard. I said we're big supporters and she said, 'Thank you.'"

Clinton's visit came as one of her potential opponents, Rep. Rick Lazio (R-Brightwaters), made preparations for a fund raiser in Washington next Wednesday. The chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.), lent his name to Lazio's \$1,000-a-plate event, just as he did last month for another likely Senate candidate, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani.

Clinton is also gearing up for fund-raising, with meetings scheduled on the subject tomorrow in Manhattan. She is also tentatively scheduled to attend a Democratic Party fund raiser next month in the Hamptons.

Clinton's lunch in Jones Beach was also with a key part of her fund-raising team, William Cunningham, a law partner of her adviser, Harold Ickes.

But Cunningham said in an interview later that the meeting revolved more around acquainting Clinton with places and institutions on Long Island, including Bay Shore, Southside Hospital and the Long Island Aquarium. Also at the table were Jeffrey Rettaliata, a senior vice president of Morgan Stanley Dean Witter, and a board member of Southside Hospital, and Dan Sweeney, chairman of the Long Island State Parks Foundation.

And, said Cunningham, Clinton asked about Jones Beach, which she was seeing for the first time, and wanted to know "the whole history of the park, going back to Al Smith and Robert Moses."

Staff writers Al Baker, Ken Fireman and Ellen Yan contributed to this story.

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Opinion

Can New Yorker Love Hillary ? Yes, based on the Issues

By JUDITH HOPE

The 2000 U.S. Senate race in New York will be decided by where the candidates stand on issues, not simply where they are from. As a Manhattan College student newspaper columnist, Mayor Giuliani dismissed the carpetbagger issue as "a truly ridiculous reason" for not voting for Robert F. Kennedy in 1964. New York Democrats agree with this sentiment as it applies to the potential candidacy of Hillary Rodham Clinton in 2000.

While Clinton herself acknowledges that the residency issue "is a very fair question," we're confident that skepticism will dissipate over the next 16 months as she articulates her vision for improving public education and health care and creating jobs in New York.

Upstate Republicans who observed the First Lady's "listening tour" agree. When asked about residency concerns, the former GOP mayor of Oneonta suggested that "the Republicans should find another issue." Utica's Republican mayor went even further in explaining that Hillary Clinton has "the human touch. She's real. People will sense that and will not care where she is from."

History supports this conclusion. Even before electing RFK and James Buckley to this state's Senate seat in 1964 and 1970, respectively, New Yorkers embraced Rufus King, a Massachusetts delegate to the Constitutional Convention, who moved to New York immediately before the 1792 Senate election.

"New Yorkers chose a Massachusetts man [for the Senate] because they felt he could best serve New York," Giuliani explained in his 1964 column.

In 1998, Democrats won three of four statewide races because New Yorkers trusted our candidates to best serve their interests. Chuck Schumer, Eliot Spitzer and Carl McCall were victorious because of their commitment to representing the interests of New Yorkers while providing leadership on national issues as well. Hillary Clinton has the experience, determination and compassion to join Sen. Schumer as a

tireless advocate for New Yorkers on the national stage provided by the U.S. Senate.

Considering New York's current political climate, it's no surprise that the GOP would rather obsess about residency than discuss real issues such as education, health care and jobs.

While Clinton travels the state listening to the needs of New Yorkers, Giuliani and Gov. Pataki go out of state to kowtow to high-dollar, right-wing Republican donors. While Clinton demonstrates her sincere interest in representing New Yorkers by pledging to serve a full term in the Senate, Giuliani refuses to do so. While New York Democrats are unified in our support of Clinton's potential candidacy, New York Republicans are badly divided.

It's comical that the Republican National Committee, home to congressmen and senators nationwide who repeatedly reduce federal dollars allocated to New York, is expressing such concern over the possibility that Clinton may run for the Senate here. The committee could do New Yorkers a far greater service by demanding that the House and Senate remedy the imbalance between what we contribute to the federal government and what we receive in return.

New Yorkers are savvy enough to choose Sen. Daniel Moynihan's successor based upon candidates' positions on issues, not their hometowns.

As Giuliani once wrote, "Let us hope that cosmopolitan New Yorkers can rise above the ridiculous, timeworn, provincial attitude that has so disunified our nation."

*Hope is chairwoman of the
New York State Democratic Committee.*

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Blame Hillary Clinton

By Michael Kelly

Wednesday, July 14, 1999; Page A23

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.

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 it has 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 ineradicable 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's 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 forgotten 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 what trust she is worthy of.

Michael Kelly is the editor of National Journal.

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Maybe it's Hillary's turn

"Why the Senate? Why New York? Why me?"—Hillary Rodham Clinton, July 1999.

Why, indeed? Like Robert F. Kennedy before her, Hillary Rodham Clinton undertakes challenges not with a "Why?" but with a "Why not?"

It's the political equivalent of what motivates some folks to climb mountains.

That's not to say that such decisions—climbing mountains or running for office—are considered flippantly or made lightly, but the wise person is given to calculating the risks before taking any.

That's what the first lady's highly touted "listening tour" of New York State is all about, really—calculating the risks, entertaining the possibilities, testing the efficacy of her own ambition.

Many in her media entourage don't seem quite sure what to make of Hillary as a candidate for elective office. That's understandable. She's toting a lot of baggage with which the political press is very familiar. Comparisons will be made.

Hillary, observes Michael Powell of *The Washington Post*, "is not her husband's equal as a politician. Who is? Her eyes don't well with tears on command. She doesn't slap too many backs, and her smile connotes friendly curiosity rather than furnace-generating empathy."

"But," he notes, "her political moves, the long handshake with the free hand patting on top, the eye contact, the ability to give a 'that's the most fascinating thing I've ever heard' look, are a good bit of shake 'n' bake."

So she's practiced. So what? Bill may be the best we've ever seen, but Hillary had a lot to do with that. Credit him with vision if you must, but remember who kept him focused. Kept him focused as

Meredith Oakley



much as is humanly possible, that is. Nobody's perfect.

It's an interesting exercise to behold, this latest evolutionary phase of Hillary without Bill, even from afar, when you've known the person who is the focal point of all this examination and speculation under less daunting circumstances. Considered in relation to her earlier metamorphosis in Arkansas from disengaged professional spouse to active political champion and partner, it might even be deemed fascinating.

She did it then—gained the upper hand over her detractors by turning critics into converts—and there's no reason to doubt that she can do it now.

The local media—local to New York, not to Arkansas—seem not to be convinced that she actually will make a run for the U.S. Senate seat to be vacated by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

I wouldn't be surprised either way. Like many of her closest friends, in whose number, I hasten to add, I could never be counted by any stretch of the imagination, I'd never believed she would give serious consideration to such a move before the matter came up this year.

For one thing, she loathes the media, and like it or not, they are as much a part of politics as primaries and caucuses. For another, she's not too keen on being challenged about or being held accountable for her actions and beliefs, hence the occasional reference to her as HRC—that's

Her Royal Clintonness, not Hillary Rodham Clinton.

But Hillary, like the man in whose shadow she has too often stood, will do just about whatever it takes to get the job done. We know which job title she's pursuing. The greater challenge is to figure out how she defines it.

Some folks take things at face value, though.

"I don't think she will [run]," an Albany banker told that city's *Times Union* newspaper recently. "She has a grand stage in Washington, and there are some major issues standing."

Ah, yes, that grand stage. The same stage that in only 18 months will be bereft of Hillary's presence at its center. This would seem reason enough to keep her hand in—her hand, not Bill's.

The Albany banker allowed as to how Hillary would be better off staying out of the Senate race because the job would be a step down and would cramp her ability to raise money for her family and prevent her from campaigning for other candidates.

The observation ignores what should be obvious: that she's done all that before, and she might just take a dim view of the prospect of spending the rest of her life repeating herself.

What's a step down when you've not yet reached the top rung anyway? And what's wrong with Bill bringing home the bacon for a change?

Hillary's done her best by her family and her family's long-standing, hard-working supporters.

When does it get to be her turn?



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

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On N.Y. Tour, First Lady Favors 'Good Ideas' Over Policy Planks

By Lynne Duke
Washington Post Staff Writer
Sunday, July 18, 1999; Page A07

ROCKVILLE CENTRE, N.Y.—During one of her now-familiar "listening events" with the New Yorkers she hopes will support her Senate bid, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton had a lot to say about guns and children. Speaking in support of anti-gun education programs contained in legislation sponsored by Rep. Carolyn McCarthy (D-N.Y.), her hostess on this day on Long Island, Clinton said: "When it comes to education programs, there also can be federal assistance. . . . There should be federal funding. . . . There has to be some real effort made to ensure that New York gets its fair share."

To at least one member of the media throng following the virtual candidate around New York state, it sounded like a campaign proposal. So the local reporter cornered Clinton's spokesman for more details. How much would such programs cost? Where would the money come from?

With a slightly bemused expression, the spokesman, Howard Wolfson, slowed down the eager scribe. "You're making too much of this," he said. These are not actual campaign proposals, he explained, but merely "good ideas" favored by Clinton.

Despite all the attention to Clinton's virtual campaign over the past two weeks, it has thus far lacked clear-cut policy planks. Clinton's general issues as first lady -- health care, education, families -- are well known, in some detail. But just what she stands for in New York has so far been hazy -- and will remain so for weeks if not months to come, campaign aides say. It is a deliberate campaign strategy: to appear to be following New Yorkers, not leading them, at least not yet.

"I think New Yorkers think it would be wrong to start by offering proposals," said Mandy Grunwald, a key Clinton adviser.

The trick for Clinton will be finding the right moment to pivot more sharply toward the issues without appearing too arrogant. After all, Clinton already labors against the perception that she is a carpetbagger, that she is a celebrity candidate, that all she's after is status in her own right, separate from her problem-plagued husband.

New York's many constituencies -- upstate, downstate, city, suburban, to name just a few -- are notoriously touchy and will become increasingly impatient to learn what Clinton stands for as the

campaign progresses, said John Zogby of Zogby International, a polling firm with offices in the upstate New York town of Utica as well as in Washington.

"I don't know that she needs to get into specifics yet, but she's going to have to get into specifics a lot earlier than a normal candidate," said Zogby. "This is a Kabuki dance she's going to have to do. On one hand, she has to show she cares and on the other hand she's got to show she's not above the crowd."

The unprecedented Clinton campaign, launched last week with the establishment of an exploratory committee, is not a normal campaign. No other sitting first lady has run for office. Few candidates in recent memory have had their names so fully mired in official and personal controversy as hers. She is a non-New Yorker who is a deeply knowledgeable thinker on a range of issues, but with no proven political record.

During her listening events last week, Clinton spoke on a range of issues, always with her guests seeming to set the issues agenda, and always in sympathy with or in praise of their views. She expressed clear support for, among other issues, a Democratic patients' bill of rights that was shot down in the Senate last week. She said she firmly supports the tax deductibility of all college tuition, and she backed putting more police officers on city streets.

All those issues, however, were mere brush strokes in the effort to paint her as a sympathetic and competent figure who may not be a real daughter of New York but sure could fight for it. It is an uphill struggle, potentially pitting Clinton against Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, known as a gloves-off political fighter.

"Right now, the personalities are driving the electorate," said Lee Miringoff of the Marist Institute for Public Opinion. "You have a Rudy Giuliani who lacks temperament and a Hillary Clinton who lacks resonance."

For all the hype that has surrounded Clinton's warm-fuzzy listening events, the latest Marist poll shows Clinton trailing Giuliani. The combative mayor was the voters' choice by 47 percent of Marist respondents, compared with Clinton's 41 percent. The sample in that poll was only 515 voters, and the margin of error was 4.5 percentage points. A poll by Zogby International with a slightly larger sample -- 705 people who were likely voters -- showed a wider Giuliani lead: 50 percent to 40 percent.

Numerous issues hang in the political ether and could quickly become big pluses or minuses for Clinton's bid: her statement last year in support of a Palestinian state; her failed health care reform effort of the early 1990s; her role in the string of scandals, controversies and probes that have plagued the Clinton White House years.

New Yorkers will judge for themselves what all this means and what all this makes Clinton. For now the challenge she faces came through in the comments of Vincent Beni, superintendent of schools of Irvington, N.Y., and a self-described political independent. After hearing Clinton discuss education during her "listening event" at the

Westchester Community College on Tuesday, Beni was both skeptical and laudatory.

"She's smooth," he said, shaking his head, "but she's got an incredible grasp of New York issues already."

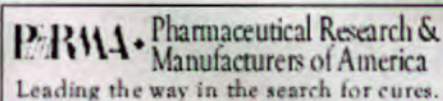
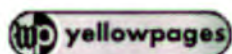
Some, however, are frustrated at the absence of policy precision on some issues. During the forum on gun violence, Clinton repeatedly tore into the National Rifle Association and its huge clout in Congress.

But when a journalist asked flat-out if she was for or against gun ownership, Clinton talked about wanting more comprehensive gun control legislation -- but never answered the question.

Later a woman in Clinton's small audience was overheard complaining to a friend about the first lady's performance. Though she had participated in the group discussion from the audience, the woman did not want to identify herself. On the issue of openness, the woman was peeved that Clinton did not answer the gun ownership question.

"She doesn't want to tick off the upstate constituency," the woman said, referring to the more conservative and traditionally Republican region far north of the city. "You can't have it both ways. You're either for it or against it."

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EDITORIALS

Israel's new friend

Hillary Clinton, born-again Zionist

AT A PARTICULARLY delicate time in Arab-Jewish negotiations (a description of roughly any time in the past century) Hillary Clinton came out last year in favor of statehood for the Palestinian Arabs. It was an inopportune moment for the wife of the American president to start throwing her influence around, what with the peace talks stalled and both sides counting on Washington to mediate.

But that was last year. This year she's running for senator from New York in every way but formally and it's a most opportune time—for her—to side with the Israelis. Which is just what she's done between commutes to New York on her campaign plane, aka Air Force One.

Jerusalem, says Ms. Clinton now, should be recognized as Israel's "eternal and indivisible capital," using the very words Israeli politicians prefer when campaigning. Even though a decision on Jerusalem's formal status—Israeli or Palestinian capital or both—is supposed to await final negotiations between the two sides.

But is anybody surprised? Running for the Senate in New York, or just about for anything in New York, tends to simplify almost any politician's opinion about the intricacies of Mideast politics. Whether the candidate is Irish (Daniel Patrick Moynihan) or Italian (Alfonse D'Amato) a senator from New York, with its sizable and even decisive Jewish vote, is going to be only a little more pro-Israel than the Israeli foreign office.

If the Arab vote dominated elections in New York, does anyone doubt that at this moment Hillary Clinton would have found a good word to say for Arab claims on Jerusalem? Where the votes are, there lie her highly flexible allegiances. Note her treacly flattery of Senator Moynihan of late—she laid it on thick as schmaltz on Levy's Jewish Rye, even though the senator joined the charge against HillaryCare when this administration was still young, and he would later deride the Clinton administration's plans to reform welfare, too. All is forgiven now, there's a campaign on. Party is thicker than ideas, as Senator Moynihan's party-line vote on impeachment demonstrated.



CANDIDATE CLINTON, male or female, always leaves an escape hatch. In this case, both Hillary Clinton's pro-Israel and pro-Arab statements (to everything there is a campaign season) came with Clinton clauses attached. She favored Palestinian statehood, Hillary Clinton would explain when pressed, only eventually. Ditto, Jerusalem as Israel's capital. Having recognized Israel's undivided right to that ancient capital, she had to add: "Of course the timing of such a move must be sensitive to Israel's interest in achieving a secure peace with its neighbors." Of course.

This is pretty much the same small print that her husband added to his ballyhooed promise to recognize Israeli sovereignty over Jerusalem. That was way back in the presidential election of 1992, and his administration still doesn't know that the capital of Israel is Jerusalem even if Congress does. All these campaign promises reveal a good deal more about the candidates than they do about the long, long dispute over that ancient citadel, a dispute that goes back to the Crusaders, if not the Jebusites.

The notion of one nation deciding what another's capital will be is itself a surreal prospect. (Is there any other country besides Israel whose capital Washington takes it upon itself to name?) And the notion of a senator from New York choosing Israel's "eternal and indivisible" capital only adds

to the spectacle. Jerusalem's place in the "eternal and indivisible" scheme of things is one of those things Americans were once content to leave to History and History's God. Now it's a campaign issue, or rather, in New York, a campaign ritual.

The rhetoric was a bit over-wrought on the Arab side, too, as in the angry reaction from James Zogby of the Arab American Institute, who accused First Diplomat of "damaging the search for peace and damaging American interests and American leadership" in the Middle East. Goodness, isn't that an awful lot of damage to attribute to just a little political

pap out of a first lady who now would really rather be a junior senator from New York?

But some of the more excitable voices in the Jewish lobby said much the same thing about Miss Hillary last year, when she came out for Palestinian statehood. The critics of her separate but equally rash stands in the Middle East may change, but their criticisms don't.

Surely everyone, beginning with Arabs, Israelis and Americans, can see that Hillary Clinton's politics tend to shift with the prevailing winds—a

habit that seems to run in the family—and just now those winds are out of New York. By now she's probably even learned the difference between a bagel and a bialy, and will soon be setting out for the obligatory visit to Israel—with stops in Ireland and Italy just to be safe. There's no better guide to Hillary Clinton's political principles *du jour* than the demographics of the state she proposes to represent at any given moment, and New York is an ethnically splended state.



AND SO another volume in the glamorous, successful and somehow pointless saga of Clintonian politics opens, as matched as His and Hers towels. It's not clear who's more predictable, the Clintons or their critics, as what historians will surely call the Petty Nineties dribble away to the accompaniment of its longest running sit-com and soap opera. Only now Mary Noble is no longer content to be Backstage Wife. And our own Tammy Wynette has decided it's time to stand by her career.

It would be unfair—it would be silly—to blame the co-presidents Clinton for the cynicism of American politics, for the low reputation of contemporary politicians, or the general miasma that settles over American public life. A jaded irony becomes the first reaction of many Americans to the daily news in this, our second Gilded Age.

The lack of high purpose and seriousness in public discourse, the vacuous nature of so much of our politics, the uncentered feel of a popular culture that is alternately being sapped of the sacred or dunked in it, the elevation of technique over direction, of results over any meaning, of pointless violence . . . all of that late-Roman Empire style is scarcely the Clintons' fault; they are only the most unfailing reflection of it. They're just our mood ring.

When we note HRC's latest makeover, and know there are more to come, it's really not enough to smile wanly, however familiar the script. We ought to ask why such tactics have proven so successful for politicians of all persuasions and no real convictions.

Is it because the Clintons R Us? Is it because they haven't so much set the pattern as responded to our cues? The great danger and temptation of concentrating—of fixating—on the Clintons' pettification of American politics in this decade is that it lets the rest of us off the hook.

NY Senate race wouldn't trash state, aide says

Giuliani to visit LR, won't take shots
at Arkansas, campaign manager says

BY RAY PIERCE

ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

Arkansas wouldn't become a target for more negative publicity in a race for a U.S. Senate seat in New York between New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, Giuliani's campaign manager said Monday.

Bruce Teitelbaum, who is directing Giuliani's Senate exploratory committee, was in Little Rock on Monday to prepare for an Arkansas fund-raising dinner Giuliani will be attending July 27.

Giuliani was invited to Arkansas by Gov. Mike Huckabee and Lt. Gov. Winthrop Rockefeller, Teitelbaum said.

Neither Giuliani nor Clinton have officially announced plans to seek the seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y. next year, but both have set up exploratory committees to begin raising money. An official with Giuliani's committee said the mayor has raised more than \$3 million since he began raising money in March.

The Arkansas event is expected to raise up to \$30,000, a pittance in a campaign that Teitelbaum said could cost as much as \$15 million per candidate. Teitelbaum acknowledged that Giuliani probably wouldn't have come to Arkansas had the invitation been extended six months from now because of the small amount of money involved, but he said it is appropriate now because it's early in the campaign.

Organizers have invited 60 people to the \$500-a-plate luncheon at the Capital Hotel in Little Rock. Republican political consultant Richard Bearden of Little Rock said 34 invitees have confirmed



Rudy Giuliani

plans to will attend and about \$18,000 already has been collected. Teitelbaum said he also expects some who don't attend the event to donate money.

Teitelbaum said Giuliani would run on his record as New York mayor, as a U.S. attorney who pursued reputed Mafia leaders, and as the No. 3 man in President Ronald Reagan's Justice Department. He said Arkansas-bashing, based on Hillary Clinton's 12 years as the state's first lady, likely wouldn't be a necessary campaign ploy.

"The mayor has great respect not only for Gov. Huckabee and Lt. Gov. Rockefeller but for the people of Arkansas," Teitelbaum said. "I can tell you that, should the mayor decide to run and should Mrs. Clinton be his opponent, I'm sure the campaign will be carried

See GIULIANI, Page 8B

Giuliani

• Continued from Page 1B
out on the highest level."

He said such a campaign wouldn't need to resort to such tactics because "you have two people who really are very different on the issues and people with two perspectives on how to solve problems."

"The mayor has a record, and the mayor is going to be very eager to discuss what he's done and what he's accomplished with what Mrs. Clinton's done and what she's accomplished," he said. Teitelbaum said Mrs. Clinton's leading role in the ill-fated 1993 health care reform initiative would be a likely target. "At the appropriate time, I'm sure that will be an issue that will be discussed," he said.

Giuliani's visit to Little Rock is not intended to be a jab at Hillary Clinton but one of five fund-raising stops the mayor will make in the South over a two-day period, Teitelbaum said. Giuliani also will

make stops in New Orleans and three Alabama cities — Montgomery, Birmingham and Tuscaloosa.

"He's already traveled to Chicago, California, Florida, so our objective now is to raise money," he said.

Giuliani, who Teitelbaum said is a national figure by virtue of being mayor of New York, is raising campaign cash outside of New York because he believes Republicans across the country want someone of Giuliani's ability in the Senate and want to keep the Senate in Republican hands, Teitelbaum said.

"This is a pro-Giuliani fund-raiser. This is a fund-raiser designed to help the mayor because people down here have heard about what he's been able to accomplish in New York and think he'd be a good U.S. senator," Teitelbaum said.

Officials with Mrs. Clinton's exploratory committee didn't have an immediate response Monday to Giuliani's coming Arkansas visit.

PM-NY--Clinton Househunt, Bjt,758

Mrs. Clinton looking for a house; Westchester looking for Mrs. Clinton
AP Photos NYR106-7

By JIM FITZGERALD= Associated Press Writer=

NORTH SALEM, N.Y. (AP) Whether she ends up on 17 acres in Westchester or in a \$5 million Manhattan townhouse, Hillary Rodham Clinton will know one thing: People care about her search for a new home.

The possible sighting of what might have been Secret Service agents on a rural road in Westchester added fuel Wednesday to rumors that Mrs. Clinton has decided on a suburban setting. But her office said no decision had been made, so the new speculation was simply added to the old, which included:

That she was moving to Westchester and that she was moving to Manhattan;

That she was looking in North Salem and that North Salem is too fancy.

That she was considering the stone lodge that belongs to the man who made David's Cookies and that she rejected it as too rustic.

And now, that she's spending \$3.8 million for an 18-room mansion on Mill's Road. The Secret Service was there, so Mrs. Clinton must have been there too, wags said.

Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman, Marsha Berry, said Wednesday that Mrs. Clinton has made no decision on a house and has no favorite she's aware of.

But that's not dampening the speculation or keeping people from objecting in advance to her possible arrival in North Salem. On Wednesday, not far from Town Hall, the words ``Rudy yes, Hillary no'' were hand-lettered on a manila envelope, accompanied by three deflated balloons and attached to a stop sign.

Town Supervisor Sy Globberman, a Republican, said a few residents called him Wednesday asking if anything could be done to keep Mrs. Clinton out. ``They're worried about an intrusion on the peacefulness of the town,'' he said. ``Traffic, the media, the Secret Service.''

State law says that if Mrs. Clinton runs for the Senate, she has to have a New York residence by Election Day 2000. On Monday, Ms. Berry said, Mrs. Clinton and her daughter Chelsea looked at houses ``in the city and the environs.''. She wouldn't say which houses and wouldn't even confirm Mrs. Clinton was in Westchester.

So much for the facts. Here's the dish:

On Monday, the same day she was house-hunting, some people in North Salem thought they saw what looked like Secret Service agents on both ends of Mill's Road, a two-lane byway that is the address of a vacant home on a 17-acre lot listed at \$3.8 million. Wednesday's New York Post reported that agents visited the house, though their ``mission'' was unclear. Some people thought Mrs. Clinton was there.

``She was there, she wasn't there,'' real estate agent Sally Siano said Wednesday. ``Nobody really knows. It's just brokers talking to other brokers, asking each other what they've heard.''

The house is owned by James Kohlberg, managing partner of a brokerage in Mount Kisco and son of Jerome Kohlberg, one of the founders of Kohlberg Kravis Roberts & Co., a Wall Street firm. He declined to comment.

The house, called ``Mill's Ridge,'' has 18 rooms, including five bedrooms, plus a barn, a pool and a caretaker's cottage.

``It has fabulous views of the Titicus Reservoir,'' Ms. Siano said. ``It's up on a hill and sort of hangs over the water. And it's at the end of a long, long driveway.''

The driveway may help meet one of the Clintons' reported priorities privacy.

The other priority is said to be golf, and Westchester likes to think of itself as the American cradle of the game. Country clubs pretty much surround North Salem.

But can the Clintons, who have legal debts and less-than-fabulous salaries, afford \$3.8 million? Besides, who buys the first house they see?

Other reports have the Clintons looking elsewhere in Westchester, including Harrison and Croton-on-Hudson. The Democratic mayor of New Rochelle

has invited them to his middle-class city.

And there's still Manhattan to consider.

Wendy Sarasohn, senior vice president of the Corcoran Group, said she thinks Clinton representatives hiding their purpose have been looking at townhouses. And she won't take second place to Westchester on the privacy issue.

``In the city, we become more respectful because we're accustomed to walking down the street and passing celebrities all day long,'' she said.

``Katharine Hepburn lived in a house on 49th Street for years and was a recluse. A Westchester house with guards would have more people gawking. In Manhattan, people get over it.''

**** filed by:APE-(NY) on 07/01/99 at 04:37EDT ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 07/01/99 at 08:51EDT ****

(NOTE: adding dropped words in 5th graf)

(UPI Focus)

Hillary, Giuliani tied in poll

NEW YORK, July 7 (UPI) A poll finds Hillary Rodham Clinton is neck and neck with her likely rival, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, in next year's race for the U.S. Senate.

The Quinnipiac College poll finds Clinton is twice as popular within New York City as the mayor.

The first lady plans to launch her exploratory committee for a Senate run next Tuesday, followed by a four-day upstate trip that will start in Oneota at the home of retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

The poll finds Clinton has lost ground against Giuliani since April 15, when 47 percent of voters supported the first lady and 42 percent supported the mayor.

In the most recent poll, 46 percent favored Clinton and 44 percent favored Giuliani, a statistical dead heat.

The margin of error in the telephone poll of 1,100 voters is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

Clinton's upstate tour will take her to Cooperstown, Utica, and Syracuse before ending Saturday in Albany.

Her office says the trip will kick off the Clinton's ``summer-long listening tour'' that will include weekly swings through much of the state.

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**** filed by:UPI-(us) on 07/01/99 at 05:36EDT ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 07/01/99 at 08:52EDT ****

PM-NY--Mrs Clinton-Medicare,Bjt,445

Mrs. Clinton critiques New York Medicare cuts in president's plan

By SHANNON McCAFFREY= Associated Press Writer=

WASHINGTON (AP) Hillary Rodham Clinton continued her transformation from presidential spouse to possible New York Senate candidate, leveling a delicately-worded shot at a portion of her husband's Medicare plan that could hurt the state's hospitals.

``Mrs. Clinton supports the president's plan, especially the new prescription drug benefit,'' the first lady's campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson said late Wednesday.

``But she's very concerned about the impact the 1997 Balanced Budget Act has had on teaching hospitals and believes they should be protected from potential cuts,'' Wolfson said.

He said Mrs. Clinton ``will closely follow this initiative as it moves through the legislative process with those concerns in mind.''

Mrs. Clinton's comments on the Medicare debate mark her first real foray into an unusual gray area, where she must carve out her own position on policy being pushed by her husband.

New York's world-renowned teaching hospitals, already hurting from funding cuts set in motion by the 1997 Balanced Budget Act, would see those cuts continue for another decade under the sweeping Medicare reform plan the president unveiled Tuesday.

Nationally, the president's plan would slash funding to hospitals by \$39 billion over 10 years. New York state would absorb about \$3.2 billion of those cuts, with \$1.7 billion of them hitting New York City health care facilities.

Sen. Charles Schumer, a Democrat usually closely aligned with the Clinton administration, called the hospital cuts a ``fatal flaw'' in an otherwise brilliant plan. He is scheduled to meet with Clinton administration officials at the White House Thursday to discuss the hospital funding.

Schumer would not say Wednesday whether he would pull his support from the overall plan if the hospital cuts were not removed.

But the Brooklyn Democrat, who has been offering Mrs. Clinton counsel on her likely Senate bid, said he saw no problem in the first lady advocating both for her husband's plan and New York.

``I don't think the two have to be in conflict at this point,'' Schumer said.

But he added that ``as a New York senator she has to protect New York's interest.''

Wolfson said he did not think Mrs. Clinton had played a role in developing the president's Medicare plan. When Clinton first took office, he charged his wife with creating a national health care reform proposal. The resulting plan came under intense criticism and was eventually abandoned.

**** filed by:APE-(NY) on 07/01/99 at 01:41EDT ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 07/01/99 at 08:53EDT ****

PM-NY--Clintons Senate,0230

Adviser: Hillary Clinton will ask prez for campaign advice
With PM-NY--Mrs Clinton-Senate, Bjt

ALBANY, N.Y. (AP) Hillary Rodham Clinton's top political adviser says the first lady will almost certainly seek advice from her husband, the president, as she weighs her run for the Senate from New York.

``Knowing how those two operate, I think she will talk to him about a lot of different ideas, ranging from tactical political considerations to substantive ideas,'' Harold Ickes, a former deputy White House chief of staff, said Wednesday.

``She would be foolish beyond belief not to seek his advice and listen to his advice, given his breadth of knowledge and his political skills,'' said Ickes, who worked on Bill Clinton's 1992 and 1996 presidential campaigns.

Calling the president, ``the best political strategist I have known,'' Ickes cautioned that the president ``will be involved in this campaign to the extent she wants him involved ... This is going to be a Hillary Clinton campaign.''

During Clinton's campaigns for office, in Arkansas and nationally, his wife was always considered a top adviser. The Senate race could turn those tables.

Mrs. Clinton said Wednesday that she would form her Senate exploratory committee next week as she continues to weigh running for the seat being vacated next year by fellow Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

**** filed by:APE-(NY) on 07/01/99 at 01:28EDT ****
**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 07/01/99 at 09:12EDT ****

AM-Clinton, Bjt,600

Clinton: 'No offense' if Gore, Mrs. Clinton disagree with him

By TERENCE HUNT= AP White House Correspondent=

WASHINGTON (AP) Denying reports of friction, President Clinton said Thursday that ``I will take no offense'' if Vice President Al Gore or likely Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton for that matter disagrees with him in the heat of political campaigning.

``It would be a dreary world indeed if we all agreed on everything,'' the president said.

He claimed to be ``frankly bewildered'' by recurring stories that he is hurt and angry that Gore has distanced himself on questions of Clinton's moral character and ``the wasted time'' of the long impeachment ordeal.

Clinton complimented Gore as the most experienced Democratic candidate for president in terms of foreign policy, arms control and domestic policy ideas that ``have made America a better place.''

The president said, ``I have nothing bad to say'' about former Sen. Bill Bradley, Gore's Democratic rival. But at the same time Clinton did not offer any praise, either.

The president spoke at a news conference with visiting Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in the Old Executive Office Building next to the White House.

Clinton said Texas Gov. George W. Bush, the front-runner for the Republican presidential nomination, would be marching in step with other GOP leaders if he declined to accept federal campaign money and the spending limits that go with it. ``The leadership of the Republican Party in general are unanimously hostile to campaign finance reform,'' the president said. ``They don't believe in it.''

Reports of White House friction have exposed tensions between Clinton's and Gore's staffs as the vice president tries to establish his political identity for the 2000 race. After a series of stories, White House chief of staff John Podesta told Clinton's aides to remain silent if they have a problem about Gore's campaign or an opinion about his relationship with the president.

``I have been frankly bewildered by those reports ... and I honestly do not know what the source of the stories are but they are not in my heart or my mind,'' the president said.

Praising Gore as the only candidate who has stated his views on issues, Clinton gave the vice president a pass to express differences.

``I want him to get out there, and if he disagrees with a decision that I make as president during the next year and a half, then of course he will have to say so, and I will take no offense at that,'' Clinton said.

He said the first lady may have to state publicly where she has disagreed privately with him if she runs for the Senate from New York. ``That's the way democracy works,'' Clinton said.

He left an opening for Mrs. Clinton to disagree with administration-backed Medicare belt-tightening measures that have pinched New York teaching hospitals and other health care providers. Clinton suggested that New York lawmakers and others concerned with the problem should raise their concerns ``because I do think that's a legitimate issue.''

Gore, formally beginning his race for the White House, told Tennessee reporters last month that there have been many occasions when he disagreed with Clinton over the past 6½ years. Clinton said that ``I didn't ask Al Gore to become vice president so that he would agree with me on everything.''

Clinton said of Gore, ``There is nobody in the race who is running or who could run who has had as much experience in as many different ways. ... No one has had anything like that level of experience with that level of positive impact on the people of our country.''

ONCE UPON THE VOYAGE OF STATE
election law. Story. 1B

Sexual abuse effort gets new name

UTICA — Oneida County's effort to help victims of sexual abuse will get a new name: the Child Advocacy Center. It better reflects the agency's role in investigating allegations of sexual abuse and helping victims and their families. Story. 1B

2 village leaders die in June

Former Yorkville Mayor James A. Widtman and New York Mills Trustee Lawrence "Larry" Kupiec were remembered Wednesday as caring, generous men who dedicated their lives to their communities. Story. 3B

KOSOVO



The Associated Press

Milosevic urges unity; bodies found

GNJILANE, Kosovo — U.S. Marine Cpl. Jeff Harrison looks out for snipers Wednesday as he patrols a Serb and Albanian neighborhood in the southern Kosovo city of Gnjilane. While President Slobodan



The Associated Press

Hillary Rodham Clinton and daughter Chelsea watch President Clinton make a statement earlier this week before they boarded Marine One on the South Lawn of the White House. The first lady will journey to Central New York next week, stopping in Utica Thursday.

Hillary Clinton to stop in Utica on upstate swing

olo
7/1/99

①

Public session by first lady is possible

By MEGAN ALLEN
Observer-Dispatch

UTICA — Mohawk Valley residents may get a glimpse of first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton next week as part of the prospective U.S. Senate candidate's summerlong "listening tour."

Clinton will stay overnight in Utica next Thursday as part of a statewide tour, coming on the heels of an exploratory committee she's forming to study a possible run.

A public event to hear residents' concerns is possible, but a spokesman said Wednesday such an event still is being planned.

The stop in Utica is part of Clinton's tour that will take her to every region in the state. It begins Wednesday near Oneonta at the farm of Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, one day after Clinton is expected to file papers to form the exploratory committee. Fellow Democrat Moynihan's retirement

► SOUND OFF TO FIRST LADY

First lady and potential Democratic U.S. Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton will be in Utica July 5, as part of an Upstate New York swing.

Do you have a question, a comment or a message for the first lady?

On the day Clinton comes to the area, the Opinion Page will publish reader questions and comments in the space normally used for letters and columns. In addition, if there are more comments and questions than can be published that day, copies of all messages and questions will be delivered to the first lady or her aides when she comes to town.

A few rules:

► No comments in bad taste will be published or passed along.

► Keep comments and questions less than 150 words so that everyone gets a chance to have a say.

► Everything must be signed, with complete street addresses and phone numbers so we can verify authorship. Anonymous comments will go straight to the garbage.

To participate:

MAIL: Send your comments or questions to: Russ Davis, associate editor, Observer-Dispatch, 221 Criskany Blvd., Utica, NY 13501.

E-MAIL: Send items to: rdavis@utica.gannett.com.

FAX: (315) 792-5033.

DEADLINE: Tuesday.

opens up the seat next year.

"I'm eagerly looking forward to listening to New Yorkers and hearing directly what's on their minds about the issues affecting their families," Clinton said in a statement.

During this first part of her trip, which will run through July 10, Clinton also is expected to visit Oneonta,

Cooperstown, Syracuse and Albany.

A spokesman from Clinton's office said she definitely will stay Thursday evening in Utica at a yet-to-be determined location.

Please see FIRST, 7A

► Hillary Clinton changes first lady's role. 6A

Presidential hopeful Bush coming to Cooperstown

Clinton house-hunting?

The Associated Press

NORTH SALEM — The possible sighting of what might have been Secret Service agents on a rural road in Westchester added fuel Wednesday to rumors Hillary Rodham Clinton has chosen a new home. Not that the fuel had been running out.

So far, the speculation has been raging like this:

► Clinton plans to buy a house in Westchester. No, wait, she's buying a co-op in Manhattan.

► She's looking in North Salem. No, wait, North Salem's too fancy.

► She's considering the stone lodge that belongs to the man who made David's Cookies. No, wait, she rejected it because it was "too rustic."

► Well, then, she's spending \$3.8 million for an 18-room mansion. The Secret Service was there, so Clinton must have been there, too.

Well, Clinton's not saying much. Marsha Berry, her spokeswoman, said Wednesday Clinton has made no decision on a house and has no favorite she's aware of.

But that's not dampening the speculation about her future home — or keeping people from objecting in advance to her possible arrival in North Salem.

Wednesday, not far from Town Hall, the words "Rudy yes, Hillary no" were hand-lettered on a manila envelope, accompanied by three deflated balloons and attached to a stop sign.

State law says if Clinton runs for the Senate, she has to have a New York residence by Election Day 2000 — 16 months from now, erry said Monday Clinton and her daughter, Chelsea, looked at houses "in the city and the environs." She wouldn't say which houses and wouldn't even confirm Clinton was in Westchester.

First lady's planned visit greeted by cheers and some jeers

Continued from HILLARY, 1A

Area residents have a mixed reaction.

South Utica Madeleine Hunt was excited by the idea of Clinton being in Utica and said she would try to attend any public event.

She also would vote for Clinton if she decides to run for Senate.

"I would vote for her. I like what she stands for, her whole attitude, her whole outlook on things," she said.

North Utica resident Eileen Burdick said she had "nothing

against her coming" to Utica and spoke strongly in favor of Clinton becoming New York's next senator.

"I think it's great. It's time as women did something... I'm sick of men running everything," she said.

But other residents rebelled

against Clinton's visit, and running for Senate, primarily because she doesn't live in New York.

"I really think her interests are not in New York state, I'm sure most people don't think they are," said Virginia Remick of Marcy.

Remick would not try to see

Clinton if the first lady does make a public appearance in Utica. "If she were across the street, I wouldn't," she said.

"She has an awful lot of nerve coming here when she lives in Arkansas," Jenny Luczka of Rome agreed. "She should go back and hide — go back to Arkansas and hide."

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close to the concert plan for Woodstock '99. He about the traffic plan for Woodstock '99. He about the traffic plan for Woodstock '99. He about the traffic plan for Woodstock '99.



but mayor
Woodstock '99

de to a senior citizens group was
ior's choice.

SAITLAND — June 28, 1999,
was Roy Maitland, 2 year old son
of and Kristina Jansen Maitland.
Services will be held at the
and Harper Funeral Home, Inc.,
on Thursday at 1 pm. Interment
Evergreen Cemetery.
Friends may call at the funeral
home from 2-4 and 7-9 pm
Tuesday.

Contributions may be made to the
mas Roy Maitland Scholarship
for the Future Farmers of
America.

ARSTON — Wednesday, June 30,
Carolee J. DeMeranville, wife of
ert J. Arston, Sr., age 87 years.
Funeral services will be held at
the Salvation Army Citadel, Friday
7 am. Burial will be in Evergreen
Cemetery.
Friends may call at the Strong and
Funeral Home, Thursday from
and 7-9 pm.
Contributions in Carolee's memory
be made to the Rome Salvation
Army or Hospice Care, Inc.

In Memoriam
loving memory of brother and
Deirdre R. Crippen taken from
unexpectedly 3 years ago June 30.

Behind our smile lies a tear,
for a man we loved
and lost so dear.
Life goes on, we know that's true,
never the same since losing you.
You always had a smile to share,
time to give, time to care.
Living nature: a heart of gold, you
are the best the world could hold.
We think of you in silence; talk
about you too,
We have lots of loving memories,
but wish we still had you.
Linda and Family

FIN & ALDRIDGE
REAL ESTATE INC.

PRESS VILLAGE — Workers erect the metal structure Development Corp. built that will house newspaper and broadcast reporters of the national and international media during the Woodstock '99 music festival. It's in the parking lot across the street from the Griffies Local

First lady will campaign in Utica

ALBANY (AP) — Utica is on the list of stops when prospective Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton sets off on a four-day "listening tour" across upstate New York, she said today.

"I'm eagerly looking forward to listening to New Yorkers and hearing directly what's on their minds about the issues affecting their families," the first



lady, who has never lived or worked in New York, said in a statement.

Mrs. Clinton also plans to visit Oneonta, Cooperstown, Syracuse and Albany, among other places, during the four-day swing before heading back to Washington on Saturday, July 10. Her exact stops in Utica on July 8 will be announced.

Mrs. Clinton said her summer-long listening tour will take her all across the state. The first four-day foray will cover parts of eastern and central New York and begin with a stop next Wednesday morning at the Oneonta-area farm of the man she may try to replace in the Senate, fellow Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan. He is retiring at the end of next year.

Word on Mrs. Clinton's travel plans and formation of the promised exploratory committee came as a new statewide poll reported her in a statistical dead-end with a potential Republican rival, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani.

Ever since it became clear this spring that Mrs. Clinton was considering a run for the Senate seat, her taxpayer-financed travels to New York have drawn criticism.

A spokeswoman for Mrs. Clinton said Tuesday that the first lady has followed requirements set by the Federal Elections Commission.

"The travel that she made to New York — whether it was on behalf of her role as first lady or for a candidate or a campaign — she was very aware of making sure that she played by the rules put in place by the FEC," Marsha Berry said.

When Mrs. Clinton appears at fund-raising events for other politicians, they are required to reimburse the federal government for part of her travel costs. Her other travel costs have been picked up by taxpayers.

The non-profit Judicial Watch has been a thorn in the side of the president for the five years it has existed, filing repeated lawsuits challenging the Clinton camp's fund raising.

Mrs. Clinton's Senate exploratory committee will allow her to raise money to cover campaign-like expenses, including political travel to New York state.

Aides have already said Mrs. Clinton will continue to use military aircraft because of security recommendations from the Secret Service, but will reimburse the government for her political trips. Taxpayers will pay for her Secret Service protection.

The Quinnipiac College Polling Institute survey found 48 percent of registered voters questioned favoring Mrs. Clinton while 44 percent opted for Giuliani. A May poll from the Hamden, Conn.-based polling institute had Mrs. Clinton the choice of 48 percent of registered voters to 42 percent for Giuliani.

The latest telephone poll of 1,131 registered voters was conducted June 22-28 and has a margin of error of plus or minus 3 percentage points.

Valve maintenance

The Water Department will perform maintenance on valves at the water filtration plant reservoir in Stokes on Thursday, July 1.

Discolored water is not anticipated. However, in the event that discolored water is encountered, customers should flush cold water through their bathtub until clear.

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THE INSIDER

Without license

Add another name to the list of prominent lawyers no longer allowed to practice in Arkansas.

The state Supreme Court Committee on Professional Conduct on June 17 ordered an interim suspension of former Gov. Jim Guy Tucker's license. It acted after a judgment of a federal felony conviction was entered May 21 on the tax avoidance charge to which Tucker pleaded guilty in the White-water investigation.

The committee directed that a disbarment action be filed against Tucker.

See page 3



He is on business in Indonesia and was not immediately reachable for comment on whether he would contest the disbarment.

Loose ends

Speaking of Jim Guy Tucker: News accounts of the Webb Hubbell plea agreement have reported that those pleas wrap up Prosecutor Kenneth Starr's pending work, save a final report. Not true.

Tucker is still appealing his initial fraud conviction, specifically Judge George Howard's ruling that the conviction wasn't tainted by a juror's relationship to a man denied a pardon by Tucker. Tucker is also appealing the \$1 million fine assessed by a judge on the tax avoidance charge. Contesting those appeals will keep somebody, either on Starr's staff or in the Justice Department, occupied for several more months.

She'd seen it before

First Lady Hillary Clinton was slated to attend a Democratic fund-raising special performance of Eugene O'Neill's "The Iceman Cometh" on Broadway with her husband on Monday, but she skipped out in order to do some impromptu house-hunting in the New York City suburbs, disappointing contributors who had paid up to \$50,000 to attend the play and a Supper Club reception afterward with the Clintons.

Mrs. Clinton offered no excuses for missing the benefit performance, and there was a (surprisingly) small amount of press speculation that she might have learned rather late in the game what the play was about, and would have found sitting through it in the president's company too stressful and embarrassing.

It's about a popular fellow who habitually cheats on his wife and abuses her steadfast devotion to him time and again. He's a dirty dog and he knows it, but he can't seem to do anything about it. He comes to feel sorry for her — and out of pity he finally kills her.

After the performance Monday, President Clinton went onstage to thank the cast. Among other things, he said, "Here we are, all reliving our entire family history."

Kevin Spacey, the star of the show, later told reporters, "It's a play that I think everyone sees something of themselves in."

THE WEEK THAT WAS

JUNE 24 - 30, 1999

IT WAS A GOOD WEEK FOR...



WEBB HUBBELL.

The former Justice Department bigshot got little more than a wrist slap in a plea bargain of two pending federal cases. The sweet deals appear to be exit music at last for Whitewater Persecuter Kenneth Starr.

GAY RIGHTS. The state Supreme Court said gay plaintiffs didn't have to first prove damages to challenge the state's anti-sodomy statute, a prohibition on consensual sex all but identical to statutes ruled unconstitutional elsewhere.

POLICE BRUTALITY. A Little Rock cop was acquitted by Judge Butch Hale of assault even though he'd kicked the stuffing out of an unarmed black traffic offender. The cop said multiple kicks were necessary because the downed man had made a motion as if to grab something from his waist. (Or maybe to guard his innards.)

The ARKANSAS REVIEW. The fledgling conservative monthly earned its stripes as an important source of political news, including news unpleasant to its base of readers, with the scoop on Sen. Tim Hutchinson's divorce filing.

IT WAS A BAD WEEK FOR...



LITTLE ROCK.

Police Chief Louie Caudell, who stepped up professionalism (including a no-tolerance policy on brutality) and doubled minority hiring, announced his retirement after 11 comparatively placid years.

SEN. TIM HUTCHINSON. The self-proclaimed family values champion filed for divorce and said he'll take no questions about it. But if he runs again in 2002, he can't hide from questions about the nature of his relationship with a former aide.

LESHOLLINGSWORTH. The state Supreme Court ruled that the Little Rock lawyer should be disbarred, not merely suspended, for converting a client's money to his use.

EDITORIAL

SMART TALK



Pressed

■ You gotta wonder why Hillary Clinton would consider a political career after what her family has been through. And still.

A new book, "The First Partner: Hillary Rodham Clinton," by Joyce Milton paints the First Lady in unflattering terms. It also revives reports that she once hired a private eye to track her husband in Little Rock and banned Barbra Streisand from staying at the White House because of gossip about the singer's visits. The private eye story is a revival of the unsubstantiated account of local dick Ivan Duda, who claims Mrs. Clinton hired him in 1982 to check on Clinton's private life when he was making a comeback run for governor. Mrs. Clinton's spokesman, Marsha Berry, is quoted by the New York Post as dismissing the claim.

False patriotism

■ The same politicians who dare not bruise the Second Amendment cheerfully beat hell out of the First.

Only a few days after refusing to interfere with the gun trade, the U.S. House of Representatives voted to take a bite out of free speech, roundly approving a proposed constitutional amendment to ban flag-burning, a form of political dissent that occurs infrequently and is, at any time, exactly the sort of unpopular expression that the founders of the republic meant to protect. Of the Arkansas representatives, only Vic Snyder opposed the false patriotism of the Flag Desecration Amendment. Marion Berry, Jay Dickey and Asa Hutchinson took the path of political convenience.

Flags are like opinions; every country has one. Other countries don't have the freedom that the American flag represents. It's the freedom, not the fabric, that is precious, and the freedom is flame-proof. At one time, even congressmen learned this simple lesson, but ignorance and factionalism currently prevail.

Partisan justice

■ The federal judiciary went into steep decline when Ronald Reagan began trying to remake it in his own image. The yellow-dog Republicans that Reagan and George Bush appointed have pretty well crippled the notion of impartial justice in the federal courts. Democratic appointees to the bench feel compelled to recuse when politically touchy issues come before them; Republican appointees do not. Some of the Reagan-Bush gang eagerly collaborated with Special Prosecutor Kenneth Starr, who has been the very worst example of what happens when you unloose a partisan terrorist in the justice system. Even many Republicans were appalled.

Under the circumstances, it requires considerable gall to propose a further institutionalization of party politics in the courts, but the Republican National Committee is equal to the challenge. It has more gall and money both than brains. The RNC is backing the formation of a new group, the Republican Attorneys General Association, to elect more Republican attorneys general. The deal is that in exchange for handsome campaign contributions, Republican attorneys general will indulge polluters, tobacco companies, telemarketers, stock swindlers and various other predators. Some public servants, huh? Look for the RNC to propose a Republican Supreme Court Justices Association next. Cheers for Arkansas Attorney General Mark Pryor, who has blown the whistle on this genteel form of extortion. "We are the attorneys for our respective states, not hacks for our political parties," Pryor has written. Kenneth Starr would find Mark Pryor hopelessly old-fashioned. ☹

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Beyond the City

Take Your Best Shot Attack me if it'll help, Bill tells Hil

By KENNETH R. BAZINET
Daily News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON

President Clinton, with a rueful grin, yesterday gave his wife permission to take her best shot at him if it helps her get elected to the Senate.

The President gave the same flogging rights to embattled Vice President Gore.

Clinton offered himself up as a target for his wife and former running mate, at times speaking seriously and at moments chuckling over the prospect.

Referring to the First Lady's expected New York Senate race, Clinton said, "Some of the disagreements that we've had in the past over decisions I've made as President she may be constrained to state publicly because they'll be relevant to the future."

With a smile, Clinton added: "And that's the way democracy works."

The President — aware that his wife is under pressure to oppose his Medicare cuts because of the millions they would cost New York teaching hospitals — even invited criticism.

"I would encourage the senators from New York or anyone else who's concerned about this to bring those concerns," Clinton said.



Applewhite AP
Friendly Fire: The First Couple

The First Lady took him up on the offer almost immediately, sitting in on a meeting of top administration officials and siding with a delegation of New York officials lobbying to ease the Medicare cuts.

"The First Lady had talked about how she had long fought for teaching hospitals in New York and around the country and expressed a desire to help us solve this problem," said Sen. Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.).

Dennis Rivera, president of the powerful Local 1199 health-care workers union, said, "The First Lady being at the meeting was quite a lift for us."

In another race that has the President at odds with a political ally and friend, Clinton said he "will take no offense" when Gore disagrees with his policies.

"It would be a dreary world, indeed, if we all agreed on everything. And I didn't ask Al Gore to become vice president so that he would agree with me about everything," Clinton said.

The President dismissed the idea that he is miffed at Gore over attempts to distance himself from the President and the scandals that have plagued the administration.

"And I honestly do not know what the source of the stories are, but they are not in my heart or my mind," Clinton said.

The President delivered a light jab at Democratic presidential hopeful Bill Bradley, saying he has yet to spell out why he wants to be President.

But he held off making the same statement about his wife, who also has yet to state why she thinks she would be a solid choice for U.S. senator from New York.

[See our special on the Senate race.](#)

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NEW YORK POST

NEWS

BILLY CLUB: PREZ INVITES HILL TO SLAM HIS POLICIES

By BRIAN BLOMQUIST and GREGG BIRNBAUM

President Clinton gave wife Hillary the green light yesterday to blast him on the issues - if that's what it takes to boost her Senate campaign in New York.

"If my wife decides to run for senator from New York, then some of the disagreements that we've had in the past over decisions I've made as president she may be constrained to state publicly, because they'll be relevant to the future," he said at a press conference with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

Marsha Berry, the First Lady's spokeswoman, said she didn't know if Hillary had any previously unknown disagreements with her husband that she wanted to get off her chest.

Nor did the First Lady come out against the president's new plan to zap New York hospitals to the tune of \$3.2 billion, although in an about-face, she decided yesterday to attend a meeting at the White House called by New Yorkers who oppose the hospital cuts.

Mrs. Clinton didn't plan to attend the White House meeting until Sen. Charles Schumer (D-N.Y.) called her yesterday and asked her to go, sources said.

But after the meeting, Mrs. Clinton didn't join Schumer in opposing the cuts, which are part of her husband's Medicare plan. Asked if Mrs. Clinton is against the cuts, Berry said, "She has not indicated that - no."

Berry added: "She indicated her long-standing interest in this issue ... She wants to work with these folks."

The president's plan has many reforms that Schumer and other Democrats applaud, but it

[CLICK HERE](#)*Next Card*

AM-Mrs Clinton Senate, 1st Ld-Writethru, a0584,770

Democrats urge Mrs. Clinton to escape White House cocoon

Eds: Subs 16th graf pvs, This week's ..., to CORRECT by eliminating reference to NYC suburbs, which are not included in Mrs. Clinton's itinerary this week.

By MARC HUMBERT= Associated Press Writer=

ALBANY, N.Y. (AP) Hillary Rodham Clinton will have to ``get out from under the cocoon of the White House'' and reach out to ordinary New Yorkers if she hopes to win the Senate seat being vacated by retiring Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Democratic strategists in New York say.

Mrs. Clinton planned to file papers Tuesday with the Federal Election Commission in Washington establishing an exploratory committee for a Senate run. That will allow Mrs. Clinton to raise and spend money for a Senate race.

The first lady, who has visited the state frequently in the past few months, will officially kick off her exploratory campaign Wednesday. The first stop in what aides are describing as a summer-long ``listening tour'' is Moynihan's farm near Oneonta, where he is expected to offer encouraging words.

``The listening tour will put her face-to-face with New Yorkers in small settings,'' said Howard Wolfson, a spokesman for Mrs. Clinton's political organizations.

Democratic strategists say that's just what she has to do.

``She has to get out from under the cocoon of the White House and the president,'' said William Cunningham, a former campaign manager for Moynihan.

``She has to do it herself,'' former state Democratic Chairman John Marino said. ``It's time now to have the friends and advisers shut up.''

``She doesn't need to spend time and I say this with all due respect as a former state chairman with people like us. She needs to spend time with people who are Democrats and independents and Republicans; who have kids in schools, parents who are sick and need care, and who worry about taxes.''

But that might be difficult given the horde of 200 reporters, including television crews from Europe and Asia, who are expected to trail Mrs. Clinton around the state.

To accommodate the journalists, a large wooden platform was constructed on the bucolic Moynihan farm.

Mrs. Clinton spent Monday in Orlando, Fla., where she received an award from the National Education Association.

She would be the first lady to run for public office. She is not expected to have any opposition in the Democratic primary. On the Republican side, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani has already formed a Senate exploratory committee and raised almost \$3 million. Rep. Rick Lazio also is considering a race for the GOP nomination.

Republicans are quick to raise the ``carpetbagger'' issue. Mrs. Clinton has never lived nor worked in New York, but aides say she is looking for a New York residence.

There are other handicaps facing a first lady seeking to get in touch with the public.

``She's going to have to somehow or other break through that Secret Service cocoon and show that she's not just the great lady,'' Maurice Carroll, head of the Quinnipiac College Polling Institute, explained.

This week's four-day visit takes Mrs. Clinton into the heart of Republican strength, upstate New York.

She will be met in Binghamton by Republicans staging a contest that offers a weekend at a resort in the Adirondack Mountains for whoever shows up in the best fly costume. That is designed to remind voters of a New York Daily News report two weeks ago quoting an unidentified adviser to the first lady saying she wouldn't be vacationing this year in the ``fly-infested Adirondack Park.''

Cunningham said that because of Giuliani's strength in the politically crucial suburbs, Mrs. Clinton must try to cut into the traditionally strong GOP upstate vote.

``This might be an honest-to-God retail campaign,'' said Carroll. ``You might see because of the length of the campaign and the fact that both are

celebrities that they may have to reach out and go to people one-on-one.''

While Mrs. Clinton is expected to run well in traditionally Democratic New York City, it is in the suburban counties around the city where she could meet her electoral Waterloo.

``Giuliani is unbelievably strong in the suburbs,''

Marino said. ``The people who live out there like what's happened in the city,''

Cunningham explained. ``If she is going to a quality-of-life campaign which is what the (suburban) soccer mom thing was all about he's the guy who made quality of life the watchword in New York City.''

Perhaps to counter Giuliani's suburban strength, Mrs. Clinton is said to be looking at homes in Westchester County just north of the city. She has already rented office space in Manhattan.

**** filed by:APE(--) on 07/05/99 at 14:51EDT ****
**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 07/05/99 at 14:55EDT ****

PM-NY--Mrs Clinton Senate,735

First lady preparing pre-candidacy tour of New York amid criticism

By H. JOSEF HEBERT= Associated Press Writer=

WASHINGTON (AP) Hillary Rodham Clinton embarks this week on a get-acquainted tour across upstate New York as critics question her seeking a Senate seat from a state in which she has never lived.

The carpetbagger charge carried across the television talk show circuit Sunday as the first lady's supporters and critics debated her almost-certain bid to replace retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan in the 2000 election.

On CBS' ``Face the Nation,' ' Sen. Mitch McConnell, R-Ky., brought along a carpet bag and pulled out items he said he wanted to give Mrs. Clinton, including a map of New York to ``help her find her way around her adopted state.' '

``It's not as if she's living in a different country. She knows New York state,' ' Geraldine Ferraro, a former Democratic vice presidential candidate and New York congresswoman, retorted on ``ABC's This Week.' '

A likely Republican opponent, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, also has made note of Mrs. Clinton's lack of a New York address, although she is said to be looking for a house in suburban Westchester County.

Giuliani, an avid New York Yankees fan, recently made a point of attending a Cubs game in Mrs. Clinton's native Chicago and joked that he was thinking of announcing exploratory campaign committees in Illinois and Arkansas, Mrs. Clinton's adopted home state. The first lady, a longtime Cubs fan, became a Yankees rooter when she began seriously considering the New York Senate race.

Recent polls have shown her and Giuliani head-to-head in popularity in the state.

But Giuliani may have other problems. Republican Rep. Rick Lazio signaled he has every intention of vying for the Senate seat, saying on NBC's ``Meet the Press' ' that he will announce in the next two months that he will be in the race. He did not reject the possibility of a conservative third-party try if he loses the GOP nomination.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Clinton was expected to announce Tuesday she is forming a formal campaign exploratory committee for the Senate seat. The next day she begins her four-day tour of upstate New York, stopping first at Moynihan's farm.

``I don't have any doubt that she's going to mount a campaign and she's going to win,' ' Rep. Charles Rangel, D-N.Y., said on NBC.

Rangel said Mrs. Clinton's candidacy will bring out voters and ``there's no downside at all.' '

More than 200 reporters were expected to tag along on Mrs. Clinton's tour.

``It's going to be a huge spectacle ... a lot of big hoopla. She's not going to be able to meet people and have an exchange,' ' former Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, R-N.Y., predicted on ``Fox News Sunday.' '

Mrs. Clinton's expected candidacy is forcing even longtime veterans of New York politics onto unfamiliar ground.

Questions have been raised about her use of government aircraft and aides and other assets paid for by taxpayers. Republican Party chairman Jim Nicholson says \$220,000 in public funds has been used in connection with her 12 trips to New York so far this year.

The Secret Service has insisted that Mrs. Clinton continue to use U.S. Air Force planes in her travel because of security. Some White House staffers who have helped Mrs. Clinton in her Senate plans have said they have done so on their own time. The new campaign exploratory committee, in part, will raise money to pay future c

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For First Lady, A Controversy In Plane Terms

Possible N.Y. Bid Redraws Line Between Official, Political Roles

By John F. Harris
 Washington Post Staff Writer
 Saturday, July 3, 1999; Page A01

When first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton flies to Upstate New York Wednesday to formally begin her Senate exploratory campaign, she'll be riding on the first big controversy of the nascent campaign: a gleaming blue-and-white Air Force passenger jet.

A candidacy without precedent is raising murky ethical questions. The first lady's military travel -- which White House officials say is a security requirement and Republicans are protesting as an illegitimate government subsidy -- is only the most prominent example.

Aides to the first lady say they have been studying long-established rules about what political activities are allowed by White House employees. Soon, they say, her staff will have separate phones, fax lines and computers at the White House to be used exclusively for political work, so as not to run afoul of Hatch Act prohibitions on using federal resources for campaign purposes. The same thing was done during President Clinton's reelection campaign in 1996.

"It's unprecedented that we have a first lady [exploring a candidacy], but it is not unprecedented that we have these rules to be followed," said Melanne Verveer, the first lady's chief of staff. "The framework is there . . . and we have to apply it appropriately."

Once her exploratory campaign is underway, the first lady and some of her entourage will reimburse the government for political travel at a rate equal to a first-class fare. But GOP critics and some public interest groups note correctly that this is only a fraction of the costs incurred.

Many of the questions her candidacy raises cannot be resolved by installing office equipment or writing a check for a plane flight.

The first lady, for instance, joined a White House meeting Thursday with a delegation of New Yorkers upset about Medicare reimbursements for Empire State teaching hospitals. Was she there advocating the interests of taxpayers of all 50 states or the interests of New Yorkers who believe they are entitled to a large slice of the Medicare pie?

Aides to Hillary Clinton said yesterday that she was there

representing concerns about reimbursement held by teaching hospitals nationally, though they acknowledged she attended the meeting at the urging of Sen. Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.). They said she is determined to continue the responsibilities she has taken upon herself as first lady, even as she plans to spend between one-third and half her time over the next couple of months testing the New York waters.

And they vow Clinton will avoid putting the vast resources at her disposal in the role of first lady in the service of her role as likely candidate. But she will begin her explorations next week laboring under criticism that she has already broken this pledge, with the 15 days she has been in New York state this year (12 on her own, three at least in part with her husband).

Republican National Committee Chairman Jim Nicholson said yesterday that these trips were part of a de facto exploratory campaign for which taxpayers were unfairly charged. "It does not look right, it does not smell right; she should reimburse," he said. "She is up there vetting New York and she has been all year, and they don't deny that."

The first lady's office does deny this. Aides said next week will mark her first trip to New York that will be "exploratory" in nature. The majority of her time in New York this year, they said, has been official. And they note that the part of her travel that has been political -- mostly Democratic fund-raisers -- has been reimbursed by the groups that hosted her.

But White House officials declined to say what the amount of reimbursement has been (and said they don't know the total themselves.) The billing procedures for reimbursing official travel -- in which different military and administrative offices send out bills for different parts of the same trip -- make it hard to calculate this figure, according to the officials.

These officials yesterday disclosed for the first time the proportion of the first lady's 1999 New York travel that was deemed by White House lawyers to be political versus official. Cumulatively, for the 12 days she traveled without the president, the White House figures show that just shy of 70 percent of her time was spent ostensibly on official business.

Different days had different proportions. On April 22, Hillary Clinton addressed an award ceremony for a teachers union in Niagara Falls, an event deemed 100 percent official. A trip June 9-10 took her to a public school in New York City (official) and a fund-raiser in Binghamton for Rep. Maurice D. Hinchey (political). The breakdown of the trip was 55 percent official, 45 percent political. The Hinchey campaign was billed for 45 percent of the travel costs of the trip.

Under Federal Election Commission rules, the first lady's appearances on behalf of other candidates must be reimbursed at coach travel rates for herself and some staff. Once she becomes an exploratory candidate, she must reimburse at first-class rates. And she is no longer allowed to allocate costs between official business and political. If even a part of a trip is political, she must reimburse for

the whole thing; traveling staff will still be able to allocate their costs.

No one at the White House asserts that these reimbursement rates even begin to pay for the actual costs. While two or three political aides who travel with her must reimburse, other personnel -- including Secret Service agents and Air Force staff -- who accompany her are always deemed official. And even first-class reimbursement is a pittance compared with the actual cost of flying either of the two jets she usually uses. A C-9 jet, similar to a civilian DC-9, costs \$2,141 per hour to fly, said Sgt. Rick Corral, a spokesman for Andrews Air Force Base. A smaller C-20, an executive jet, costs even more: \$4,059 per hour.

Nicholson and other Republicans flew around New York (on a chartered plane that cost \$10,000 for the day) Thursday to highlight a GOP study estimating that the first lady has spent \$220,000 in travel in 1999. Among those who helped prepare the study was Billy R. Dale, the former White House travel office director fired in a shake-up encouraged by the first lady in 1993.

Nicholson said there is no reason that the first lady, unlike the president or vice president, cannot fly on a plane she charts, big enough for the Secret Service to fly along: "She can be adequately secured on [charter] planes." He added that it is a "tremendous advantage" for her to fly on the military planes, allowing her to avoid the cost of planes that other New York candidates routinely use.

Unlike the president, the first lady is able to decline Secret Service protection or use of Air Force planes if she wants to, said Secret Service spokesman Jim Mackin. But he added: "That would be against our strongest recommendations."

Charles Lewis, head of the Center for Public Integrity, said that if the first lady travels on military jets, she should reimburse for the entire cost. He urged a thorough accounting of how costs have been reimbursed to date: "That information exists and it should be made available."

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ISO: An Empire State Building

Where Will Hillary Clinton's Housing Search Lead Her?

By Michael Powell
 Washington Post Staff Writer
 Monday, July 5, 1999; Page C01

So where's the first lady, that soon-to-be New Yorker, to live?

It's a tough one. Because let's be real: She's already got a deal New Yorkers would die for. Big place, lots of square feet, closets, parquet floors, and very rent-controlled. With cooks, butlers, interns . . . scratch that last. But she's not waking up to a garbage truck clanking outside the White House, either.

She's not getting that kind of deal in Ozone Park, Queens, okay?

So Clyde Rabideau suggests Plattsburgh.

As in, a working-class lakeside city about 18 minutes from the Canadian border. Rabideau, who is Plattsburgh's mayor, has her orientation tour set. He's starting the first lady early, in rubber waders, him and her angling for lake trout.

"Then we'll bag a 46er, and I'll explain to her what a 46er is." (FYI: One of 46 black-fly-infested Adirondack Mountains that stand 4,000 feet or higher.)

"After that we'll eat a few Michigans." (A hot dog slathered in Italian meat sauce, named for the Michigan couple who "invented" this "delicacy.")

And then? Slip on the dancing shoes, honey, and stroll to the Naked Turtle.

"We'll suck Genesee beer and dance to Jimmy T and the Cobras. And because I'm a party mayor we're going 'til the sun rises over the Green Mountains. If that's all too much for her, if that doesn't beat the hell out of Arkansas, she always can go . . ."

Here our mayor pauses rather dramatically.

" . . . back to someplace really tame like SoHo or southern Manhattan."

So much advice, so little time to choose. Navigating the geopolitics of New York real estate isn't easy when your choice of home could affect your chances of getting elected to the Senate. Upstate tends not to like downstate, and vice versa. And the vote is split evenly between the two.

Right now, Hillary Rodham Clinton's exploratory committee has rented office space in Manhattan's Garment District. And rumor has her house-hunting in Westchester, a northern suburb of New York City. Manhattanites understand, sort of.

"The really super place where she'd looooooove to live is Manhattan, of course," says Cindy Adams, the New York Post gossip columnist. "No one rushes to get a place in . . . in [Oh, God, how bad would this be] . . . Staten Island . . ."

But, alas, Adams knows how those unfortunates who live between 96th Street and the Canadian border tend to look at Manhattan. Too liberal, too gay, too ritzy . . . and besides: "Most Manhattan co-ops won't let the Secret Service agent eat takeout Chinese in the hallway."

So, Adams decides, Hillary will live in Westchester. "She's 45 minutes from the hairdresser in Manhattan, and he's 45 minutes from the airport that takes him to Arkansas and his library and his whatever."

Former mayor Ed Koch has lived this headache before: He runs for governor in 1982, and he's the favorite until he yaks to Playboy magazine about gingham dresses and milking cows and the incredible boredom of farms and life upstate. Next thing he knows, Mario Cuomo, the 4-H guy from Queens, is governor.

"I suggest she get an apartment in the middle of the state near some cows and some hay, and a pied-a-terre in Greenwich Village so she can have dinner," Koch says, "with me."

Then there's always the outer boroughs. Queens council member John Sabini has just the place.

Elmhurst, Queens. Zip Code 11373: the most demographically diverse Zip Code in the world, as determined by a conclave of demographers. Heaven for a Wellesley-educated wonk, as there's not a world issue she will not be expected to have an opinion on.

"We have pro- and against-KGB factions of an Armenian church rumbling in the street, we have Pakistanis and Indian insurrections, and when the world cup of cricket pops up, she needs to know exactly where she stands," Sabini says. "Everyone runs around screaming in 14 different languages. It's a perfect New York neighborhood."

And that brings the first lady to language, accent and 'tude, which are first cousins to real estate in New York. Settle in Plattsburgh, and she'd better know what those Montreal families are saying when they sidle up and ask: "Ou est la plage?" (Where is the beach?)

"Just say, 'Ahhh, mais oui. La, a droit (Oh yeah. Over there, on the right),' " advises Mayor Rabideau. "Don't worry, I'll teach her."

Down south in New York City, bada-bing, que pasa, and a Yiddish insult or two can't hurt. As in: "Yo, Giuliani, why don't youse stop acting like a Grade A putz?"

And in Elmhurst, land of 1,000 languages? "You learn to do it with your hands," says Sabini.

But enough of life in that island archipelago at the state's southern tip. The first lady already has laid a sentimental claim to Elmira. (She says she stayed there as a child. She later amended that to having passed through town in a car, but such, one supposes, is the state of roots in America.)

"Presumably, as she has loooooong roots in Elmira, she knows that we're in the Finger Lakes and it's very hilly and picturesque," says Jane Kelleher, sales manager for Century 21 in Elmira. "Traffic is lighter than Manhattan and I could get her a nice Victorian for not more than \$200,000.

"Tell her to give a call."

Then there's Albany, a wonky capital city by a river with pretty homes surrounding a lot of really boring official architecture. Sound familiar? Another problem: The city's ancestral and powerful Democratic Party machine is religious in its observance of the political pecking order.

"Her ward heeler will recognize her talent," says Dan Lynch, chief columnist for the Albany Times-Union. "But he's going to want to try her out on the city council first."

So who needs Albany? Or Manhattan and its alternate-side-of-the-street parking? Westchester's got those snooty mansions filled with Wall Street geeks. And, truth be told, the "Michigans" in Plattsburgh start repeating on you after a while.

Why not settle in Allegany? It's in western New York, and it's real small. One traffic light, one moose-crossing sign and a bar called the Hickey run by a guy named Lou. He makes shakers of kamikaze shots for \$10.

And once Lou gets to know the first lady, after she's limped in from a hard day of campaigning and put a few quarters in the jukebox and gets that whiskey growl . . . y'know, he just might let her have the extra-special, 11-shot shaker.

Now is that New York living, or what?

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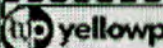
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International Spotlight: EGYPT

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

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.

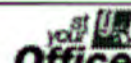
These are not isolated events; they are part of a systemic health care crisis. Clinton offers useful, but partial, fixes. Will any of the presidential hopefuls step up and address the whole problem?

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Sunday In The Loop

By Al Kamen

Sunday, July 4, 1999; Page W02

It's All In The Name

Street-naming -- in addition to name-calling -- is often a valuable tool of diplomacy. At the height of the Cold War in the '80s, for instance, Ronald Reagan's administration changed the name of 16th Street NW in front of the Soviet Embassy to Sakharov Plaza, to honor the valiant dissident Andrei Sakharov and to stick it to the commies.

Now comes word from Lagos, Nigeria, that the street in front of the U.S. Embassy there has been named for former ambassador Walter Carrington, an outspoken opponent of the brutal military rulers who ran Nigeria from 1993 to 1997. Carrington openly backed Nigerian pro-democracy groups and criticized strongman Gen. Sani Abacha, often in sharper terms than U.S. officials tend to use.

Abacha's government, in turn, accused Carrington of collusion in unexplained bombings of military targets in Nigeria. In September 1997, as Carrington was ending his tour, police stormed a reception for him organized by Nigerian human rights activists. They ordered everyone out and threatened to shoot one person who resisted.

But then Abacha died. Recently Nigeria inaugurated a new, democratically elected civilian government headed by President Olusegun Obasanjo, and Carrington was invited to attend as a special government guest. Newspapers published laudatory articles about Carrington. Our man in Lagos, James Rupert, reports that ordinary Nigerians, like a hotel bartender, stopped Carrington as he was leaving the hotel one night and said, "Thank you, sir, for all those things you did for Nigeria during those days."

So now the street is named Carrington. It had been named for Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan. That was the military government's response when, in early 1998, New York City named a street corner for assassinated Nigeria dissident Kudirat Abiola.

New York State Of Mind

Long before first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton got serious about running for the Senate, it was clear that her carpetbagging status was going to be an issue. But some Clinton backers early on had checked into New York's history of voting for nonnative New Yorkers and calculated that, of the state's 57 senators since the Founding Fathers, more than one-third were not born there.

Way back in colonial times, of course, when Sen. Charles Dudley of Staffordshire, England, was in office and senators were not popularly elected, it would have been difficult to find native-born folks for such jobs.

But even in more recent days, in addition to the oft-talked-about 1964 election of Robert F. Kennedy, New Yorkers have been tolerant about voting for people born not only out-of-state but in foreign countries.

For example, former Sen. Robert Wagner was born in Germany. And the venerable cowboy himself, Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who's giving up the seat Hillary Clinton is focusing on, was born in Tulsa, Okla.

Of course most nonnatives at least went to school in New York or lived there before running for office. On the other hand, Clinton has seen some Broadway shows.

The Unfiltered Truth

When President Clinton arrived in Washington in early 1993, he pledged to go over the heads of the media elite, to speak directly to the American people. This was part of the typical political whining about how reporters "distort" what the politicians say because they don't repeat verbatim the political spin -- meaning wholesale contradictions, gibberish, deceptions big and small, etc.

Clinton, using town meetings, wanted to have what some called the "talk show presidency." Well, it didn't exactly work for Clinton, but no matter. Now, the Republicans are exhorting their own to try similar maneuvers. We recently got an e-mail from Marnie Funk at the Republican National Committee about something called "RNC Talk Radio Rounds."

"To break through the Washington media filter, RNC Chairman Jim Nicholson has updated our radio studio to do 'Radio Rounds' with members," Funk reported. "This vehicle allows us to reach millions of voters each morning -- and take our message straight to the American people."

The RNC will schedule radio interviews during morning-drive talk shows with local and national networks. "WHY?" Funk wrote. "The media elite inside the Beltway doesn't always give Republicans a fair shot to get their message to the American people. RNC Radio Services provides a no-cost way to smash through the media filter and talk directly with the American people."

Sure. A couple mornings on Imus or Howard Stern and the Republicans will come crawling, begging to be filtered.

Tips and comments for Al Kamen's column are welcomed at: In the Loop, The Washington Post, 1150 15th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20071, or by e-mail at Loop@washpost.com. Please include home and work phone numbers.



Associated Press

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton talks during the AFL-CIO Ask a Working Woman forum in May at Buffalo State College, New York.

First lady files papers, opens 'listening tour'

Campaign starts today at Moynihan's farm

BY JANE FULLERTON
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

WASHINGTON — The improbable-turned-presumptive candidacy of Hillary Rodham Clinton moved one step closer to reality Tuesday as she filed the paperwork necessary to begin officially exploring a U.S. Senate race in New York.

With that formality out of the way, the first lady will begin her first campaign swing — a four-day "listening tour" — this morning at the upstate New York farm of the man she hopes to replace, retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

"She's going to listen, listen, listen for the next several weeks and throughout the next several months before making a final decision," said Lisa Caputo, the first lady's former press secretary, who remains a close adviser.

With her campaign organization See **SENATE**, Page 9A

Senate

Continued from Page 1A

ing shape — officials have rented office space in Manhattan — Hillary Clinton will likely make several trips to New York over the summer.

"This morning we filed a statement of organization with the Federal Election Commission to establish the Hillary Rodham Clinton for U.S. Senate Exploratory Committee," her spokesman, Howard Wolfson, told reporters outside the commission's headquarters.

The action allows the first lady to begin raising and spending money for a potential campaign for the Democratic nomination. She is the only Democrat actively considering the race.

Her likely opponent would be New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who has already formed a Senate exploratory committee and raised nearly \$3 million. But he could face a primary challenge from Rep. Rick Lazio, a Long Island Republican.

The first lady has begun to come under criticism for her frequent trips to New York this year as she mulls over whether to get into the Senate race. Republicans, including Giuliani, questioned her use of Air Force planes for what appeared to be largely political trips.

Her staff insisted that her appearances were primarily part of her official duties as first lady and, therefore, appropriately funded by taxpayers. When she makes appearances for other candidates or at political fund raisers, a portion of the bill is borne by the Democratic Par-

ty. Like the president and vice president, the first lady travels on military aircraft at the behest of the Secret Service.

But now a portion of those costs for political trips can be paid by the exploratory committee.

Coverage of Tuesday's filing illustrated the kind of scrutiny the first lady will receive as she sets out to campaign for herself for the first time. While the formality of filing a single page of paper took just five minutes — an action undertaken by countless candidates that rarely attracts media attention — some 15 television cameras were there to record the event.

And Hillary Clinton wasn't even there. Aides filed the paperwork, and the first lady had no public appearances.

As Hillary Clinton begins campaigning today — a full 16 months before votes will be cast and before anyone has officially been declared a candidate — she will be followed by a presidential-size media entourage of 200 American and foreign journalists.

But her advisers insist that the first lady can handle the scrutiny, even from the New York tabloids and the talk shows that feed off them.

"After what she's been through for eight years in the White House, she's ready for anything," Caputo said. "She has the mental toughness, savvy and passion that it would take to run for the Senate from New York."

For now, what Hillary Clinton will be doing, Wolfson said, is embarking on "a summer-long listening

tour of New York. ... Over the next month, Mrs. Clinton will travel throughout the state, meeting with New Yorkers in small groups and listening to them discuss the issues that concern them most."

That trek across central and eastern New York begins this morning at the Moynihan farm near Oneonta. It will take her into the heart of Republican country — the upstate area north of New York City.

The Republican National Committee has begun attacking her candidacy, issuing regular press releases questioning her use of government planes and her stance on various issues.

When she visits Binghamton, for instance, Republicans plan to greet her with a contest soliciting the best fly costume — underscoring comments by an unnamed campaign adviser that the Clintons wouldn't be vacationing this year in the "fly-infested Adirondack Park." The prize for the contest's winner: a weekend at a resort in the Adirondack Mountains.

What comes after her summer of campaigning is less clear. The first lady — who has never lived in the Empire State — has been house hunting in the suburban New York area of Westchester County, but she has yet to take out a mortgage.

And aides stress that if Giuliani does draw a Republican challenger for the party's nomination, Hillary Clinton would likely use that opportunity as a respite from the campaign trail.

"You don't want to run an 18-month campaign," said one adviser. "It would behoove her to sit out and let the Republicans duke it out."

PM-Mrs Clinton Senate, Bjt,740

Hillary Clinton sets off on first full-scale campaign foray

Eds: Mrs. Clinton scheduled to arrive in Binghamton 8:15 a.m. EDT with Moynihan, event at 10:15 a.m EDT; will be led

With AP Photo

By MARC HUMBERT= Associated Press Writer=

WEST DAVENPORT, N.Y. (AP) Hillary Rodham Clinton has been to New York a dozen times this year as the nation's first lady, but on today's trip she's a candidate for the Senate.

For her first official campaign appearance, Mrs. Clinton chose the homestead of the man she hopes to succeed, Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. It is the first stop on what aides describe as a summer-long ``listening tour'' of the state.

Her aides said Mrs. Clinton, the first-ever first lady to seek public office, hopes to blunt charges she is a political carpetbagger, having never lived or worked in New York.

With no fanfare, Mrs. Clinton's campaign on Tuesday filed a single page with the Federal Election Commission in Washington, declaring that she had formed a committee to explore a Senate race. That enables her to raise and spend money for political travel, polling and advertising.

Moynihan's decision to retire after 24 years in the Senate cleared the way for her Senate bid.

The race to replace Moynihan is being eyed on the Republican side by New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and two congressmen from Long Island, Rick Lazio and Peter King.

Giuliani formed a Senate exploratory committee in April.

Relations between the Clinton administration and Moynihan have not always been warm.

In 1994, Moynihan became the first Senate Democrat to call for appointment of an independent prosecutor to investigate the Clintons' involvement in the Whitewater real estate venture. Two years later, while criticizing the president's backing of welfare reform legislation, the senator said ``the current batch in the White House ... have only the flimsiest grasp of social reality.''

Mrs. Clinton's decision to visit the Moynihan homestead brought a flurry of activity to the normally placid place. Workmen constructed an outdoor platform to hold the more than 200 reporters and television crews, some from as far away as Asia and Europe.

``Today, we're cleaning out the barn in case it rains tomorrow ... It's full of pigeon guano,' ' the senator's wife, Liz, said on the eve of Mrs. Clinton's arrival.

``It'll be better on Thursday,' ' she added wearily.

Mrs. Clinton's four-day swing through eastern and central New York, a traditional GOP stronghold, has generated enthusiasm from many Democrats. Republicans were poking fun.

``It's the 'I'm-Not-A-Carpetbagger Tour,' ' veteran New York GOP strategist Jay Severin proclaimed.

Recent independent polls, showing Mrs. Clinton either trailing or tied with Giuliani, indicate her political team has its work cut out for it.

A June poll from the Quinnipiac College Polling Institute found that 53 percent of registered voters statewide do not believe Mrs. Clinton understands the issues and problems facing New York, up from 43 percent in a March poll from the Hamden, Conn.-based institute.

Republicans, including Giuliani, have been making much of the fact that Mrs. Clinton is an outsider.

State Assembly Majority Leader Michael Bragman, a Syracuse-area Democrat helping arrange Mrs. Clinton's four-day New York trip this week, said he has told her that it will be a very difficult race in large part because of the carpetbagger issue.

Nonetheless, Bragman said if Mrs. Clinton spends enough time stumping

across the state ``people will tend to forget that she is not a resident'' and she could win. Mrs. Clinton is said to be looking for a place to live, possible in Westchester County outside New York City.

Following her visit with Moynihan, Mrs. Clinton was heading for Oneonta to discuss education issues with a group of local residents at the State University of New York campus. Aides said there would be a number of other stops throughout the day that would give Mrs. Clinton a chance to talk spontaneously with New Yorkers.

Later this month, Mrs. Clinton plans to visit the politically crucial suburbs surrounding heavily Democratic New York City.

Severin, the GOP strategist, said Republicans should attack Mrs. Clinton for using the New York Senate race as ``a stepping stone to run for president.'' He said if Vice President Al Gore loses in 2000 and Mrs. Clinton wins ``anybody who says she's not the front-runner (for the 2004 presidential nomination) is out of their mind.''

**** filed by:APE(--) on 07/07/99 at 01:28EDT ****
**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 07/07/99 at 08:18EDT ****

AP-Daybook-UPDATE-Wed-TV The Associated Press

AP DAYBOOK, WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, JULY 7

UPDATE: Fox News Channel -----

FOX NEWS CHANNEL

10 p.m. Discussion of Hillary Rodham Clinton's Senate bid, with Rep. Jerrold Nadler, D-N.Y., former Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, former Clinton Communications Director Don Baer, others.

**** filed by:APE-(DC) on 07/07/99 at 12:52EDT ****
**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 07/07/99 at 13:02EDT ****

THE-O'REILLY-FACTOR-01
Hillary Clinton Candidacy
xpdfx THE-O'REILLY-FACTOR-01

Show: THE O'REILLY FACTOR>

Date: July 6, 1999>

Time: 20:00>

Tran: 070601cb.256>

Type: Show>

Head: Hillary Clinton Candidacy>

Sect: News; Domestic>

Byline: Bill O'Reilly>

Guest: Lanny Breuer>

Spec: Government; Politics; Elections>

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BILL O'REILLY, HOST: Hi. I'm Bill O'Reilly. Thank you for watching us tonight.

Well, it is official. Hillary Clinton has filed with the Federal Election Commission and has established an exploratory committee that could lead to a Senate run here in New York. But Mrs. Clinton is having a tough place finding -- tough time, I should say, finding a place to live, and that's the subject of this evening's Talking Points memo.

According to reports, Mrs. Clinton has budgeted \$10,000 a month for rent. Ten large. But the place she likes costs \$20,000 a month, and according to CBS News, she's told friends she's astounded at the cost of living in downstate New York.

Welcome to the land of high taxes, Mrs. Clinton. Your philosophy has led New York State into a tax zone that's truly frightening, and that is one of the reasons it costs so much to find a place to live here.

The area in Westchester County where Mrs. Clinton is looking routinely has property taxes of \$40,000 a year, if you can believe it. That, of course, drives up the rent. In addition, you will pay a state income tax, a sales tax of about 8 percent, a New York City commuter tax that has just been declared unconstitutional, and taxes on almost everything else you want or need, like gasoline, heating oil, telephone, on and on and on and on.

Under Democratic Governor Mario Cuomo, taxes in New York actually choked the economy here to death, as large corporations fled to places like Texas and New Jersey.

Mrs. Clinton should be aware that Democratic administrations have taxed New York citizens to the brink, and that's one of the reasons she is experiencing sticker shock while seeking a place to live.

Now I don't favor any party, but if you're going to run for the Senate in a state, you should know what's going on here. High rents and high taxes are a major problem for the people of the New York State, most of whom do not have \$10,000 a month to spend on rent.

Talking Points believes that Mrs. Clinton will enliven New York State politics, if she decides to run, but she'll be in for plenty of surprises, and if she's going to hang out here, she'd better bring lots of money.

And that's the memo. Now for the top story this evening. A rare TV appearance by the former special counsel to President Clinton, Lanny Breuer, who represented Mr. Clinton during impeachment. Counselor Breuer is now a partner at the law firm of Covington (ph) & Burling (ph) and joins us from Washington, D.C.

I'm -- you know, I am one of the few people on earth -- there are a couple of other commentators, Rush Limbaugh being one of them -- who -- who still doesn't believe Hillary Clinton is going to run for the Senate, but, if she does, I just don't know why she wants to put herself through this. Do you have any theory on that?

LANNY A. BREUER, FORMER SPECIAL COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think Mrs. Clinton has devoted a lifetime really to helping folks and being really part of the public sector, and I think she's decided at this time in her life that one way that she may really be able to work on the issues she cares about, help the people of New York, and help the people of the United States is through the United States Senate. I think Mrs. Clinton has proved she's committed and she's tough. She's willing to be involved in a tough race, and I think she thinks right now that this is the best way or maybe the best way for her...

O'REILLY: Well, obviously...

BREUER: ... to affect change.

O'REILLY: That's the way she's looking at it, but to me -- I'm saying to myself, ``She's coming into New York, which is the roughest, toughest media place in the world.'' She's also coming into a state that she has no idea -- she really -- she has no idea what this state's all about as issued by her problems trying to find a place to live, and, I mean, \$10,000 is an enormous amount of money. We know that she needs a place which -- with security. She needs things that other people don't have, and she should have that. She can't be living in a neighborhood where anybody can come up and knock on the door. That would put herself in danger, and we respect that, but I do not believe Mrs. Clinton understands New York State, nor should she. So my question is why didn't she delay it for a few years and then run in Illinois or Arkansas where she really knows the turf?

BREUER: Well, Bill, I guess I don't accept your premise. I'm a lifelong New Yorker, grew up there, went to school there, worked there. I think Mrs. Clinton understands New York really well. I think she spent a -- a lifetime now in the public sector, has spent countless days and weeks and months over the years in New York. I think she understands New York well, and I'll give you New York's a hard place right now to find an apartment or a house, but I bet she'll be able to do it. I think New Yorkers respect her. They respect someone who knows the issues. They respect someone who's willing to fight the hard fight for people, and I think she'll do a great job, and I think she...

O'REILLY: All right. Well, we'll see, you know, but the -- the wildcard

here, Counselor, is that the media is going to really let her have it. Most of the media. There will be a few friendlies, but most of the media -- just because they're contentious and because it sells papers and it sells talk radio and television programs like mine, they're going to let her have it. Whether it's fair or not doesn't matter. So I'm saying to myself, ``After she went through the Lewinsky ordeal, after she's been through so much, why does she want to put herself through this here when she gets a much easier ride in Illinois or Arkansas a couple of years down the pike?''

BREUER: Because Mrs. Clinton really is, whether she lived there or not, in my view, the real New Yorker. She's tough, but she's compassionate and she cares. And you're absolutely right, Bill. The last six years taught Mrs. Clinton how rough and tough the press is, and having been for the last two and a half years in the White House, I can tell you that she knew firsthand how rough she was going to be handled, and I think she has an expectation that the New York press is going to look at her hard, as the New York press looks at everyone hard, but it's a fact of how much she cares about New York, how much she wants to get involved in the public discourse at another level that she doesn't want to wait. She's ready to do it now.

-END-OF-AUTOBREAK(1) -

-AUTOBREAK(2) -FOLLOWS

**** filed by:FDCH(--) on 07/07/99 at 00:38EDT ****
**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 07/07/99 at 08:19EDT ****

FOX-THE-CRIER-REPORT-01
Hillary Clinton Candidacy
xfdx FOX-THE-CRIER-REPORT-01

Show: FOX THE CRIER REPORT>

Date: July 6, 1999>

Time: 22:00>

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Type: Show>

Head: Hillary Clinton Candidacy>

Sect: News; Domestic>

Byline: Catherine Crier>

Guest: Eleanor Clift; Alan Keyes; Allan Lichtman>

Spec: Government; Politics; Elections>

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

CATHERINE CRIER, HOST: Today the first lady moved a step closer to making a run for a Senate seat while her husband continued his tour of the nation's hard-pressed areas. Are the Clintons eying their legacies? Then, presidential hopeful Gary Bauer joins me.

But first a look at the day's headlines.

(NEWS BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

HOWARD WOLFSON, EXPLORATORY COMMITTEE SPOKESMAN: This morning we filed a statement of organization with the Federal Election Commission to establish the Hillary Rodham Clinton for U.S. Senate exploratory committee.

(END VIDEO CLIP)

CRIER: That was first lady spokesman Howard Wolfson saying Mrs. Clinton has filed papers which allow her to raise money for a possible Senate bid. Meanwhile, the president has embarked on a four-day tour designed to encourage private investment in some of the nation's poorest areas. Are the Clintons hoping to redefine their legacy?

Joining me now is conservative commentator and possible presidential contender, Ambassador Alan Keyes; Allan Lichtman, a presidential historian who's head of the history department at American University; and Eleanor Clift, FOX NEWS political analyst and contributing editor at ``Newsweek.'

Welcome to you all.

ELEANOR CLIFT, ``NEWSWEEK,' FOX NEWS POLITICAL ANALYST: Hi.

CRIER: Alan, let me start with you. If it weren't for Hillary Clinton's

politics, would you have an objection to a sitting first lady running for the Senate?

ALAN KEYES, POSSIBLE GOP PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: Well, I think American citizens are perfectly eligible to run for the Senate. I think the people of New York ought to have an objection to somebody who hasn't really lived in or been identified with their state. But in and of itself, why shouldn't the first lady -- the fact that you're first lady doesn't deprive you of your citizenship rights. I think she has a right to run for the Senate or any other office, just like any other American.

CRIER: Eleanor, is there any part of you that -- that clenches just a bit that she's chosen New York, that she's now going to spend the summer cruising around, trying to figure out who her potential constituents are and what they want?

CLIFT: Well, as a native New Yorker -- I was born in Brooklyn and grew up in Queens -- I think that most New Yorkers, many New Yorkers, are flattered by the fact that a sitting first lady would select their state. And apparently, she had concluded that she planned with the president to move to New York after they left the White House anyway. So I think she's going to set up residence or a residence in New York whether she wins this Senate race or not.

CRIER: Allan, what about her style? We are going to see, I expect, a very combative race between she and Giuliani, if those are the two face-off candidates.

ALLAN LICHTMAN, HISTORIAN, AMERICAN UNIVERSITY: You bet. I mean, these are both practitioners of bare-knuckle politics. This may even make the D'Amato-Schumer race look like a lightweight match. These are two heavyweights. She is very confrontational. She is much more ideological than Bill Clinton. Don't expect the kind of soft-soap Bill Clinton style here. This is going to be all out. She's more liberal than Bill Clinton, as well. She is really going to defend a classic liberal agenda against a guy who's actually a fairly moderate Republican. But she is going to run well to Rudolph Giuliani's left.

CRIER: Yeah, tell me about that, Allan. What's that going to do in terms of the political debate itself? Because it's been a while -- I think of senator Wellstone and a few others who really defending the old-time liberal agenda. One would expect that from Hillary Clinton.

LICHTMAN: Well, I think that's exactly right. You really -- the old-time liberal agenda has kind of gotten a bit off the face of the earth. Indeed, the word ``liberal'' got discredited way back in 1988 when Mike Dukakis lost to George Bush. If anyone can bring it back, it's Hillary Clinton. Look what she accomplished back during the impeachment controversy simply by talking about the ``vast right-wing conspiracy.'' Nobody else on the left would have had the guts to do that, and it did for quite some time divert the national conversation.

CRIER: But Alan Keyes, in fact, this was a losing agenda. Bill Clinton knew it. He moved to the middle in '92 and '96. Why would Hillary think that reinvigorating that would be successful?

KEYES: I don't think that's a matter of political calculation. I think that we have here a sincerely committed ideologue. She believes in these socialist ideas. She attempted to implement them during the course of the Clinton administration -- a health care takeover, among other things. So I think she's going to be out there representing the left-wing, statist,

socialist viewpoint. It's discredited, but she will fight for it, and we'll see what happens.

CRIER: Eleanor, when she moves up north, it's probably going to be more difficult. One would expect the city to go for Hillary Clinton, but is she going to have a tough time selling the issues once she's talking specifics?

CLIFT: Yeah. See, I don't know this ``old-time'' versus ``new-time'' Democratic issues. I don't think Hillary's going to come out against the death penalty. I believe she supported the Welfare reform bill that her husband signed.

CRIER: Oh, I'm not sure about that!

CLIFT: New Yorkers and many people across the country think that we need some sort of government intervention in the health care system, which has been taken over by insurance companies. So I'm not sure she's going to come across so radical. She opposes school vouchers. I mean, that's a sort of a new-time issue that the old-time liberals never had to worry about. If that defines her as a liberal, I think she's in pretty good company.

CRIER: OK, let's turn to her husband a bit. Allan, talk to me about his legacy because many would say it's a little late to be saving rural areas of this country, including Appalachia. What's Bill Clinton doing?

LICHTMAN: I don't think he's building his legacy there. That's not going to be a basis in Republican Congress of building a legacy. He's shoring up the classic Democratic base, which has slipped a little bit lo these many years, and it's of course slipped after impeachment is no longer in the headlines.
-END-OF-AUTOBREAK(1)-
-AUTOBREAK(2)-FOLLOWS

**** filed by:FDCH(--) on 07/07/99 at 00:56EDT ****
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AP Photo
Clinton aide Lynn Utrecht delivers the paperwork registering the Hillary Rodham Clinton for U.S. Senate Exploratory Committee yesterday in Washington.

'Listening' Tour Begins For 1st Lady

Four-day swing will take Clinton upstate

By William Douglas
Washington Bureau

Oneonta -- If Jacob Halter could talk to Hillary Rodham Clinton, he'd ask her where she gets the gumption to think about running for the U.S. Senate from New York, a state where she's never lived.

"What is it about Washington politicians who leave their jobs and run for the Senate in New York," said Halter, referring to Robert Kennedy quitting as U.S. attorney general in 1964 and running for the Senate from the Empire State. "I'd ask her if she wants to run for Senate so badly, why doesn't she go back to her home state."

Today, one day after forming a Senate exploratory committee, Clinton begins a four-day swing through upstate New York, an event that her aides have billed as a "listening tour" for her to learn about issues and to glean what's on the minds of prospective voters.

Clinton's committee announcement and her tour drew jabs from potential Republican rivals, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and Rep. Rick Lazio (R-Brightwaters). Both men took pointed swipes at the fact that Clinton is not a native New Yorker.

Clinton will start her tour at the Pindars Corners farm of retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan - the man she hopes to replace

Lazio Seeking Higher Profile

By Ellen Yan
Washington Bureau

Washington -- On April's tax filing day, there was only one seat on Capitol Hill for senator-wannabe Rick Lazio.

Before the House Government Reform Committee, the Republican congressman from Brightwaters delivered a compliment-laden introduction to Gov. George Pataki, then stayed at the witness table as the governor testified about his tax-cutting policies.

"The governor's tax cuts are reinvigorating what was once the most strongest and diversified economy in the nation . . ." Lazio said. "We in Washington should take this example to heart."

Linking himself to the policies and the politician - Lazio had it all planned. He had asked the committee's ranking New Yorker to waive protocol and allow him to present the governor. By sitting beside one of the state's most powerful Republicans - a high-profile honor the

the man she hopes to replace - and then go to Oneonta, Cooperstown, Utica, Syracuse and Albany to come face to face with residents.

But citizens like Halter aren't likely to be within conversation range of the first lady. The exploratory committee has tried to keep the events small, and in the case of today's visit at the State University College at Oneonta, by invitation only.

Between 40 and 50 people - college students, elementary school teachers, parents and SUNY faculty - were selected by SUNY officials and by Oneonta Mayor Kim Muller to attend the talk, according to Muller. "It's an invitation venue," said Carol Ann Blazina, a spokeswoman for the campus. "The [exploratory] committee told us they wanted to keep this small."

Still, Muller thinks there will be enough of a sampling of opinion to give Clinton the flavor of a city and a region that has not benefited from the booming economy the way downstate New York has.

Should Clinton walk down Oneonta's Main Street, where Fourth of July flags still line the sidewalks, she'd get more than an earful of questions from regular citizens about the Senate race, the "carpetbagger" issue, her marriage to President Bill Clinton and her motivation for running in New York.

She would find a large number of admirers in this Democratic city in a largely Republican county, but she would find skeptics who wonder about her allegiance to the state. One of them is Halter, a machinist for a nearby

high-profile honor the governor might not have granted under other political circumstances - Lazio signaled that he was Pataki's man if he jumped into the Senate race. By appearing at the tax-cutting hearing, there was little doubt the congressman hoped some positive vibes would rub off on him.

Lazio has been dreaming of becoming a senator for the past few years, and if history is any guide, he has a better chance of winning next year's primary than many think.

His likely opponent, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, is better known. But the Long Islander has garnered tacit approval from two of the state's most powerful Republicans, Pataki and former Sen. Alfonse D'Amato. Lazio possesses the power of being unknown, able to carve himself a winning image like a political Pygmalion. And many Republicans believe he'd be a better opponent to the likely Democratic nominee, Hillary Rodham Clinton, in the general election contest to win the seat of Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is retiring.

On the minus side, Lazio lacks a claim to a marquee accomplishment equal to Giuliani's with the falling crime rate in New York City. He has a reputation among some of his colleagues for being indecisive and is not considered to be the tough guy Giuliani is.

He's tried over the years to avoid speaking up on controversial issues so that he doesn't ruin his chances for a Senate run, say Republicans on Capitol Hill.

aerospace company.

"Why does she need a fact-finding committee?" he asked.
"She doesn't know what's going on in the state?"

For all his reservations about her residency, however, Halter, an independent who voted for Republican Sen. Alfonse D'Amato in the last election, said he's prepared to vote for Clinton, particularly if she's running against Giuliani, whom he hasn't liked since he first ran for mayor.

"I liked D'Amato because he has chutzpah," Halter said. "I like her because she has intestinal fortitude after all that stuff she had to put up with him [President Clinton] and impeachment. If she can take that, she can take anything."

Like Halter, Suzanne Roth is willing to look past the residency issue provided that Clinton does some explaining.

"I really haven't heard enough from her," said Roth, a registered Republican from Bedford who was visiting her parents in Oneonta yesterday. "What brings her to New York? I'd like to live out West, but I wouldn't run for the Senate there."

While Clinton listens, state Democrats are hoping that she will also talk about why she is considering a Senate run and speak about issues pertinent to New York.

"I think people here want to assess her genuineness," Muller said. "They hope to have the opportunity to hear what some of her positions are."

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 **Beyond the City**

For Hil, One Giant Step Forms Senate run study team as upstate tour nears

By KENNETH R. BAZINET
Daily News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON

With little fanfare but worldwide attention, Hillary Rodham Clinton formed a Senate exploratory committee yesterday on the eve of an upstate blitz to get an earful from ordinary New Yorkers. It took 15 TV crews longer to set up their gear on the steamy sidewalk outside the Federal Election Commission than it did for the First Lady's lawyer to file a single sheet of paper — and for her campaign spokesman to make a brief statement.

"That's it?" a cameraman quipped after the filing was done in five minutes.

"Good thing I didn't blink," said a photographer as he packed up.

The filing is "just a formality," said attorney Lyn Utrecht, who filed the document that brought Clinton one step closer to being the first First Lady to seek elective office.

"But we anticipated this," she said of the media crush.

Utrecht made a similar historic filing in 1984 for Geraldine Ferraro — the first woman to seek the vice presidency as a major party's nominee.

The exploratory committee allows Clinton to raise money and spend it on polls, travel and other campaign costs without having to declare herself a candidate.

Her Web site debuts this morning. The site is:

www.hillary2000.org

While the frenzy swirled eight blocks away, the First Lady was in the White House, "tying up loose ends," ahead of her



Turnbull NEWS
Hillary Rodham Clinton

four-day "listening tour," said spokeswoman Marsha Berry.

"Over the next month Mrs. Clinton will travel throughout the state, meeting with New Yorkers in small groups and listening to them discuss the issues that concern them most," said Howard Wolfson, spokesman for her campaign.

President Clinton had little to say about his wife's history-making turn. "It's her day," he said.

About 200 journalists from around the globe are expected to witness candidate Clinton's kickoff today at the Pindars Corners farm of retiring Sen. Daniel Moynihan.

Not to be outdone, Mayor Giuliani, her prospective Republican rival, shot back yesterday at City Hall that he's "always spent a great deal of time upstate."

Giuliani also took a swat at a Clinton adviser's recent comment to the Daily News dismissing buzz that the First Family would vacation in the "fly-infested" Adirondacks.

The Adirondacks, the mayor said, do not have an "undue number of flies."

"I think they even have flies in Arkansas," he added, gibing her about her Arkansas roots.

With Michael Finnegan

Rudy vs. Hillary: See our special on the N.Y. Senate race

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Mrs. Clinton courts voters in New York

She vows work to shed 'carpetbagger' label

BY SUSAN ROTH
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

PINDARS CORNERS, N.Y. — From the hillside farm of Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton on Wednesday declared her desire to be his successor as Democratic senator from New York.

A day after filing papers in Washington establishing an exploratory campaign committee, Mrs. Clinton kicked off a four-day "listening tour" of central New York state with the support and encouragement of Moynihan, the retiring four-term senator she

'TRAVELERS'
ready to blaze trail again. Page 9A.

called "the wisest New Yorker."

She said she intends to return throughout the summer and the fall to listen to state residents tell her what they want in a senator.

"I will be a strong and effective advocate for the people of New York," she said, making history as the first person in her position to seek elected office. "I care deeply about the issues that are important in this state."

Though the first lady has never lived in New York, she listed among those issues providing quality, affordable health care, building the economy in a way that creates

See **CLINTON**, Page 9A

Associated Press

New York Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan talks about his farm Wednesday in Davenport, N.Y., as he walks with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton to meet the press. Mrs. Clinton began her "listening tour" in central New York by visiting with Moynihan, a day after forming a committee to explore a run for the Senate.

Clinton

• Continued from Page 1A

good jobs in every region of the state and ensuring that New York gets its fair share from Washington.

Later in the day, at the State University of New York College at Oneonta, Mrs. Clinton also emphasized education, repeatedly mentioning her experience in working to reform education in Arkansas in the 1980s when her husband, as she referred to President Clinton throughout the day, was the governor.

While Mrs. Clinton has traveled to New York many times in the past few months as speculation mounted about her political ambitions, this is the first official campaign trip of what promises to be a tough 16-month challenge for the first lady, who has broad experience campaigning with her husband but is herself a political beginner.

Making the battle extra-difficult will be her decision to start her political career in New York, with its notoriously aggressive media and bruising campaign style, as well as a ready-to-fight potential rival in Republican New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani.

Giuliani is to visit Arkansas later this month at the invitation of Republican Gov. Mike Huckabee, to highlight Mrs. Clinton's "carpetbagger" status as a non-New Yorker.

For the first time Wednesday, the first lady acknowledged her inexperience

and the validity of the carpetbagger charge.

At Derrymore, Moynihan's 900-acre former dairy farm in the rolling hills of central New York state about 240 miles northwest of New York City, Mrs. Clinton met privately with the senator for about 20 minutes inside an 1854 one-room schoolhouse on the property where he has written his 18 books.

Then they strolled about 100 feet down the road to the waiting media horde. More than 200 reporters and photographers from all over the country and the world milled in front of two wooden risers filled with some 50 television cameras and cameramen. Up the hill in back of the crowd, about 10 white satellite trucks shone in the brilliant sunshine like alien farm equipment.

The first lady, who is famously uncomfortable with the press, appeared nervous at the start, repeatedly pressing her lips together and folding her hands stiffly in front of her navy-blue pantsuit. She was heavily made up, and, though there was a stiff breeze, not one hair moved as she spoke.

But she soon warmed up and smoothly handled questions for 20 minutes, breezily glossing over queries about her lucrative 1980s investment in cattle futures and whether she felt like a victim after the president's Monica Lewinsky affair.

"I'm looking forward to meeting New Yorkers," she said in response

to the Lewinsky question. "I think they'll have a lot to tell me about."

On the cattle futures, she said, "I think New Yorkers will make their own judgment about that. We've moved beyond that."

Asked about the carpetbagger issue, she said, "It's a very fair question, and I fully understand people raising it. I think I 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, as where I'm from."

She said she has no illusions about what will surely be a difficult race, but "that's what should happen in a democracy."

"We're a long way from the election," Mrs. Clinton pointed out. "We should take this at a slower, more relaxed pace. ... I'm really excited about being able to take these long, beautiful summer days and, kind of at a leisurely pace, with two or three hundred of you, traveling from place to place and meet people and stop and visit."

After leaving the farm about noon, Mrs. Clinton toured the Soccer Hall of Fame in nearby Oneonta, where she had her picture taken with Oneonta Mayor Kim Muller, a Democrat, and his family.

Six local women college students gave her a red soccer jersey and a silver coffee cup as she chatted with them, revealing that she played goalie on her junior high school soccer team.

The president called her en

route to his appearance at an Indian reservation in South Dakota to wish her well. Spokesmen said they planned to talk again in the evening.

Mrs. Clinton lunched at a popular barbecue joint in town but ate only a salad. Then, she headed for the state college, where she talked about education issues for nearly two hours with a panel of five.

In this setting, the first lady was comfortably in her element — listening, taking notes, engaging the audience. Some members of the press pronounced her "positively Clintonesque," referring to her husband's famous campaign skills.

Throughout the day, the first lady was greeted by supporters and detractors.

Arriving early Wednesday at the Binghamton Airport, she jumped out of her motorcade to greet about 50 supporters holding signs and chanting "Run, Hillary, run." Among them was New York Democratic Party Chairman Judith Hope, a native of Warren.

About 20 opponents also met the first lady at the airport, including one who held a piece of carpet cut in the shape of the state of Arkansas that said, "No Carpetbaggers."

Mrs. Clinton also stopped at a tourist information center and chatted with more people, some of them also tourists, along the 60-mile route to Moynihan's farm. At the farm, about 40 lined the road with more signs, including some supporting Giuliani.

The President has blocked the shift of the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem, citing the peace talks and concerns about the security of Americans.

An aide to the First Lady said, "We're not looking to deviate from the President, but Mrs. Clinton is going to make her views known on matters of importance."

With Joel Siegel

Original Publication Date: 07/09/1999

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Bashing Back at Mayor Mag Big to throw party in Hil flap on Liberty Island

By CELIA McGEE
Daily News Business Writer

Talk magazine boss Tina Brown has one-upped Mayor Giuliani, snaring the Statue of Liberty for her August launch party after City Hall pulled the plug on her big blowout at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

A glittering lineup of 800 guests will bask in the glow of Lady Liberty — a symbolic beacon for millions of immigrants. Giuliani is on the list of invitees, along with his likely U.S. Senate rival — and probable Talk cover girl — First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

"We're thrilled to have the Statue of Liberty," Brown said. "Nobody can knock this Lady."

The soiree for the much-hyped magazine would not have been an appropriate use of the navy yard, said the mayor, who was concerned the party would become a lovefest for Clinton, expected to appear on the cover of Talk magazine's Aug. 2 debut issue.



Tina Brown

Giuliani and Clinton have not indicated whether they will attend.

Officials of the National Park Service, which runs 12-acre Liberty Island, said a permit would be issued for the bash in about five days.

"There are a couple of things that need to be finalized, like timing and assurance that the event won't impact the regular visitor experience," said Michael Conklin, special events coordinator for the statue.

After the statue closes for the day, party guests will travel the 1½ miles from the Battery to Liberty Island at 15-minute intervals on a ferry.

Snaring the island meant scaling back Talk's elaborate party plans. "They reduced the scope of the evening so that it's more of an upscale picnic-type function," Conklin said, rather than the formal sit-down dinner initially proposed.

Talk and its parent company, Miramax films, hope to include a fireworks display by the famed Grucci family, which would require the approval of the Fire Department and the Coast Guard.

While the Liberty Island permit fees are relatively low — a few thousand dollars, according to Bradford Hill, who runs the food concession operations on the island — the catering tab could easily top \$200,000 for a picnic-style dinner for 800.

"It depends whether you serve lobster or fried chicken," Hill said.

Raising the party tab will be two ferry boats, at \$9,000, plus the fireworks.

Among the bold-face names on the guest list is Robert De Niro, who is working with Miramax to turn the navy yard into a film studio. Other invitees include Harrison Ford, Disney chief Michael Eisner, Jerry Seinfeld and Oprah Winfrey.

Talk's party planners began pursuing Lady Liberty shortly after the navy yard cancellation. Other sites considered were Ellis Island, the U.S. Custom House at the Battery and Jimmy's Bronx Cafe.



Watts NEWS

Liberty Island

The mayor did not immediately comment on the new locale for the bash.

Liberty Island has played host to elaborate private parties before. In 1994, fashion designer Yves St. Laurent had 2,000 guests at a buffet-style affair.

Tale of the Tape

Statue of Liberty — Symbol: torch of freedom.

Brooklyn Navy Yard — Symbol: rusty crane.

Statue of Liberty — A 301-foot tourist magnet in the center of New York Harbor with sensational views of Manhattan, Brooklyn and Staten Island.

Brooklyn Navy Yard — A 260-acre industrial park on the East River with sensational views of the Brooklyn-Queens

Expressway.

Statue of Liberty — Debuted in 1886, featured in many movies.

Brooklyn Navy Yard — Debuted in 1806, site of Miramax and Robert De Niro's planned film studio.

Statue of Liberty — Accessible by ferry (not for those prone to seasickness). No parking.

Brooklyn Navy Yard — Accessible by limo (not for those afraid of rats). Lots of parking.

Statue of Liberty — Statue was a gift from France.

Brooklyn Navy Yard — Where the Navy ships that saved France were built.

Statue of Liberty — Possible party crasher: Any uninvited megamillionaire stepping off a yacht.

Brooklyn Navy Yard — Possible party crasher: An NYPD diver looking for a body.

Statue of Liberty — Good place for politicians seeking a patriotic platform.

Brooklyn Navy Yard — Good place for a certain mayor to torpedo a possible lovefest for a certain First Lady.

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Beyond the City

Hil Vows to Serve Full Term

By JOEL SIEGEL

Daily News Senior Political Correspondent

UTICA, N.Y.

Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday vowed to serve a full term if elected to the U.S. Senate, drawing a sharp contrast to her potential rival, Mayor Giuliani, who has refused to make such a pledge.

"If I run and if I'm fortunate enough to be elected, I intend to serve out the entire term," she said during the second day of her upstate New York "listening tour."

The First Lady also made clear that she will rely on her husband for political assistance if she runs.

Despite breaking with administration policy on the location of the U.S. Embassy in Israel, she frequently mentioned some of President Clinton's more popular programs and said she hoped he would campaign for her.

"He knows a lot about New York. He has done very well in New York," she said, adding with a smile, "Oh, if I can get on his schedule."



Mages News

Hillary Rodham Clinton in Utica yesterday.

Clinton's vow to serve a full term was designed to address critics who see her as using New York as a steppingstone to fulfill her own presidential ambitions.

Giuliani, who has been dealing with New York City's blackout crisis, said he had no reaction to the First Lady's commitment to spend six years in the Senate.

As she traveled from Cooperstown to the village of Clinton, and on to Utica along the Mohawk River, some of the novelty of her three-day swing began to fade. The pack of 250 journalists, which had chronicled day one of her travels, had shrunk to about 100.

But she still drew crowds that waited for hours behind rope lines and police sawhorses at every spot she visited.

A supportive crowd of 200 gathered in Clinton. More than 300 — split between foes and fans — waited for hours outside a Utica senior center that she visited.

The centerpiece of her day was two "listening events" — a forum on health insurance at a health maintenance organization in Cooperstown, and one in Utica on issues concerning the elderly.

She got a boost of sorts at the Utica event when the Democrat-turned-Republican maverick Mayor Edward Hanna praised her. Earlier, he told the Daily News he might vote for her.

Although she is trying to undergo a metamorphosis from a First Lady to a political candidate who can stand on her own, she often invoked the policies of her husband.

"There is a proposal the President and I together unveiled earlier this year about a tax credit for people providing long-term care," she said at the seniors event.

In Cooperstown, when asked about the spiraling cost of prescription drugs, she said, "This is one of the reasons my husband has proposed the Medicare prescription drugs benefit."

John and Elizabeth Cunero, Cooperstown Democrats, said they were more open to voting for Clinton after hearing her out.

"I'm not as negative as I was," John said.

Elizabeth added, "Upstate people are used to most politicians addressing downstate. . . . It's refreshing to see someone start their campaigning in this area."

But protesters outside shouting, "Go home Hillary" could be heard at the First Lady's late afternoon event in Utica.

"Listen to this: Go home," said a sign held by one of the shouting protesters, Mary Franzonello, 50.

"She doesn't belong here," Franzonello said. "She doesn't understand what we're about."

The First Lady is slated to wrap up this leg of her summer-long New York swing tonight in Albany. She said she had hoped to attend the Women's World Cup championship in Pasadena, Calif., tomorrow with her husband, but there's no room in her schedule.

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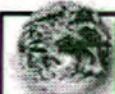
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 **Beyond the City**

Dressed to Impress

First Lady's losing the lackluster look

By ORLA HEALY
Daily News Fashion Editor

Hillary Rodham Clinton is dressed for success as she barnstorms upstate New York.

Clad in an array of flattering tailored pantsuits, the First Lady's breezy hairstyle, minimal makeup and camera-friendly choice of jewelry combined to make her strongest style statement yet.

Clinton's sparkling, sleek appearance is a far cry from her most recent lackluster look — the wronged wife, wearing too much makeup to disguise dark circles under her eyes, her hair so severely blow-dried it looked like a helmet and overly cheery banana yellow skirt suits.

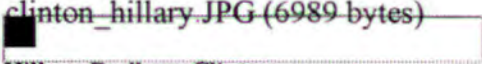
And if she manages to sustain this new, understated elegance, chances are good that she will achieve one of her goals: People might actually stop talking about her clothes, her hair — even her choice of shoes — and finally concentrate on what she has to say.

The First Lady, who often has pooh-poohed any interest in matters as frivolous as clothing, has come a long way: Gone are the fashion gaffes that landed her on countless worst-dressed lists. Ditto the constantly changing coifs that signaled confusion and generated a flood of nasty commentary.

Back in 1993, fashion designer Oleg Cassini — a favorite of Jackie Kennedy — verbalized what many in the fashion community were too polite to say when he sniffed: "Frankly, I think that Hillary makes a big effort to avoid being considered well-dressed."

Indeed, Clinton's stubbornness in rejecting efforts to enhance her image through her wardrobe are legendary.

When former presidential adviser Dick Morris dared suggest, before the 1992 presidential election, that she listen to fashion


clinton_hillary.JPG (6989 bytes)
Hillary Rodham Clinton

experts who believed an open-necked look would make her appear more accessible than the high-closed collars she preferred, Morris wrote: "She angrily replied: 'If my husband cannot get elected President because people don't like the way I dress, he'll have to win without me. I will dress as I please.'"

She may not have listened to Morris, but judging from how she looks, Clinton most certainly has listened and understood that the way she presents herself is a key in the repackaging of her image.

The woman who, during seven years in the White House has shrugged off more identities than Cher this week indicated that she might be ready for another incarnation.

Forget the woman once known as Hillary Rodham, the intellectual policy wonk. And even the cookie-baking-bashing Hillary Rodham Clinton. Her exploratory committee is officially dubbed the Hillary Rodham Clinton For U.S. Senate Exploratory Committee Inc., but the candidate is referred to throughout her new Web site (www.hillary2000.org) by her first name only.

So she joins the ranks of other icons — Madonna, Bono, Roseanne, Sting and R2-D2. New York's most glamorous probable Senate candidate is now simply Hillary.

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Hillary Clinton apparently

BY SUSAN ROTH
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

COOPERSTOWN, N.Y. — Hillary Rodham Clinton has been in a New York state of mind for about two years and apparently never considered returning to Arkansas after President Clinton leaves the White House.

"There really isn't any more dynamic place in the country than New York," the first lady told a group of reporters Thursday in between stops in central New York state during the second day of the "listening tour" kicking off her campaign for U.S. Senate.

"It is the center of so much of what is happening not only in America but in the world today, and it is a place that has a lot of energy and draws people with energy that I find very attractive," she said of the Empire State.

Mrs. Clinton said she began talking to her husband about ways

to move to New York well before the option of a Senate campaign surfaced "because it would enable me to be involved in a lot of the issues and causes that I care about."

When she started entertaining the possibility of the Senate race, "it wasn't so far afield for me to think, 'Well, that would work for me anyway,'" she said.

The first lady focused on health-care issues Thursday during "listening" events at a hospital in Cooperstown, a small, picturesque town known mainly as the home of the National Baseball Hall of Fame, and at a senior center in Utica, a depressed factory city further north, about 300 miles from New York City.

While she did seem to listen to local residents and officials enumerating their concerns and took notes while they spoke, Mrs. Clinton was clearly more comfortable talking about national health-care

issues and Washington politics.

She repeatedly broadened the discussion and returned again and again to talk of her husband's policies, almost as if she were campaigning for him.

"You may recall that I have had some thoughts about health care and health-care reform in the past," she began wryly in Cooperstown, acknowledging the failure of her 1993-94 effort to reform the nation's medical system. The audience of about 50 hospital employees and local Democratic political officials chuckled.

"I remain committed to the idea of providing quality, affordable health care for every American," Mrs. Clinton said. "But I now come from the school of smaller steps."

But the first lady offered no ideas of her own on Thursday. She indicated support for teaching hospitals, such as Bassett Hospital, where the forum took place. She

crossed off Arkansas long ago

decried the changes that have turned nurses into "paper pushers" and the spiraling cost of prescription drugs.

Mrs. Clinton also said she supports the Patients' Bill of Rights currently making its way through Congress, but she called it "a diversion" that is not the answer to larger problems with the health-care system.

Doctors in the audience said they were open-minded but skeptical about her candidacy. Some said she showed an interest and an awareness of the broad issues concerning them, but they would wait to see whether she could offer any concrete solutions.

"We have needs unique to upstate New York," said Dr. Joseph Sellers. He reminded her that the rallying cry of her husband's first presidential campaign was, "It's the economy, stupid."

"That really is our problem,"

Sellers said, remarking that the area has not benefited much from the economic boom in other areas of the country. Regional health care would improve with an improving economy, he said.

Dr. Donald Raddatz said he heard no real ideas during the session on the main issues of concern to him: funding for mental-health care, reining in the cost of pharmaceutical drugs and reforming the Medicaid system.

"I heard her listening and saw her thinking and taking notes," Raddatz said. "We'll see what's formulated from those notes. We're voting for what's going to help health care. I'm a dyed-in-the-wool Democrat, but I won't vote on party lines."

On another subject, Middle Eastern politics, Mrs. Clinton set herself apart from the president Thursday.

She did not discuss the issue,

but a Jewish New York newspaper published a letter she wrote to the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America. The group had asked her position on Jerusalem, which both Jews and Palestinians claim as their religious and cultural capital.

"I personally consider Jerusalem the eternal and indivisible capital of Israel," Mrs. Clinton wrote.

This is a break with official administration policy on a volatile topic that is important to the many Jewish voters in New York City and the suburbs. President Clinton recently backed off a proposal to move the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem because of the contention surrounding the idea.

The first lady's statement also signals a change from her earlier stand supporting the creation of a Palestinian state, which angered and alarmed New York Jews.

nior citizens at the Utica center, construction and factory workers and business owners at a former Air Force base in Rome that local developers are trying to transform into a successful business and technology park; and employees and union officials at a highly successful, 3,500-employee factory in Syracuse that manufactures gears for four-wheel-drive vehicles.

Saying she was there to listen and learn about the issues, the first lady gave away little, except to indicate her support for the Northeast Dairy Compact — a break with White House policy.

The compact has helped the local dairy industry by guaranteeing farmers a minimum price for milk, but critics say it unfairly taxes consumers. Campaign staff promised that she will take stands on many other issues later in the race.

"It boils down to issues," said Nick Staffiero, an engineer who has been with the Syracuse gear company for 35 years. The main issue for him, and hundreds of others who work at the plant, is an American Indian claim to 350,000 acres across two counties that include his home.

"Somebody has to address it,"



Hillary Rodham Clinton

her "listening tour" last week.

While all the people at the sessions with Mrs. Clinton were hand-picked by administrators at their facilities or local Democratic politicians, many were not necessarily strong supporters of her candidacy.

Instead, they were curious about what she had to say, looking for hints of her positions on issues that matter to them and solutions she could offer for their problems.

They included doctors, nurses and other health-care officials at a Cooperstown hospital that is one of the region's largest employers; se-

First lady

• Continued from Page 1A

site sides, most of them women and many holding signs, tried to out-yell each other outside Utica's East Side Senior Center.

The chants, "Go home Hillary" and then, "We want Hillary," grew louder and louder until they were audible inside the center, where about 100 senior citizens calmly challenged Mrs. Clinton on transportation, economic development and special education funding. The yelling gave the first lady pause, but she did not acknowledge it and plowed on.

In lesser degrees, similar scenes occurred at most of the stops in the region, where the majority of demonstrators welcomed Mrs. Clinton while a vocal minority recalled the Whitewater scandal, opposed her support of abortion rights and accused her of being a "carpetbagger" for seeking office in a state where she has never lived.

Mrs. Clinton and her campaign advisers don't think she needs to be concerned about the extremes — there will always be people who love her or hate her. New York political pundits believe that what she needs to win the election in 2000 is the great undecided middle, exemplified by many of those, Democrats and Republicans from upstate, who attended the events on

Chants for, against first lady overwhelm campaign stop

BY SUSAN ROTH

ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

ALBANY, N.Y. — For a time, supporters and opponents of first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's bid for the U.S. Senate nearly drowned out the event at a senior citizens center in central New York state.

The crowd Thursday afternoon was the largest to greet the first lady on her three-day inaugural exploratory campaign swing through a part of New York that's

On the inside

CONSERVATIVE, GOP groups mobilizing to "pillory Hillary," Page 16A.

ARKANSAS NATIVE to play role in New York's Senate race, Page 1D.

similar to parts of Arkansas — hilly, largely agricultural, economically depressed and leaning Republican politically.

More than 250 people on opposite sides of the political aisle gathered for the first lady's stop in Albany. See FIRST LADY, Page 16A

said Staffiero, 56, who said he is politically neutral. "I vote the issues every time, what's best for me and my family, based on the job [the politician] is doing," he said.

He brushed off the carpetbagger charges against the first lady, citing former Democratic New York Sen. Robert Kennedy, who also ran as an outsider in 1964.

While many others also discounted the carpetbagger issue, Megan Rodriguez, a college student from Rome, said she believes it will be a major liability for the first lady in that area because distrust of outsiders is deep in the close-knit community.

"In New York City, it's more accepted to be an outsider," Rodriguez said. "There are people from everywhere. Here, these people were born and raised here and lived here all their lives. They are old families with old opinions, and they don't like change."

Rodriguez, 19, a junior government major at Smith College in Massachusetts who said she supports the first lady's candidacy, said she thought Mrs. Clinton's strategy of focusing on the upstate communities, visiting and listening to people was a good one that could turn

some voters toward her.

Local journalists and other event participants agreed, saying many area residents feel they've been ignored by statewide politicians and left behind other areas economically.

Many attending the sessions of Mrs. Clinton were thrilled to have an audience with the first lady, even if they weren't sure she could solve their problems.

"As first lady, she may know certain people who will be able to help her," said Glenn Mendez, 40, an auto recycler who lives down the road from Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's farm, where Mrs. Clinton on Wednesday officially declared her interest in succeeding the retiring four-term Democratic senator.

Mendez and others said they believe Mrs. Clinton would bring more clout to the Senate seat than other, local candidates because of her experience as first lady and her national and global perspective.

A registered Democrat, Mendez said he was not sure whether he would support the first lady, but was leaning toward her.

Those sentiments will become particularly important in a likely

race against New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who has also declared his intention to seek the Senate seat.

Giuliani has a reputation as an effective leader who has transformed the city into a safer, more pleasant place, but his abrasive personality and the perception that he will support the city at the expense of upstate will cost him, event participants and local political observers said.

Judith Hope, a Warren, Ark., native who is New York State Democratic Party chairman, said she believes the first lady has a "special feeling for upstate" because of its similarities to Arkansas.

"The open space, the agricultural, rural component, the cultural similarities all figure into it," said Hope, who now lives in a wealthy town on Eastern Long Island. "I think she speaks their language."

This week, Mrs. Clinton returns to New York for more "listening" sessions that are expected to continue throughout the summer. But this time she will be visiting New York City's suburbs at the southern tip of the state — another area considered divided politically and critical for a victory in 2000.

who are helping make Judith Hope an outstanding chairman of the New York Democratic Party. Just ask Hillary.

BY PHYLLIS D. BRANDON
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

NEW YORK — The long political arm of Arkansas is once again dabbling in New York politics. It's a scenario that evokes 1928, when Arkansan Joe T. Robinson was New Yorker Al Smith's running mate on the Democratic presidential ticket.

Expected U.S. Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton isn't the only player with strong Arkansas ties in this New York political season. The first lady, along with other New York Democrats, is calling on ex-Arkansan Judith Hope for political counsel. Hope, the 5-foot-3-inch, blue-eyed chairman of the New York State Democratic Committee, first got acquainted with politics in the Bradley County town of Warren.

"I didn't realize that I had the basic interest [for politics], but all those dinner table conversations, all those early years, must have had an effect on me by osmosis," says the 59-year-old Hope. "I didn't think I was listening. I didn't think I was engaged, but clearly I was. Either that or it's genetic, maybe a combination of the two."

Genetic it could well be, because Hope is the daughter of the late Mayme and Carroll Hollensworth. Her lawyer father served 28 years in the Arkansas House of Representatives. A third-generation Warren native and the son of a Presbyterian minister, Hollensworth was speaker of the House during the 1953 session and an expert on parliamentary procedure.

"I've got an idea for you," Hope remembers having said. "And (Hillary) Clinton said, 'What is it?' I said, 'I think you should consider running for the U.S. Senate in New York.' She burst out laughing."

Special to the Democrat-Gazette/TODD PLUTT



When Hollensworth died in 1959, then-Gov. Orval Faubus said, "The Legislature won't be the same without him."

Hope graduated from Warren High School at a time she thinks was "a more innocent and simpler period in American life. Warren was a very supportive community. You felt you had a whole community on your side pulling for you."

"I've been struck by the recent tragedies of school violence, particularly in Littleton [Colo.] and that people there talk about a loss of a sense of community," she says. "I think the young people in some of these communities today don't feel the strong network of support for them that I did when I was growing up in Warren. I feel very fortunate to have grown up in that community at that particular moment in time."

Hope's father ran for the House every two years, which she found "a little rough, frankly. It's hard on young people when their parents are in politics. It consumes so much of the family's attention, and there are always a lot of unpleasanties in a campaign."

"Young people are very sensitive to those events — the most important thing to a young person is to not be different," she notes. "I really feel for young people who have to deal with this. I greatly admire what the Clintons have tried to do with their own daughter. You have these

See **HOPE**, Page 5D

Hope

• Continued from Page 1D

complex ambivalent feelings of being proud of your dad's accomplishments and not liking to be in the public eye and not liking him to be in the public eye. I was embarrassed when his picture was in the paper."

Hope's mother died in January 1994 on the same weekend as President Clinton's mother, Virginia Kelley. When Hope returned to Warren with her mother's body and called the florist, she was told that there were no flowers for sale in Arkansas — they had all gone to the town of Hope for Kelley's funeral.

Politics had even interfered with her mom's funeral, Hope says. "In some way it was entirely predictable. It wouldn't have surprised her in the least. She would have said, 'Well, I might have known.'" Flowers shipped in from Louisiana included remembrances from then-New York Gov. Mario Cuomo and former New York Gov. Hugh Carey.

Mayme Hollensworth died while visiting Hope and her family in New York. "Her attitude towards politics for her entire life was one of ambivalence," says Hope. "She understood the high personal price that is involved in public life and being the recipient of outrageous allegations from out of the blue when you least expect it and the loss of privacy. But by the same token, she was a real trouper, a great sport and very supportive."

After Warren High School, Hope went for a year to Gulf Park College for Women in Gulfport, Miss., then transferred to the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville, where she majored in art and was a member of Pi Beta Phi.

She maintains close friendships with a number of college friends including Mary Lynn Dudley of Little Rock. "I am totally fascinated with what she's doing, but she had that great political background," Dudley says. "That was the kind of the thing we didn't think about when we were in college. Women then were not politically active. When she comes home, she is just 'Judy,' but to go to New York and see her in her world is inspiring to all of us."

Every few months, Hope and her fourth husband, Long Island lawyer Tom Twomey, get together with Lynn Lambert Creekmore and her husband, Steve, of Fort Smith. Lynn Creekmore and Hope were roommates as freshmen at Gulf Park College and in the Pi Phi sorority house.

The two couples, "who have a good time together," attended the first Clinton inaugural together. "She still has that Southern charm and it's something to see her in action. Everyone knew her," Creekmore says. "She loves politics, which she learned at her father's knee during those years in Arkansas, and is very, very adept."

Hope and Twomey eloped two decades ago: "I've finally got that part right," she says.

A WOMAN'S PROFESSION

After college graduation, Hope attended Tobe-Coburn School for Fashion Careers because she had become interested in retailing through summer jobs. A woman at Pfeifer's, a buyer of junior sportswear, "was a powerful influence in my life." During World War II, that woman had repaired cash registers while the men were gone and worked her way up to be a senior buyer.

"What I saw was that this was a career path open to women," Hope recalls. "Women of my generation did not see a lot of clear paths. I remember one time saying to my dad that I'd like to be a lawyer, I'd like to go to law school, and he was jolted by the idea. It was not in his culture or his vocabulary to think of that as a natural thing for a young woman to do."

Seeing successful women in retail, Hope trained and worked at Neiman Marcus in Dallas and was employed a couple of years at M.M. Cohn.

"I've concluded that was great preparation for politics," she says, "because it is deadline driven — you've got to meet sales expectations quarterly or you are out of a job. The competition is ferocious both within the industry and on a personal level, and you learn to deal with a lot of stress."

Divorced and then widowed by 1964, she moved to New York, "probably just to get out of Little Rock. There were a lot of painful memories there. I was looking to start a new life."

By 1973, Hope had married again. She was living in East Hampton and rearing children, a daughter, then 5, and a son, then 7, when she was elected the first woman town supervisor on Long Island and the first Democrat to gain office there in 41 years. She held the purse strings on a \$20 million budget and oversaw the police, highway, parks and recreation and planning and zoning departments.

"It was quite a crash course in management," she remembers with a laugh. "You do what you have to do."

Her election impressed prominent Democrats, including Carey, then a congressman planning a race for New York governor. After Carey won, he invited Hope to join his staff in Albany.

"My mother was visiting during the period he approached me," Hope says. "He came over to the house, and my mother said to him, 'Governor, why would you want a woman from Arkansas to come to Albany to work for you?' He said, 'Listen, Wilbur Mills [then an 18-term congressman from central Arkansas and chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee] was the smartest man I ever knew in the United States Congress and I want some of that Arkansas guile for my team.'"

Single again after serving a two-year term as town supervisor, Hope moved her children, a housekeeper and her mother to Albany, where she worked on

SELF PORTRAIT

JUDITH HOPE

- **DATE AND PLACE OF BIRTH** Nov. 2, 1939, Little Rock
- **DEMOCRATS ARE** The people with heart.
- **FOR FUN I** Go to work.
- **A DAY IN NEW YORK IS** Still terribly exciting.
- **I LIKE TO WEAR** Anything comfortable.
- **A CARPETBAGGER IS** Over half the population of New York
- **I REMEMBER ARKANSAS AS** My home.
- **BEHIND MY BACK THEY SAY** What's that funny accent that woman's got?
- **MY FAVORITE JUNK FOOD IS** Pizza.
- **BESIDE MY BED IS** Volume 2 of Bob Caro's biography of Lyndon Baines Johnson.
- **TO RELAX I** Go to the beach.
- **NEW YORK POLITICS IS** Not easy.
- **WINNING AN ELECTION IS** Extremely satisfying.
- **WOMEN IN POLITICS ARE** Still behind the eight ball.
- **ONE WORD TO SUM ME UP** Positive.

Carey's personal staff for three years. Returning to Long Island to work for him for two more years, she then took a rest from work to regather energy, plant a garden, do some painting and spend time with her teen-age children.

In 1983, a group of young party workers recruited her to run again for town supervisor, so that the Democrats would have a majority on the town board to enact environmental measures they had been working on for years. She and her ticket won.

"During that time I also began to be very interested in the state

Democratic Party," Hope reports. Hope had met Gov. Cuomo's choice for state Democratic chairman when she worked with Carey in Albany, and so Cuomo enlisted her as vice chairman and to raise money for party coffers. She did that volunteer duty almost full time for three years.

In 1992, the National Democratic Convention that nominated Bill Clinton for president was held in New York's Madison Square Garden. "I remember every minute of it," Hope says.

PARTIES IN HER FUTURE

She became finance director for the Clinton-Gore campaign in New York state. "My assignment was to do house parties, a concept I think had originated in Arkansas," she says. "Following the convention, on a single evening we did over 500 house parties simultaneously around the state. We raised over \$600,000. It was just great fun."

"I think we should do it again for Hillary Clinton."

A year and half ago, during a 1997 Christmas party at the White House, Hope put a bug in Hillary's ear.

"I've got an idea for you," Hope remembers having said. "And Clinton said, 'What is it?' I said, 'I think you should consider running for the U.S. Senate in New York.' She burst out laughing. And that was it. No substantive conversation; she sort of dismissed it."

Overheard, the conversation was reported in the *New York Post* a few days later. When Hope saw Clinton the next week, she recalls that the first lady said, "Do me a favor, don't encourage that rumor. That's not helpful."

"So I dropped it immediately," Hope says. "And then, lo and behold, a few months ago, the idea got picked up by an entirely different group of people. Congressman Charlie Rangel threw the idea out there again. He was with her at some political event where he saw what she was able to do with a crowd of women and how drawn these women were to her and her ability to inspire people — quite an impressive talent."

"And then Sen. [Robert] Torricelli from New Jersey, chairman of

the Democratic Senate campaign committee, began talking to the press about her making this race. People started calling me and saying, 'Is this really this serious?'"

Hope continued to operate under the directive from the first lady not to encourage the rumor. "For many weeks I discouraged this speculation," Hope says, "and finally, one day I got a phone call from the speaker of the state Assembly, asking, 'Are you sure you're doing what she wants you to do?' And it sort of jolted me because I had not stopped to consider that maybe in fact this could be real."

Hope decided to seek the latest information. Although she didn't talk directly with Clinton, she spoke with a staff member who told her, "I don't think you should be so tough in knocking this rumor down." Hope remembers that the aide "didn't say, 'Yes, she's running. But she said, 'Soften that opposition a little bit. There might be something here.'"

In January, the first lady called Hope to say, "I'm thinking about thinking about this." Hope recalls replying, "That's very good news. I think you should."

Clinton asked Hope to help her put together a list of people to talk to, and Hope said she'd be delighted to do so.

CALLS WITH QUESTIONS

"I tell you, she just astonished me," Hope says. "She got on that phone, she made those phone calls. If she told you she was going to make that phone call, she made it that instant, placed her own phone calls, none of this first lady stuff, and she called people saying, 'I'm thinking about doing this, what do you think? Should I think about doing this? Should I consider this? Is this a reasonable thing for me to consider or not? Give me the truth. I want to hear the truth.' She's been remarkable."

Hope "did say to her, 'This is going to be really rough.' She said, 'Oh, I know.' I have to assume that she wasn't born yesterday. And she knows what this game is all about. She has been personally scorched."

"She gives a little speech that sums up her rationale for doing this. It has to do with the fact that at the end of the day there's a very small club called the United States Senate. They make very important decisions about your life and mine. She wants to be a member of that club, and I'd like to see her in there. I know she would do good work."

Clinton has announced the formation of an exploratory committee to look more closely at the race — and has just completed a "listening tour" of upstate New York. "There are a lot of unknowns because we're very much in the early stages," Hope says. "The election is November 2000. It's a very long way off. I think she's going to make a splendid candidate, and I think she is going to win. I'm convinced she will win."

Hope became New York Democratic leader in April 1995 at a low point for the party, which had just lost the governor's and attorney general's offices to Republicans. But she found a friend in Sheldon Silver, speaker of the Assembly, who became the party's de facto head.

"He's a fascinating man, an orthodox Jew from an Assembly district in lower Manhattan," she says. "He and I had about as little in common as two human beings could possibly imagine, but he liked me and I liked him, and he was willing to take a chance on me."

Hope sat in a borrowed office using a borrowed phone with the state party \$750,000 in debt. "The party was a total shambles," she remembers. She put together a team of volunteer lawyers who negotiated the debt with 50 different vendors down to 30 cents on the dollar. In many cases, they were successful, some settled a little higher and "just this week I settled

the last one."

By traveling all over the state, she began to put money in the bank and rebuild the party at the grass-roots level where she had gotten her start in New York politics.

A big part of her job is to raise money for campaigns and to pay the rent for the suite of offices on Madison Avenue in midtown Manhattan to which the headquarters moved a year and a half ago. She presides over the nomination of candidates for statewide election and last May chaired a state Democratic Convention that nominated five 1998 candidates for statewide office, including the U.S. Senate.

After a dismal beginning in 1995, in 1996 "we did a sensational job for the Clinton-Gore ticket," Hope says. New York state produced 25 percent of the national plurality for the president, she notes, and the 52 of 62 counties that gave Clinton a majority were the most in modern state history.

In 1997, she focused on local races and helped add 217 new Democratic officeholders across the state as part of the grass roots rebuilding process.

SUCCESS IS FUN

Last year, which Hope calls the "World Series of New York state politics," Democrats unseated GOP incumbents in U.S. Senate and the state attorney general's races, while retaining the state comptroller's position and just losing the governor's race.

The state party raised and spent \$6 million on the Senate race above what winning candidate Charles Schumer spent in moving up from the House to the Senate by unseating Alfonse D'Amato.

"That election wasn't even close," says Hope. "Our candidate won by a very significant margin, and he won with the woman's vote." That was partly a result of an effort that targeted each of 250,000 suburban women with three focused mailings and four telephone calls.

To win, she adds, "you do it in all the traditional ways that you know about. We did it on the telephone primarily. And we actually knocked on doors — which used to not be done, but we decided to return to it. We built a team of young people who did a sensational job of organizing. They did parties, and they went door to door. And mailings."

Now, says Hope, "the job is a lot more fun than it was, when there were no Democrats in office." Coincidentally, working with her in the office is finance director Michele Scherz, a native of Searcy, whose father lives in North Little Rock.

During the workweek, Hope hangs her hat in a Manhattan apartment, returning to East Hampton or a new home in Nantucket for weekends. Both her children plan to make their homes in East Hampton.

"East Hampton is like Warren to [my children], but it's not as idyllic," Hope says. "It's a community that has undergone a great deal of change in the last 20 years and not all of it positive. When I lived there during the winter months, it was a very sleepy community of farmers, fishermen and local business people. Then it got discovered by the jet-set group and Hollywood crew, and now it has an unfortunate glitzy connotation that is not conducive to a cohesive community. I think a lot has been lost. But nevertheless they grew up there and that is home, and I'm pleased that they are drawn to return."

Hope has a spiritual feeling that her father knows about her life in the political arena, and "I suspect he has been guiding me a little bit along the way. He had an intense love of the game of politics. I think he would be utterly fascinated that his little girl is swimming in these shark-infested waters."

You can have Hillary, New York

What do Bill Clinton and his merry band of Arkansas Travelers have in common?

They're both nearing the end of the line but don't know it.

Here's the thing: In scouting around for something to do with their lives now that the wild ride to the top of the world is barreling toward the stationhouse, both are clamoring to hitch their wagons to another rising star.

Bill hasn't decided yet whether he'll choose his good friend Al in the race for president or his good wife Hillary in the race for U.S. Senate from New York. The Arktrav face no such dilemma.

"If they want us," says Sheila Bronfman, chief Arktrav organizer, adopting the third-person form of the royal "we," an entirely appropriate reference to anything Clinton—"we'll be ready to go."

Apparently, no overtures from Hillary have been forthcoming yet, but let's hope that doesn't interfere with the packing. I can think of no better way to spread the word that Arkansas is well rid of the Clintons than for their many friends to journey to New York to try to explain why we're delighted she's running for office there instead of here.

Indeed, I find the notion such a hoot that I might sign up. For starters, I'd suggest retooling that old Roy Hamilton song, to wit: "We don't want her! You can have her! She never liked us anyway!"

She likes New York just fine, though, as she evidenced just last week on the first stop of her official "listening tour" of her latest adopted home state.

"I care deeply about the issues that are important in this state that I have already been learning about and hearing about," she declared. "[and] I am very much concerned that we work together to try to find

Meredith Oakley



answers to the challenges of providing quality education . . . providing good, affordable health care . . . making sure that the economy is built in a way that creates good jobs in every region of the state of New York . . . and continuing the fight . . . to ensure that New York gets its fair share from Washington."

As I've said before, you go, girl, and take us with you. Who better to testify about how you tackled those challenges while first lady of Arkansas and how wildly successful you were?

Who better to bear witness to the special attention you've given our state's needs, and encouraged your husband to give to our state's needs, since becoming first lady of America?

Who better to affirm, with appropriate charts and graphs, all the advances you've brought to Arkansas in the areas of education, health care, the economy and good jobs in even the poorest regions of our state, not to mention all that marvelous D.C. pork for which presidents and their spouses so conscientiously lobby on behalf of the home folks?

Who better, indeed?

Hillary has made one grand gesture toward an Arkansan: She said last week that she would ask Bill to do some campaigning for her "if I decide to run."

If she decides to run! What a sense of humor! What a card!

Funny thing, though: Now the folks who keep an eye on such things have virtually

ceased contemplating Bill Clinton's legacy and are focusing on Hillary's. Maybe she should have taken this step a year ago. He might have fared better.

But would she? Her decision to form an exploratory committee has certainly caused some folks to take a second look at the motives behind the role she's played and the stances she's taken.

"Mrs. Clinton has done some good things," observes Myra Gutin, author of "The President's Partner" and a professor at New Jersey's Rider University, "but I think now there will be this nagging question that maybe everything she did in the second term was inherently political."

Now *that's* funny. Hillary hasn't done anything that wasn't inherently political since Bill's first term as governor. They are inherently political animals, two of the best there's ever been.

A political scientist at Claremont Graduate University named Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, in an interview last week with *The Boston Globe*, posited the ethical question of whether Hillary is trading on her position, and even on her "misfortune" in the wake of the Monica Lewinsky scandal, to launch her own political career.

I'm just a simple Arkie with no academic credentials to my credit, but I'm beginning to suspect that there are more slow learners out there in academia than heretofore I've imagined possible.

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

This Hillary and Rudy nonsense

I'd like to say several words about the Hillary thing in New York, beginning with an insult to some of you otherwise splendid Arkansas readers.

There are two sets of you—the Hillary haters and the Hillary groupies—who are out of your ever-loving minds.

You haters are going to spend \$500 at a luncheon for Rudy Giuliani at the Capital Hotel. You will do so because he likely will be the Republican opponent of Hillary. Your obsessions have so overpowered and perverted you that you think you'll be making a meaningful statement, and somehow spiting Mrs. Clinton, by helping bankroll the U.S. Senate campaign of the mayor of New York City, last seen on the Letterman show talking about the flies in Arkansas.

You Hillary groupies are talking in the paper about reviving those old Arkansas Travelers who touted Bill at their own expense in New Hampshire in '92. You're talking about heading to New York to talk up Your Gal Hil. You do so even though Rodham Clinton has blown you off after nearly a decade of cynical usage and phony, transparent pandering, playing on our pitiable insecurities by suggesting that the press and the Republicans were picking on the Philandering Perjurer-in-Chief only because of a bias against "our" state.

Both of you need to know something, and Dale Bumpers could tell you if he just would, because until lately he fought these battles.

Arkansas has no dog in this New York hunt. The only good thing for Arkansas to come out of a U.S. Senate race in New York would be a double defeat, leaving the seat vacant. That's because when they get down to final markups for appropriations bills in the Senate, throwing around billions in Medicare and Medicaid and from the High-



John Brummett

way Trust Fund, the inevitable war is between urban senators in the Northeast and senators from rural states in the South and West.

Hillary or Rudy, it matters not. The winner will try to screw us out of highway money or Medicaid reimbursements for the Children's Hospital, and Lord knows what else. And here are two sets of you competing to help each of them get to be the one to do it.

If we worried half as much about our own U.S. senators, we'd probably have a better set than what we've got.

This is all too weird, which leads me to my remaining several words on the subject:

- A colleague asks why, if America suffers Clinton Fatigue as asserted, we find such fascination with Hillary's run in New York.

I suspect it's because people are fatigued with the Clinton presidency but that Hillary's story is that it is post-presidential and soap opera.

You have the scorned wife bolting from the no-account husband to enter the New York circus to fulfill her self-assigned entitlement, maybe find herself.

- I don't know what we can do about it, since first ladyhood is not an official position and the wife of the president has rights, too. But it strikes me as an inappropriate conflict of interest for the president to propose a Medicare plan in a national context

and find his wife lobbying against it inside the White House because of how it might affect hospitals in New York City, where she is pursuing her self-assigned personal entitlement, largely at taxpayer expense.

Remember when Arkies anted up to the Clinton campaign on the thinking that they'd get something out of a Clinton presidency. What a Shakespearean turn of the tables, this emergence of New York as the presidential home state.

The only solution would be a personal principle: that it doesn't seem right to use White House spousehood for personal gain and parochial interest, and she shouldn't do it. But such things aren't readily apparent in Hillary.

- On the subject of her principles, we have further proof of what I've told you before—that Hillary wants to be defined by policy positions, not behavior or character.

Asked the other day about whether New Yorkers should look askance at her as an outsider, she said that in the end she should be judged on what she is for rather than where she is from.

She did not say she should be judged on what she is or what she has done. She wants to be judged on what policies she claims to favor.

Maybe so. I always voted for her husband in spite of what he was and on my assessment that I agreed with his positions more than those of Frank White and Sheffield Nelson.

But I'll tell you this: There are lots of people with whom I agree on policy more often than not but find personally unappealing. And vice versa.

John Brummett's column appears every Tuesday, Thursday, Saturday and Sunday.

bc-DC-HClinton-Lstng-Tour 06-30

[STK] [IN] [SU] LEG CPN -- NEWS ADVISORY -- TO NATIONAL AND POLITICAL EDITORS:
Hillary Rodham Clinton Listening Tour July 7 - 10, 1999

Hillary Rodham Clinton will begin a summer long listening tour of New York next week. The tour will include visits to every region of the state and meetings with New Yorkers in small groups. Mrs. Clinton's trip will begin on Wednesday, July 7th at the farm of Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Over the next three days Mrs. Clinton is expected to visit Oneonta, Cooperstown, Utica, Syracuse and Albany.

"I'm eagerly looking forward to listening to New Yorkers and hearing directly what's on their minds about the issues affecting their families," said Mrs. Clinton.

Papers for Mrs. Clinton's exploratory committee are expected to be filed on July 6th, 1999.

Reporters wishing to cover some or all of Mrs. Clinton's visit to the region should contact Howard Wolfson or Neel Lattimore at 202-955-6340 by noon Friday, July 2nd. You may also fax your request to 202-223-0358, please include a contact name and phone number.

The following schedule is not for print or publication it is for planning purposes only.

Tuesday, July 6th, 1999

Currently we are hoping to provide ground transportation for reporters from the Albany airport to hotels in the Cooperstown area on Tuesday, July 6th. On July 7th all reporters wishing to cover Mrs. Clinton's visit to the Moynihan farm will depart Cooperstown via provided transportation for the farm and then continue with Mrs. Clinton throughout her day.

Wednesday, July 7th, 1999

Early Morning: Mrs. Clinton arrives in Binghamton and drives to the Moynihan farm. The airport arrival is open to press coverage, however press covering Mrs. Clinton's arrival will be unable to cover the visit to the Moynihan farm.

Press Note: A press pool will be formed in Cooperstown to meet Mrs. Clinton upon her arrival in Binghamton and will travel in the motorcade to the Moynihan farm.

Morning: Moynihan farm visit.

Afternoon: Event in Oneonta

Mrs. Clinton departs for Cooperstown.

Press Note: A filing center for press will be available following the Moynihan event and the event in Oneonta. A press pool will be assembled to travel with Mrs. Clinton from the Moynihan farm to Oneonta and from Oneonta to Cooperstown.

Thursday, July 8th, 1999

Morning: Event in Cooperstown

Afternoon: Event in Utica

Press Note: Reporters will be provided transportation to the morning event and back to their hotels. Transportation will be provided from Cooperstown to Utica. A press pool will be assembled to travel with Mrs. Clinton from Cooperstown to Utica.

Friday, July 9th, 1999

Morning: Event TBA

Afternoon: Event in Syracuse

Mrs. Clinton departs Syracuse airport for Albany

Evening: Fundraising event for Representative McNulty.

Press Note: Following the morning event reporters will depart for Syracuse. A filing center will be available in Syracuse. We are currently exploring options of providing transportation for reporters from Syracuse to Albany.

Saturday, July 10th, 1999

Morning: Event in Albany

Afternoon: Event TBA

Administration

■ LOOKING LOCAL ISN'T ALWAYS EASY

BY ALEXIS SIMENDINGER



THIS WAY TO A SENATE SEAT, MAYBE: Daniel Patrick Moynihan on July 7 anointed Hillary Rodham Clinton as his successor of choice

They say someday I'll run for an office. Well, I'd have to be chloroformed first!

—Eleanor Roosevelt, in a 1935 letter to a friend

ONEONTA, N.Y.—Hillary Rodham Clinton, who has often tipped her hat to her predecessor from New York, this week betrayed none of Mrs. Roosevelt's aversion to putting her own name before the voters. Indeed, as Clinton began her campaign swing, it was evident that the "exploratory" nature of her bid for a Senate seat is about exploring for good press and positive reactions from voters, rather than any self-examination or tentativeness on her part.

"I have no illusions that it will not be a very difficult and challenging race, but that's what should happen in a democracy," Clinton told a crush of reporters on the opening day of a 16-month run for the Senate.

"What's new to me is being on this side of the microphone and talking for myself and talking on behalf of what I believe," Clinton continued. "I'm going to just get out there and listen and work and talk with people. And then, eventually, New Yorkers are going to decide [for themselves]."

In an interview, Harold M. Ickes, the former White House deputy chief of staff who is now coordinator in chief for Clinton's potential campaign and its growing pack of staff and consultants, said he believes "there's no ad, bumper sticker, or billboard" that will neutralize the doubts many voters have about an outsider filling the outsized seat being vacated by New York's very senior Senator, Daniel Patrick Moynihan. But Clinton can help her cause mightily, Ickes maintained, by aggressively working the state until she becomes a familiar figure.

To that end, the opening phase of the Clinton campaign is not about penetrating television spots or rousing speeches or record-breaking fund-raisers. It is simply about exposure. "What you have is Clinton spending a lot of time in New York, which is a scheduling and press operation," Ickes said.

Clinton's "listening" tour this week—geared to generate pleasing pictures and massive all-channel local coverage—displayed her clear strengths, and also her obvious weaknesses. The first lady is, at almost all times, a confident, articulate speaker. But her relentless assurance and cool celebrity sometimes seem out of sync with the down-home locals she's trying to put at ease.

Her efforts to assure voters that she has the background to quickly grasp the challenges of rural life appeared at times only to underscore the fact that she is an outsider. For instance, during a talk with educators at the State University of New York (Oneonta), Clinton responded to a panelist's observation about growing numbers of students from poor families in that school region by saying she had "a lot of firsthand experience . . . having lived and worked in Arkansas." She tried to quickly skitter back to the Empire State by saying: "I'm trying to learn a lot about this part of New York, and upstate New York, in particular." Clinton repeatedly told the large and omnipresent press pack that she's been "a tireless advocate all my life on behalf of what I believe in." But advocacy is not the same as representation, and Clinton continually veered between her self-image as leader and her nascent New York persona as learner.

Sen. Moynihan—who has had his doubts about the political style and policies of the Clintons—kept any such thoughts to himself as he graciously gave Clinton his party's endorsement, and

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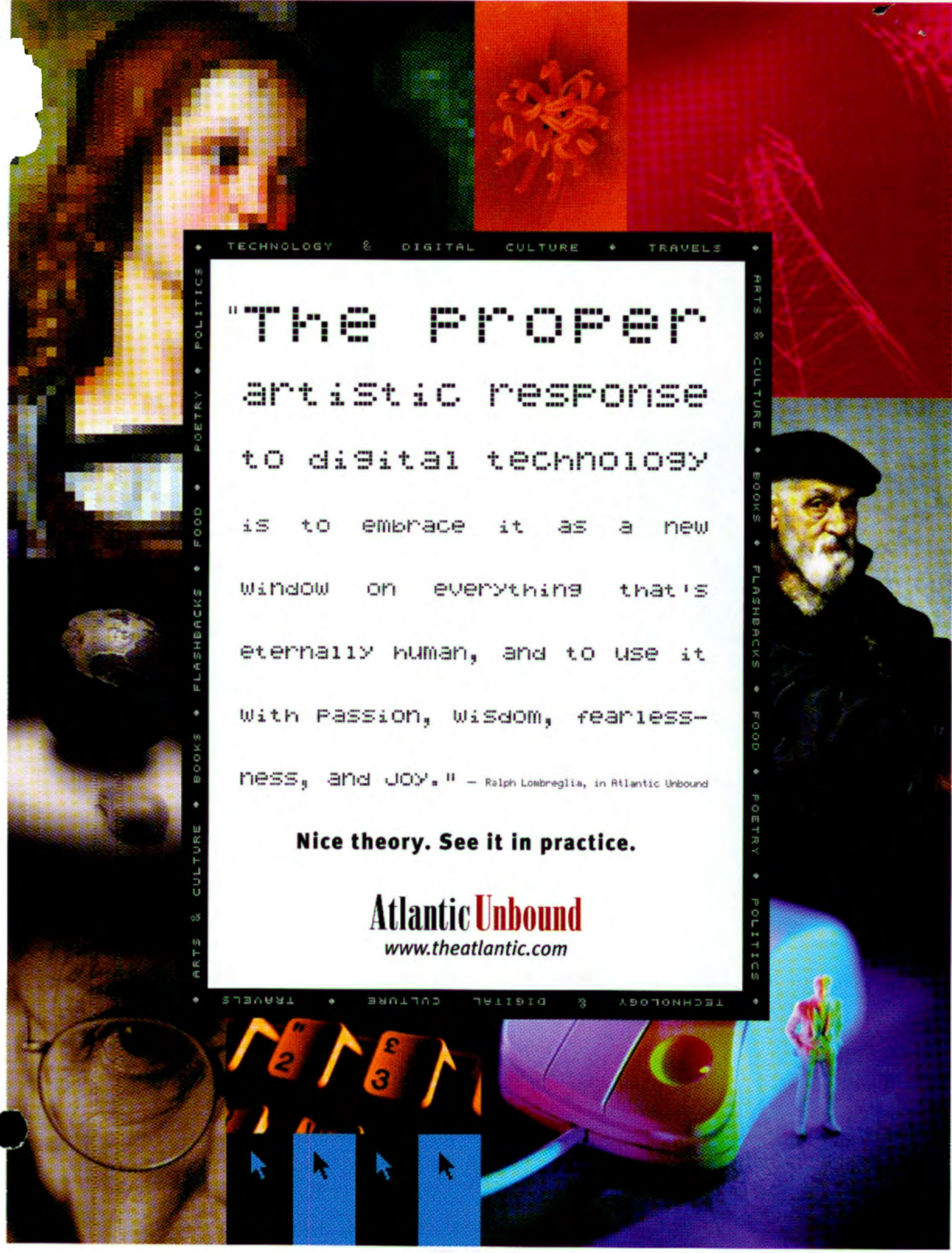
"The proper
artistic response
to digital technology
is to embrace it as a new
window on everything that's
eternally human, and to use it
with passion, wisdom, fearless-
ness, and joy." — Ralph Lombreglia, in *Atlantic Unbound*

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HILLARY'S PRE-CAMPAIGN CAMPAIGNING: A day after forming the obligatory "exploratory" committee, she listened her way through upstate New York.

loaned her the picture-perfect setting of his upstate farm from which to launch her campaign. The Senator practically walked Clinton down the aisle this week as they strolled along a country lane next to his farm near Pindars Corners, after touring a sun-dappled one-room school that has been his private writing retreat for 36 years.

Moynihan played both host and protector when the two met the media throng, but Clinton was instantly put on the defensive in the questioning: How do you answer the "carpetbagger" charge? Why would you put yourself through a campaign? After the Monica Lewinsky investigation, are you playing for the sympathy vote? As an advocate for children, how do you explain your support for the 1996 welfare reform bill?

Clinton's campaign advisers expect her to face similar questions as her summertime drop-bys continue. Her team wants her to take it slow, make it low-key, and use the excursions to both hone her answers and find her own voice—that is, to get ready for the Big Show.

In this effort, Clinton is getting considerable help from a growing staff of pros—some familiar names and faces, some not. One of the first people Ickes hired for the exploratory committee was a spokesman. Howard Wolfson, a veteran of New York Democratic Sen. Charles E. Schumer's successful 1998 race, is the not-quite-candidate's already-overworked campaign press secretary.

To help plot her early-July "listening tour," Mrs. Clinton hired some experi-

enced hands, and borrowed a few old loyalists. Clinton presidential pollster Mark Penn is pitching in. So is Neel Lattimore, the first lady's first-term press secretary, to help put together this week's tour.

Maggie Williams, Clinton's former chief of staff, flew in from Paris for a few weeks in June to provide advice. Mandy Grunwald, who produced campaign ads for Bill Clinton's 1992 presidential race, is a volunteer adviser, and she accompanied Hillary Clinton this week.

Susan Thomases, a New York City attorney and a longtime friend, and Washington lobbyist Michael Berman are two who lend ideas, according to other senior advisers. Karen Adler, a real estate entrepreneur and former regional administrator for the General Services Administration, is an adviser and a contact with the state's Jewish community.

Lisa Caputo, a former press secretary to Clinton, made herself available on the cable airwaves this week to help explain the first lady's Senate intentions. A number of former White House advance workers—the people who have the knack for whipping up presidential-style photo ops and other events—have taken leave from private-sector jobs this month to help out.

Those drawing a salary as part of Clinton's exploratory committee staff include Emily Bromberg, now in charge of scheduling and formerly a White House deputy

director of intergovernmental affairs. Neera Tanden has moved over from the White House staff to do issues research out of the exploratory committee's Manhattan office.

The head of that new office is Samara Rifkin, who worked on the unsuccessful 1998 campaign of New York City Council Speaker and Democratic gubernatorial nominee Peter F. Vallone. Also aboard Clinton's committee with Vallone credentials is Gabrielle Fialkoff, who raised \$7 million for that campaign, helped harvest money for Moynihan, and is heading Clinton's fund-raising operation.

Laura Hartigan, who runs a Los Angeles-based fund-raising consulting firm, Hartigan & Associates, will also help raise money for the campaign. She was a right hand to Terence R. McAuliffe—the President's all-purpose moneymen—when they were with the Democratic National Committee and the Clinton-Gore '96 campaign.

Wolfson and other top lieutenants suggested it might be autumn before Clinton stages any big-ticket fund-raisers. The campaign camps of both the first lady and the Vice President have insisted they can complement, rather than compete with, each other in New York. But a look at some of the names of those committed to helping both Clinton and Gore suggests there's the potential for friction as the first lady mines her donor base for an estimated \$25 million.

Well-connected New Yorkers on board include investment banker and former deputy Treasury secretary Roger C. Altman; Laura G. Ross, head of the DNC's Women's Leadership Forum; Maureen White, wife of Steven Rattner, the deputy chief executive at Lazard Frères & Co., who is also raising Wall Street money for Al Gore; and Alan and Susan Patricof of Patricof & Co. Ventures Inc., who are also backing the Vice President.

One former White House press office staffer who jumped back into the fray said he did so because he had come to admire the first lady. Joshua N. Silverman, now a senior account executive for Abernathy MacGregor Frank in New York City, took time off from his job to volunteer this week. "There are legions of [former White House staff] people who feel loyalty to the first lady and want to come out and help," Silverman said as he herded reporters around Oncontia. "She called a lot of them herself," explained Clinton's chief of staff, Melanne S. Verveer. For the time being, few, it seems, are saying no when that call comes. ■

Staff Correspondent James A. Barnes contributed to this report.

Issues & Ideas

■ BEYOND *FAMILY CIRCUS*

MEDIA

BY WILLIAM POWERS



AARON MCGRUDER: In *The Boondocks* and elsewhere, newspapers may be learning to play dangerous again.

While back, newspapers noticed they were losing readers, so they came up with a brilliant solution: be "reader-friendly." The idea was that papers should act more like politicians: tell the public what it wants to hear, strive not to alienate, live by polls and market research. And the readers would come stampeding back.

Of course, no one said it quite this way, but everyone knew this was the game. It was all very modern and Dick Morris. It was also not very smart. America took a look at all those stories about You and Your Concerns taking over their local papers and said, in effect: Spare me. The reader-friendly schtick has been a massive failure and circulations have continued to drift south.

Apparently, it never occurred to newspaper publishers and editors that readers might want their newspapers to be *less* friendly: that one of the most appealing things about newspapers is how infuriating and pugnacious they can be, that a good paper makes at least as many ene-

mies as friends and is proudest of the former. "All successful newspapers are ceaselessly querulous and bellicose," H.L. Mencken wrote 80 years ago. It's a simple idea, well supported by history, but it got lost somewhere on the road to the needy, fearful, bland, hypercareful, "service"-obsessed newspapers we have today.

In recent months, however, there have been signs of a small countertrend. It's happening at many of the same newspapers that adopted the nice-nice credo, and in the most unlikely location: the comics page. *The Boondocks*, a comic strip by a 25-year-old named Aaron McGruder, which debuted in April, is doing on a daily basis what it seemed newspapers had almost forgotten how to do: It's making trouble. Real trouble. The strip is all about race, the subject that newspapers fear the most and cover with the least honesty.

The strip is frank and opinionated, and it uses children to discuss difficult grown-up ideas, all of which is making a lot of readers uncomfortable. Yet *The Boondocks* had the largest launch, in terms of the number of newspapers that picked it up, in the history of Universal Press Syndicate, which was founded in 1970 and has launched such popular strips as *Calvin and Hobbes* and *For Better or For Worse*. McGruder's work is now carried in nearly 200 papers. That isn't large in comparison with *Garfield* (2,700 papers) or *Doonesbury* (1,400), but it's gigantic for a new strip. And though the content of the strip is tame by the standards of pop culture, for the comics page it's revolutionary. "I think newspapers in general are living in the darkest of the dark ages when it comes to risqué or avant-garde content, and certainly the comics are the dungeon of the dark ages," says Ted Rall, a 35-year-old New York editorial cartoonist whose work is also syndicated by United Press and appears in 140 papers. "This is the venue

New Yorkers pounce on Arkansas

Poor little Arkansas. After seven years of being lampooned by Washington wits and savaged by the pious zealots in Kenneth Starr's employ, Hillary Clinton's run for the U.S. Senate seat from New York guarantees that we're in for a continued roasting by Manhattan satirists.

Oh well, at least there's an outside chance that some of the jokes will be funny. Come to think of it, the phrase "Washington wits" is a bit of an oxymoron, like "Texas modesty" or "New Jersey style." Solemn bombast is pretty much the order of the day in our nation's capital.

So far the New Yorkers' gibes have been all too predictable. *Newsday* columnist Jimmy Breslin, a Professional New Yorker whose cameo role in Spike Lee's brilliant "Summer of Sam" made him look like a refugee from the original cast of "West Side Story," resents her as an outsider. The nerve of this arrogant hussy, Breslin wrote recently, presuming to run for office "as if New Yorkers are the same as those in Appalachia or Arkansas or any of those other low-IQ areas in which the Clintons do best."

Actually, Bill Clinton did better in New York than Arkansas during the 1996 presidential election (53.7 percent to 59.5 percent). It's a good idea to get your facts straight before calling others dumb.

But then Hillary got off easy. In the same column, Breslin calls her putative opponent, New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, "a surly cadaver (who) would lose to any decent citizen from the United States Postal Service." Just not to the first lady, he thinks. Well, we'll see, won't we?

Even so, Hillary's putting on that Yankees cap was dopey. Even if there is a defensible rationale. Where she grew up in Chicago, see, Cubs fans and White Sox fans really hate each other, so it'd be natural for a Cubs fan to pull for anybody who was beating the White Sox. For much of her life, that would have been the Yankees.

But it's like calling yourself a Nebraska Cornhuskers fan because you like watching them whip up on Texas. Even if it's true, it sounds phony. And New Yorkers can't abide a phony. Or so they say.

Color my neck red, but as the undisputed center of the art world, the publishing industry and the theater, Manhattan has more akes and poseurs per square acre than Arkansas has chiggers. But then Breslin would probably agree with me about that. His audience isn't the Lincoln Center crowd, it's a guy on a barstool in Queens who's dead set against the first lady because she reminds him of his ex-wife's lawyer.

Forget the issues. Hillary's biggest challenge in New York will be to change the cartoonish Superwoman vs. Ultrabitchisms in which she's always been portrayed in the national media. A recent column by ars-Erik Nelson in the *New York Daily*

Gene Lyons



News cites poll numbers revealing a "gender gap" of Grand Canyon proportions.

"Among men over 60, Giuliani beats Clinton by a whopping 31 percentage points," Nelson writes. "Among women 18 to 39, Clinton beats Giuliani by 17 points."

Because there are a whole lot more younger women than older men, a recent poll by the newspaper shows Hillary winning by seven points.

Women's votes, Nelson shows, decided New York Democrat Chuck Schumer's win over incumbent Sen. Alfonse D'Amato in 1996, re-elected Sen. Barbara Boxer in California and defeated Republican Lauch Faircloth in North Carolina. The losers won the male vote, especially the white male vote, in all three contests.

So it would appear that if Hillary can convince a decent minority of male voters that she'll fight a constitutional amendment requiring the mandatory gelding of heterosexual males, the race will be hers to lose.

Either way, what's really going to be entertaining from the Arkansas point of view is watching the loony convergence of left- and right-wing Hillary haters. Last week, for example, the zany crackpots on *The Wall Street Journal* editorial page endorsed what they called a "comprehensive cover story... on the 'Hillary Clinton Sleaze Factor'" in, of all places, *The Village Voice*. In Arkansas terms, this is the rough equivalent of John Robert Starr and *Arkansas Times* columnist Mara Leveritt teaming up to trash Rep. Vic Snyder.

Happily repeating the "low IQ" slur, the *Voice*'s William Bastone even went Breslin one better on the "carpetbagger" issue. It was a real problem, he opined, even "though New Yorkers are surely not as provincial as voters in Arkansas or Mississippi." Evidently, Bastone missed Little Rock journalist Ernest Dumas' witty op-ed piece in *The New York Times* a couple of weeks back pointing out that Arkansasans elected and re-elected a carpetbagging New York Republican as governor more than 30 years ago.

A thrice-married New Yorker at that, a feller name of Winthrop Rockefeller, who had also been known to partake of an alcoholic beverage. Maybe Bastone's heard of

the family. And a fine governor he was, too, saving Arkansas from its own worst impulses in the form of the White Citizens Council's own "Justice Jim" Johnson; a prominent Clinton hater in his own right.

Elsewhere, the *Voice* piece was a tiresome reprise of the usual "Clinton scandals" jive with the usual factual howlers. Bet you didn't know, for example, that David Hale was convicted of sham "Castle Grande" real estate deals, or that Hillary Clinton lied about her work on the project to "federal investigators" until her missing billing records turned up. So how come Kenneth Starr failed to charge her with perjury? Do these characters even read what they write? Or do they just block copy propaganda from the Office of Independent Counsel on their word processors?

In the real world, Hale pleaded guilty to embezzling \$2.02 million from the Small Business Administration, and neither Hillary Clinton nor anybody else at the Rose Law Firm had anything to do with the supposedly sham aspects of the Castle Grande deal, for which nobody was ever charged with a crime. The 1996 RTC report absolving Hillary and her partners of wrongdoing described the theory Starr's prosecutors later pretended to believe as "hopelessly flawed" and said it "strained common sense." It was written by the Republican law firm of Pillsbury, Madison & Sutro. After the billing records turned up.

That's also why, despite another in a series of cunningly deceptive press releases, Starr's office recently caved in on its case against Webb Hubbell. The Susan McDougal and Julie Hiatt Steele cases showed that juries have grown wise to Starr's methods. If he put on that kind of trash evidence, Starr risked another embarrassing loss. With a 1-3 record in jury trials, he may have feared even the tobacco companies that are making him rich would start doubting his competence.

Meanwhile, I wonder whether old Justice Jim's planning to attend that fund-raiser Arkansas Republicans are planning for Rudy Giuliani later this month. That'd be a hoot. As New York City's mayor, Giuliani holds views not real popular among Arkansas Republicans. On abortion, he's pro-choice. On the fundamentalist bogeyman of homosexuality, he's pro-gay rights. As a former federal prosecutor and strong backer of the NYPD, he backs strict gun control. Gossip columnists have long questioned the stability of his marriage.

Meanwhile, if I were Hillary Clinton, I'd be sure to get a picture of Giuliani with Rep. Asa Hutchinson. If Asa shows up, that is.

Gene Lyons is a Little Rock author and recipient of the National Magazine Award. His column appears in Wednesdays.





Hillary on the hustings

Report from New York

IT HAPPENS once every millennium or so. Republicans show a sense of humor. This time it was in New York, where the Party of Giuliani is having way too much fun at Hillary Clinton's expense. (Will it backfire?)

Here's the latest: Republicans in Binghamton, N.Y., planned to give away an expenses-paid weekend in the Adirondack Mountains. All the lucky winner had to do was show up during Mrs. Clinton's tour of upstate in a fly costume. Best fly won. It was in response to a remark from the Clinton camp about "fly-infested Adirondack Park." Naturally, the comment stuck like, well, flypaper.

On the Oops Scale, this was a minor tremor. But the fly thing isn't bad for Republicans, who are notorious for running a deficit in the humor department. It's the kind of joke that illustrates just how seriously they're taking this whole Hillary empowerment campaign.

It'll be interesting to see the confrontations between Miss Hillary and conservative insects of all kinds as she encroaches on New York. Will she stay the demure lady in the pink suit, or turn into the familiar terrier nipping at Tom McRae's pant leg?

So far, she's been neither.

The early, early reviews came in last week.

Hillary's a hit! Better'n "Cats." Boffo. "The Natural," it said above Peggy Noonan's op-ed in the *Wall Street Journal*.

We expected a real humdinger of a review from Ms. Noonan when we opened the *Journal* and saw her byline on a Hillary-on-the-Hustings piece. And the former speechwriter for Presidents Reagan and Bush didn't disappoint; she just surprised.

To quote Miss Peggy on Miss Hillary: "It was as deft and clever a political presentation as I've seen, a marvel of spin and more. She was poised, articulate, both cool and warm and—a first for her—modest. She was in fact a natural."

Wow.

And this was in the *Wall Street Journal*, folks. That ain't exactly Clinton Country. To hear Peggy Noonan tell it, Hillary Clinton so enchanted the New York press on the first day of her still technically unofficial campaign for Senate that we wouldn't be surprised if they started calling her H. As in W. As in Victory.

And to think, some of us once wondered if her spouse's political skills would rub off on Hillary Clinton. But now that she's running for office, or at least limbering up for the race, she seems—there's no other word for it—clintonesque. Which is just the word observers and reviewers and hand-cappers in general kept using: clintonesque. And they meant it as a compliment. Why does that sadden?

And why do we hope it won't last? Maybe it's because we hope that this time there will be only one Candidate Clinton. And not a new one every time the polls change. We still kind of miss Hillary Rodham—there was a young lady who spoke her mind no matter how unconventional the view she was espousing. But of course that was long ago, in another state, and some say the wench is dead—buried under a dozen makeovers and various name changes since.

The main attraction this candidate displayed in New York, despite a little early uneasiness when having to face real people and the usual unreal amount of press coverage, was a, yes, clintonesque empathy.

And clintonesque empathy always brings to mind a bit by comedian Chris Rock before the '96 election. He

was explaining why he was voting to re-elect Bill Clinton. It's simple, he said. Bill Clinton had money problems, woman problems—you know, Common Joe problems. "I can relate to Bill Clinton," Chris Rock would say. "I am Bill Clinton."

Okay, it's not *that* funny—maybe you had to be there—but there's a lot in that punch line. One should never underestimate the ability of our empath-in-chief to feel our pain/worry/hope, or just our any passing moods. Hillary Clinton mastered that reflexive skill only inadvertently—when she was forced into the role of First Victim—but she still may have mastered it.

First Candidate's spin on the Great Carpetbagger Question was so adept it didn't even sound like spin. It's worth repeating *in toto*, and savoring: "It's a very fair question, and I fully understand people raising it. I think I 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, as where I'm from."

Yes, masterful. Though we don't know how humility is going to go over in New York. Maybe the novelty of it will sweep folks off their feet. It's not exactly the sort of thing you'll find on the menu at the Carnegie Deli, but people forget that New York is also the name of a state, not just a city, even if the city may cast a third of the votes in a Senate race. Any state that can elect Mario Cuomo governor a couple of times clearly does not put a great premium on humility, but it could sell well—even if it'll have to be an acquired taste in those latitudes.

Miss Hillary didn't do nearly so well when her highly successful career, or at least flyer, in cattle futures came up—as it had to, and as it will again. Her explanation for that 10,000-percent profit in an amazingly short time: "I think New Yorkers will make their own judgment about that. We've moved beyond that." Or as Ring Lardner would sum up her stance: Shut up, she explained.

Well, listen, no explanation at all is better than the multiple explanations she's offered in the past, especially that cute story about studying the stock market tables at her daddy's knee. She got an award for that one—honest, from *TV Guide* for Best Performance in Drama or Press Conference—and she deserved it.

But if the distaff Clinton succeeds in making even Republicans seem clever—at least for Republicans—she might run into real trouble in (Hudson) River City. The 'burbs are already Giuliani country, and folks in Hicksville like commuting to a safe city when they get on the Long Island Railroad for a night in town. Throw in a few more cracks about the Adirondacks and there goes upstate.

It should be noted that Mayor Giuliani had best watch it, too. He may be almost as Washington as Miss Hillary—didn't he get his start as a hotshot federal prosecutor?—and he's more Manhattan than Monroe County. Speaking of which, the other day he got Monroe, N.Y., mixed up with Monroe County, N.Y., which seems akin to the mayor of Little Rock confusing Hot Springs with Hot Spring County. Geographic ignorance goes over even worse when it comes from supposed natives.

We've never got to watch a Clinton campaign from afar—it should be a relief, even kind of fun. So much more comfortable than up close and all too personal. When it comes to First Couple, distance may not lend enchantment, but it does lend distance. Which is no small comfort.

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BY ROGER SIMON

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"The shoe," says Della Valle (at the company headquarters in Casette d'Ete), "is something you develop a special relationship with."

Well Heeled

Even First Ladies fall for Diego Della Valle's swank J.P. Tod's shoes and bags

Eiffel Tower? Seen it. The Louvre? Not again. So what's a First Lady to do when she finds herself in Paris with a few minutes to spare? Hillary Rodham Clinton solved the problem June 16 by popping into the tony J.P. Tod's shoe-and-bag shop on rue du Faubourg St. Honoré, sending the sales staff scurrying. "You don't expect the First Lady of the U.S.A. just to walk in off the

street!" says a spokeswoman, who was quickly dispatched from Tod's offices nearby to assist the First Shopper. Clinton's visit inspired Tod's owner, Diego Della Valle, 45, to enthuse from his Milan office: "I am very proud that Mrs. Clinton chose our brand—especially because she only went to two stores, and one was ours." (The other was Apostrophe, a sportswear boutique.)

Clinton was following a well-trod path. Since 1975, when Della Valle began running his family's 75-year-old shoe business, he has opened 50 J.P. Tod's stores worldwide (the newest in May on Manhattan's Madison



Mrs. Clinton's surprise visit was "a rare moment," says a Tod's spokeswoman.

● style

Avenue). His signature style, the driving shoe—an updated version of a shoe Italian racers wore in the 1950s—has steered J.P. Tod's (Della Valle purposely chose an "English, easy-to-remember" name) into worldwide fashion consciousness and \$500 million in annual sales. Characterized by 133 rubber bumps that cover the shoe's back and sole, the luxuriant loafers (priced from \$325 to \$1,700) have become a staple for screen sirens—Kim Basinger, Catherine Deneuve—and such Hollywood manly men as Harrison Ford and Denzel Washington.

"There truly isn't another shoe in the closet that I wear more," says Rene Russo, who with costar Pierce Brosnan sports J.P. Tod's in the upcoming remake of *The Thomas Crown Affair*. Even the Pope, it is whispered, wears Tod's. "But it is not a good promotion for us," jokes an employee, "because he wears long skirts."

Thrilled that the famous like his styles, Della Valle is quick to add that most of his customers "aren't celebrities—they are just people with good taste." But no one is more obsessed

Elle Macpherson chose a pair of beige Tod's driving shoes to take son Arpad Flynn, 17 months, for a stroll in Australia last May.



Della Valle will close a store for celebs like Minnie Driver (toting Tod's Mini Eight bag last March) so they can shop alone.

with his footwear than their maker. Though Della Valle attended law school in Bologna in 1970, he never planned on practicing. His soul belonged to shoes. Diego's grandfather Filippo Della Valle began cobbling prior to World War I, after which his son, Diego's father, Dorino, took over the business. Now 75, Dorino shows up to work every day, enjoying the title "super-supervisor." "We all live close, so it's easy to go to work," says Diego's brother Andrea, 33, who runs the firm's daily opera-

tions. (Sister Gisella, 40, is a design consultant.) In addition to a sleek new \$46 million headquarters—with gym and child-care center for the 300 employees—there are five factories, all located near the family's hometown of Casette d'Ete, near Italy's Adriatic coast. A fourth generation is also involved: Della Valle's oldest son, Emanuele, 24, from his first marriage (which ended in 1979, after five years) works in the Manhattan office.

Now twice divorced, Della Valle lives with architect Barbara Pistilli, 40, and their 21-month-old

son, Filippo, in a 22-room villa in Le Marche—complete with helipad—that they share with six Labradors and a beloved mutt. "In the summer when we have chairs outside I have to remember to bring my shoes in," or, he adds ruefully, "they destroy them."

His human customers accord his handmade products a bit more respect. The First Lady chose one pair of loafers—in beige fabric and leather. "She wanted to try them on," says the spokeswoman, "but unfortunately we did not have them in her size." Clinton had better luck with Tod's D bags, which were introduced in 1997 and later named in honor of Princess Diana. Though there is a three- to six-month waiting list for them in the U.S., Clinton took home two—a medium-size (\$1,300) and a large-size (\$1,450)—both in beige.

"She left with a big smile," says the spokeswoman, who promised to dispatch Clinton's size 39 (which is equivalent to an American size 8-9) shoes to the White House from a store in the States. Just the thing if she runs for the U.S. Senate in New York. The First Lady, better than most, knows that political survival often comes down to thick skin and soft soles.

- Christina Cheakalos
- Cathy Nolan in Casette d'Ete and Milan and Ulrica Wihlborg in Los Angeles



"I'm doing what I dreamed of," says Della Valle (with Andrea at their headquarters).