

Hillary Watch: A 'Smelly' Newspaper Ad

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Senate

Two-faced Hillary is just too much

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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The GOP Race To Elect Hillary

Rudy, Rick and Pete can keep fighting through November 2000

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

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

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

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

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

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

ALVIN S. FELZENBERG

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There is one Republican, though, with a stake in the outcome and the ability to do something to resolve this family dispute. George W. Bush has a lot riding on this contest. He is the first Republican prospect since Ronald Reagan with a chance of winning electoral-vote-rich New York.

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

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

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

Brushback pitch

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

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

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

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

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

Wednesday, July 21, 1999

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

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

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

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

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

that she's seeking the nomination."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The losing candidate's shares will be worthless.

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

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

Commentary

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

Hillary and Rudy will tax the voters' patience

Steve Chapman



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If Hillary wants the government to be our

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

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

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

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

LADY MACBETH COMES TO N.Y.

NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, JULY 21, 1999

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

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

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

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

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

BARTLE BULL

and her husband have shared in Little Rock and Washington.

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

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

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

convenient shifting position on Israel and Jerusalem?

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

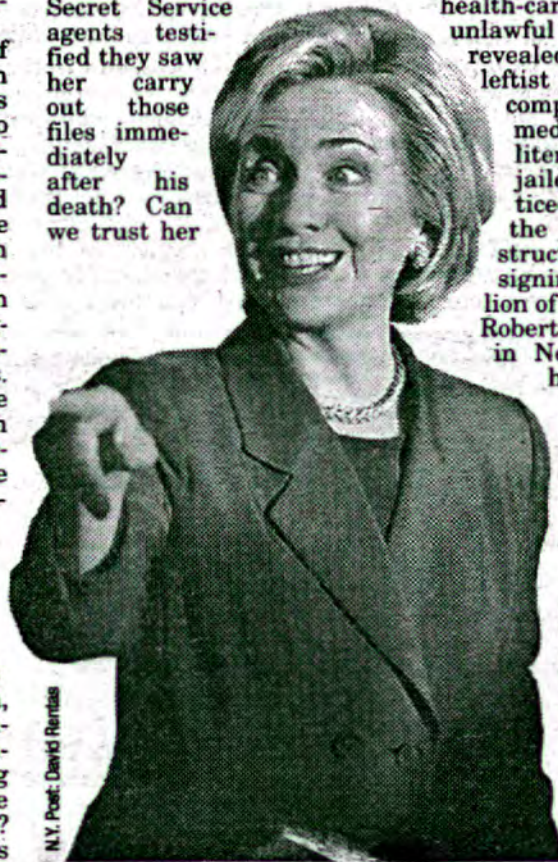
Robert Kennedy was born in New York and lived here for 12 years. He went to school in Riverdale and long shared a family residence in New York City. A man of integrity, he battled organized crime and crooked unions with characteristic intensity, as Rudolph Giuliani has done. Also like Giuliani, Robert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

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

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

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

Bartle Bull is a lawyer and writer.

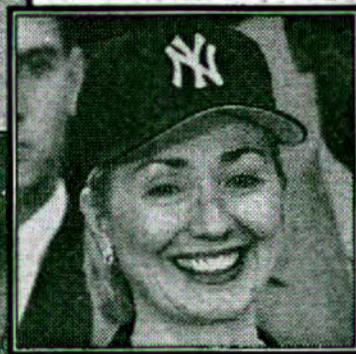


N.Y. Post: David Rennie

MR. PERFECT

BEANS

HILL



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

STORY ON PAGE 3

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

CONE TWEAKS CAP-ITAL HILL

By MAGGIE HABERMAN

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

At a packed reception

Brushes back sudden Yankee fan

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

Turning to Giuliani, he

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

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

"oohs" and cheers from the audience.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Hillary's run for the Senate

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

At least, one New Yorker does.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Meredith Oakley



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rory wants to do film on first lady

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

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

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



By J. Scott Applewhite, AP

Documentary deal? Rory Kennedy, with fiance Mark Bailey

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

By Ann Oldenburg

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

THE NEW YORK TIMES

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TUESDAY, JULY 20, 1999

N.Y. 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.

TIME, JULY 19, 1999

N A T I

NEW YORK STA

Hillary Clinton opens her undeclared candidacy for the U.S. Senate by making a show of listening—and sidling away from Bill

By ERIC POOLEY ONEONTA

ON THE FIRST DAY OF THE REST of her life—last Wednesday, when she flew from Washington to upstate New York to begin the obligatory “exploratory” phase of her campaign for the U.S. Senate—Hillary Rodham Clinton ordered her motorcade to stop just outside the Binghamton airport. She hopped out of her van and, as a look of *uh-oh, here-we-go* flickered across the face of one of her Secret Service agents, plunged into a crowd of 50 well-wishers—the first spontaneous mosh-pit moment of Clinton’s strange and improbable proto-campaign. She hugged children, signed autographs, posed for snapshots, and made deep and significant eye contact with as many peepers as possible. (There could be no doubt who had taught her the mystical arts of the rope line.) When 15-year-old Stephanie Stein handed her a photograph, Clinton gazed at it for a few long, respectful moments, and one got the feeling that the photo contained the apotheosis of youthful achievement. Then Hillary locked eyes with the girl and asked, “You’ve been a cheerleader for how long now?” “Four years,” Stephanie said proudly. In the picture, she was going through her pom-pom paces for Binghamton High. “Four years,” Hillary marveled. “Wow.”

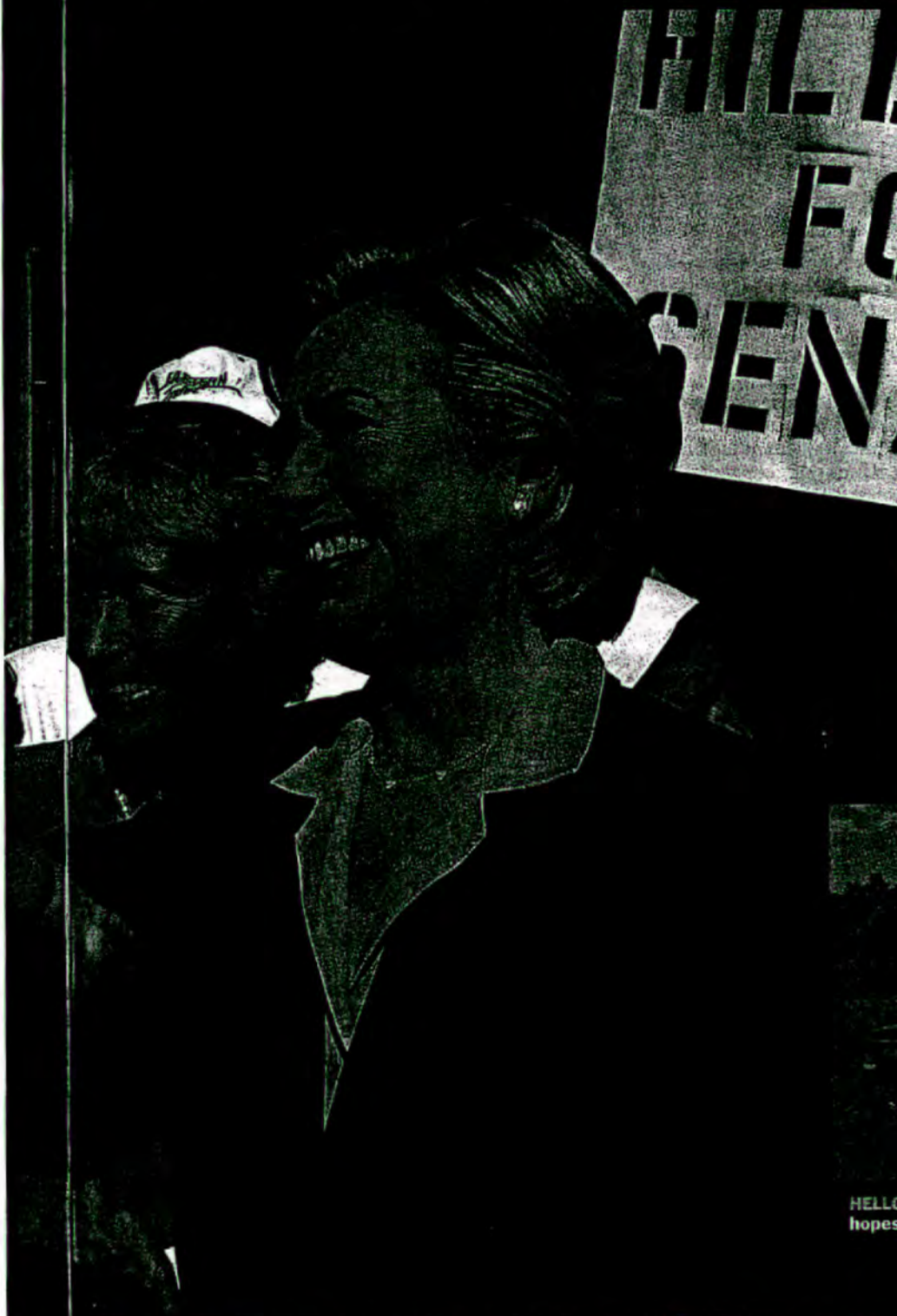
Looking for the sunny, specious hucksterism of the campaign trail? Step right up—Hillary will give it to you. This year’s model is advertised as new and improved—less formidable and more fun, tenderized by a year of public humiliation, performing



Photographs for TIME by Diana Walker

T I O N

STATE OF MINE



the silly rituals that campaigns are made of (hefting Hank Aaron's bat at the Baseball Hall of Fame, tucking into barbecue at a local rib joint) and loving them. Though one can't help suspecting that she sometimes feels she's slumming, she never lets it show. No doubt she is genuinely enjoying this moment of stepping out on her own, serving her ambition after 25 years of serving Bill's. (She has been thinking about doing this since at least 1990, when, according to former Clinton strategist Dick Morris, she considered running for Arkansas Governor if Bill decided not to stand for re-election.) The simple pleasure she takes in campaigning—probing genuinely serious policy issues; meeting people who regard her with thunderstruck awe, as if she were Joan of Arc in a minivan—may seem banal, but it's crucial to the whole venture. If it weren't fun, she'd pull the plug, but right now that's about as likely as her switching to the G.O.P. She told a group of reporters last Thursday, "It is a different feeling to be the person who is in the spotlight voluntarily and speaking on my own behalf... You know, yesterday was the first time I had ever done it... I loved what I did." Says an adviser: "I don't think there's any way she's going to tire of this."

But will New York tire of her? Sixteen months before the election, Clinton is a



HELLO, GOODBYE She is a vessel for supporters' hopes and dreams, opponents' fears and hatreds

NATION



MEDIA FARM Some 300 journalists came to see Moynihan pass the torch

vessel for the hopes, dreams and sympathies of her supporters (typical refrain: "I admire you so much as a person") and for the fears and hatreds of her many detractors (HILLARY GO HOME signs sprouted wherever she went last week). There are legions on both sides, and neither can quite believe she is actually going to bring her soap opera to their state. But bring it she will. Where a lesser person might be having a post-traumatic breakdown right about now, Hillary is having a campaign—and, it would seem, the time of her life. Is this politics, psychotherapy, or a little of both? Whatever the answer, the campaign for Senate is filling a large need. It would take a cataclysm to keep her out of this race.

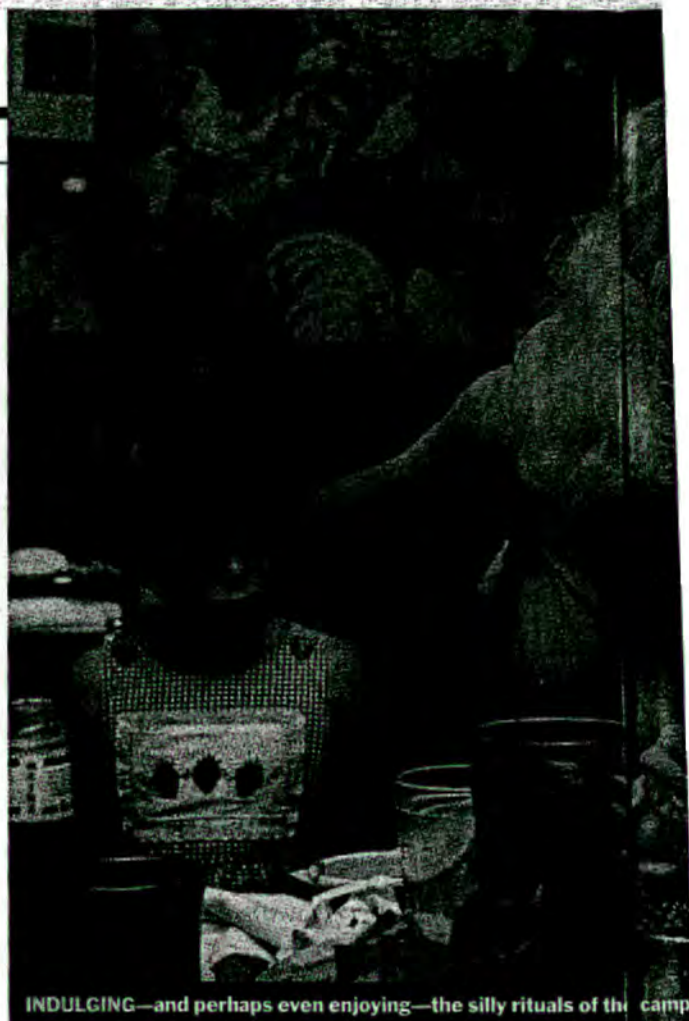
After all those years spent learning from the master, it's no surprise that her candidate's persona last week was profoundly Clintonian—by turns folksy and falsely humble, dazzlingly smart and suddenly peremptory, as when she ignored or brushed aside inconvenient questions about the Lewinsky scandal (the affair that helped make this run possible, after all, by boosting sympathy and softening her image). All week long she tried her best to stick to a script that called on her to listen and learn, seeming to absorb knowledge and wisdom from local experts and average folks in Oneonta, Cooperstown, Utica, Rome and Syracuse. The self-effacing, studious pose is supposed to buy time and get people accustomed to a startling sight: the first First Lady ever to run for office, doing so while her husband still occupies his. But this phase of her campaign, which will involve two- or three-day jaunts around New York most weeks

through the summer and fall, is designed to accomplish an array of other objectives too.

First, her "listening sessions"—90-minute round-table discussions on health care, education reform and the like—are meant to bore the daylights out of the press corps, driving them on to other stories, dousing the flames of hype, reducing the size of her pack so she can campaign in a quasi-normal fashion. Some 300 media types covered her kickoff endorsement at Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's Delaware County farm last Wednesday, and the education event that afternoon began a war of attrition. Says an adviser: "It was fun to watch the TV cameras shut down and leave the room one by one." On Thursday the media horde had dwindled to 200; by Friday it was down to 75.

The Never Ending Tour's second strategic purpose is to have Clinton spend so much time in New York that she becomes part of the scenery. She's hoping this will help neutralize what she called "a very fair question," the charge that she is a carpet-bagger with no ties to the state and no business running there. (She wants her novelty to wear off but not her celebrity.)

Third, by appearing modest and thirsty for the wisdom of New Yorkers—taking notes, asking questions—she hopes to erase, as much as possible, the memory of the arrogant know-it-all of 1994 who designed a 1,364-page health-care reform plan in secret sessions. At a medical center in Cooperstown, Clinton voiced her impa-

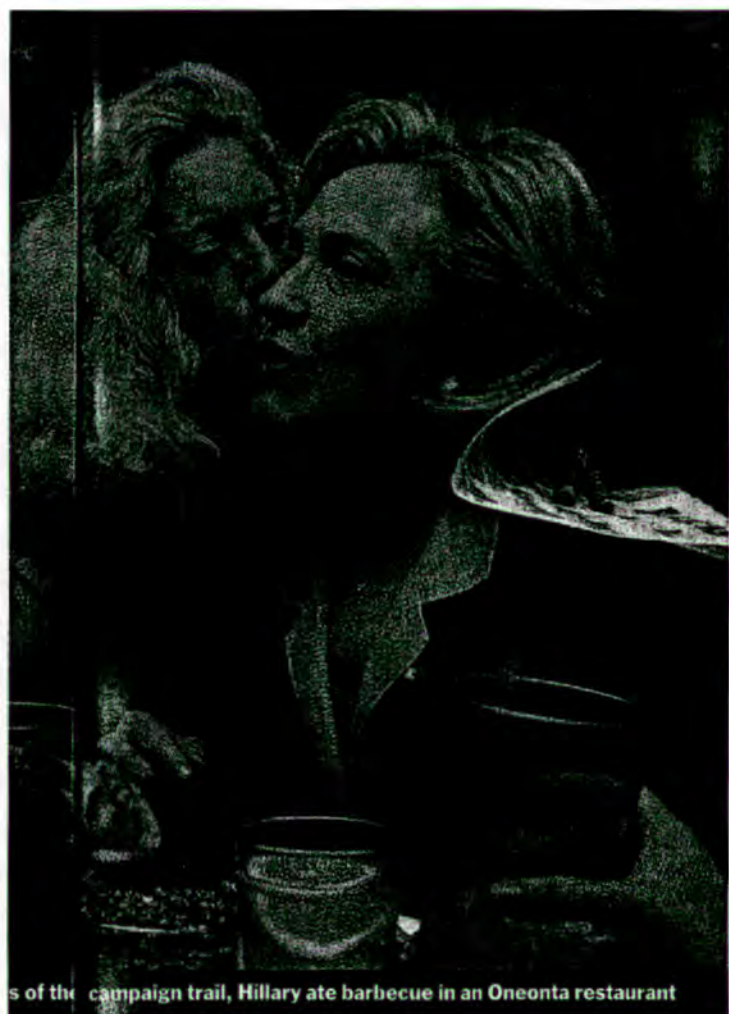


INDULGING—and perhaps even enjoying—the silly rituals of the camp

tience with incremental health-care reform, "the school of smaller steps" she and her husband have been forced to rely on ever since; the patient's bill of rights, though she supports it, is a mere "diversion" from the real problems: greedy drug companies, miserly managed-care combines, 43 million uninsured Americans. But at the same forum she had the nerve to say that when she approaches health issues, "I'm only a patient. I'm just a lay person."

THAT'S HOKUM, OF COURSE—THE bit of flimflam at the core of her listening tour. Hillary knew more about health care and education than most of the panelists she was listening to last week. She displayed an extraordinary command of policy detail, a steely anger on behalf of those getting screwed by the health and education systems, a fine ear for the telling local anecdote (such as the Ithaca car-crash victim denied insurance coverage after she failed to get preapproval for her emergency helicopter evacuation because she was unconscious at the time). But she was the Woman Who Knew Too Much. When a panelist at the ed-

“It is a different feeling to be the person in the spotlight v



s of the campaign trail, Hillary ate barbecue in an Oneonta restaurant



CELEBRITY BALL With fans outside the Hall of Fame in Cooperstown

school district's resources for disabled students are spread too thin because of a federal decree that disabled students be mainstreamed, not put in special schools. Hillary corrected her. They can be mainstreamed, she said, but still concentrated in specific schools, "so you have

a whole row of wheelchairs, not just one or two." The teacher hung her head. "I apologize; we do that," she said. Bill would have salvaged her ego. Hillary asked for another question, but for a long, silent moment, there weren't any. Her listeners didn't want to cross swords with her, and who could blame them? But when the session was over, they all came up for autographs.

The listening events also let Clinton demonstrate what she has been learning about the state's history and economy, its people and problems. Once or twice on each day of her tour, she showed off her prize stat the way a dog parades a bone: "If upstate New York were a separate state," she said, "it would rank 49th in job creation and economic development." And that's more than a stat—it's an indication of how she'll run against her probable opponent, New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani.

In upstate New York, it's still the economy, stupid. Since 1960 the city of Utica, for example, has lost half its population—down to 64,000 from 125,000—and much of the region has scarcely benefited from the boom of the 1990s, suggesting that the same lunch-pail issues that delivered New York to Bill in 1992 could help deliver it to Hillary in

2000. Her signature concerns—economic fairness and child welfare, education reform and affordable health care—won't carry the largely Republican upstate against Giuliani, but they could keep it close enough for her to win, since she's likely to beat him handily in his own (Democratic) hometown. The race's great unknown is who would take the New York City suburbs, where both are very popular.

Before she starts dealing with all that, however, Hillary has to define herself as a candidate distinct from her husband. At first, her advisers were worried that doing so would lead to a spate of "rift" articles of the kind that have been chronicling tensions between Al Gore and the President. But Hillary and her team believe it is most important to ever-so- gingerly demonstrate that she is not his policy clone. (When she considered running for Governor of Arkansas in 1990, Morris has said, his polling indicated that voters would see her as a "stand-in" for Bill. She won't let that happen this time.) And so last week Hillary began opening up about policy agreements and disagreements—programs she had fought for behind the scenes at the White House, such as the child health-insurance plan called CHIP ("I worked very hard to make sure we got it done") and a proposed tax credit to help pay for long-term care ("a proposal that the President and I unveiled together earlier this year"). She tried to inoculate herself against charges of being too liberal by saying she urged Clinton to sign the welfare-reform bill of 1996 ("The system was so broken ... we had to clear the decks").

education forum in Oneonta talked about an early-elementary remediation program called Reading Recovery, Hillary couldn't contain herself. "I know something about this program because I've followed it and I've supported it for, I guess, more than 10 or 12 years," she began, "ever since I learned about it being pioneered in New Zealand." It was classic Hillary. Time and again she would ask some nuanced question that her panelists were unable to answer—and then she would answer it herself:

Hillary: Is the Medicaid reimbursement formula now significantly different from most managed-care reimbursement rates?

Expert: Uh, I don't know.

Hillary: Well, what I'm being told is, in some parts of the country the managed-care rate is not much better if at all better than the Medicaid rate, but there still is resistance toward [accepting] Medicaid patients.

Expert: [stunned silence]

In politics, it's not smart to seem too smart. Bill Clinton uses his intellect to dazzle audiences, but he does it in an inclusive way. He articulates things people know but can't quite express. Hillary sometimes can't help intimidating them. At a senior citizens' center in Utica, a teacher told her that the

ight voluntarily ... I loved [it]."

—HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT
Volume 2, 1933-1938
By Blanche Wiesen Cook
Viking • 686pp • \$34.95

FIRST LADY, AND NO SECOND FIDDLE

It may be unfortunate for Hillary Rodham Clinton that she has chosen to test her political wings just as a long-awaited second volume of an Eleanor Roosevelt biography hits the bookstores. For the book highlights the stark differences between Clinton and her role model, with whom, the White House has admitted, she had imaginary conversations.

Early on, Clinton had sought to carve out an independent policy role, but she withdrew from public activism after her health-care plan bombed. ER, as biographer Blanche Wiesen Cook calls her subject, took another approach. In *Eleanor Roosevelt: Volume 2, 1933-1938*, Cook describes a First Lady who, undaunted by failure and discord, ran a "parallel administration" alongside the President's, making major contributions to the New Deal. Seeking political office for herself seemed unnecessary.

At 686 pages, this volume is a comprehensive look at just five years in the life of a very busy woman. "She wrote, she published, she traveled, she lobbied, she joined grassroots organizations and radical communities with a zeal that sparked controversy everywhere," its dust jacket proclaims. The book itself, though, is seldom so succinct, and its detail can try the reader's patience. One hopes that volume three, which Cook is writing now, will be more focused.

As the author tells it, Eleanor often prodded Franklin's conscience, and he turned to her to "warm up," or build support for, politically dicey issues. And if she disagreed with her more cautious husband, she often said so publicly. Sometimes, the wily Eleanor even bypassed opponents in the Administration. In organizing the Arthurdale housing community in destitute Appalachia, for example, she enlisted the support of FDR's close aide, Louis Howe, even though the project was supposed to be

administered by Interior Secretary Harold L. Ickes. Ickes complained that ER and her supporters were spending money "like drunken sailors." FDR privately agreed, but Eleanor prevailed, and the houses were built with the modern amenities that she chose.

Cook's narrative is most compelling when it describes ER's pursuit of social equality. In one of the most moving scenes, the author describes how, at a 1938 civil rights meeting in Birmingham, Ala., Eleanor refused to sit in the whites-only section as the state's segregation laws required. Instead, she placed a folding chair between the two sections and carried that chair with her for the four days of the conference.

Such zeal, Cook conjectures, was partly a reaction to the isolationist State Dept.'s mid-1930s requirement that she not speak out against Hitler's treatment of the Jews. Her silence was "grievous and prolonged" on this issue, says Cook, yet ER was among the first to make the connection between the fascism that was brewing overseas and racism at home.

There is no doubt that Eleanor Roosevelt was a remarkable woman, but to hear her feminist biographer tell it, she could do little wrong. In contrast, FDR often comes off as a craven and duplicitous politician. He failed to speak out for a doomed anti-lynching bill that ER championed because he didn't want to challenge the Southern leadership of his party. Fearful of losing Catholic support in the labor unions, he ignored Eleanor's desperate entreaties to intervene on the side of democracy in the Spanish Civil War. Could it be, perhaps, that FDR was more attuned to the realities of the time—that it was necessary

to make those compromises to save his controversial New Deal?

Volume 1 of this biography contained some powerful notions. Cook suggested that ER's political growth was related to her feelings of abandonment after she discovered Franklin's affair with Lucy Mercer. That, along with her exclusion from FDR's male circle, encouraged her to develop ties with a group of politically active women. Her political empowerment deepened with sexual self-discovery, particularly through a relationship with reporter Lorena Hickok.

In Volume 2, though, Cook seldom explores the connection between Eleanor's trouble-fraught private relationships and her growing activism and popularity. And while there is much that is interesting in the book, it is not a compelling read. A vast amount of material is haphazardly thrown together with only the thinnest of transitions.

Even when Cook offers more analysis, she often fails to back up her state-

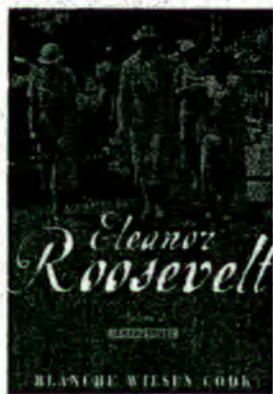
ments. For example, Cook suggests that husband and wife often worked in concert, complementing each other: While Franklin sought to build support for the politically possible, Eleanor pushed for "the radical end of New Deal thinking." But it's not clear the two actually did coordinate their efforts. At one point, for instance, he asked her to "warm up" the prospect of U.S. entrance

in the World Court, then didn't back the necessary legislation. So why the warm-up? Moreover, FDR often ignored ER, for reasons Cook fails to explain.

Still, what comes through clearly is ER's fearlessness. As 2000 approaches, it's hard to fathom how radical it was for a President's wife in the 1930s to warn that women who didn't work outside the home would become "automatons." As Hillary Clinton hits the forbidding political hustings in New York, perhaps she'll want to get in touch with ER for a brush-up course. The lesson: If you have a strong sense of purpose and principle, sometimes you can defeat the countervailing political tide.

BY SUSAN B. GARLAND

Garland covered the White House during Bill Clinton's first term.



ELEANOR ROOSEVELT WAS REMARKABLE, BUT TO COOK, SHE COULD DO LITTLE WRONG

HILLARY

Newsweek
July 19, 1999

A Not So Subtle Courtship

HILLARY CLINTON said she was in New York last week to listen, but when she did speak, she spoke to women. Focusing mostly on "soccer mom" issues like education and health care, the First Lady hoped to solidify her support among female voters, who, an early poll shows, prefer her to likely foe Rudy Giuliani. In the state's largely Republican north and west, that gender gap may be Hillary's best hope in 2000. In the meantime, her natural rapport with women may make her feel more welcome in her new political home. Leaving a women-dominated crowd in Binghamton last week to shouts of "You go, girl!" Hillary hopped into her van and whooped, "I love that!"

Women weren't the only constituency Hillary was court-



The First Lady is still learning how to reach out to New Yorkers

ing last week. Her campaign released a letter she'd written to a Jewish group calling Jerusalem "the eternal and indivisible capital of Israel" and suggesting the U.S. Embassy should be moved there from Tel Aviv. The sentiment, at odds with both her husband's

policy and pro-Palestinian statements she'd made last year, struck some observers, including the New York tabloids, as pandering. "New York politics is a study in the art of subtlety," said a former Moynihan aide. "Hillary is the opposite of subtle."

NEW YORK POST, MONDAY, JULY 19, 1999

POSTOPINION

And the Prize for Hillary-Hating . . .

THE prize for an ever-escalating contest in loony attacks on Hillary Rodham Clinton has to go to Michael Kelly for his column that says we must punish her for inflicting her husband on us ("Now Listening" in New York: The Woman Who Gave Us Bill," Post Opinion, July 16).

Ms. Clinton is "a victimizer of the rest of us" because she knew her husband is a rat and she did not tell us. Since Bill Clinton is, in Kelly's eyes, "pathological," she should have warned us against him instead of "foisting such a man upon the nation."

Now there's an interesting new way of reading presidential history. Did Pat Nixon know her husband was pathological? Probably. She tried to leave him at one point. Why, if he was not good enough for her, did she let us even consider the idea that he was good enough for the rest of us? Why didn't she call for a psychological examination of her husband?

Or how about Jacqueline Kennedy? At one point her father-in-law put her marriage back together. Surely she knew her husband was a compulsive womanizer — far more than Clinton.

Kennedy, who told a British statesman he needed continual sex to avoid headaches, had a string of girlfriends in the White House, including a Mafia plaything whose potential for damaging the presidency was greater than Monica's ever could be. Where was Ms. Kennedy when we needed her? Why do we honor the memory of



GARRY WILLS

this person who victimized us?

For that matter, Bess Truman probably knew from her own docile ways with him how bullying Harry could be. Why did she not tell us he was just the kind of guy who drops a second nuclear weapon without giving time for the impact of the first one to sink in? We have to rewrite Cold War history and put the blame where it really belongs.

Of course, there are people who think Kennedy and Truman were pretty good presidents, even though their wives knew they were not perfect men. Some, alas, even think Nixon was OK. Many people, a clear majority, now think President Clinton, for all his egregious flaws, has been a good president in steering the economy and conducting foreign policy.

None of that is supposed to count, though, if Mr. Kelly is right. The men should have been rejected on the testimony of their wives. What is excluded from criminal trials, he calls for on the public hustings, where he can stand with his headman's ax waiting for a signal from the first spouse to end the president's tenure.

Blaming women is an old game, but Kelly has brought it to new heights. By the time Ms. Clinton is elected or defeated, we may have to build whole strings of new mental homes to put people in who have gone bonkers trying to destroy the Hillary monster.



THE CAMPAIGN

A candidate keeps cool.

TO speak and say nothing is an art. What it requires is not self-abnegation so much as an exaggerated form of self-assurance, an ability to animate, almost by will alone, the blandest of vacuities. It is a test of poise and concentration and resolve, as an experienced geisha—or politician—can attest.

Last week, in Pindars Corners, Hillary Rodham Clinton embarked on her "Listening Tour of New York." It was the opening gesture of her all-but-inevitable Senate candidacy and just the opposite of the conventional campaign kickoff. Instead of orchestrated drama—the big speech in front of the cheering, balloon-toting crowd—there was only anticlimax, brilliantly staged. The two hundred members of the media who had arrived to record the first step in her historic race found themselves waiting in the middle of a newly mown hayfield while down the road, in an old one-room schoolhouse, the First Lady conferred privately with Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan—or, who knows, perhaps just gossiped with friends on her cell phone. When the two finally strolled up to where the reporters were assembled, the mob tried to force Mrs. Clinton to say something, anything, for the evening news, throwing out, in quick succession, provocative questions about carpetbagging, Monica, and the right design for the Peace Bridge connecting Canada and Buffalo. She, however, remained as cool and elusive as the journalists were desperate.

By that afternoon, the comic incongruity of camera crews reduced to filming each other while reporters vied for interviews with local kids selling lemonade gave way to something still more punishing. Hillary, it turned out, really did intend to listen. Five citizens of Oneonta had been assembled in a meet-

ing room at the State University to talk about what mattered to them. Ben Friedell, a local doctor, spoke about the importance of public education; Steve Waller, a college student, shared his reasons for wanting to become a teacher; Elena Doyle, a small-business owner, described the difficulty of finding good help among local young people.

"The one problem that I've noticed throughout all the years I've been in business in Oneonta is social skills and emotional intelligence," Doyle said at one point, because it was something she cared about. "The problem of peo-



ple answering the phones, unbelievable. . . . I say to them, 'If you cannot relate in this little town, what will happen when you get out there and really see what the world is and don't have someone like me for a boss that takes you in the back and coddles you?'

From my vantage point, wedged up against an end table, I could barely see Mrs. Clinton's face, but every time she turned my way she was, it seemed, nodding emphatically, fairly radiating earnest concern. She was concerned about pre-kindergarten education, about access to dental care, about better marketing of dairy products, and, of course, about the problem of answering the phones. Half an hour into this ninety-minute exercise, I counted three reporters fast asleep.

The luxury of Mrs. Clinton's campaign is that she does not, in the tradi-

tional sense, need the media. She can eschew drama, refuse to speak in sound bites, spend weeks exploring the dark continent that lies between Utica and Malone, all without fear of falling into obscurity. Even before the opening rout at Pindars Corners, journalists were showing justifiable signs of anxiety. I met several of my colleagues in the corridors of the Albany Marriott the night before the First Lady's arrival, and they all confessed to a queasy feeling. Had we gathered for the most sensational political story of the year, or was it more like one of those sting operations that proffer free Yankees tickets to gullible fugitives?

So far, Mrs. Clinton's candidacy is based on a logic that is, quite frankly, circular, or, in its maddening topology, perhaps more like a Möbius strip. When she or her aides are pressed on how she can presume to run in a state she has never lived in, the programmatic reply is that what is important is "where you stand, not where you are from." When they're pressed on where she stands, the answer is no less automatic: she has come to New York not to impose her views but to "listen to New Yorkers." She talked throughout the day about the issues she is committed to, which, she suggested, were the very same issues she is hoping to learn about. "All I can say is that I care deeply about the issues that are important in this state that I've already been learning about and hearing about," she told the reporters on Moynihan's farm.

By day two of her tour, Mrs. Clinton's media strategy was showing some signs of strain, as reporters, searching for something besides her "listening sessions" to cover, came up with a letter she had written to Jewish leaders a week earlier on moving the Israeli capital to Jerusalem. No doubt there will be more such contretemps. Still, you have to credit the First Lady, or at least her advisers, with cunning. As has been widely noted, her popularity has always had less to do with the causes she has championed than with the abuses she has borne stoically. In this sense, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, with his native bellicosity, is an ideal opponent, and so, too, is a captious press.

—ELIZABETH KOLBERT



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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.

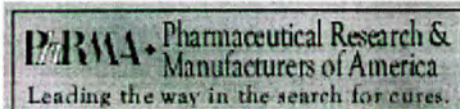
But when a journalist asked flat-out if she was for or against gun ownership, Clinton talked about wanting more comprehensive gun control legislation -- but never answered the question.

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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As 'Hillary Fatigue' takes over, first lady loses lead in N.Y. polls

Mrs. Clinton continues to sidestep embarrassing questions

By Liz Trotta
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

NEW YORK — In the second phase of her "listening tour," as she walks the line between candidate and first lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton is facing declining poll numbers and a growing sense among some politicians and voters that embarrassing or tough questions are not being entertained.

Traveling upstate and in the suburbs, Mrs. Clinton talked up her favorite issues — child care and gun control. But when reporters were permitted to question her, she sidestepped such matters as the commuter tax and tenure for teachers. She also deflected queries that hinted at scandals or put her at odds with her husband's policies.

The three-day tour was vintage folk among average people. The scheduled windup, however, found her in a huddle with some of Manhattan's top money men — among them former White House adviser Erskine Bowles and investment banker Robert Altman — at a private fund-raiser. The pitch for campaign contributions — about 70 people at \$1,000 a head — is believed to be the first appeal held in her name alone since she announced the formation of an exploratory committee to run for Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's Senate seat.

Throughout the week, Mrs. Clinton sat with small, hand-picked audiences, nodding her head in assent and briskly taking notes as she listened to people's concerns. Last week in the opening phase of this learning expedition, the first lady made page one and led the local TV newscasts. But this week, as "Hillary Fatigue" seemed to set in among even the hardest supporters, her words and deeds were relegated to the inside pages.

In the latest Marist poll, Mrs. Clinton trailed her most likely opponent, New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, for the first time — 46.9 percent to 40.7 percent. The survey, conducted among registered voters, also reflected the mayor's superior strength upstate and in the suburbs.

She "really needs to demonstrate to New Yorkers the kind of commitment she has to be a senator from this state," said poll director Lee Miringoff.

Friends of Hillary are reported to be advising her to keep appearances intimate and small, saying safe meetings in manageable groups will protect her dignity. Others disagree, saying that once she is stripped of her White House aura, the going will get rough.

"If her handlers are telling her to act like just another candidate, to diminish her presence, they're making a grievous mistake," said Republican consultant Jay Seve-

rin. "She's viewed by prospective voters as a feminist champion, a wronged wife, a mother, martyr and saint — First Lady Spice. That celebrity quotient is very important in a New York race."

From the start, Mrs. Clinton has dismissed questions about controversial issues, saying it was time to look to the future.

At one stop in Nassau County, Sarah Stern, a Republican housewife, said Mrs. Clinton "deflected" her question about ending tenure for teachers. She did say, however, that she supported charter schools, a system in which parents can choose to take their children out of a public school in favor of a private or parochial school.

Mrs. Clinton avoided committing herself to support for the repeal of New York City's commuter tax. The tax, recently repealed in Albany, was paid to the city by commuters, many of them Long Islanders who were in her audience. Instead, Mrs. Clinton said she was aware of the "tax burden" and would work to increase the state's share of federal assistance. Mr. Giuliani fought hard to retain the tax.

Mrs. Clinton advocated gun control as she addressed a pre-selected group in Rockville Centre, accompanied by Democratic Rep. Carolyn McCarthy, whose husband was killed by a deranged gunman in 1993.

Clinton Supporters Eye \$25 Million Campaign for New York Seat

By IANTHE JEANNE DUGAN
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, July 15—Hillary Rodham Clinton may be an out-of-towner, but she is moving fast to prove her fund-raising prowess in New York.

She held her first Senate fund-raising meeting Wednesday night, followed up by a \$1,000-a-head breakfast this morning. Already a group of core supporters is planning an Oct. 25 birthday bash/fund-raiser. A Hamptons party, most likely headlined by President Clinton, will be held the last weekend in August.

Even wedding dress designer extraordinaire Vera Wang, once better known in Republican circles, has offered to host a brunch at her home.

"The cult around her [Hillary Clinton] is Kennedy-like," said John Catsimatidis, chief executive of the food and oil conglomerate Red Apple Group and one of New York's biggest Democratic fund-raisers. "People can't do enough for her."

Catsimatidis is on a new finance committee being formed by the first lady. He and about 20 other supporters met Wednesday evening at the Park Avenue office of Patricof & Co. Ventures to discuss how to raise \$25 million to move Hillary Clinton into the seat being vacated by retiring Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Patricof, one of the biggest venture capital firms in the country, is owned by two of Clinton's biggest supporters: Alan Patricof and his wife, Susan.



In Great Neck Wednesday, on her "listening tour" of New York, first lady Hillary Clinton meets with David R. Dantzer, president of North Shore-Long Island Jewish Health System.

Alan Patricof is acting as Clinton's informal finance chairman, overseeing a powerful group of advisers. They include high-profile Democrats and some low-key political newcomers, mainly women who not only agree with Clinton's stand on family issues but also are determined to have a role in ushering the first woman into a New York Senate seat.

"There are a lot of tremendous, vibrant women in New York, but it is very hard to rise into the top offices here," said Ellen

Chesler, a prominent writer and longtime Clinton friend. "It takes \$25 million."

Clinton—who has served as a major fund-raising draw for the Democratic Party and candidates during her husband's two terms in office—is laying the groundwork for amassing that sum. Earlier this month, she mailed a "Dear Friend" letter to nearly 2 million people. "You may not be able to travel across New York with me, but in a very real sense, I am counting on you to be

by my side," the letter said.

She has also made hundreds of calls directly, including many from the White House. A spokesman said she is using a private line and her cellular phone.

Among those attending the small meeting Wednesday were President Clinton's former chief of staff, Erskine B. Bowles, former deputy treasury secretary Roger Altman, and Washington lobbyist Liz Robbins, along with investment bankers Stan Shuman and Steven Rattner and Rattner's wife, Maureen White, a prominent Democratic activist.

Clinton's fund-raising is being guided by the man who helped propel her husband to victory, Terry McAuliffe, and Gabrielle Fialkoff, a veteran New York fund-raiser. Also on board is Harvey Weinstein, the chief of Miramax Films, and his wife, Eve. Eve Weinstein is not typically known for taking an active role in politics. Now, friends say, she has vowed: "I'll do anything to get Hillary into office."

This morning, Patricof presided over a second meeting at the giant New York law firm Skadden Arps, drawing some 75 people, including playwright Eve Ensler, who wrote "The Vagina Monologues," Geraldine Laybourne of Oxygen Media, Martha Stewart Living chief executive Sharon Patrick, and Toby Nussbaum, wife of former White House counsel Bernard Nussbaum.

"After all my years in politics, you'd think I'd be nuts to do this," several attendees recalled Hillary Clinton saying.

Apparently they did not. Many contributed

\$1,000 to talk, listen and volunteer. "I'm going to write letters and co-host events and however else I can be useful," said Beth DeWoody of Rudin Management Co., a real estate firm.

The meeting was organized by Skadden partner Mark Kaplan, a longtime Hillary friend who rented the space from his firm, the same vast conference room where the Federal Reserve Bank of New York last year oversaw the rescue of hedge fund Long Term Capital Management.

At the smaller meeting Wednesday, one woman asked Hillary Clinton how she would address the Monica S. Lewinsky question, according to several supporters who were holed up in the black-and-white conference room. The room became tense. "I almost fell off my chair," said one attendee.

Clinton responded quickly, saying she supports the president "110 percent" and is "very upset" that people have tried to use this to destroy him.

At the meetings she said she expects to raise \$8 million outside New York. Her presence in New York City has concerned some of Vice President Gore's advisers.

"When you write a check to Hillary, you feel like you're writing it to the administration," said Catsimatidis. "I do believe it will hurt Gore's campaign."

But some fund-raisers who are making calls for Gore and Clinton say that their job is simplified. "You just pick up the phone," said one, "and say, you've already given for Gore; can you give for Hillary?"

A day in the life of a carpetbagger

HILLARY CLINTON'S to-do list for Thursday, July 15, 1999:

■ 10 a.m. Oh, no! Another tedious game of Empire State Jeopardy with Ickes. ... Must win this time.

Learn from past mistakes: The official animal of New York is the American beaver, *not* the tenement cockroach. The state bird is the blue bird, *not* the Adirondack black fly.

The insect is the lady bug, *not* the First Lady pest. The state fruit is the apple, *not* Tinky Winky.

The New York state motto is "Excelsior." That means, "Always upward," and has absolutely nothing to do with taxes, Rudy's poll numbers, or that miserable husband of mine ...

Ed Koch is *alive*. Ditto Lindsay. Ditto Beame. Eighty-six on Eleanor R. Do not screw up this time!

ANDREA PEYSER



■ Noon. Hair, makeup and Manhattan black-wardrobe initiation. If necessary, may train with tan and ecru, gradually building up my immunity to primary colors.

■ 1 p.m. Smile maintenance. Donna H. recommends: Sit in warm bath visualizing Rudy G. sticking finger in light socket in Washington Heights — that's *north* of Saks, far west of the Golan Heights, in case anyone should ask — at the exact moment Con Ed restarts power. Ouch!

■ 2 p.m. Start dressing for dinner with those annoying Baraks. Ugh! At

least Bibi spoke good English, not to mention he had as frisky a rep with the ladies as my Billy. In Israel, they loved him for that — and hated him for confessing! Life is sooo unfair.

But this guy Barak (Memo to self: Study proper pronunciation of Ehud) is some kind of square. So what if he's a war hero? Bill had to live with me.

■ 3 p.m. Switch off brain, and switch into First Lady mode. Write in notebook 5,000 times: I must listen and learn, learn and listen, listen and lecture, lecture and pester ... Dress British, think Yiddish. Givult.

Golda Meir, help me — Please!!

In the evening, time for the dinner between the Clintons and the Baraks arrives. Mrs. Clinton is the picture of an adoring wife and devoted First Lady. Let's listen in:

Hillary: Shalom Prime Minister, Mrs. Barak. I just want you to know that I'm not here as a Senate candidate. I'm here to listen and, umm, learn, yes, learn about all your concerns as Israelis and members of the Jewish faith, which is, ummm, one of my favorite religions, ummm, of course, I also have a lot of respect for the Muslim people, uhh, who have a long and rich history as well.

But, of course, they treat women miserably and what's with the veils? The Palestinians don't at all deserve their own state. Who could ever have said such a silly thing!

Ehud Barak: Well, Mrs. Clinton, actually I have given serious thought to the concept of Palestinian self-determination. ...

Hillary: Oh, yes, of course. Amen!

But forget about giving



HILLARY CLINTON
Killer schedule.

them a piece of Jerusalem. My goodness, that would be like chopping up Albany! We can't have that, no matter what Bubba says. Jerusalem is yours! We're moving the embassy. I'm taking my vacation there.

The dinner ends when Hillary's head explodes.

Hillary's to-do list, July 16:

■ Research residency requirements for serving in Israeli Knesset.

Now 'Listening' in New York: The Woman Who Gave Us Bill

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 there is a smidgen of validity to it. Mrs. Clinton is to some degree a victim, and she is to be pitied for this.

But is Mrs. Clinton entirely a victim, or is she also, with her husband, a victimizer of the rest of us?

What is now common knowledge about Clinton — that he is recklessly destructive in the pursuit of his own pleasures and interests, that he is tantrum-throwing immature and that he is a compulsive teller of untruths — was not widely known when Clinton ran for the presidency in 1992. But was it known to Mrs.

Clinton?

Mrs. Clinton must have known that the carefully crafted public Clinton was not remotely the real thing. She must have known that her husband of nearly two decades was, by virtue of his in-



**MICHAEL
KELLY**

eradicable character, not fit to hold the office — that, in fact, he was very likely to shame the office.

This, you may say, is unfair. The wife who deludes herself about her husband is a cliché. But Mrs. Clinton was not only a wife. She was a central figure in her husband's campaigns and his gubernatorial administrations. She was in a position to know the truth

about her husband, and she did know it; and she joined the likes of George Stephanopoulos, Paul Begala and James Carville in a cynical and immoral effort to hide the truth from the voters and to savage those who told the truth.

In 1992, Clinton was caught lying about his evasion of the Vietnam draft and about his liaison with a former state employee named Gennifer Flowers. With the support of his wife and staff, Clinton chose to continue to lie. And, as Stephanopoulos tells us in his political memoirs "All Too Human," those high up in the Clinton campaign knew he was lying.

Stephanopoulos recalls

his thoughts upon hearing the tapes of Flowers' intimate conversations with Clinton: "He lied." The sure knowledge demoralized Stephanopoulos and his colleagues — but then "Hillary rallied all of us that night with a conference call." The reinvigorated team went out to accuse Flowers of being the liar in the case, and to browbeat a complaisant press into pretending the tapes were forgeries.

Then came the discovery of Clinton's 1969 letter to Col. Eugene Holmes. "The letter's a fake," Stephanopoulos recalls wishfully thinking. But then, in the damage-control huddle, Mrs. Clinton read it: "Hillary spoke first. 'Bill, this is you. I can hear you saying this.'" Once

again, Mrs. Clinton focused the team to fight on — to blame others, to lie with abandon. (I can still hear Begala heatedly asserting that Clinton must have *forgot-ten* that he had received a draft notice in the middle of the Vietnam War.)

A man who could do what Clinton did in 1992 is a man whose solipsism for self-control and whose capacity for lying are so far beyond the norm of behavior as to fairly be called pathological. Hillary Rodham Clinton played the crucial, knowing role in foisting such a man upon the nation. And she did this without the slightest evident concern for what that might mean for the welfare of the nation.

Of course, what might transpire did transpire. And Mrs. Clinton blamed a "vast right-wing conspiracy" for the wreckage she helped make. Now the new candidate Clinton asks for an office of high public trust. But she has shown us of what trust she is worthy.

First Lady Is Pledged \$25 Million for Race

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

Settling in for what is shaping up as the costliest Congressional contest in the nation's history, 75 New York Democrats sat down for breakfast with Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday and pledged to raise \$25 million to finance her expected race for Senator from New York.

If they succeed, the Clinton campaign would set a new record — raising more from contributors than any other nonincumbent Senate candidate.

As the lawyers, media executives and business leaders made their pledges at a midtown law office, the First Lady also mailed more than one million appeals to prospective Democratic contributors across the nation, her associates said. The size of the mailing dwarfed anything attempted in any congressional campaign in recent memory, Democrats said yesterday.

"Over the years I have written to you on behalf of Democratic candidates and causes," Mrs. Clinton wrote in her two-page letter. "Today, I am writing to make a more personal request." She went on to say, "For three decades I have been a strong advocate for the causes I believe in, and I believe I can be a strong advocate for New York."

Taken together, the letter and the fund-raising plan leave little doubt that the race to succeed Daniel Patrick Moynihan could shatter a series of campaign financing records.

If Mrs. Clinton meets the \$25 million goal — and Democrats and Republicans yesterday predicted she would — her campaign would surpass the record set by Oliver L. North in 1994, when he raised \$20.7 million for his unsuccessful Senate campaign in Virginia.

And if Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani of New York City or another Republican candidate comes close to matching Mrs. Clinton's success in raising funds — and Democrats and Republicans yesterday predicted that some Republican would — the race could break the \$44 million spending record set in the California Senate race of 1994, when Michael Huffington spent \$30 million, most of it out of his own pocket, in his unsuccessful campaign against Senator Diane Feinstein. The second most expen-

A Senate race that could break records for spending money.

sive race was in New York last year, when Charles E. Schumer, a Democrat, defeated Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, a Republican. Spending in that contest reached about \$40.1 million.

Unlike most first-time candidates, Mrs. Clinton will not have to spend any money to introduce herself to voters. However, her supporters said yesterday, the First Lady expects to have to spend large sums to address, presumably with television advertisements, unfavorable perceptions among a good portion of the New York electorate.

In addition, Republicans across the nation have begun making their own requests for money to help finance an effort to defeat Mrs. Clinton, adding to the pressure Mrs. Clinton's supporters said they felt to raise money in the months ahead.

Aides to Mr. Giuliani said they were unconcerned about Mrs. Clinton's fund-raising intentions. "We will match the Democratic candidate for the Senate in fund-raising," said John H. Gross, the mayor's treasurer.

Still, before Mr. Giuliani reaches the point of matching Mrs. Clinton, he has to get past a well-financed challenge to the nomination within his own party. Mr. Giuliani now has less money on hand for a Senate run than Representative Rick A. Lazio of Long Island, his relatively unknown rival for the Republican nomination, aides to both men said yesterday.

In Federal campaign filings to be released at the end of the month, Mr. Giuliani is expected to report having about \$2.6 million on hand, compared to more than \$3 million for Mr. Lazio.

However, Mr. Giuliani has been raising money in recent months at a far faster clip than Mr. Lazio, whose total is bolstered by more than \$1.8 million carried over from his Congressional campaign committees in previous years.

The First Lady's fund-raising meeting was held in a conference room at the New York law firm of Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom, at the invitation of a partner, Morris N. Kaplan.

The session was led by Alan J. Patricof, the New York venture capitalist who has been one of the President's most loyal supporters, and by Terence McAuliffe, a close friend of Mr. Clinton who raised \$27 million for the Clinton-Gore campaign in just seven months in 1995.

According to participants, it was Mr. Patricof who set the \$25 million goal. That figure was embraced by the participants, who agreed to meet monthly from here on.

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.

How come Arkansas don't have Zabars one?

■ A news item the other day quoted Mrs. Clinton, as saying she was drawn to New York by the great excitement and energy of the place. "I find that very attractive," she said while announcing (without announcing) that she would be a candidate for New York senator next year.

If that's the case—if it's the agitated, hectic, energetic pace of life, the drivenness, the hurm-scurem eagerness to get things done, to make hay while the sun shines, that Mrs. C. is looking for in a place to live—then by all means she should shuffle on up to New York in search of it rather than coming back to Arkansas.

Because as she well knows that sort of world-beater drive and ambition never has been very much at home in Arkansas. We see it here occasionally—the best example I can think of is Sam Walton, lacking only the pompons (or maybe he had pompons, I don't know; come to think of it, he probably did) popping up on the boardroom table to lead the assembled "associates" in the Wal-Mart cheer—but it's a relatively rare critter, and altogether contrary to the prevailing Arkansas weltanschauung.



■ BOB LANCASTER

To set a spell. To shell some peas. To spend some time fixing gizmos that would be better replaced than repaired. To make things (embroidered pillowcases, pickled peaches, cypress-knee lamps) at considerable effort and expense just for the pleasure of being able to give them away to friends and to strangers. To throw away a lot of stuff they'd forgot along the way they didn't need and didn't even want. A yielding up (willingly, happily) of the acquisitive spirit is somewhere near the heart of the coming-into-Arkansas experience—and you will note by way of contrast that acquisitiveness is the heart, the engine, the driving force, of that energy that Mrs. C. admires in New York and New Yorkers.

Arkansas people work hard but they have

somehow managed to keep blurred and tenuous the distinction between working hard and hardly working. It's an art, and it's an infernal annoyance and frustration to those about to bust with that energy Mrs. C. finds so attractive. It's an art that probably ate at energetic Mrs. C. all those impatient years she had to spend here; probably got her goat, as the locals like to say. The definitive Arkansas response to the notion of "getting ahead" would be "ahead of what?"

People don't come to Arkansas looking for a way to channel their energy so they can get to be A-No.1, king of the hill, top of the heap. They don't come here to accomplish great things; they come here to get away from feeling like they have to accomplish great things. Or even medium-size things. They don't come here looking for something to do; they come here looking for something not to do. Not to run themselves ragged, first and foremost.

They come here to go fishing, to play golf, to plant themselves a few tomatoes in a little garden, to take time to read some books and maybe write some. To go walking. To study the birds and the wildlife—just the ones that come into the yard are plenty. To look at the sunset a couple times a week.

The kind of energetic pursuit of the horizon that lures Mrs. C. New Yorkward is what Americans used to call the Rat Race. And the ideal for as long as I can remember insofar as the Rat Race has been not to get into it but to get out of it. The objective wasn't to leap into the mad scramble, as Mrs. C. is preparing to do, or if you

were already in it, to ratchet up your rattiness quotient to ever more frenetic levels, so you could claw forward ever faster over the backs of your fellow rats. No, the ideal was to get out of the madness, to escape from it—take the next exit, decelerate, and coast your way down to a whole different attitude. One name for that different attitude, for a long time now, has been Arkansas.

Arkansas has its own miniature or minor-league Rat Race to be sure, with its own stresses and hurtful expectations, but it's a race with a smaller purse and a more leisurely pace. It lacks that explosive both-ends-of-the-candle energy that just can't wait to burn itself up and burn itself out. And our rats aren't quite as ratty. We don't have your Donald Trumps and Patricia Buckleys and Al Sharptons and Maureen Dowds—she who was hooahawing Arkansas again in the New York Times the other day because we don't have any Zabars.

There's your energetic New Yorker's idea of deprivation, of squalor—a place without Zabars.

It might make her point to admit I'm not 100 percent dead-solid certain even what these Zabar rascals are, exactly. I'd hate it if it did, but I'm not.

I've asked around and got guesses from something to eat, to a pet, to something like a speakeasy or a bordello. All Arkansas guesses, as you can probably tell.

It might make her point to admit I'm not 100 percent dead-solid certain even what these Zabar rascals are, exactly. I'd hate it if it did, but I'm not.

Miss Congeniality

The only thing missing from Hillary Rodham Clinton's big production number in New York is Bert Parks. If he were only here, singing the theme song written just for the occasion "... there she is ... Miss America."

Her staged events are worthy of an Atlantic City press agent, and the questions posed to her have all



Suzanne Fields

the sting of those thrown at Miss Arkansas, or Miss Illinois or Miss New York — innocuous, stilted, stylized and safe. Her measured words are made to look spontaneous. She answers what she's practiced answering, not questions actually asked. What's your favorite color? If you came back as a tree, what tree would it be? When someone asked if she was ready for the months ahead, she might have been Miss Congeniality: "I'm excited about it, and I'm really looking forward to it."

No one asked anything like, "What advice would you give to young people in New York to avoid sinking to the moral standards of your husband?" When someone did ask whether the Monica Lewinsky affair would attract a sympathy vote to her, she replied: "Well, I'm looking forward to meeting with New Yorkers."

As a "listener" who takes her time with her replies rather than firing the bullets New Yorkers are accustomed to, Hillary may win skeptical men. Feminists, of course, hate it when Hillary goes into the feminine mode to seduce male voters, but given the way they stood by her husband they can hardly turn on her for it. Hypocrisy begets hypocrisy.

Hillary is prettier than she's looked since she arrived from Lit-

tle Rock. She's finally got the cosmetics, hair and fashion right. The only thing missing is lip gloss and Vaseline on her



teeth. She knows how to dress for her audience — understated chic in dark colors with designer shoes and suits that the label-conscious will recognize and others will appreciate for making her look slim.

Fortunately for the rest of us, there's no swimsuit category in this pageant. With those chubby thighs and thick ankles, Rudy Giuliani would look awful in a bikini.

Hillary's listening tour is more like a coronation than a campaign. If, as one dazzled elderly woman described her, "she's our Princess Di," it's because she's a victim who holds her head high (though not on

Di's long neck) amid the debris of her husband's oafish behavior.

Hillary's pursuit of a Senate seat is not an expression of women's liberation, but a quest for personal vindication.

It's no coincidence that her husband was on an Indian reservation in pursuit of someone's pain to feel when she took Pat Moynihan to her side to announce her exploratory committee from Pindar's Corner, N.Y.

One of the reasons she looks so pretty, aside from first-class courtyer coaching is that she's no longer introduced as somebody's wife. That role never suited her.

She climbed to the cusp of power as a victim of her husband's adultery, but she's not a victim today. As President Clinton prepares his farewell to arms, her sun also rises. She's a single woman for the first time in her public life.

Hillary, not Mr. Clinton, now has a portrait of Dorian Gray in her attic, a wife's version that Oscar Wilde could never have painted. The portrait reveals every deeply furrowed line in the face of an angry woman who made her husband's rise to power possible as he treated her like something on the bottom of his shoe; the lines of a terrified frown at the discovery of the Castle Grande billing records in the White House family rooms; the trace of the shrewish grimace as she orders others to get rid of the minions in the White House travel office ("get them out, get our people in"); the wrinkles left by smug smiles at the easy hundred grand she knocked down in the cattle-futures market; the residue of the scowl of rage at the remembrance of a health-care debacle past.

With the painting safely tucked away in the attic, she may yet glide through the school of New York sharks with the ease of Dorian Gray. There's nevertheless a caution in what happened when Dorian Gray decided to reform himself.

The ugliness in the countenance in the portrait was transferred to his own real-life visage.

"The one charm of the past," wrote Oscar Wilde, "is that it is past." But Hillary surely learned from her season in Arkansas what every Southerner knows, as William Faulkner observed, that the past is not dead. The past is not even past.

HILLARY'S SLIP IS SHOWING

'Listens' on L.I. as poll numbers dive

As a new poll showed her numbers slipping, First Lady Hillary Clinton yesterday ducked questions about the repeal of New York City's commuter tax, saying the politically charged tax cut "is a fact."

After holding a 90-minute gun-violence "listening session" in a Long Island middle school, Clinton opened the floor to reporters who asked her twice about the state Legislature's surprise decision in May to kill the tax.

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.,
FREDRIC U. DICKER
and TOM TOPOUSIS

"I think that the real issue here is the high level of taxation," Clinton told the audience of 60 people in Rockville Centre's South Side Middle School.

Pressed on whether the Legislature made the right decision in repealing the 0.45 percent tax on out-of-town commuters, the First Lady replied: "Well, you know, it's a fact. They did it and the courts have made their ruling on it and I really think that it's an issue that's going to have to be addressed in terms of the surplus that both the city and the state currently have."

The last-minute move to repeal the tax blew a \$360 million hole in the city's budget and caused intense turmoil within the state's Republican and Democratic parties.

Democratic leaders in the Assembly sided with Senate Republicans to kill the tax during a heated campaign to fill an open state Senate seat in Rockland and Orange counties.

A state Supreme Court judge last month ruled in favor of Connecticut and New Jersey, which both sued to have their portion of the tax repealed as well. The case is being appealed by the city.

It was the first time Clinton — who is considering running for U.S. Senate here — was asked about the controversial tax cut.

Mayor Giuliani, who is also seriously weighing a Senate run, has blasted state leaders for the tax repeal, saying it's blatantly unfair to New York City.

Asked about the First Lady's deflection of the commuter-tax issue, Giuliani said: "That tells me she's not a candidate yet. When she's a candidate, she'll have to respond to questions."

Meanwhile, a new Marist Poll had bad news for Clinton.

The survey — which previously had her defeating the mayor in a possible run for U.S. Senate — found the First Lady trailing Giuliani 46.9 to 40.7 percent.

The new poll, which surveyed 515 self-described registered voters Sunday and Monday, gave Giuliani strong leads in the often-bellwether suburbs, 54.2-34.8 percent, and in heavily Republican upstate, 55.7-29.5 percent. Mrs. Clinton led in the city by 2 to 1.

Howard Wolfson, Clinton's campaign spokesman, dismissed the poll's findings, saying: "The election is a year and a half away. Hillary Clinton is listening to people, not polls."

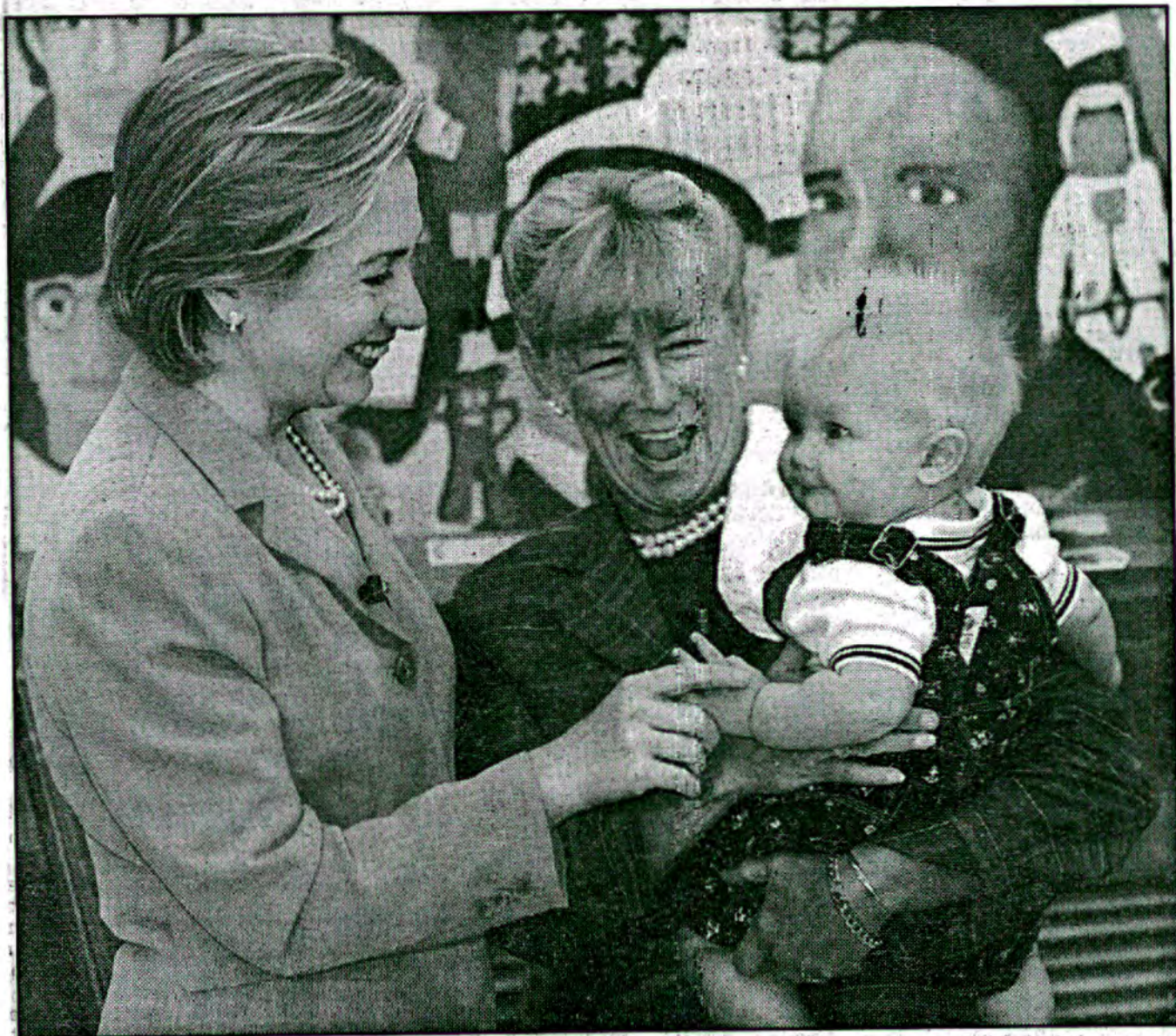
But revealing she's still a little green when it comes to New York, the First Lady slipped up when talking to a woman whose son was seriously injured in 1994 when he tackled a gunman at SUNY-Albany.

During the "listening" event, Alice McEnaney told Clinton of how she became active in supporting gun control after her son, Jason, was shot in a classroom.

The First Lady told McEnaney: "You've really spent a lot of time in the years since your son's murder..."

McEnaney interrupted her: "He wasn't murdered. My son's alive."

"Thank God! Amen," replied Mrs. Clinton. Jason, 24, was in the audience and thanked his mother for fighting for tougher gun laws.



BABE IN ARMS: Could-be Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton greets Rep. Carolyn McCarthy and her grandson, Dennis Nolan, during the First Lady's "listening" stop in Rockville Centre, L.I., yesterday. N.Y. Post: Mary McLoughlin

Great House Hunt is nearing an end

By ADAM MILLER
and ANDY GELLER

Hillary Rodham Clinton is "very close" to finding her dream house.

It won't be the \$3.8 million, 18-room mansion in tony North Salem, N.Y.

Nor, it appears, will it be the \$2.15 million, 9-room glamour pad around the corner.

But a source close to the Great House Hunt said yesterday the First Lady is "close, very close" to making a decision.

She should make her decision in two to three weeks, the source said.

Two weeks ago, rumors swept North Salem, a bucolic enclave of 4,800 in northern Westchester County, that the First Lady had bought the \$3.8 million manse, on exclusive Mills Road.

Not so, said Kathy Sloane, the real-estate agent helping Hillary house-hunt.

Sloane, a former First Lady of Louisville who works for the Brown Harris Stevens brokerage, said Mrs. Clinton and hubby Bill considered the mansion, but dropped it from the list of homes they are considering.

"There were security concerns, along with several other issues, and as a result, the Clintons will not be pursuing any further discussions on the property," she said.

Sloane, a Democratic Party fund-raiser and longtime friend of the Clintons, said the First Family has seen 10 properties and advisers have screened many others.

In fact, new properties are being considered daily, she said.

Sloane, who was involved in the sale of Jackie Onassis' co-op for \$9.5 million after her death, did not spell out what "other issues" were involved in deciding against the Mills Road mansion.



COUNTRY ESTATE: This \$2.15 million home in North Salem is among the places the Clintons have considered.

But residents said they'd heard she couldn't afford the hefty price tag.

As the house fell from the First Family's list, a new rumor swept North Salem that the Clintons had bought a \$2.15 million house — with gardens and pools — around the corner at 79 Bogtown Road.

Clinton reps checked out the house this week.

And a broker called the town's assessor's office yesterday to request an immediate title search for the property, a strong indication the property had been sold.

Highly doubtful, Sloane indicated.

"It's not anything I'm aware of. I've never seen the property. It isn't ringing any bells whatsoever," she said.

The Washington Times
THURSDAY, JULY 15, 1994

Oh, the awkwardness of having a spouse! Marriage makes you one flesh with two entirely unrelated sets of mouths.

Once upon a time, having a spouse was a simple political asset. Her job (they were all hers in those days) was simple: Smile adoringly and say nothing controversial. But now?

First, Elizabeth Dole had to listen to her Beloved Bob "E.D." Dole give his halfhearted political estimate of her chances to reporters. ("But Honeybuns, moi? Look like a political fool for love?") And by the way, why couldn't he take up literacy, like a normal First Gentleman-in-Waiting?

Next, U.S. News & World Report reports the first lady, who is running for a New York Senate seat, was (gasp!) actually *planning on moving to New York*. Her spouse (that's President Clinton) took it upon himself to put the kibosh to that evil rumor. "If she runs for the Senate, she'll obviously have to spend a lot more time there [in New York]," Mr. Clinton said in an interview on CNN's "Late Edition" late in June. "But it will be like an incumbent member of Congress running for re-election." That is, she'll have to spend a lot more time in New York, and we'll have to get a place there for her to be while she's spending the time there.

Silly me. I thought sen-

Spouses on the political circuit

ators lived in states and spent time in Washington, rather than the other way around. Any of you voters under the misimpression that Mrs. Clinton was actually planning to become a New Yorker, prior to running for Senate, you stand corrected. From the highest places.

But the award for Most Difficult Political Spouse of

the season goes to the first lady of Mississippi, Pat Fordice. In mid-June her husband, Gov. Kirk Fordice, issued a press release announcing plans to divorce after 44 years of marriage. "Equitably and with dignity," he said, so he could marry widow Ann Creson, his junior high sweetheart. This last part made the dignity part a little hard for Mrs. Fordice.

It was also a little embarrassing for Dan "I Never Committed Adultery" Quayle (Gov. Fordice is a major supporter). Anyway, Mrs. Fordice issued her own press announcement: "Her present inclination is to not have a divorce take place anytime in the near future," said her lawyer, L.C. James.

This was the second time the gov announced their impending divorce. Back in 1993, just a short time after taking the office he and his wife had campaigned so hard for, Mr. Fordice announced to the press they had "irreconcilable differences." One of those differences

turned out to be whether he was going to kick her out of the governor's mansion. I know there is a lot of

There's a public script for divorce that the powerful governor was counting on his wife playing along with.

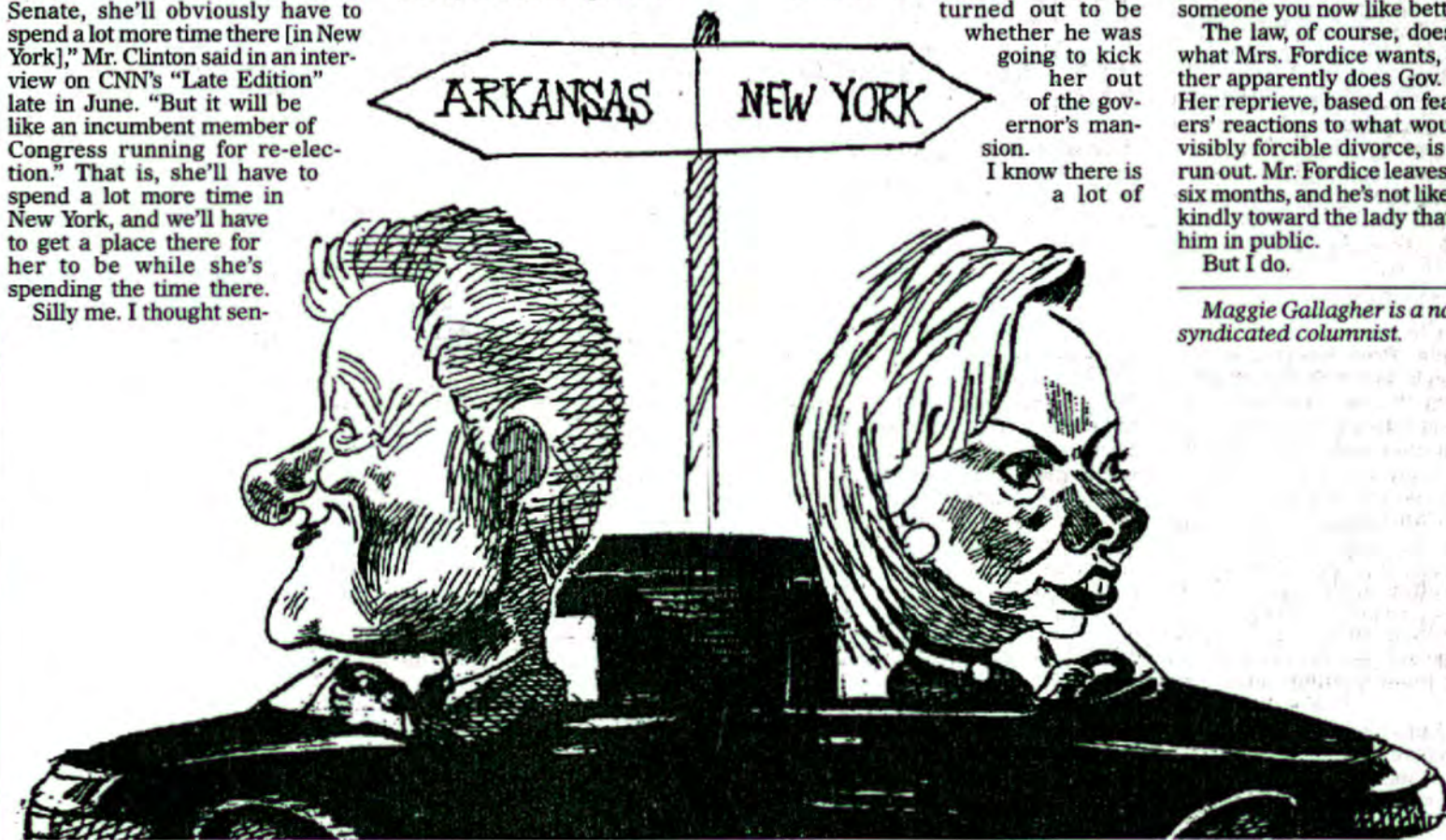
human tragedy behind this story. I can't help the fact it cheers me up. There's a public script for divorce that the powerful governor was counting on his wife playing along with. After your husband has announced publicly he doesn't want you anymore, what can any self-respecting woman do but give in, go quietly into the good night?

Stick to her guns, that's what. Refuse to cooperate in making look pretty what is an ugly, if common, contemporary maneuver: kicking out your life partner, the mother of your children, to make room for someone you now like better.

The law, of course, doesn't care what Mrs. Fordice wants, and neither apparently does Gov. Fordice. Her reprieve, based on fear of voters' reactions to what would be so visibly forcible divorce, is about to run out. Mr. Fordice leaves office in six months, and he's not likely to feel kindly toward the lady that bucked him in public.

But I do.

Maggie Gallagher is a nationally syndicated columnist.



Gore poses a real dilemma for Hillary

NOW here's a delicate little puzzle for Hillary Clinton: Does she really want to put her prestige on the line to campaign for Veep Al Gore in a messy New York presidential primary Gore could well lose?

It would mean campaigning against Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.), whose Senate seat she wants. Moynihan is expected to go all out for Bill Bradley, Gore's sole rival for the Democratic nomination, and plenty of analysts think Bradley will beat Gore in the Empire State.

Moynihan and Bradley oppose

DEBORAH ORIN

INSIDE
WASHINGTON



the Republican welfare-reform bill President Clinton signed, saying it put kids at risk. Most Democrats in Congress voted against the bill, but Mrs. Clinton recently declared her support for it.

Post pollster John Zogby says it's "a good bet" Bradley will beat Gore in New York. Besides, the Empire State likes to sock it

to front-runners, as Bess Myerson, Jimmy Carter and Geraldine Ferraro all learned.

Still, aides say the First Lady will stump for the veep: "Mrs. Clinton strongly supports Vice President Gore and will actively campaign for him," says her spokesman, Howard Wolfson. After all, imagine the uproar if she distanced herself from her husband's *other* heir.

But some doubt she can afford the risk of actively campaigning or doing a TV commercial for Gore, particularly after yesterday's Marist poll showed her slipping behind likely GOP rival

Mayor Giuliani after Week 1 of her "listening tour."

"I think Hillary Clinton needs to campaign for herself," says a New York Democratic staffer. Adds a Democratic strategist: "It's better for people who have their own campaigns not to tell other people how to vote."

Says Republican strategist Rich Galen: "I sure hope she campaigns for Al Gore. Look at that [Marist] poll that shows her behind. I think anything she does for another Democrat helps Republicans."

Also, someone might want to ask the tobacco-hating Hillary

— who banned smoking at the White House — how she feels about Gore's decision to hire Carter Eskew, the Big Tobacco image-maker whose pro-tobacco ads were denounced by her husband as "absolutely false."

What makes New York's Gore-Hillary dynamic so fascinating is that Gore risks a real fight with Bradley over the Democratic nod right up to the convention over a year from now. Does the First Lady really want to be caught in the middle if Bradley wins New York?

There is a growing sense among Democrats that Bradley's challenge will last a very long time, not simply because of his surprising skill at raising campaign cash but because he could pull the kind of upset Gary Hart nearly pulled against Walter Mondale back in 1984.

In fact, sources say Hart, who served in the Senate with Bradley, has written a memo telling him how to do just that, and how to do it better. (Bradley spokesman Eric Hauser refused comment on what advice, if any, Hart has given.)

In any case, the lessons from Hart are clear. Hart stunned Mondale by riding Big Mo to upset him in the New Hampshire primary (where Bradley is within striking distance, some 15 points behind Gore). But Hart had neither the money nor the organization to capitalize on his win.

The lessons: The challenger needs money and he needs to know the party rules and make sure he has delegate slates in every state. (Hart didn't, so no matter how well he did in, say, Pennsylvania, he couldn't translate it into delegates.)

Bradley is following both those lessons from Hart's near-miss very carefully, though attention so far has focused mainly on his success at raising big bucks.

No radio-activity for Hill

THE Post's Eric Feltmann may have started something with his attack yesterday on "Hillary's puffball press" — the lapdogs at other newspapers who are treating the First Lady like some kind of saint instead of asking what the hell she's doing trying to get elected to the Senate from New York.

Now Westchester radio baron William O'Shaughnessy has taken up the cudgels. "Effective immediately, Whitney Radio will no longer cover any staged events arranged by the so-called Hillary Rodham Clinton senatorial exploratory committee," he declares.

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

O'Shaughnessy says his radio stations "are no longer to serve as props for Clinton's Evita-like campaign, which is starting to look like a prelude to a coronation in which her cult-like celebrity is allowed to overwhelm or obscure the necessity for reasonable and robust discussion of the great issues confronting the people of New York state."



Keith Meyers/The New York Times

Hillary Rodham Clinton visited with students of South Side Middle School yesterday in Rockville Centre, on Long Island.

Touring Suburbs, Mrs. Clinton Is Silent on Commuter Tax

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

ROCKVILLE CENTRE, N.Y., July 14 — Hillary Rodham Clinton steered clear today of a political dispute that has pitted New York City against its suburbs this year, declining to say whether she supported the repeal of the payroll tax that commuters have paid to the city.

Instead, the First Lady said the "larger issue" was that the state does not receive its fair share of assistance from Washington, creating a higher tax burden for residents. Mrs. Clinton made her remarks on the second day of a tour through the city's suburbs as she prepares for a possible race for Senate next year.

Commuters from New York's populous and politically important suburban communities had long resented the tax. Although Mrs. Clinton was clearly familiar with the commuter tax, she declined twice to state her opinion on the issue. It has caused considerable discomfort for Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, her potential Republican opponent, who pleaded unsuccessfully with Albany lawmakers to keep it in place.

Mrs. Clinton did embrace an argument advanced by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the Democrat who is retiring after 2000, that the state pays more in taxes to Washington than it gets

TRIANGULAR DIPLOMACY

This week's meeting between President Clinton and Prime Minister Ehud Barak of Israel had to be arranged in part around Hillary Rodham Clinton's schedule. Page A10.

back in Federal assistance.

"I am very interested in seeing what could be done to make sure that New York got more of its fair share in Federal support, because I think that would help some of the taxing problems that really are an important issue here," Mrs. Clinton said.

She made her remarks during a brief news conference at the end of the first of two "Listening to New Yorkers" forums she held on Long Island today.

At a forum that focused on gun control, an issue that Democrats believe will be important in next year's Congressional races, Mrs. Clinton joined Democrats in harshly criticizing the National Rifle Association for its success this year in blocking further restrictions on the purchase of guns.

"It's a very clear example of the way the public allows a small, dedicated group to determine Federal policy and really determine whether or not we're going to be as safe as we could be in this country," she said.

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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 groused about the difficulty of finding a home that meets Secret Service security demands. "I'm taking any suggestions,



Sayulich 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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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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Hillary hits shore spot after taking a poke at Pataki

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.
and GREGGBIRNBAUM

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday took a swipe at Gov. Pataki — then hit Jones Beach — during the second week of a statewide listening tour for her likely mate campaign.

Speaking to a small audience that included students and teachers at Westchester Community College, she said: "I don't understand how you can get your budgets ready when you don't have a state budget. I really don't understand how you plan."

Pataki, who had attacked Clinton's Senate aspirations Sunday, more than three months late in reaching a budget agreement with Albany legislators.

In a CNN interview, Pataki had dismissed Clinton's possible candidacy as "cockamamie." The First Lady's comments about the state budget came at the end of a 90-minute session in which she talked on issues ranging from workfare to education.

Pataki spokesman Mike McKeon dismissed her remarks, saying: "If she lived in New York, she would know that the budget is being held up by Assembly Democrats."

Clinton also spoke in favor of cutting the welfare rolls, but added: "I believe we needed to make those changes, but it can only work if we have child-care support and other necessities that people need to move on."

While the handpicked audience of about 50 people gave her a warm welcome, not everyone was happy.

After asking about ending tenure for teachers, Sarah Stern later complained to reporters that she thought the First Lady dodged her question.

"I asked her a tough question and she deflected it," said Stern, a Republican housewife from Regmont.

"I would expect no less from a Clinton."

After her Westchester stop, Clinton surprised the press corps by deciding to drive to Jones Beach and greet potential voters. "We need a beach listening ses-

sion," she joked as she was mobbed on the boardwalk by beachgoers and journalists.

As she was greeted by two hunky shirtless men who posed for photos with her, the First Lady blurted out: "I feel like I'm on 'Baywatch.'"

Clinton then ate lunch in the Boardwalk Restaurant, talking to about 200 diners.

Sitting with her finance chairman, William Cunningham, she munched on a crabcake sandwich and drank iced tea as patrons enthusiastically approached her table.

Clinton also spoke briefly about her house-hunting, saying she will most likely rent instead of buy a house or an apartment.

"If I can afford it, I'd buy, but I probably will end up renting," she told the throng of reporters on the boardwalk.

Clinton continues "listening" today on Long Island, where she will visit a middle school in Rockville Centre and a dialysis center in Great Neck.



SURF'S UP: Hillary Clinton does the "Baywatch" bit, posing with beachgoers at Jones Beach yesterday.

N.Y. Post: Mary McLoughlin



A BEACH HEAD: The First Lady takes her "listening" tour to the shore, mingling with reporters and beachgoers before dining at the Boardwalk Restaurant.

N.Y. Post: Mary McLoughlin

Stop the Hillary Steamroller

AT a recent dinner party in Manhattan, the subject inevitably came around to Hillary Rodham Clinton's Senate candidacy.

Our host, a television executive, declared unequivocally, "Well, she's the best thing that could happen for women and New York. Have you ever heard her speak? She carries the room."

Another guest responded, "I don't get her marriage, but I do think she should be senator." She turned to me. "What do you think, Wendy?"

I smiled nonchalantly. "I've met her a number of times, and I do think she's very impressive." I knew better than to say, "I don't understand why Hillary Clinton's candidacy has become a *fait accompli*." And I knew that asking me, "What do you think?" was really a euphemism for "Don't you agree?"

New Yorkers don't especially like being told what to do. We get cranky that way. But now, with Clinton's filing last week to form an exploratory committee for a New York Senate race, it seems we've been targeted for takeover, and for Democrats, that means it's time to get with the program. This is steamroller politics, and it doesn't allow for choice or dissent. United we stand behind Mrs. Clinton, the anointed one.

Well, pardon me for ruining the party, but as a Democrat and a New Yorker, I'm more than a bit uncomfortable with the notion of a holding a coronation rather than a primary election.

It is interesting that this steamroller candidacy is plowing through, of all places, New York, home of the bigmouth. We are known to be people who have something to say about most things. We're not people who get taken in by packaging, either. Look at our recent senators, Al D'Amato and Pat Moynihan. Whatever one thinks of their politics, these are characters straight out of Characterville. New York is a place of rough edges and larger-than-life personalities, whereas Mrs. Clinton, who when we first knew her as First Lady seemed to vary herself all the time, has now created a stylized patina of cool strength.

This Hillary bandwagon is obviously a reflection of her staggering political stamina. Not many could survive the year



WENDY WASSERSTEIN

she's had and commit to remaining in the public arena. She has a profound sense of public service and ambition, two basics for any candidate.

Yet whenever a liberal dinner party strays into a Hillary discussion, the conversation inevitably ends with, "But she can beat Giuliani." Never mind the fact that she's never held office. Never mind the question of why she suddenly deserves this office — and why New York.

The downside to this bypassing of the Democratic primary is clear. Whereas Democrats considering the presidential primary can truly debate the virtues of Bill Bradley versus Al Gore as their party's nominee — beyond the question of which is best equipped to take on the also apparently anointed George W. Bush — New York state Democrats will not have

As a Democrat and a New Yorker, I'm more than a bit uncomfortable with the notion of a holding a coronation rather than a primary election.

this privilege.

And there are other worthy candidates, or at least there would have been — Rep. Nita Lowey (D-Westchester). She has been an impressive advocate for women's health issues, education, the arts and gun control. If Hillary moves on from the Senate to higher office, as her greatest fans hope, it wouldn't have hurt the New York Democratic Party to have had Nita Lowey as a veteran candidate. It also, frankly, wouldn't hurt Mrs. Clinton (or women in politics) for her to be one of the many capable girls and not a singular saint.

But to say such things about Mrs. Clinton brings instant retribution. That's what I found out last August when, in the middle of the Monica Lewinsky scandal, I wrote an opinion piece for *The New York Times* about Hillary.

In the article, I questioned not her abilities but precisely why her intellect and strength — viewed by many as threaten-

ing at the beginning of her husband's presidency — were now being heralded as the second coming of Eleanor Roosevelt. This apparent change in perception, I believed, had to do with her surviving with grace one of the most traditional of feminine ordeals: the public humiliation of a woman scorned. My interest was that in an era of so-called "post liberation," the transformation of a woman from cold manipulator to icon of strength was accomplished in the most pre-liberated manner.

After expressing this view, I found myself in a script meeting with Miramax Chairman Harvey Weinstein. Before we got around to talking about my work, he mentioned my Hillary piece: "Wendy, I thought you were a nice girl," he said, smiling. "What was that? You don't hurt a person when they're down." (It's rumored that Mrs. Clinton will be featured on the first cover of the Miramax- and Hearst-owned *Talk* magazine.)

I have always been under the impression that part of the democratic process was to say things. I didn't know that in matters concerning Mrs. Clinton there is a bit of a, pardon the expression, left-wing conspiracy.

My hope is that Mrs. Clinton will prove to be the spectacular candidate that every New York Democrat tells me she will be. My fear is that, especially in her adopted state, enforced silence breeds resentment. Steamroller politics could result in dissenting opinion being expressed in the voting booth in November 2000.

New York has always been a place where ambitious immigrants thrive. We pride ourselves on that. But we're nobody's fools, and we also pride ourselves on the possibility that the little guy, the working man or woman who makes good, can win. In this particular Senate primary, there are no little guys — just a national figure who's now studying the economy of Elmira and listening to the good people of Oneonta.

I look forward to her visiting the Cheese Museum in Rome. I might even tag along for a nice piece of cheddar and to see how well she carries the room.

Pulitzer Prize-winning playwright Wendy Wasserstein wrote this essay for the Washington Post.

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 Arkansans 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 "strain[ed] 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 on Wednesdays.





DOROTHY AHLE, Malden, Mass.

Hillary Clinton

■ Who does Matthew Miller think he is to suggest that Hillary Clinton should somehow be disqualified from running for office by virtue of being a wife (Commentary, July 7)?

Last time I heard the only qualification for running for office was that the person be a citizen and of a certain age.

Purely in her functions as wife and first lady, Mrs. Clinton has amply demonstrated sterling qualities of loyalty, courage in the face of fire and the ability to manage a very public and a grueling schedule, while still remaining a warm and nurturing human being. Most of this is familiar territory to any good wife and it would be a vast improvement in the public weal were politicians to follow the same example.

Mrs. Clinton is also a lawyer, activist, graduate of Yale University Law School and the prime mover of myriad significant citizen movements. Her husband would be the first to acknowledge the considerable help she has given him in his job by virtue of all her formidable qualifications.

KOH SIOK TIAN WILSON
Los Angeles

■ Hillary Clinton's candidacy for U.S. senator from New York has understandably caused much interest and speculation. While many compare her sudden and ambitious move to the Empire State to Robert Kennedy's successful bid in 1964, I am delighted that Miller reminded us that Mrs. Clinton faces similar obstacles that Pete Dawkins faced in his unsuccessful 1988 U.S. Senate bid in New Jersey.

We need not look that far. In 1964, another nationally known figure, JFK press secretary Pierre Salinger, moved to California, won the Democratic Party nomination for the U.S. Senate in a hotly contested primary over Alan Cranston and lost to Republican George Murphy in the November general election, despite the largest Democratic presidential electoral landslide in U.S. history.

PETER M. SMALL
Whittier

■ Michael Ramirez's including "liberalism" as part of Hillary Clinton's political baggage says it all (July 7). Liberalism is not baggage. It represents much that is treasured about this country, from Social Security to Head Start. Reactionaries will never understand that.

JOHN COLENBACK
West Hollywood

■ For many years I have had the deepest respect and admiration for Hillary Rodham Clinton. I have been truly impressed by her commitment to social justice, her worldwide involvement in improving the quality of life for children and her unwavering commitment to universal health care coverage.

I don't think Hillary should run for the Senate in New York. Her incomparable talents and abilities would be better directed in a global, worldwide direction. She can do anything she wants at this point. Her personal power goes way beyond a political dogfight, which will be costly and very dirty.

How better to create a global village than to work in a global way? Mrs. Clinton would make a great senator but I beg her to think of what she could do with her worldwide presence for women, children and improving the quality of life of disenfranchised peoples everywhere.

CECILLE M. GORDON
Los Angeles

WEDNESDAY, JULY 14, 1999

Hillary dials for dollars

Hillary Rodham Clinton has begun making fund-raising calls from the White House for her Senate campaign in New York and will play host to her first fund-raiser this week in New York City, a spokesman says.

Howard Wolfson, spokesman for Mrs. Clinton's Senate exploratory committee, said she has been telephoning potential donors from the residential quarters of the White House using a private phone line or a personal cellular phone, the Associated Press reports.

"I can tell you three things" about the fund raising, Mr. Wolfson said Monday. "One is, it's a necessity. Two is, it's going very well. And three is that it's all being done appropriately and legally."

Both President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore came under heavy criticism for fund raising during their 1996 re-election campaign. Several of their fund-raisers have faced criminal charges, and the Democratic National Committee had to return \$3 million in questionable donations from the campaign.

Mrs. Clinton, While 'Listening,' Manages a Jab at Pataki

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

VALHALLA, N.Y., July 13 — Hillary Rodham Clinton's "listening tour" ran into Albany's budget impasse today when the First Lady expressed seeming incomprehension about the lateness of the state budget, noting that it must cause havoc for local school boards trying to plan their fiscal years.

By extension, although not by name, Mrs. Clinton appeared to criticize Gov. George E. Pataki, the Republican blamed by Democrats for the stalemate, who last week-end called Mrs. Clinton's likely Senate campaign "cockamamie."

Mrs. Clinton made her remarks during a two-hour talk with about 50 education officials, parents and students at Westchester Community College, in the heart of what is a marginally Democratic county of swing voters who are crucial to her chance of winning a Senate race. When a parent from Yonkers complained about state education financing, Mrs. Clinton responded, in what sounded like such a faux-innocent tone that she drew laughter from the crowd: "I don't understand how you can get your budgets ready when you don't have a state budget. I really don't understand how you plan."

Mrs. Clinton traveled to the event with H. Carl McCall, the Democratic state Comptroller, who warned Monday of that suburbs may see unnecessary property tax increases if the state does not soon



Keith Meyers/The New York Times

After visiting Westchester County yesterday, Hillary Rodham Clinton went to Jones Beach, where she posed with A.J. Hepworth, a lifeguard.

pass a budget that tells school districts what aid to expect. Mrs. Clinton brought up the budget impasse in the car, Mr. McCall said.

"She said to me, 'Explain why New York has these chronically late budgets,'" Mr. McCall said. "So I did spend some time kind of walking her through the budget. I told her what I have been saying

publicly, which is that the Governor has not provided the appropriate leadership to have the budget passed. She just listened."

Listening was the stated theme of the day, which included a trip to greet astonished sunbathers at Jones Beach in Nassau County. But at the Westchester event, as at Mrs. Clinton's other "listening"

events last week, the First Lady was more of a moderator who found ample opportunity to interject with her support of programs popular to her listeners. When one Westchester Community College graduate spoke of his family's difficulties in paying his tuition, Mrs. Clinton answered that her husband had worked to make college more affordable, but added, "We haven't gone far enough."

Mrs. Clinton then said, "I think that tuition should be tax deductible, that people should be able to save in I.R.A. college accounts, tax free." Mrs. Clinton's proposals are in fact in two separate bills introduced this year by Senator Charles E. Schumer of New York.

The proposed bills go considerably farther in helping families pay college tuition than two Clinton administration initiatives that passed in 1997. First, Mr. Schumer's proposal would allow college tuition of up to \$20,000 per student a year to be tax deductible for families that make up to \$140,000 annually. And second, families earning up to \$200,000 annually would be able to contribute up to \$2,000 per child a year, tax free, in an Education I.R.A.

The Clinton initiatives allow families with less than \$80,000 in annual income to take up to \$1,500 in tax credits for the first two years of college, plus a \$5,000 tax credit for additional schooling or adult retraining.

The dogs that didn't bite last week:

HILLARY'S PUFFBALL PRESS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Sawyer waxed rhapsodic over her "political mastery, every bit as dazzling as [Bill's], the thoughtful speech, unapologetically strong."

Meanwhile, CNN's Bernard Shaw actually pro-



ERIC FETSMANN

tested *Newsday* columnist Jimmy Breslin's skepticism about the Clinton candidacy: "Now wait a minute now," Shaw argued, "this woman brings a lot of

strength." (Breslin's apt response: "That strength comes from a lot of people on television or in newspapers that just write drivel.")

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

No, Hillary Clinton is not your average Senate

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

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

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

Alert: Hillary Rodham Clinton pledges to be strong advocate for people of New York."

Throughout supposedly conservative upstate New York, the coverage was uncritical and obsequious. As CNN noted last Friday: "The headline in the *Utica* paper this morning said, 'Utica Talks, Hillary Listens.' The campaign couldn't have written one it liked any better."

The *Buffalo News* marveled at her ability to speak "confidently and without notes" and noted that while she "took several questions" from reporters, she dodged "only" two of them. And

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

So far, however, Charles Gibson's prediction is dead wrong.

Hillary on the hustings

An Ulster deadline, Internet disparities, careers vs. casseroles

The Reconstruction South's term for outsider, *carpet-bagger*, is being dusted off and put to frequent use in the state of New York this summer. On the first round of her yet-to-be-declared campaign for the U.S. Senate, Hillary Rodham Clinton was asked repeatedly why New Yorkers should choose her to represent a state in which she has never lived. Her response: "What you're for is more important than where you're from." The campaign, which began on the upstate New York farm of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, is built around a series of "Listening to New Yorkers" forums aimed at acquainting the first lady with the needs and concerns of residents of the Empire State.

■ *Already, polls suggest that New Yorkers are becoming less enchanted with the idea of having a celebrity senator. One recent survey shows New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, the likely Republican nominee, beating the president's wife by 9 points. In March, the same poll had Hillary Clinton winning by 4 points.*

A fleeting chance to end the strife

As is often the case in Northern Ireland, another week means another deadline—and this week's is crucial. Ulster's main Protestant and Catholic parties must decide by Thursday whether to accept a plan drafted by the British and Irish prime ministers to implement last year's Good Friday peace accord. That would bring self-rule to the province and start the process of terrorist disarmament, effective-



The first lady gets a hug from a 92-year-old New Yorker in Clinton.

ly ending 30 years of sectarian strife that has left 3,600 dead. The Protestant majority, however, is refusing to join a government with Catholic Sinn Fein, the political arm of the Irish Republican Army, until the IRA begins disarming. Sinn Fein, on the other hand, claims it's not required to turn in weapons until next May. The British and Irish governments gave the two sides until June 30 to resolve the issue; they failed. So the prime ministers fashioned a resolution: On Thursday, London will transfer power to a coalition government that includes Sinn Fein. But Sinn Fein will risk expulsion unless the IRA quickly submits an inventory of its weaponry and agrees to a timetable for disarming.

■ *The deal falls short of the Protestant slogan "No guns, no government." But since it offers a real opportunity for disarmament to begin, all parties are expected to sign on. At the last minute, of course.*

PCs: The have-nows and the have-laters

In many respects, the government's new assessment of family Internet usage is bleak. The title, "Falling Through the Net: Defining the Digital Divide," suggests that millions are missing out on the high-tech revolution and its opportunities. Households with annual incomes above \$75,000, the

Commerce Department study shows, are about 20 times more likely to be online than families at the lowest income levels. And black or Hispanic households are only 40 percent as likely as white households to have Internet access. Still, 42 percent of households last year had computers, compared with 24 percent in 1994. And for families making over \$75,000, the racial divide has narrowed sharply, with 61 percent of whites and 54 percent of blacks on the Net. What's happening, some suggest, is not a case of haves and have-nots but of have-nows and have-laters.

■ *Greater access at all levels is likely as prices fall. Already, in the months since the study was made, PCs below \$1,000 have become common.*

Endangered species: homemaker wannabes

Four decades ago, a Gallup survey of 2,300 women concluded that "few people are as happy as a housewife." That was in the heyday of the Future Homemakers of America, formed in 1945 to teach teenage girls how to keep house for their future husbands. In the '90s, however, FHA membership has plummeted, even with the group including boys and stressing careers and community service as much as housecleaning and casseroles. As a result, the group's name will change on September 1 to FCCLA—Family, Career and Community Leaders of America.

■ *The new name, the group says, "will allow us to get beyond the bias associated with the word homemaker."*

By James Morrow, Thomas K. Grose, and Lewis Lord

DATEBOOK

✓ **MON. JULY 12** Justice Department and Mothers Against Drunk Driving form a partnership to mobilize teens and cops against underage drinking.

✓ **WED. JULY 14** The Society of American Magicians opens its convention in Cincinnati.

✓ **THURS. JULY 15** Defense Secretary William Cohen returns from a week of visits to Denmark, Norway, Hungary, Albania, Greece, and Turkey.

ON THE TRAIL: Hillary Rodham

Clinton was back on the listening track Monday in New York. Today, she's in Westchester; Wednesday, on Long Island. Getting out on her own agrees with her. Many observe she looks better than ever, hair finally under control, face smooth and radiant, clothes just right. "When you feel good, you look good" is spokeswoman **Marsha Berry's** explanation.

Her other job? "She'll balance this," says Berry. The first lady gets back to White House duties this week with the visit of new Israeli Prime Minister **Ehud Barak**. Thursday, the Clintons will dine with the Baraks at Camp David; Sunday, there's a big White House dinner, though not an official state dinner.

No doubt the first couple had a good laugh at this week's *New York-*

er cover. The **Harry Bliss** cartoon, titled "The Tough Guy and the Tourist," shows Hillary strolling in Central Park carrying a guidebook, while New York Mayor **Rudy Giuliani** lurks behind a tree, looking like a mugger ready to bop her with the sap he is holding. (The mayor's office had no comment Monday, nor did Berry.)

Hillary Still Doesn't Live Here

... and if this is the best she can do, she never will

THE more we see of Hillary's possible Senate candidacy, the more it assumes a tawdry quality. It seems to be predicated on one fabrication piled upon another.

For example, having never resided here, she's busily raising money for a possible race but still doesn't live here. One would think that she'd quickly settle on a residence to increase her identification with her hastily adopted state. It's one thing to be a carpetbagger. It's another not even to unpack. Hillary apparently believes she can live out of her carpetbag for many more months yet.

Hillary obviously doesn't like New York enough to live here. She'll only move here if we agree to send her to Washington.

We mustn't underestimate the sticker shock the Clintons feel in their first experience in paying for their own housing since 1982. Even their vacations have been mooched off newfound friends eager to bask part-time in their spotlight.

Press reports suggest that Hillary has sent her closest White House aide Capricia Marshall out in search of possible homes in Westchester County. House-hunting does not appear on her Executive Branch job description, but Hillary is maintaining the fiction that she's doing it on her own time. Apparently, Hillary has balked at the real-estate prices Capricia has reported back. If the media are accurate, she's been looking for homes in the \$3 million range. This high price tag has encouraged the Clintons to explore renting, instead of owning. One wonders if she'll rent by the hour.

The fact that they are looking to rent makes Hillary's link to New York state even more tenuous. Who in their right minds believes she will still live here if she is not elected to the Senate?

Ever anxious to get a bargain or a freebie, the Clintons are said to have suggested that their aides find some property owner who will be delighted to rent to the Clintons at a cut rate. The inducement would be that the cachet that Hillary and Bill slept here would help



DICK MORRIS

raise the market price of the home in the future.

She wants us to believe that she is a New Yorker who would have moved here even if Moynihan had not left the Senate. Where once she supported an independent Palestinian state, she now wants Israel to locate its capital in Jerusalem. How much more obviously could she pander to New York's Jewish vote?

Through aides, she now implies that she opposed the welfare-reform bill her husband signed, a piece of revisionist history which would have made the

To run from New York, Hillary needs to go to every little event here that she can. But as she does so, she sacrifices her stature, dignity, and grandeur — and her popularity drops.

Kremlin proud. I was there. She told me, "Our liberal friends are just going to have to understand that we have to sign this bill."

She even wants us to buy that she has always rooted for the Yankees! Or is it the Mets? She bends and strains to justify using the White House staff for her campaign, claiming that they are working after they give their 40 hours a week to the taxpayer.

The real tragedy is that Hillary, whose policy priorities are in the right place and who might well be a very good senator from a state with which she has some connection, has created a situation that's awkward at best and demeaning at worst. She is starting her public career with the most obvious of deceptions trying to flummox the voters of the most hard-bitten, realistic, and cynical state in the nation. She is squirming and twisting to persuade us to elect her from

a state she doesn't know, doesn't care about, and doesn't want to live in.

Even given the awkwardness of the situation, she is making it worse by the way she goes about it. On the one hand, she raises money hand over fist. On the other hand, she constantly — and piously — reminds us that she might not run, always using the word "if" to describe her candidacy while she brazenly asks for millions. She utters not a word about what will happen to the money if she re-packs her bags and moves elsewhere.

Hillary's aides say she plans to be in New York so often between now and the election that we will forget that she wasn't always here. We will come to accept her as part of the surroundings without questioning how she came to be here. Her propinquity will, she hopes, dull our senses and cause us to forget that she hasn't always been in our midst. How dumb does she think we are?

The polls indicate that Hillary will lose. Surveys of likely voters give Giuliani a 5 to 7 point lead. The widely touted Quinnipiac Poll showing her two points ahead is based on registered voters, 40 percent of whom won't vote.

Hillary's national favorability rating has dropped from 65 to 50 in the Fox News/Opinion Dynamics polls since she began floating her candidacy for the Senate. She is in a classic Catch-22 situation: To run from New York, she needs to go to every little event here that she can. But as she does so, she sacrifices her stature, dignity, and grandeur. She looks more like a politician every day — and her popularity drops.

In the final analysis, she's not going to get into a race where she starts almost 10 points behind. That's why her house-hunting has slowed down. This eminently sensible woman is not going to risk a promising political career on a losing race. Her conditionality in addressing her possible candidacy, always emphasizing that she hasn't "made up her mind" is the dead giveaway. She's going to take the money ... and not run.

Sen. Hillary? The joke's on us

HAROLD ICKES, one of the most devious men to ever emerge from the smoke-filled rooms of New York politics, has a lot to answer for. Now, I understand, we can blame the former White House operative and West Side ward heeler for Hillary Rodham Clinton's quixotic quest to become our junior senator.

The whole Hillary thing started out as a joke, a bit of mischief orchestrated by Harlem Rep. Charlie Rangel, who has a keen sense of humor. The First Lady went along with it because it drew attention from unsavory topics like impeachment and her husband's lechery. Her intent was to have withdrawn her name from consideration at the start of summer.

So why is she still in there? "We couldn't let Harold [Ickes] down again," Hillary recently told one confidant — perhaps facetiously — according to my sources. She was referring to the brutal treatment Ickes suffered from her and her husband when he was passed over for chief-of-staff and had to exit the White House.

According to sources, Hillary says Ickes just picked up the Senate ball and ran with it. He kept feeding the media tidbits about Hillary moving here, Hillary setting up her New York bank account, Hillary forming her exploratory committee.

"It took on a life of its own," Hillary supposedly mused. "Now Harold has everything riding on it. It would be awful to dash his hopes."

Of course, that doesn't mean she won't. The Clintons are calculating users, and if her campaign sputters before it starts, she'll quit and dump Ickes and the rest of her foot soldiers.

She had better also prepare to dump her mentor, Sen. Pat Moynihan. His anticipated endorsement of Bill Bradley for president will come before Labor Day and will be as fulsome as the great orator can make it. Moynihan's support of Bradley could do great damage to Al Gore's candidacy, which, in turn, could mean that the Clintons would face a future without a pardon-giving pal in the White House.

Return engagement in the Hamptons set for First Lady

By MARILYN RAUBER
Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — It's a Hillary Rodham Clinton gridlock alert for the Hamptons next month as Democrats plan a star-studded fund-raising weekend, just like last year's Bill-and-Hill fest.

"I can confirm that she will attend a Democratic National Committee event in the Hamptons," said Hillary Clinton's press secretary, Howard Wolfson.

Asked if there will also be a fund-raiser especially for Mrs. Clinton's own Senate campaign in conjunction with the series of big bucks DNC events the last weekend in August, he replied: "Stay tuned."

Sources said talks about that prospect are under way and presidential spokesman Joe Lockhart said President Clinton would be willing to headline it if he's asked.

**Last summer,
the First
Couple partied
with Alec
Baldwin and
Kim Basinger.**

"If that's what they believe is the best way to go out and raise the resources she will need for a campaign, if she runs, then he will be there," Lockhart said.

Sources said "preliminary discussions" are under way for a Hillary fund-raiser on Martha's Vineyard early next month, possibly followed by a freebie minivacation for the Clintons at the posh oceanfront estate of developer Richard Friedman, where they have stayed several times before.

Last month the Clintons were billed as dual headliners for a theater district fund-raiser where tickets went for as much as \$50,000 a couple — but the First Lady never showed up to join her husband, saying later she got tied up house hunting.

Last summer's three-day Hamptons visit by the president and his wife was a traffic-stopper.

The First Couple partied with stars like Alec Baldwin and Kim Basinger, who hosted a "Summer Lawn Party" for 1,200 at their secluded Amagansett home, and movie mogul Steven Spielberg, who let the Clintons stay on his Georgica Pond estate.

The glitterati also paid \$25,000 per couple to nibble Long Island lobster at the oceanfront home of investment banker Bruce Wasserstein.

Guests included pop singer Billy Joel and fashion diva Vera Wang.

'Take it easy' time for Rudy & Hillary

Like two prizefighters keeping their distance in the early rounds, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton kicks off a swing through the suburbs today while Mayor Giuliani is in Boston to play golf and watch baseball.

Taking an uncharacteristic two days off in a row, the mayor left for Boston yesterday with his son, Andrew, and Deputy Mayor Randy Levine.

"The mayor's just enjoying himself for a couple of days and trying to take it easy," said one aide, who asked not to be identified. "It's downtime."

Mayoral spokeswoman Sunny Mindel said Giuliani was planning to attend last night's Home Run Derby at Fenway and that he would definitely be on hand for the All-Star Game tonight.

"He's an avid baseball fan and he's never been to Fenway Park," said Mindel, adding that the trip had been planned long in advance.

Aides to the mayor insisted the trip was purely recreational and had nothing to do with politics—or the Senate race.

In fact, officials at the Massachusetts GOP were unaware of the mayor's arrival in Boston until they heard from reporters.

Mrs. Clinton spent yesterday in Manhattan holding private meetings with her exploratory campaign staff and preparing for the second round of her "listening tour" of New York.

The First Lady got a head start on her Westchester County visit with a stop at a "small house party" in the northern suburb last night, said spokesman Howard Wolfson.

The listening tour resumes in full force today with a visit to Westchester Community College. She heads to Long Island

By TOM TOPOUSIS and
ROBERT HARDT Jr.

tomorrow with stops at a middle school in Rockville Center and at a dialysis center at Long Island Jewish Medical Center in New Hyde Park.

On Thursday, the First Lady will launch her campaign fund-raising effort with an organizational meeting in Manhattan. The 50 to 70 people attending will each kick in \$1,000 and they'll talk about how they can get others to contribute to the campaign.

But Wolfson would not comment on a published report yesterday that said the First Lady is moving to SoHo. Earlier reports have had the Clintons eyeing spacious estates in Westchester County.

The All-Star Game will be the third baseball game Giuliani has gone to since Friday, when the Yankees and Mets opened their final Subway Series game of the season. Giuliani went to two of the three games at Shea.

Massachusetts has become familiar ground to Giuliani of late. Last fall, the mayor traveled to Boston to campaign for Gov. Paul Cellucci and just a month ago, the favor was returned with a fund-raiser for his Senate campaign sponsored by the GOP.

"He may be a Yankee fan, but it's great to have a crime-fighting mayor like Rudy Giuliani here in Massachusetts," said GOP spokesman John Brochelman.

Who's the real Hillary?

By Brian A. Brown

Hillary Clinton is serious. By forming an exploratory committee on July 6 to raise cash, the first lady has done everything but formally announce her candidacy for the U.S. Senate from New York. This raises an obvious question: What does Mrs. Clinton stand for?

After six years in the public eye, it's an odd question to have to ask. But recent statements reveal a jumble of contradictions, even at the most trivial level. Asked by Dan Rather whether she's for the Mets or the Yankees, she said she's rooting for them both — only to come out a few weeks later wearing a Yankee cap and distancing herself from her hometown Cubs. Elsewhere she says "we are blessed to be Americans," but she's also suggested that we "pause" to remember that "a child in Shanghai has a better chance of living to the age of five than a child born in New York city." No doubt Mayor Rudy Giuliani, her likely GOP senatorial opponent, will be pleased to know that the ultimate source of that particular factoid was the Chinese Communist Party.

It's easy to dismiss these utterances as simply the standard Clintonian practice of being all things to all people. But it goes beyond that. Indeed, a number of the first lady's recent pronouncements directly contradict causes she has devoted her life to promoting.

In the wake of the school shooting at Littleton, for example, she told Dan Rather that "we've been tearing down a lot of institutions. We've been undermining a lot of old values. We've allowed all kinds of influences in our front doors that we never would have before, to influence the lives of our children. . . our families are structured differently than we've ever done before." Not much to argue with there.

The problem is that Mrs. Clinton's career might easily be summarized as one long march through America's institutions — most notably the family and most specifically parental authority. This was the Mrs. Clinton on view in a 1973 Harvard Education Review article in which she argued that children are competent to make their own decisions, comparing the involuntary child-parent relationship to that of "slavery and the Indian reservation system." Later she would take this further by arguing that the courts should trump parents in decisions that "will significantly affect the child's future" — a definition so broad it is meaningless. And a 1977 report for the Carnegie Council on Children, to which she contributed, noted that it has "become necessary for society to make some piecemeal accommodation to prevent parents from denying children certain priv-

ileges that society wants them to have."

In fact, in reviewing Mrs. Clinton's activism a few years back, the late Harvard sociologist Christopher Lasch noted that "criticism of parents' incompetence has always been the child savers' stock and trade." Mr. Lasch linked Mrs. Clinton's fight for children's rights with her promotion of feminism and the movement to expand the welfare state. The culture of divorce — promoted by feminists — provided liberation from the male and the welfare state supplied the financing. Mr. Lasch wrote that the push for children's rights has to be seen as "another stage in the long struggle against patriarchy."

Yet, in her 1996 book, "It Takes a Village," she says it's time for parents to "reassert adult authority," argues against "casual attitudes about divorce," and announces that "every society requires a critical mass of families that fit the traditional ideal."

As an undergraduate and law student, Mrs. Clinton also played a leading role in the cultural revolution of the 1960s that assailed



male and institutional authority and laid the groundwork for the moral wasteland Mrs. Clinton now decries. While it's not always fair to hold politicians responsible for statements made while in the academy, Mrs. Clinton has not openly disavowed her radical days or writings. We should remember that Robert Bork's Supreme Court nomination was derailed partly because of a 20-year-old legal essay.

Is it at all telling that instead of distancing herself from her senior thesis she allowed Wellesley College to put it under lock and key in 1993? "I don't think it's useful to point fingers and place blame," she says.

Several recent biographies of the first lady report that while at Yale Law School she volunteered to monitor abuses by prosecutors at a Black Panther trial, oversaw

the running of a law review article that argued the Panthers couldn't get a fair trial and featured a picture of a decapitated pig (representing a police officer) over the Panther slogan, "Seize the Time." She also interned in the Oakland office of attorney Robert Treuhaft, a committed Stalinist. At her Wellesley graduation, she gave a "counter-commencement" speech, announcing that the "prevailing acquisitive and competitive corporate life is not for us. We're searching for more immediate, ecstatic and penetrating modes of living." But today, in the wake of Littleton — with no criticism of past excesses — she expects us to take her seriously when she blames guns for the "culture of violence" and says, "part of growing up is learning to control one's impulses."

She also expects us to take her seriously when she says she's in favor of welfare reform. Even a Hillary-friendly New York Times magazine profile pointedly noted that Mrs. Clinton had been "invisible" on this issue. She was not seen as pressuring President Clinton on the issue — something she hasn't shied away from elsewhere — and he only signed onto the welfare reform bill put forth by Republicans after state reforms began producing stunning results — despite federal constraints — and only after his pollster, Dick Morris, told him refusing to sign could cost him the 1996 election.

Nor has Mrs. Clinton given up on other big government fixes as well. She claims that she learned her lesson after her health-care reform was derailed. Yet in a reference to that debacle she told a crowd of New Yorkers recently that "I come from the school of smaller steps now." Some of those "smaller steps" include pushing for \$21.7 billion in child-care and \$24 billion in child-insurance initiatives. She continues to encourage "families to take advantage of what [government assistance] is now available."

In 1998 she discovered the free market at a World Economic Forum meeting. She told the assembled that "as we end this century, any doubts about the effectiveness of organizing our economy along the lines of a free market have finally been put to rest." Yet she tried to nationalize a large chunk of the U.S. economy through her health-care plan. And she has a history of quoting Alan Ehrenhalt: "The unfettered free market has been the most radically disruptive force in American life in the last generation."

If the real Mrs. Clinton were to step forward, the best guess is that in contrast to most Americans — who consider the 1960s the source of the most disruptive force in American life these past few decades — Mrs. Clinton *does* have her own vision of the country. Mrs. Clinton's America, of course, is an unfair place — a place that tolerates the suffering of children and lags third among world countries in its health-care; a place that needs change, *revolutionary change*. It is a place that desperately needs Mrs. Clinton, whatever she happens to be saying at the moment.



Hillary's rain

Just before Hillary Rodham Clinton returned to Washington Friday night, it rained on her parade.

The minute the Senate hopeful stepped on the outdoor stage at the musical "Gypsy" in Albany, N.Y., it began pouring rain. That cut her remarks short and sent theatergoers fleeing.

Just as well. She received a less-friendly reception there than anywhere else on her tour.

A boatload of hecklers with signs stood in front of the Omni Hotel, where Mrs. Clinton attended a Democratic fund-raiser before the play, but it is unlikely she saw them. Inside the hotel's ballroom, roughly 1,000 men and women handed over \$50 to \$500 a head to listen to her tout Rep. Michael R. McNulty, a Democrat from New York, as a harpist played outside.

Roach motel

Speaking of Mrs. Clinton's Senate exploratory campaign, some of her campaign aides — and members of the Secret Service — had to rough it when they were visiting Cooperstown last week.

Hotel space was in short supply in the Norman-Rockwell-like town that is home to the Baseball Hall of Fame so they had to stay in an 18-unit motel attached to an Italian restaurant on the outskirts of the city. That beat the motel where they were supposed to stay. It was infested with roaches.

Big joke

Hillary Rodham Clinton's Senate campaign in New York is providing plenty of fodder for late-night comics.

Said "Late Show" host David Letterman: "Bill and Hillary are coming to New York City so she can run for Senate. They've already got a house picked out, and rent for this house is ... \$20,000 a month. Now wait ... Bill and Hillary are on a budget. They only can afford to spend \$10,000 a month. ... They're not worried because Hillary's sure she can make up the difference with a crooked real estate deal. The Clintons don't want to spend more than \$10,000 a month on their new home. Keep something in mind, folks. This is the same couple that was charging \$50,000 a night to sleep in the Lincoln Bedroom."

And "Tonight Show" host Jay Leno commented on President Clinton's "poverty tour" visit to an Indian reservation in South Dakota: "You know, I think he's making a lot of promises to these Indians he can't really keep. In fact he told them, if Hillary gets elected senator, she'll try to get them Manhattan back."

First Lady Open About House Hunt

By LYNNE DUKE

Washington Post Staff Writer

WANTAGH, N.Y., July 13—In the second week of her "listening tour" in New York, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton dropped her cagey stance toward the media today and spoke publicly for the first time about her house hunt in the state where she hopes to be a senator.

"I'm considering everywhere," she said in response to a question of whether she was looking on Long Island. "I've seen some places myself. I've had a lot of brochures, videos, descriptions sent to me. I've had friends who have gone and looked at places and reported to me."

Clinton's comments on a wind-swept Atlantic Ocean boardwalk along Jones Beach, a popular sun spot on Long Island for New Yorkers, were a rare unscripted event in a tightly choreographed tour intended to allow her to listen to New Yorkers' concerns. Today, in addition to her beach visit for lunch with the treasurer of her exploratory committee, she conducted a 90-minute listening forum in Westchester County, one of the most affluent counties in the nation and a possible region for the Clintons' new home.

She listened but also spoke in detail on issues such as education and welfare reform. Far more than her listening to them, New Yorkers these days are doing a lot of listening to Clinton in what clearly is an effort to give New Yorkers a chance to learn more about this would-be candidate who hails from Washington via Arkansas and Illinois.

Clinton, who has never held elective office or resided in this state, established an exploratory committee last week as a first step in her likely run for the Senate seat to be vacated next year by the retiring veteran Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D). In this unprecedented exploration of a political run by a sitting first lady, the last steps are an official announcement of her candidacy and a home to establish residency.

New York has been awash with rumors and anonymously sourced news stories for weeks on the Clinton house search. Clinton said today that she has not yet found a house, but jokingly reached out for help from those within earshot, saying, "I'm taking any suggestions, ideas, recommendations. Anybody have any neighbors that are moving shortly?"

"I'm very serious about trying to find a place," she said. "It's just a lot more complicated than I thought it would be because I have to worry about security and other matters that I wouldn't have to worry about under other circumstances. . . . I'm having a good time looking."

Clinton's chattiness about her house search contrasts with the wariness with which she handles questions that touch on the personal or controversial. Though it has gone largely unspoken on her "listening tour," she is making a bold political move out of her husband's shadow at a time when the couple's lives have been dogged by investigations and controversies, culminating in the impeachment of her husband and the cementing of her image as a wife done wrong. Asked last week about the impact of that perception on her political career, Clinton did not answer.

Her GOP critics have portrayed her as an intruding opportunist. Over the weekend, New York Gov. George Pataki (R) said Clinton's potential Senate race was part of her "cockamamie national agenda."

Clinton, who enjoys celebrity status as a first lady—and one whom many New Yorkers seem to like—shot back at Pataki today with criticism of his state's budget impasse, reminding her listening audience that New York has been technically without a budget since April 1.

A matter of time

Our coffee table decided to re-read David Brock's 1996 book, "The Seduction of Hillary Rodham," what with all the fuss about Hillary Rodham Clinton becoming the first woman to wear pantyhose in the Oval Office.

You know what we mean.

Not wanting to rush things, we skipped past the first chapter, "Hillary for President," and turned to chapter nine, "Partners for Life."

It was early 1990, and Newsweek's Eleanor Clift had just picked Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, Sen. Al Gore of Tennessee, and Virginia Gov. L. Douglas Wilder as the three rising stars of the new Democratic Party.

Still, Mr. Clinton knew he faced a tough primary that year, and he

was worried if he ran for governor and lost, his political career would be over and he'd never become president.

So the Clintons considered Mrs. Clinton running for governor, which would allow Mr. Clinton the freedom to seek the Oval Office. But the polls revealed Mrs. Clinton couldn't win the race, and Mr. Clinton was left with no choice but to declare for re-election, along with a pledge not to seek the presidency in 1992 (sound familiar?).

Now, after all these years of standing beside her husband, it's Mrs. Clinton's turn. And wouldn't you know she's pledged, just like the husband she rode in on, that if elected to the U.S. Senate, she won't seek the presidency in 2004.



The Big Apple doesn't rank very high on Hillary Rodham Clinton's list of villages.

Can Hillary Speak for New York?

Hillary Rodham Clinton seems set on running for the Senate from New York, and many people are asking how well someone who has not lived in the state could represent it. Mrs. Clinton acknowledged the issue last week when she said, "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."

Below, some experts give their views on the question, "Are Hillary Clinton's politics the same as New York State's politics?"

Mike Wallace is the co-author of "Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898."

Over the long historical haul, New Yorkers have advocated innovative uses of government to build the economy and promote social justice. Upstaters and downstaters alike supported great infrastructural works like the Erie Canal.

We pioneered making social services — like public universities and public health programs — available to all citizens. And we used the state to promote equality and opportunities for all New Yorkers, regardless of race, sex, religion, class or national origin. State politicians who have engaged in such creative statecraft include Alexander Hamilton, De Witt Clinton and Fiorello La Guardia.

Would Hillary Clinton fit this lineage? It's hard to say. Her health plan opted for managed care over single payer. Her New Democrat husband spurned big government and shredded the welfare safety net with no apparent dissent from her. She certainly bears the mantle of Seneca Falls and is likely to champion women's rights.

But will she back bold public works projects like a cross-harbor tunnel or a deep-water port in Brooklyn? Will she help the working poor by fostering unionization, higher minimum wages and new job creation? Will she help rescue our budget-starved and unfairly maligned state and city university systems? Time will tell.

C. Virginia Fields is Manhattan Borough President.

Education is, hands down, the number one concern of most New Yorkers I meet. For them, Mrs. Clinton's agenda — smaller classroom size, universal prekindergarten, rebuilding crowded and decrepit schools — goes

down as smooth as an egg cream on a July afternoon.

And the stops she has chosen for her listening tour — Catskills crossroads, the industrial Mohawk Valley — demonstrate she's got the brains and grit to show the Democratic flag in New York State's heartland.

Alfonse D'Amato represented New York in the Senate for 18 years.

Hillary Clinton does not represent New York because she is not a New Yorker. She created a health care plan that would have cost New York billions of dollars. She has expressed support for the establishment of a permanent Palestinian state that New York clearly opposes. It does matter where you come from because it shapes what you stand for. New York doesn't need an Illinois-Arkansas-Washington Senator.

Geraldine Ferraro, a former Representative from Queens, ran for Vice President in 1984.

I know from my experience in Congress that my allies were not automatically my colleagues from New York. Instead my allies were politicians around the country who were committed to the same values that I was. New York politicians who vote with Dick Armey and Tom DeLay are not voting in New York's interests.

It's also a mistake to assume that a candidate from any one section of New York is ready to represent all of the state. After all, Rudolph Giuliani confused the town of Monroe in Orange County with Monroe County 300 miles north. Yet, it seems as if all he wants to talk about is geography. Too bad he's failing his own test!

Robert F. Kennedy Jr. is a lawyer for Riverkeepers, a conservation group.

Most states are small enough that personal relationships still count in political life. New York is big and as diverse as America itself, and so our political currency is ideas. Hillary Clinton has all it takes to enter this marketplace.

New York's size and competitiveness have helped produce the 20th century's defining national leader in each political party, Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt, and a host of nationally influential visionaries — Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Robert Kennedy, Jacob Javits, Nelson Rockefeller and Mario Cuomo. Each had the common traits that New Yorkers admire and that Mrs. Clinton has in spades: the peculiar mix of tough-

ness, idealism, compassion and intellectual rigor.

In great New York tradition, I expect that Mrs. Clinton will beckon the less affluent toward more participation and responsibility while explaining to wealthier Americans that we can't advance ourselves as a community by leaving our poorer brothers and sisters behind.

Joseph L. Bruno is New York State Senate majority leader.

No one really knows for sure what Hillary Clinton's politics are. She has never held elective office, is not from New York and has no connection to the state or its people.

If Mrs. Clinton shares the liberal, tax-and-spend politics of Democrats like Mario Cuomo that drove jobs from our state and left us with multi-billion-dollar budget deficits, she will fail to win in New York.

The voters of New York State have a lot to learn about someone who spent her life in Illinois, Arkansas and Washington and suddenly claims to have always loved New York.

Blanche Wiesen Cook is the author of "Eleanor Roosevelt: Volume 2, 1933-1938."

Hillary Clinton would do well to reflect on the ideals of another First Lady who considered a run for New York's Senate. Eleanor Roosevelt was outspoken in her quest for a politics of decency and dignity for all people.

"I could give you 100 percent literacy and I could show you the road to full employment," she said. "Try 1 teacher for every 5 students at a decent salary."

She believed that government had only one purpose: to make things better for all people. This is what New Yorkers want, and this is what Mrs. Clinton says she wants. □

Pataki: Hillary will never be one of us

First Lady Hillary Clinton — preparing for Round II of her "Listening Tour" of New York this week — came under attack yesterday from Gov. Pataki, who said it'll take more than 18 months of listening to become a real New Yorker.

"We have 18 million bright, talented, aggressive people. We don't need someone from Arkansas or Illinois coming in hopes of learning about our state so they can be sent back to Washington," Pataki said during an interview on CNN.

"I don't think that in the next

By TOM TOPOUSIS
and FREDRIC U. DICKER

18 months someone who has spent her life in Illinois, Arkansas or Washington has any hope of becoming a New Yorker," said Pataki. "I don't think there's an honest commitment here to represent the people of New York."

Clinton exploratory campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson brushed aside Pataki's barbs.

"While Republicans are playing partisan politics, Hillary Clinton is traveling throughout New York meeting with people in small groups and listening to them discuss their concerns," said Wolfson.

After spending last week traveling upstate, Clinton is set to resume her tour tomorrow with a visit to Westchester, followed by stops on Long Island on Wednesday.

The suburbs are home to the state's crucial block of swing voters who will likely decide the Senate race.

While Mrs. Clinton has been familiarizing herself with the state, her likely opponent, Mayor Giuliani, has been tending the home front, dealing with issues ranging from the blackout to a federal probe of the Police Department.

Asked about a potential link between the probe and the First Lady's Senate run, Giuliani said sarcastically: "Oh there's never political motivation behind things like that. Never, ever political motivation, my gosh."

Instead of taking on the question directly, the mayor re-



AFFAIR OF STATE: Hillary, here in Oneonta last week, will need more than a smile to persuade voters she's a New Yorker, Pataki says. AP

ferred to a report in City Journal, a conservative publication, that linked the Clinton Administration's rapid response to the February shooting of Amadou Diallo and the First Lady's Senate ambitions.

"It would be a very interesting thing to read, it might give you some sense of how some of this reaction to the police is not all that it seems to be, some of it is heavily politicized," said Giuliani.

Both Mrs. Clinton and Giuliani made it on to this week's cover of New Yorker magazine — a cartoon depicting the mayor lurking behind a tree in Central Park, presumably waiting to attack the First Lady, who is dressed as a tourist.

Giuliani yesterday refused to talk about the magazine cover. "Haven't seen it. A New York[er] magazine cover wouldn't be a serious reaction," he said.

When offered a copy of the magazine cover, the mayor again insisted, "Haven't seen it, can't see it without my glasses."

Wolfson said there'd be no comment on the magazine cover from the Clinton camp.

"I don't think there's an honest commitment here to represent the people of New York."

GOV. PATAKI

Headline-Grabber Strikes Again!

By HOWARD KURTZ
Washington Post Staff Writer

THE WASHINGTON POST

MONDAY, JULY 12, 1999

President Clinton spent four days touring impoverished areas of America—and was totally overshadowed by his wife.

Vice President Gore and George W. Bush kept on running for the White House—and were totally overshadowed by the first lady.

Judging by the early coverage of Hillary Rodham Clinton's all-but-announced Senate bid, she may draw more ink and air time than the presidential race, Kosovo, the stock market, the World Series and Ricky Martin combined. MSNBC stayed on live from the Pindars Corners, N.Y., farm where Clinton was to make her debut for an hour before her arrival, chatting up every reporter and quasi-expert in sight.

The emerging question is not so much whether the New York press will be tough on Clinton as whether the relentless, combative, high-decibel roar of the media will drown her out.

In N.Y., Putting the Press on Hillary

MEDIA NOTES, From C1

(along with likely GOP opponent Rudy Giuliani). When the first lady held a school event in Oneonta, the cable networks showed her wordlessly speaking while a parade of columnists, politicians, activists, analysts and anyone with a New York accent talked over her. The balance of power was clear.

Clinton kicked off her first news conference by calling on NBC's Andrea Mitchell. A couple of questions later, Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan stepped in and recognized Gabe Pressman, the dean of New York newsmen, who undoubtedly matters more than the Washington hotshots in a state election. (Clinton stiffly called Gabe—Gabe!—"Mr. Pressman.")

No opinion was left unuttered during the Hillaryfest. Newsday's Jimmy Breslin told CNN that "a lot of people on television and in newspapers just write drive!" and that Clinton will lose badly. CNBC's Chris Matthews declared that no man would say, "Make me a U.S. senator because my wife's been cheating on me." Others said Clinton is already plotting her 2004 presidential bid.

The conservative New York Post greeted Clinton with an editorial ("The Hillary Sleaze Factor") and an Andrea Peyser column calling Clinton "a woman so deluded she believes she can bend the rules, stomp on friends and squander taxpayer money without penalty." The next day, a Deborah Orin column was headlined "She'd Be Nothing but an Empty Carpetbag."

"The New York Post is a huge factor," says New York magazine columnist Michael Tomasky. "When people talk about the rough New York press, what they're really talking about is Rupert Murdoch's Post and its taste for wrecking her candidacy."

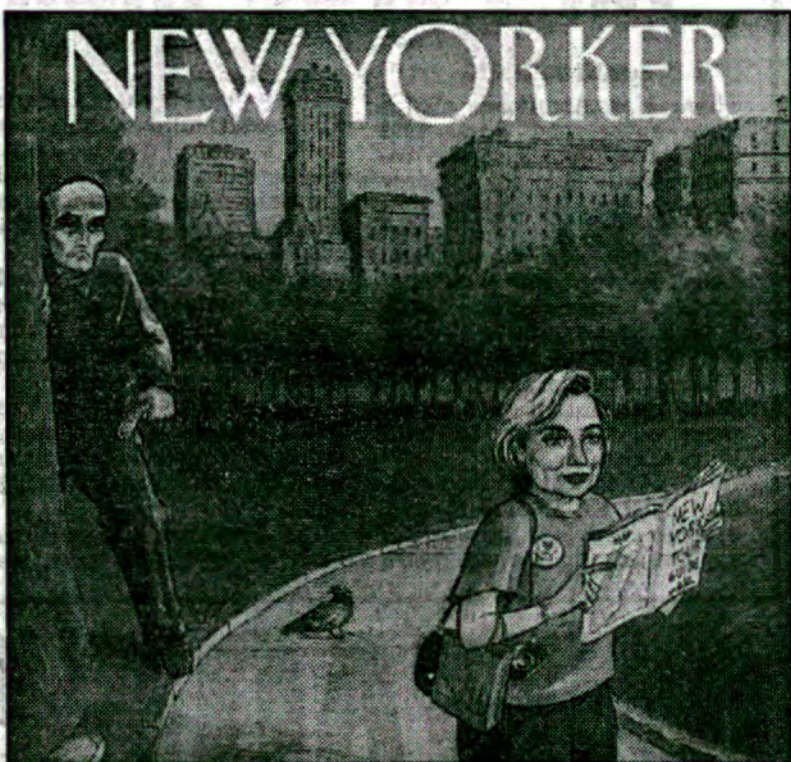
Orin says she was merely examining how effective Clinton would be as a minority-party lawmaker. "She will face a much tougher press in New York than she's ever had to face," Orin says of the campaign. "Rudy Giuliani gets tougher questions every day than Joe Lockhart does."

But she says much depends on Clinton's performance: "If people look at her and say they're really excited, all the press coverage is not going to be a problem."

CNN analyst Jeff Greenfield says the media overkill—even the rehashing of Whitewater and other scandals—could help Clinton. "Maybe all of this ceaseless coverage will render the carpetbag-

ger issue irrelevant," he says. "She'll have a year to run around New York. It will be like she's been here forever. It already feels like she's been here for five years."

But a mayor also has ways of making news, and the New York tabloids wound up trumpeting not Clinton's debut but Giuliani's rage at an upper Manhattan blackout. The Post's screaming headline: "RUDY BLOWS A FUSE."



COVER STORY: The New Yorker's take on a Hillary Rodham Clinton-vs.-mugger-Giuliani battle for the Senate.

Same old story, but different storyteller

THE cover of this week's New Yorker magazine, in its silence, screeches louder than a Concorde jet. The cartoon shows Hillary Rodham Clinton walking through a park reading a tourist's guide to New York.

The cartoon translates volumes in the obvious.

It also shows Rudy Giuliani portrayed as a mugger, which doesn't excite me too much — since I am a pathological Giuliani supporter.

But surely the greatest state in the union cannot sit back and accept yet another Clinton con job.

It is not so much the oft-spoken criticism of a rich little girl from Illinois who liked the color of the White House being a Carpetbagger. It is something more.

Her run for the Senate of New York State is simply this — She divinely celebrates a Washington zip code.

Governor George Pataki is no orator in the tradition of a Winston Churchill. But he knows how to boil it all down.

He described on CNN yesterday Hillary's manic ambition for the Senate as an attempt for a "cockamamie national agenda." And of course that is what it is all about.

Obviously in her corner is Roy Roemer, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee, who said to Wolf Blitzer yesterday just about the most "cockamamie" thing I've ever heard: "I would like to have her as a neighbor."

Well, Governor Roemer, have her as your neighbor in Colorado so that she can impinge on you with her agenda.

Roemer criticized Rudy Giuliani with the observation that "the Senate is a club and you have to co-operate with each other ... I don't

think he [Giuliani] has a personality to do that."

Well, Roy, you're right. Giuliani doesn't join clubs. But it's like the old Hollywood axiom that "I wouldn't join a club that would accept me."

Hillary is making a big deal of the fact that she is breaking with her husband's policies, a little like what Vice President Gore the Bore is doing now.

Good move? Well, it's like what Steve Roberts of U.S. News and World Report said: "Where has she been

for seven years?"

Bill Clinton loves to roll out his cliché: "All elections are about the future, not the past."

Truth is, he is the past and she is the past. She stands for more left-wing policies than even Sen. Teddy Kennedy does. And sooner or later, New Yorkers, upstate and downstate, who have been treated very badly by the Clinton gang will realize that this is clearly another ploy for the Clintons to stay in Washington. Pretty damn cynical.

She answered her own question when she told adoring reporters of the liberal media: "Why Me? Why the Senate?"

Well for crying out loud, answer the question! And tell New Yorkers exactly why you should cling on to a Washington zip code?

Yes, the New Yorker page 1 screamed loud and spoke volumes about Hillary's knowledge of New York. But perhaps more to the point, some other cartoonist might portray it another way.

Hillary, with a crown on her head, a little bit like Queen Elizabeth, saying to New Yorkers: "I don't live here — but I rule you."

STEVE DUNLEAVY



Where Hillary Didn't Dare To Go

ALBANY

HILLARY Rodham Clinton, Democrat, waltzed grandly about this un-gently fading capital city last Friday; she was purposeful and energetic, which was to be expected, and she touched all the proper political bases in an implacably Democratic town.

It was the visit that she *didn't* make, though, which went right to rumblings within the Democratic Party of potentially seismic long-term significance.

This is a town that takes its politics seriously. Why not? Once, things were built here, but no more; now government, and politics, is all that's left.

Albany is a city in obvious and painful long-term decline. There's little private-sector investment to speak of. Indeed, it's hard to sell a house here — and easy in the surrounding suburbs.

A principal reason for this is clear: Albany's public schools range in quality from dubious to dreadful. The suburban schools, while no great shakes, are nevertheless superior — and they are sought out by young families.

In this respect, Albany is hardly unique: Every urban county in the state — including Gotham's five boroughs — has lost net population to neighboring suburban counties during the '90s.

The effects of this were particularly evident at Third and N. Lark streets in this city's Arbor Hill section on a blistering hot afternoon last week.

What once was the local firehouse is boarded up now, and not very tightly at that. This is no surprise: Money is scarce at City Hall, which also explains the washboard streets, the cracked curbs, and the litter everywhere.

The neighborhood itself is so poor that even the corner liquor store is long gone; a twisted window grate partially blocks a sidewalk, mute testimony to some desperate soul's despairing effort to filch whatever had been left behind.

And the local elementary school has been designated by the state commissioner of education as one of the worst in New York state.

But Arbor Hill is not without hope. There are sprawling community gardens, fenced and padlocked. There are sagging tenements, but also many well-tended homes — freshly painted and



**BOB
McMANUS**

with manicured lawns, announcing emphatically that a lot of folks are in it for the duration.

And, if all goes well, soon there will be the New Covenant Academy — a charter school — at Third and N. Lark streets.

This isn't to be just any charter school — certainly not one of the rule-bound academies that the teachers' unions, and our own Rudy Crew, support.

New Covenant will have singularly high standards for both teachers and students (who are lining up to get in).

It will have no union.

And it is meant to turn a profit.

Clearly, the proposed school is intended to provoke. So far, it has succeeded. Not even the nine murders here

“If Albany's new charter school works, it will be extraordinarily difficult for the anti-choice crowd to stem the spread of charter schools — and of choice in general. (Can you say “vouchers”?)”

since New Year's Day — four in the past 10 days — have stirred more controversy than the New Covenant Academy.

School-choice proponents are gambling that New Covenant, deliberately situated in the shadow of the state Capitol, will work. If it does, it will be extraordinarily difficult for the anti-choice crowd to stem the spread of charter schools — and of choice in general. (Can you say “vouchers”?)

So, in this sense, New Covenant is a high-visibility lab rat.

The teachers' unions — and the Albany-based state education bureaucracy — understand this intuitively. To them, New Covenant is the Death Star.

Now, heretofore, Hillary Clinton has been a big fan of charter schools.

“I think the charter school movement is [no] threat to the public schools,” she said two years ago. “It should be seen as a liberation of public schools . . . And

that is our real objective — not only to create thousands more charter schools, but to take the lessons from the charter school movement and literally infect every public school in America . . .”

Surely Mayor Jerry Jennings, a strong New Covenant supporter, and Aaron Dare of the Urban League — the motive force behind the school — would have welcomed words like this from the First Lady on Friday, had they been offered.

But she was dumb as a stump.

Why? That's easy.

Hillary Rodham Clinton is the darling of the teachers unions — last week the National Education Association pinned a gaudy medal on her; the United Federation of Teachers and its Albany-based parent, New York State United Teachers (NYSUT) are already at work on her behalf.

No politician — certainly no Democrat — takes these organizations lightly. Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver and his Democratic conference is, effectively, a wholly owned subsidiary of NYSUT.

But cracks are appearing in this coalition; they run along racial lines.

Aaron Dare isn't the only black leader in New York who is challenging the establishment. And while Jerry Jennings may be one of the few white Democrats who's paying close attention, that's not likely to be the case for long.

Mainstream black Democrats like former Rep. Floyd Flake, and such senior assemblymen as Roger Green and Arthur Eve, are growing increasingly restive at Silver's intransigence on school choice. But they have had no effect.

So look for more a more militant approach in the near future, aimed ostensibly at Assembly Education Committee Chairman Steven Saunders — but also at Silver. He's in charge, after all.

What do you want to bet that both Saunders and Silver get a little more reasonable on school choice, real fast?

And will Rudy Giuliani, who owns the school-choice issue, get a little lift from a wholly unlikely quarter as this bizarrely extended campaign proceeds?

Don't dismiss the possibility.

Bob McManus can be reached at mcmanus@nypost.com.

JULY 12, 1999

MONDAY, JULY 12, 1999

Hillary Meets N.Y.'s Tribes

DO you know where the U.S. Embassy in Israel should be located? Hillary Clinton does. The mind goes back to Jesse Jackson, who referred to New York City as Hymietown. The protesters had barely got their tuning fork out when the great cold shower of a Murray Kempton column doused them. "Of course it's Hymietown," he said, with his faculty for joyous penetrations.

Not long ago Hillary had said that there should be a Palestinian state, complementing her husband's statement that Palestinians should live "wherever they wanted," and she has, apparently, been looking for a way to unsay that. Even if she weren't running for senator, the business about the Palestinians — that they should be allowed to live anywhere they wanted — wouldn't be quite right. Suppose they all wanted to live in New York?

But the ethnic sensibility business goes on, and

the psychological victims of it are those in whose name the excesses are done. There are arguments for moving the embassy to Jerusalem from Tel Aviv, but the salient point here is that none of those arguments has to do with political advantage for one New York U.S. Senate candidate. Does the New York Jewish voter take net pride from his ability to make Hillary kiss Israel's behind? Or net mortification that this kind of thing should be thought necessary to entice the Jewish vote?

It isn't only the Jews who suffer from contortionist advances from politicians. On the 200th anniversary of the Fourth of July, Queen Elizabeth hove into town on her royal yacht and had a party. She invited to sit at her right, as protocol dictated, the governor of New York. Ah, but

the governor back then was Hugh Carey, who rather noisily declined the invitation, inviting Irish voters to believe that a courtesy to a sovereign coming over not to mourn the defeat of her forefather at the hands of George Washington but to celebrate it would offend — on the grounds that QE2 presides over



WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

the United Kingdom, which includes the northern six counties of Ireland.

Some years ago, running for mayor of New York, I thought to decline to attend the Columbus Day parade inasmuch as one of my platform planks called for de-emphasizing ethnic taxon-

omy. My campaign staff turned blue with fear and loathing, and predicted that, at the rate I was going, I would lose the election.

Hillary's people are having a hard time of it. What one hears from them is that all they want, all they can hope for, is to talk about the issues. If you snatched one of these spokespersons from the entourage, put a rope around his neck, hoisted him on a gibbet, and said: *You have one minute. Name one important policy difference between Mrs. Clinton and Mayor Giuliani*, we would have, in 61 seconds, one fewer political consultant to Hillary.

And they know this, the lot of them, and of course she knows it. As things

go, she can swoop down on the nearest New York county fair and 20 television cameras will record everything she does and says. If she weren't the wife of the president, you couldn't get 20 television cameras to record an anticipated assassination of one more Senate candidate.

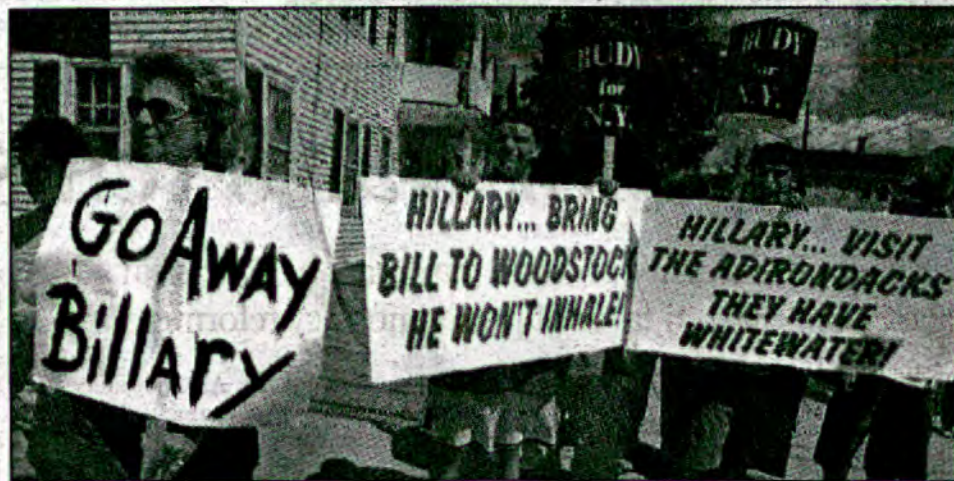
To be sure, she has the problem of reminding everybody of her eminence, and reminding them that it wasn't she who did the whole Lewinsky bit. Her bid for notoriety was much more modest, involving only firing the whole Travel Office at the White House in pursuit of patronage, and losing her billing records for two years in the labyrinth of six rooms in the White House.

Mrs. Clinton is known mostly for her role in the health-care proposals of 1993. By more or less common consent, these

are thought to have been very ill-advised, so much so that even Sen. Moynihan, Mrs. Clinton's escort of last week, distanced himself from them before they fell of their own weight into the legislative ashcan. Currently President Clinton seeks out other means of getting the federal government more involved in health issues. At some point one hopes that someone will point out to Mrs. Clinton that any extra expense incurred by the federal government means a net outflow of dollars from New York state.

In last week's issue of Newsweek, the estranged George Stephanopoulos gave Mrs. Clinton some friendly advice. She must mingle more, outside presidential motorcades. Above all it is necessary, he said, that she should prove to the voters that what she wants isn't to be a senator; what she wants is to be *their* senator. If she can prove that, she deserves the Empire State.

Next: moving from celebrity to stump



MICHAEL OKONIEWSKI/SP

NOT FOR HILLARY: Protesters in Utica, N.Y., remind passers-by of troubles of the Clinton years. They gathered outside a senior center where Mrs. Clinton spoke July 8.

showed the Clinton touch — stopping to talk to a child or work a room of senior citizens. "It's a big splash — they executed what they wanted to do," says Lee Miringoff of the Marist Institute for Public Opinion in Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

This week, polling organizations will be checking to see if all the column inches and air time helped Clinton's candidacy. Before her "listening tour," she had been losing voters in the polls.

She will follow up her maiden tour with a swing this week through New York suburbs — another key battleground in the Senate race and a Giuliani stronghold.

The early positive news stories are essential if Clinton is to win. Even with the

face 16 months off, there are few undecided voters. "People all know what she's about, and some people love it, and some people don't," says John Faso, the Republican minority leader in the state Assembly. "At this stage, people basically have a fixed opinion whether Mrs. Clinton should run for the Senate in a state in which she has never voted in a school board election."

SO FAR, the Republicans have had a pretty muted response to Clinton's campaign swing. The state committee has issued a few press releases calling her visit the "Blind Ambition Tour." But it has yet to load up its potent mudslinging machine. "It's really too early," says Mr.

Faso. "You can't have 460 days of this — people will be burned out by the time of the election."

While Clinton spends a relaxed summer listening to New Yorkers, the Republicans are gearing up for the fall, when the campaign will really take off. Republican consultant Joseph Mercurio says Giuliani will probably stay away from the negative advertising that has characterized many of the Empire State's past races.

"He will not be responding to her — it won't be a classic kind of campaign," predicts Mr. Mercurio. "He'll be talking mainly about himself and his success stories."

Last week, Gov. George Pataki (R) indicated that he didn't foresee a GOP primary battle and that Giuliani would be the candidate. Despite their differences, he had only nice things to say about the mayor.

While the Republicans spend their summer getting ready for the election, Clinton is starting to take campaign positions. For example, on her tour she endorsed Jerusalem as the "eternal and indivisible" capital of Israel. This is in conflict with official State Department policy, but it is important in winning the powerful Jewish vote in New York.

Clinton is also starting to take stands on New York issues. For instance, she endorses the concept of federal legislation that would ensure New York's 8,300 dairy farmers get higher prices by joining a cartel that sets a minimum price paid to its members.

Giuliani opposes membership in the cartel because it would increase prices for



MIKE SEGAR/REUTERS

CAMPAIGN MOMENT: Hillary Rodham Clinton holds young Ray Goppert III as his father looks on after a "listening session" in Rome, N.Y., last week.

consumers. By one estimate, milk would rise from \$2.75 to \$3.25 a gallon.

Clinton will have to continue to stake out positions on the issues to show that she knows something about the state. GOP consultant Mercurio says "the voters will quickly distinguish between the carpet-bagging first lady and Giuliani."

Indeed, some analysts doubt Clinton will have it easy in the weeks ahead. "She won't be treated like royalty forever," says Larry Sabato at the University of Virginia. "The bubble will burst at some point — probably sooner rather than later."

Yet Mr. Miringhoff thinks the carpetbagger issue is already fading. He advises the Republicans to pull back from it. "If I were them, I'd have Rudy go upstate and do some listening and learning also."

EDITORIALS



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 handicappers 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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Cover Story 7/12/99

She's been called a martyr and a menace. But finally, Hillary Clinton has to be called a contender

BY ROGER SIMON

Hillary and Bill go back to Park Ridge, Ill., for Hillary's high school reunion and they pass a gas station where a mechanic in grease-stained overalls is changing a tire. "That was my high school boyfriend and he wanted to marry me," Hillary says to Bill. Bill smirks a little and says, "Well, I guess if you had married him, you'd be married to a garage mechanic today." "No," says Hillary. "If I had married him, he'd be president today."

That joke still gets a laugh at the White House. From Hillary's people anyway. Bill's people find it somewhat less amusing. But they all recognize the nugget of truth: No one has contributed more to the success and survival of Bill Clinton than his wife. Put it another way: Since abandoning her own promising legal career more than 25 years ago in order to move to Arkansas to live with Bill Clinton, she has devoted herself without respite to raising his money, advancing his causes, and cleaning up his messes. The nation might have enjoyed a "Me" decade, but Hillary Clinton never had the luxury. Since she was 26 years old, she has known only the Him Decade. Not any more.

Can she take the heat? With her decision to run for the U.S. Senate from New York a virtual certainty, she is completing a transformation: She is about to become Hillary Unbound. Ready or not. For the first time, she—and a nation of fascinated spectators—will see if she has what it takes to move from backstage to center stage. Can she take the heat of a brutal campaign on her own? "Her whole married life has been devoted to the president's campaigns," her chief of staff Melanne Verveer says. "Not just as cheerleader but as a person deeply involved in the organizational effort." Now that period is over and not just because the

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Besides which, what really were her alternatives? Don't run for office and they call you "courageous" and "strong" and a "victim." Run for office and win and they call you Madame Senator.

"I knew she was going to run for the Senate when we were in Buffalo in January after the State of the Union," a senior White House aide says. "It was the president, the vice president, Tipper, and the first lady there that day." The nation was suspended somewhere between impeachment and the Senate trial, and the White House staff was nervous about a hostile crowd. Yet nearly 22,000 people sloggged through more than four feet of snow and sub-freezing temperatures to the Marine Midland Arena to cheer themselves hoarse. Hillary was both moved and excited by the crowd, some of whom held genuinely handmade signs (as opposed to the faux handmade signs hand-created under the direction of White House advance teams) that said "Hillary for NY Senator" and "Thank you for everything!" Tipper Gore introduced Hillary by saying: "She has led us with grace and with dignity," which was the second time someone had suggested that Hillary, not her husband, had been leading the nation. On the day Clinton was impeached, and after Hillary had gone to Capitol Hill to address a private caucus of the House Democrats, Rep. Dennis Kucinich, Ohio Democrat, was moved to a state of rapture: "Everybody understands she is one of the leaders of the nation right now, as much as the president." Everybody did not understand it, as a matter of fact. The president's men were not all that pleased with it, as a matter of fact, feeling it gave the impression that Clinton had stroked out like Woodrow Wilson, but there was no criticizing Hillary in those days. Without her, Clinton was not a lame duck but a cooked goose. For the entire Monica saga, Hillary had more power than Ken Starr, the House and the Senate. They had to prosecute, try and vote. All Hillary had to do was pack her bags to bring down the presidency.

In Buffalo, actual squeals of delight could be heard from the crowd over the roars of approval when Hillary walked to the lectern. "I don't care what the weather forecasters say!" she said, leaning into the microphone and belting out her ad libs. "There isn't a warmer city in the nation!" But it is what happened afterward that caught the attention of the political pros on Clinton's staff. As the four worked the rope line after the speech, the hands in the audience repeatedly reached out for Hillary, and the other three were long finished while she was

still pressing the flesh. "I knew then that a significant thing was happening," the aide recalls.

"What do you think?" Not that Hillary left her decision to adoring crowds. Like her husband, she knows how to work a phone list, indirectly soliciting support without ever saying so. She has made hundreds of calls over the last few weeks. "Many people in New York are asking me to run for the Senate," she usually begins. "What do you think? And what do the people think of that in Albany?" Or Rochester. Or Poughkeepsie. Or Staten Island. She also reached out to a political pro, who knows a thing or two about running a race in New York: former New York Gov. Mario Cuomo. He immediately cooked up a memo listing four options for her future.

"One is that you drop out after the president finishes his term, and you go back to being a lawyer, a spouse and a mother," Cuomo said. "Now, that's absolutely out." Option Two was to become Al Gore's running mate, Option Three was to run for the Senate, a race Cuomo believes she will win, and Option Four was what he called the "Eleanor Roosevelt strategy," in which she spends "a little time writing a book, doing a little law if you want to, and do your issues."

No wonder Hillary chose Door No. 3. Though it does come with a considerable downside that goes beyond merely the possibility of losing. Hillary's staff, as Clinton's staff before it, recognizes that the people who do not like Hillary do not like her with a passion. Clinton's polling once revealed that as much as one third of the electorate had a "deep visceral" dislike for him. "Whatever the reasons or the motivations, there are people who intensely dislike her," Hillary's chief of staff Verveer says.

Nor is all the dislike irrational or personal. There are those who make the argument that aside from his personal peccadilloes (which were considerable) many, if not most, of the really bad decisions in Clinton's career have Hillary's fingerprints all over them: Whitewater, Travelgate, commodities trading, and the health care debacle. In other words, you don't have to be part of a vast right-wing conspiracy to be against Hillary Clinton. And it seems a certainty that a New York Senate race will be savage, serving up her past on the news each night like stale leftovers. Hillary's chief rival, Republican New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, combines the political instincts of a knife fighter with all the restraint of a 4-year-old. "I think she needs to brace herself," says Democratic media consultant David Axelrod, one of a number of Mrs. Clinton's friends who have urged her not to run. "I don't know where you can buy a thick skin, but she better get one." Why discourage her? "Because I like her," Axelrod says. "She will win. But it will be brutal. And she doesn't need it."

Bruce Morrison, a former congressman, who has known Hillary since Yale days, disagrees. "Yes, she can be above the fray, a commentator on the way the world should be, or she can be a determiner of the way the world should be. In other words, she can be a doer rather than a preacher."

The victim. From a political standpoint, Hillary also has a limited window of opportunity. If she doesn't run now, she may not get the chance in the future. Ironical as it seems, the Monica Lewinsky affair has made Hillary's run for the Senate possible. In the view of many members of the public, it transformed Hillary from a leftist-intellectual-radical-feminist (take your pick) to someone they could understand and identify with. "Before Monica, Hillary represented a threat to many people," says historian and author Garry Wills. "She represented feminism, and to many in this country that is a very deep threat. Now she is in the easier role, the totally unthreatening role of victim." Some people accept their pain, others fight it, but the politically savvy exploit it. And if Hillary is going to put the agony known as Monica to some use, she has to do it before the public turns the channel to the next scandal. Saying that is one thing, however, but living through it—having it thrown back at her day after day—is another.

"She has probably been through as much politically as anybody in the United States in the last several decades," says top Clinton aide Doug Sosnik. "It gives you the kind of muscle tone you need to be able to survive the rough and tumble world of New York politics." And the rougher the better, the current theory goes. The more the Republicans and the press beat on Hillary, the more they bring up the past, the more an object of sympathy she becomes. "There hasn't been anybody whose life has been picked apart and distorted as much as mine," she told one friend. "I don't think New York can be any worse."

The polls are showing wild differences, but the one that matters to Hillary is one taken by White House pollster Mark Penn showing her ahead by single digits. She is likely to plunge forward no matter what the numbers. This week she forms an exploratory committee and begins a made-for-media dog-and-pony show: a summer-long "listening tour" of New York, which allegedly will determine whether she will announce for office.

In fact, that decision has been made, but the tour will give her time to project her more human side, the side her friends talk about: her let-it-all-hang-out belly laugh, her talent for mimicry, and her sardonic jokes as when she showed up at a luncheon meeting with a friend and said with a roll of her eyes: "My husband has gotten himself into one of those near-death experiences he's so good at." She also is going to feel free to distance herself from the president. "She's got a lot more room than the conventional wisdom now thinks in her ability to disagree with the president," said a senior White House aide. And she showed it last week when she attended a West Wing meeting at the White House and joined a number of New York labor and political leaders in opposing Medicare cuts.

The president has, nonetheless, given his seal of approval for the race, as has daughter Chelsea. Some close to the president are also delighted. "It

will give him something to do," one intimate said with a considerable sense of relief. Not that Hillary's campaign is going to need much massaging by the campaigner-in-chief. Hillary and her aides have already shown the ability to master what the White House calls a "roll-out," a highly-coordinated informational strip tease, in which the public is fed dribs and drabs of gossip and speculation (Will she run? Where will she live? What kind of house?) in order to keep appetites whetted until the last veil is dropped. To some, however, the roll-out only contributes to the national malaise known as Clinton Fatigue. When asked about the Clintons, Lloyd Parker, a Buffalo retiree with 35 years on the railroads, raised his tattoo-laden arms and said: "I just wish these turkeys and their silly scandals would just disappear. I'm really sick and tired of it all."

"I hear over and over 'We just wish both the Clintons would go away'—and that's from my Democratic friends," said Dale Frehse, 61, a civic volunteer in upscale Bronxville and a Republican who has voted for Clinton. But there are those to whom Hillary and her star power represent a new hope. Helen Gonzalez, born in Buffalo, laments her city's sad decline and believes Hillary could be the answer. "We need somebody who can call attention to the problems of western New York," she says. "Somebody with her sort of name, who could get things done. Based on how she survived the last year, I think she's a real fighter."

Message needed. All Hillary lacks now is a sound-bite-length articulation of the reasons she wants to be the junior senator from New York. "Her candidacy has to make sense to people," Cuomo says. "She has to give them a rationale." Ambition. Freedom from the White House and her husband. Spreading her wings and flying on her own may all be good reasons, but they make lousy rationales. Doubtless, by the time her announcement rolls around at the end of the summer, Hillary—whose staff turned down an interview request saying it was too early—will have one. For now, Cuomo is doing the job for her. He is sitting high above Manhattan in his law office, looking out on a strip of Central Park, his hands behind his head, talking as if he were Hillary announcing for office.

"I believe by virtue of my experience, by virtue of my commitment to the things you need most—education, health care, strong families, highly skilled workers—I believe that I can do more for you than anyone. Fortunately, I'm free to offer you the rest of my life. My daughter, God bless her, is fully grown. The president is almost fully grown."

He erupts in laughter and then buries his face in his hands. "It's just a joke! A joke!" he says and then sits up and ponders it. "A good line, though."

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BY ROGER SIMON

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"What do you think?" Not that Hillary left her decision to adoring crowds. Like her husband, she knows how to work a phone list, indirectly soliciting support without ever saying so. She has made hundreds of calls over the last few weeks. "Many people in New York are asking me to run for the Senate," she usually begins. "What do you think? And what do the people think of that in Albany?" Or Rochester. Or Poughkeepsie. Or Staten Island. She also reached out to a political pro, who knows a thing or two about running a race in New York: former New York Gov. Mario Cuomo. He immediately cooked up a memo listing four options for her future.

"One is that you drop out after the president finishes his term, and you go back to being a lawyer, a spouse and a mother," Cuomo said. "Now, that's absolutely out." Option Two was to become Al Gore's running mate, Option Three was to run for the Senate, a race Cuomo believes she will win, and Option Four was what he called the "Eleanor Roosevelt strategy," in which she spends "a little time writing a book, doing a little law if you want to, and do your issues."

No wonder Hillary chose Door No. 3. Though it does come with a considerable downside that goes beyond merely the possibility of losing. Hillary's staff, as Clinton's staff before it, recognizes that the people who do not like Hillary do not like her with a passion. Clinton's polling once revealed that as much as one third of the electorate had a "deep visceral" dislike for him. "Whatever the reasons or the motivations, there are people who intensely dislike her," Hillary's chief of staff Verveer says.

Nor is all the dislike irrational or personal. There are those who make the argument that aside from his personal peccadilloes (which were considerable) many, if not most, of the really bad decisions in Clinton's career have Hillary's fingerprints all over them: Whitewater, Travelgate, commodities trading, and the health care debacle. In other words, you don't have to be part of a vast right-wing conspiracy to be against Hillary Clinton. And it seems a certainty that a New York Senate race will be savage, serving up her past on the news each night like stale leftovers. Hillary's chief rival, Republican New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, combines the political instincts of a knife fighter with all the restraint of a 4-year-old. "I think she needs to brace herself," says Democratic media consultant David Axelrod, one of a number of Mrs. Clinton's friends who have urged her not to run. "I don't know where you can buy a thick skin, but she better get one." Why discourage her? "Because I like her," Axelrod says. "She will win. But it will be brutal. And she doesn't need it."

Bruce Morrison, a former congressman, who has known Hillary since Yale days, disagrees. "Yes, she can be above the fray, a commentator on the way the world should be, or she can be a determiner of the way the world should be. In other words, she can be a doer rather than a preacher."

The victim. From a political standpoint, Hillary also has a limited window of opportunity. If she doesn't run now, she may not get the chance in the future. Ironical as it seems, the Monica Lewinsky affair has made Hillary's run for the Senate possible. In the view of many members of the public, it transformed Hillary from a leftist-intellectual-radical-feminist (take your pick) to someone they could understand and identify with. "Before Monica, Hillary represented a threat to many people," says historian and author Garry Wills. "She represented feminism, and to many in this country that is a very deep threat. Now she is in the easier role, the totally unthreatening role of victim." Some people accept their pain, others fight it, but the politically savvy exploit it. And if Hillary is going to put the agony known as Monica to some use, she has to do it before the public turns the channel to the next scandal. Saying that is one thing, however, but living through it—having it thrown back at her day after day—is another.

"She has probably been through as much politically as anybody in the United States in the last several decades," says top Clinton aide Doug Sosnik. "It gives you the kind of muscle tone you need to be able to survive the rough and tumble world of New York politics." And the rougher the better, the current theory goes. The more the Republicans and the press beat on Hillary, the more they bring up the past, the more an object of sympathy she becomes. "There hasn't been anybody whose life has been picked apart and distorted as much as mine," she told one friend. "I don't think New York can be any worse."

The polls are showing wild differences, but the one that matters to Hillary is one taken by White House pollster Mark Penn showing her ahead by single digits. She is likely to plunge forward no matter what the numbers. This week she forms an exploratory committee and begins a made-for-media dog-and-pony show: a summer-long "listening tour" of New York, which allegedly will determine whether she will announce for office.

In fact, that decision has been made, but the tour will give her time to project her more human side, the side her friends talk about: her let-it-all-hang-out belly laugh, her talent for mimicry, and her sardonic jokes as when she showed up at a luncheon meeting with a friend and said with a roll of her eyes: "My husband has gotten himself into one of those near-death experiences he's so good at." She also is going to feel free to distance herself from the president. "She's got a lot more room than the conventional wisdom now thinks in her ability to disagree with the president," said a senior White House aide. And she showed it last week when she attended a West Wing meeting at the White House and joined a number of New York labor and political leaders in opposing Medicare cuts.

The president has, nonetheless, given his seal of approval for the race, as has daughter Chelsea. Some close to the president are also delighted. "It

will give him something to do," one intimate said with a considerable sense of relief. Not that Hillary's campaign is going to need much massaging by the campaigner-in-chief. Hillary and her aides have already shown the ability to master what the White House calls a "roll-out," a highly-coordinated informational strip tease, in which the public is fed dribs and drabs of gossip and speculation (Will she run? Where will she live? What kind of house?) in order to keep appetites whetted until the last veil is dropped. To some, however, the roll-out only contributes to the national malaise known as Clinton Fatigue. When asked about the Clintons, Lloyd Parker, a Buffalo retiree with 35 years on the railroads, raised his tattoo-laden arms and said: "I just wish these turkeys and their silly scandals would just disappear. I'm really sick and tired of it all."

"I hear over and over 'We just wish both the Clintons would go away'—and that's from my Democratic friends," said Dale Frehse, 61, a civic volunteer in upscale Bronxville and a Republican who has voted for Clinton. But there are those to whom Hillary and her star power represent a new hope. Helen Gonzalez, born in Buffalo, laments her city's sad decline and believes Hillary could be the answer. "We need somebody who can call attention to the problems of western New York," she says. "Somebody with her sort of name, who could get things done. Based on how she survived the last year, I think she's a real fighter."

Message needed. All Hillary lacks now is a sound-bite-length articulation of the reasons she wants to be the junior senator from New York. "Her candidacy has to make sense to people," Cuomo says. "She has to give them a rationale." Ambition. Freedom from the White House and her husband. Spreading her wings and flying on her own may all be good reasons, but they make lousy rationales. Doubtless, by the time her announcement rolls around at the end of the summer, Hillary—whose staff turned down an interview request saying it was too early—will have one. For now, Cuomo is doing the job for her. He is sitting high above Manhattan in his law office, looking out on a strip of Central Park, his hands behind his head, talking as if he were Hillary announcing for office.

"I believe by virtue of my experience, by virtue of my commitment to the things you need most—education, health care, strong families, highly skilled workers—I believe that I can do more for you than anyone. Fortunately, I'm free to offer you the rest of my life. My daughter, God bless her, is fully grown. The president is almost fully grown."

He erupts in laughter and then buries his face in his hands. "It's just a joke! A joke!" he says and then sits up and ponders it. "A good line, though."

And one that just might get her started down her own road.

style ●



"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.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY GUGLIELMO DE'MICHELI

● 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

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



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.



"I'm doing what I dreamed of," says Della Valle (with Andrea at their headquarters).

First Lady at Her Best During 'Listening Sessions'

By MICHAEL GRUNWALD
Washington Post Staff Writer

SYRACUSE, N.Y.—Hillary Rodham Clinton nods her head rhythmically, slowly, like a passenger on a bus, as her hosts at a gear factory tell her about building partnerships and empowering workers and the importance of technical training. Her eyes do not glaze over. She takes dutiful notes. Her nods seem to say: Yes. You're so right. I hear that all the time. "You know, technical training is an issue I care a great deal about," she finally says out loud. "I think it's something we're not paying nearly enough attention to as a nation."

To prepare for a historic Senate race in an unfamiliar state, the first lady is spending her summer "listening to New Yorkers." She started her statewide "listening tour" last week, with well-received "listening events" in Oneonta, Cooperstown, Utica, Rome and Syracuse. She will do more listening this week in Westchester and Long Island. Her campaign spokesman, Howard Wolfson, answers most questions about her plans with the same mantra: "She wants to listen to New Yorkers in small groups and learn about the issues that matter to them most."

There is more to these "listening sessions" than mere listening; the first lady is also launching a campaign, with a media mob recording every moment of her supposedly intimate forums, and she is talking, too, starting to tell New Yorkers where she stands. The fact is, Clinton's aides believe the "listening tour" is good politics, an appropriately humble way for a carpetbagger to signal that she does not presume to know all the answers for New York. It is also a way to highlight the first lady at her wonkiest best for the local news: empathetic, curious, engaged. As Wolfson recently put it: "The listening is the message."

But there is also a certain inconsistency at the heart of the tour. Clinton says she is traveling the state to find out what issues matter to New Yorkers. At the same time, she says she is considering the race because the issues that matter most to New Yorkers are the issues that matter most to her: education, health care, jobs. Those issues, not coincidentally, were the subjects of her first "listening sessions." So



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

does she already know what issues matter here, or is she really listening to find out? At a news conference last Wednesday, right before she launched her tour, she sounded like she had done her listening homework.

"I have to confess, when I was first approached about this, I said, you know, that seems like a very strange idea," she replied to a question about her carpetbagger credentials. "But the more people talked to me, and the more I listened, and the more encouragement I got, and the more I really began to understand the issues that New Yorkers are concerned about from one end of the state to the other, I started to think maybe I could make a contribution."

So there has been something contrived about this tour, a sense that listening is being used as campaign performance art, through scenarios where Clinton learns that education is a key issue in New York by attending an "education listening session" at the state university at Oneonta with a hand-picked panel of teachers and school administrators. So far, she has not fielded any hostile questions, and she has not disagreed with anyone in her audiences. And as New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani (R) has pointed

out, there is something odd about a candidate needing to take a tour to figure out what issues matter to the state she hopes to represent.

Still, there is something undeniably powerful about the sessions themselves. Clinton has attended hundreds of similar forums around the country, and as one of her advisers put it, she was born to run these events. She never interrupts, condescends or gets flustered. She seems to feel questioners' pain almost as well as her husband does. She is an expert validator, mmm-hmmming while she listens, asking follow-up questions before commenting, congratulating panelists on their insight: "I'm really glad you raised that issue." Or: "I agree with you 100 percent." Or: "You've really put that dilemma in a very eloquent way."

Of course, these policy discussions also showcase the first lady's straight-A-student knowledge about issues, both national and New York issues. At the gear factory in Syracuse, she noted that if upstate New York were a separate state, it would rank 49th in job creation. At a health center in Cooperstown, she mentioned that New York is one of only two states that fund Medicaid through property taxes. At a busi-

ness and technology center in Rome, she explained that New York has the nation's second-highest electric rates. At every stop, Clinton discussed dual-use technologies and loan forgiveness programs and telecommuter tax incentives and managed-care reimbursement formulas with an almost unfathomable ease.

"She's very attentive, and her knowledge about issues is just incredible," said John Clow, a State University of New York professor who told Clinton about his wife's battle with cancer during the Cooperstown event. "You can see that she's heard all of this many times before."

Often, she has, so the sessions sometimes feel staged to confirm what Clinton already knows. When a parent at her education forum in Oneonta bemoaned the lack of resources for young teachers, the first lady responded: "That's what I hear just about everywhere I go, in this state and all across the country." At her senior citizens' forum in Utica, Clinton asked her audience members to raise their hands if they knew someone who had trouble affording their prescription drugs: "People tell me that's a real serious issue for seniors right now." When she was asked about rural poverty



REUTERS/MIKE SEGAR

Mathew Bergeron and Tami Dawson, left, wave opposing signs during first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's visit to Oneonta, N.Y. Above, in Rome, Clinton holds 5-month-old Ray Goppert III as his father looks on. The first lady has begun a statewide "listening tour" to learn about issues facing New Yorkers.

in Cooperstown, she responded that she knew all about the issue because she used to live and work in Arkansas.

In fact, in the five "listening sessions," Clinton seemed truly surprised only once, when Hartwick College professor Larry Malone proposed a modern equivalent of the Rural Electrification Act to improve high-speed Internet access in sparsely populated areas. Even then, her surprise was not so much with his idea as with the way he presented it. "That's very interesting," Clinton said. "Nobody's ever mentioned it to me in quite that way."

The underlying message of the forums is that New York's key issues are the nation's key issues—the issues that Clinton, as she often puts it, has "spent my entire adult life working on."

Judith Hope, head of the Democratic Party in New York, acknowledged with a grin that Clinton had a pretty strong suspicion of the issues that matter to New Yorkers even before she started her listening tour. The tour, Hope said, is a "brilliant" way to remind New Yorkers that those are Hillary Clinton issues and to figure out the New York nuances.

"She's being proven right, don't you think?" Hope said. "This whole

listening tour will reconfirm that the issues she cares about are the issues New York cares about."

Jan Laytham, the owner of two radio stations in Oneonta, is the kind of voter Clinton is trying to convince of that, a political independent who complains without prompting that only 2 percent of the nation's radio stations are owned by women. After listening to the first lady listen to New Yorkers, Laytham said she'll be voting Democratic.

"You don't have to be from upstate New York to help people in upstate New York," she said. "She cares about education and health care and women's rights. Who cares where she lives?"

Then again, if America's key issues are no different from New York's key issues, Clinton still needs to find an answer to the question even she admits is nagging at her candidacy: Why New York? Leon Kalmus, a retired surveyor who attended the Cooperstown event, says the answers are obvious: She's a politician. She's looking for a job. Why not New York?

"Come on, she didn't come here to listen," said Kalmus, a registered Democrat. "She came here to talk. She came here to campaign. I don't have any illusions about that."

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.

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.



Special to the Democrat-Gazette/TODD PLUTT

"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."

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.

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

CALLS WITH QUESTIONS

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.

"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 1996 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 Nanuet 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."

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
ARIZONA 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 spectrum

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.

Administration

■ LOOKING LOCAL ISN'T ALWAYS EASY

By ALEXIS SIMENDINGER

AP/WIDE WORLD



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



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 summer-time 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-

HILLARY'S PRE-CAMPAIGN CAMPAIGNING: A day after forming the obligatory "exploratory" committee, she listened her way through upstate New York.

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 Oneonta. "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.

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

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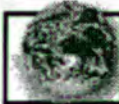
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Beyond the City

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.

 clinton_hillary.JPG (6989 bytes)

Hillary Rodham Clinton

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

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.

Original Publication Date: 07/09/1999

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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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**Scandal Sheet****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.



Liberty Island

Watts NEWS

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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Chicago Tribune

Hillary's breaking the mold again

Ever since Bill Clinton's first presidential campaign, there has been a running joke—particularly among women—that the wrong Clinton was running for office. It looks like that's no longer the case.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, who formed a campaign exploratory committee this week, will almost certainly be the Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate in New York. And while her carpetbagger status (she's never lived in the state) is a legitimate issue, it's a sure bet nobody's asking "Hillary Who?"

Her celebrity, of course, comes from her role as first lady. But there's more to it than that. Rosalynn Carter was first lady. So were Barbara Bush and Betty Ford. Hillary Clinton, to her abiding credit, is different, and she brought that difference to the White House. She's not your mother's first lady.

She may not be the first president's wife to be smarter than the president, but she's the first one with the credentials to prove it. She's been breaking ground all her life, and the campaign she has kicked off in New York proves that she's not done yet.

Critics—and there have been plenty—said it was those very attributes and accomplishments that made her so uppity. Could be.

She took a lot of heat for her 1993 national health

care debacle. It was called "managed competition"—and these days it's not looking so bad, after all.

And then there was her book, "It Takes a Village to Raise a Child," about the role of community in the lives of children and adolescents. What a hoot, right? Turns out she was just ahead of the curve.

She's made plenty of mistakes, too. If you can't quite remember them all, just wait. That's the sort of thing this New York Senate race is just tailored to bring up.

But like her or not, Clinton has proved that the first lady can be more than a White House ornament. Eleanor Roosevelt, whom she admires, played a significant role on the national and international stage in her day, but a policy wonk she wasn't.

In the harrowing last couple of years, even Hillary Clinton's detractors have given her credit for the strength and dignity with which she handled a most personal and public crisis, the Monica Lewinsky affair. Sure, some said she should have walked out on her philandering husband. But she knew what she was doing—for her family and for her future.

In New York, she's not a "Stand by Your Man" woman anymore. She has a new theme song: "It's My Turn."

TGIF

ALEX BEAM

Hillary's not-so-secret admirer

The current issue of The New Yorker has a brief article about Hillary Clinton's not-so-secret ambition to become the nation's first woman president. Various scenarios have Senator Clinton (D-N.Y.) running for vice president in 2004, after an Al Gore loss in 2000, or running for the top job in 2008.

Well then, a wealthy Beverly Hills immigrant named Max Rhodes proves to be even more clued-in than the incomparably clued-in New Yorker, because he has been pushing his Hillary for President 2000 campaign since the end of last year. Rhodes loves Hill, thinks Gore has the scarlet (crimson?) L-for-Loser written all over him. "He appears weak, his voice speaks without conviction, and he lacks the appeal that we need in a leader. . . . Gore himself does not believe in his candidacy," according to Rhodes's campaign materials.

Rhodes has everything — a pile of dough, a Web site (www.hillary4prez2000.com), T-shirts, bumper stickers, and even a fight song:

*She's got the smarts . . . and she's humane
She can even outwit Saddam Hussein!
Hill's already a White House resident
Let's save 'em a move and make her president.*

He also has Democratic Party mailing lists, and some big-cheese donors have been surprised to see his solicitations showing up in their mailboxes. Rhodes lacks only one thing: Hillary's blessing. "She does not support us, but we are in the process of changing her mind," Rhodes says.

Hillary talks health in N.Y.

By Michael Grunwald

Washington Post

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

At a health care forum on the second day of her statewide "listening tour," Clinton seemed conflicted about the issue that first thrust her onto the national policy-making stage.

She said that ever since the demise of her comprehensive national health care plan in 1994, she has belonged to the "school of smaller steps."

But then she described the smaller steps that her husband and most congressional Democrats are pushing these days as inadequate responses to "underlying structural problems," such as the rising influence of money in medicine and the growing ranks of the uninsured.

Health care could be a political minefield for the first lady, and aides to her potential Republican rivals have warned that they will use the so-called "HillaryCare" debacle to portray her as a big-government liberal.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Gilda Mazzura, a 92-year-old nursing home patient in Rome, N.Y., gives first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton a kiss Thursday.

Nevertheless, Clinton seemed willing to position herself to the left of her own party at her meeting before several dozen medical professionals and consumers at the Bassett Health Care Center here.

She said she supported the "patients bill of rights" that Democrats have proposed to rein in managed care plans, but called the fairly sweeping bill a "diversion" that will not reform the money-driven insurance industry.

She also endorsed her husband's new plan to expand prescription drug coverage for the elderly, but said the problems created by rising pharmaceutical costs are "much greater than that."

"This is going to be an increasingly contentious issue, I predict to you," she said. "We're going to

have to address it, or else we're just going to have to say that the market is what the market is."

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

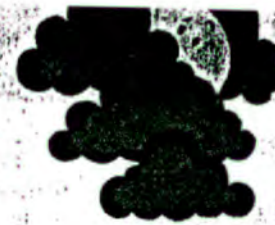
She said she favored the death penalty, but was not an "enthusiastic death penalty supporter."

But in a move that took State Department officials by surprise, her campaign spokesman confirmed that she considers Jerusalem "the eternal and indivisible capital of Israel," a break with his administration's policy.

In a letter to the Orthodox Union, a New York-based group representing about 750 orthodox Jewish synagogues in the United States, she also said she favors shifting the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

The Leader-Herald

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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



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.

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 Philipines 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.

President would campaign if Hillary runs

By **MARC HUMBERT**
Associated Press

COOPERSTOWN — Hillary Clinton said Thursday she would ask her husband, President Clinton, to do some campaigning for her if she moves forward with a New York Senate bid.

He knows a lot about New York," she said. "He's done very

well in New York and I would look forward to his campaigning for me if I decide to run ... (and) if I can get on his schedule."

Meeting with reporters on the second day of her inaugural campaign tour of New York, the first lady said she would serve a full six-year term if she wins the Democratic nomination and is elected senator.

New York Mayor Rudolph Giu-

liani, eyeing the Republican Senate nomination, has refused to say whether he would serve the entire six years.

Critics of both have questioned whether the first lady and Giuliani want to use the Senate as a stepping stone for a White House bid in 2004.

The potential Democratic candidate refused to answer a question about whether she thought

Giuliani had been a good mayor. "That is something for the people of New York to decide," she said.

She also refused to say how she differed from Giuliani politically, claiming "there will be plenty of time in a campaign to go into that." In fact, the two agree on such things as support for abortion, and gay rights and gun control.

Some wonder if first lady is really listening

By **NOREEN O'DONNELL**
Gannett News Service

UTICA — If Hillary Rodham Clinton really wanted to hear the views of New Yorkers, 21-year-old Laura Franzonello said Thursday, she'd have town meetings open to everyone — not limit herself to the carefully controlled events that have marked her tour of upstate New York.

"This is not a listening tour," Franzonello said. "She's not talking to anyone who challenges her issues."

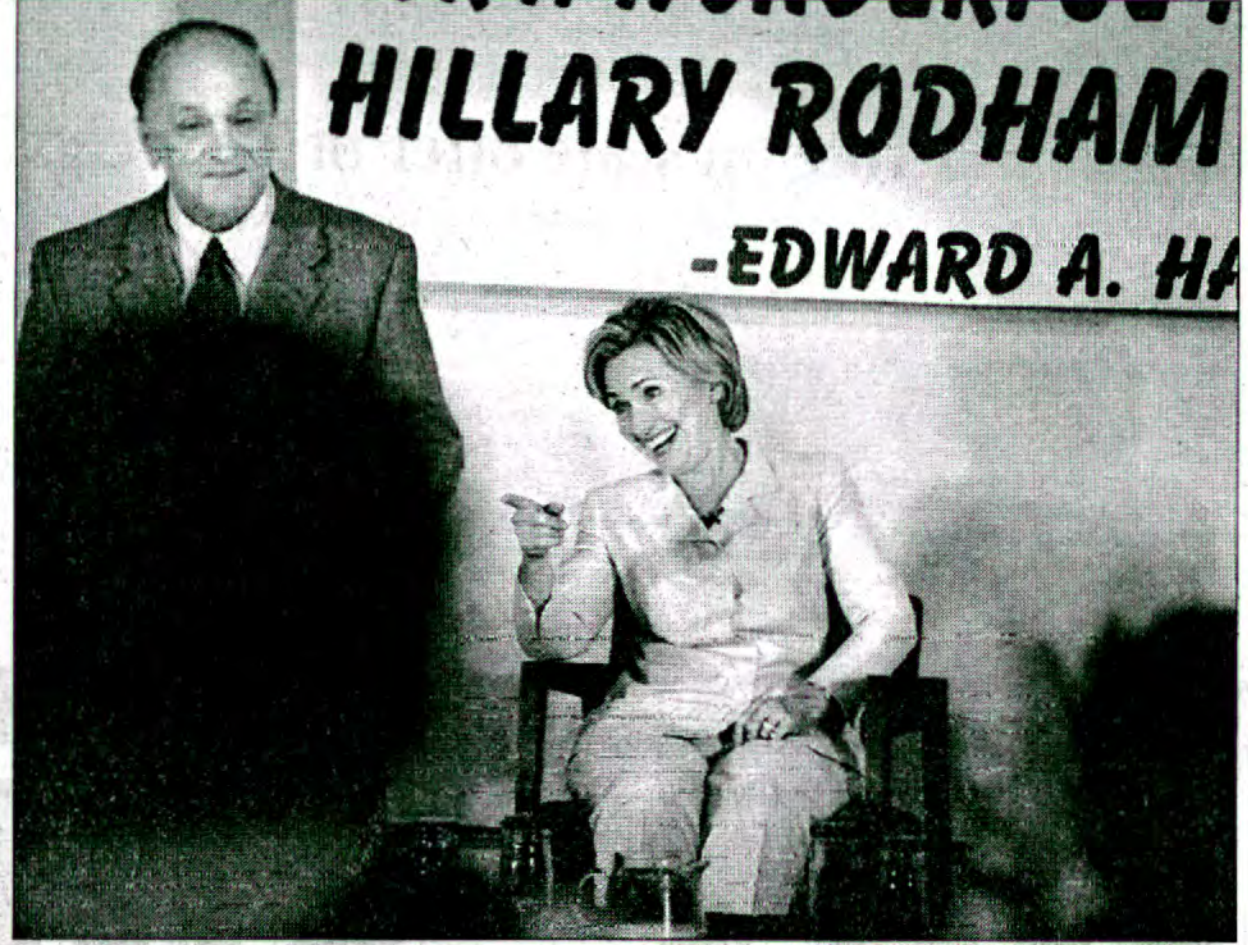
Franzonello, of Endwell, stood outside the East Utica Senior Center where Clinton was appearing and held a sign she had made the night before. "Listening tour or contrived P.R.," it read.

She made the sign, Franzonello said, after trying to attend the tour's kick-off Wednesday at the farm of Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan in Pindars Corners. She and other protesters were kept well away from the first lady.

On Thursday, some residents were wondering just what kind of candidate she would prove to be.

In Cooperstown Thursday morning, supporters, foes and the curious gathered across from Bassett Healthcare to watch her motorcade pull in. Clinton was there to talk about health care with a select group of doctors, nurses and patients. As on Wednesday, a large press contingent followed her every move.

Outside, Susan Snell said she



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton acknowledges the crowd Thursday at the East Side Senior Center in Utica as she is introduced by Mayor Edward A. Hanna.

By ELIZABETH A. MUNDSCHEK, Observer-Dispatch

liked Clinton but had questions about why she wanted to represent New York. And she wasn't sure Clinton would run the kind of campaign that would give her answers.

The first lady's entourage added to the excitement, Snell said, but it might mean she was not out talking to enough everyday people.

"I can't believe she'll get a real sense of New York with the

Secret Service, and the media, and the carefully choreographed events," Snell said. "I don't know what she can learn."

If she had been invited to talk to the first lady, Snell said she would have told her of her concerns about the 3 million uninsured New Yorkers. And she would have cautioned against solutions that were too all-encompassing, the type that might hurt small businesses with high costs.

Those were the pitfalls that killed Clinton's attempt to overhaul health insurance during her husband's first term, she said.

But don't try to tell John Gill that the first lady won't be out meeting regular people. He shook her hand later, when she stopped for lunch in the village of Clinton.

"They should have more women in government," Gill said. "Less gun nuts."

First lady's fans, critics face off

By STEFANIE SCARLETT

Observer-Dispatch

UTICA — Fans and skeptics of Hillary Rodham Clinton found some common ground Thursday — the barricades lining Catherine Street outside the East Side Senior Center.

Hundreds of residents, many clutching cameras and signs, waited hours to see the first lady as she stopped in Utica during her statewide "listening tour" in anticipation of a run for U.S. Senate.

"I don't care what she runs for, she's got my vote," said Janet Famolaro of Utica as she sat on the steps of St. Mary of Mount Carmel Church waiting for Clinton's arrival.

Eloise O'Brien of Utica took the day off work and had a sign made to show her support. "Mrs. Clinton, we want you," it read.

"She's a good person. She cares about the things that women care about," O'Brien said. She was just one of many people there who said they were fans of the first lady.

But Clinton's detractors were out in force as well, and they were quite visible, thanks to their large signs. "Hillary, visit the Adirondacks: they have Whitewater," read one.

Annette Pawlinga of Little Falls said she wasn't impressed by Clinton. "She's not for the people, she's just for herself," she said.

The crowd, ranging in age from toddlers to senior citizens, was mostly quiet but often came alive for television crews. At those times, the entire scene felt like dueling high school pep rallies.

A group holding "Rudy from



By BRADFORD S. LUPPINO, Observer-Dispatch

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, accompanied by Secret Service agents, greets supporters Thursday outside Utica's East Side Senior Center.

N.Y. — "Rudy for N.Y." signs started the first of many anti-Hillary cheers. "No more pollution, go home Hillary," they chanted.

Carole Nowak of Rome was standing in the front of the crowd while her mother was inside in the Senior Center audience.

"We've read her book and we're very interested in her work for children and the elderly," she said, referring to Clinton's "It Takes A Village" book on the importance of the community in child-raising.

She brought photographs in the hope that Clinton would autograph them. But like most of the crowd, she was disappointed — a quick glimpse was all that most caught of the first lady.

Cheers and jeers rang out as Clinton finally arrived, more than an hour late. She waved briefly to the crowd as she hurried inside.

By the time she left, about two hours later, the crowd had thinned but those who remained were ready. They rewarded her appearance with competing

chants: "We Want Hillary" and "Hillary, Go Home."

Clinton stopped to shake hands and gave one little girl a hug before hopping back into her van. She waved, mouthing the words "thank you" as she pulled away.

Whether or not the first lady picked up any votes during her visit here, Famolaro said the experience means a lot locally.

"This is big for Utica, whether she runs or not," she said.

First Lady doesn't return Rudy's fire

Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday ducked questions about Mayor Giuliani — but the mayor didn't return the favor, taking shots at the First Lady on health care and mocking her 'listening' tour.

"There will be plenty of time in a campaign to go into that," Clinton said during a half-hour interview with reporters for 10 newspapers in New York when asked about differences between her and Giuliani.

"I look forward to that opportunity when it arises."

Asked later whether she thought Giuliani was a good mayor, the

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

First Lady responded, "I'm not going to get into that. I think that's something for the people of New York to decide. I'll leave that up to them."

On Day Two of her upstate "listening tour," Clinton discussed health care — her pet issue — with doctors at a medical center in Cooperstown and with senior citizens in Utica.

The First Lady joked about her

failed national health-care plan, saying to a 50-person audience in Cooperstown: "You may recall that I had some thoughts about health care — I now come from the school of smaller steps."

Giuliani said he would be happy to compare his record on health care to the First Lady's.

"I think I've done more to increase health care in New York City on a practical basis than any mayor," Giuliani said.

Meanwhile, in her first wide-ranging interview session on the listening tour, Clinton said she:

■ Would serve a full six-year term in the Senate if elected, un-

like Giuliani, who has refused to take the same pledge.

■ Has yet to make a decision on where she will vacation this summer or where she will live if and when she moves to New York.

■ Expects President Clinton to come to New York to campaign for her, and be well received if he does.

■ Has backed the death penalty since she was a law-school student, although not enthusiastically.

Mrs. Clinton decided to cut short her trip by one day, skipping events that were planned in Albany tomorrow, but adding one event late today.

All of her flips may soon turn into flops

By DEBORAH ORIN
Bureau Chief

WASHINGTON — Lots of candidates reinvent themselves to win political office — but rarely as dramatically as Hillary Clinton, who yesterday did a sudden switcheroo on a hot-button Mideast issue.

Only a cynic would say she flip-flopped because there are lots of Jewish voters in New York — and not that many Arab-American voters.

And that flip-flop comes after the ardent Cub-loving Mrs. Clinton, a Chicago-area native, suddenly revealed she'd been a closet

ANALYSIS

Yankee fan all her life and also had a newfound affection for the Knicks.

Only a cynic would say that's because she wants to run in New York.

"It is beginning to be exceptional," said presidential scholar Stephen Hess, pointing particularly to her abrupt about-face.

"Candidates are allowed to learn things and change their minds and put their fingers up to the wind. But if candidates consistently change their minds, then it raises the question of what they do stand for."

Until she began eyeing New York's Senate seat, Mrs. Clinton had broken publicly with her husband on only one issue beyond Monica Lewinsky: She backed a Palestinian state in May 1998 and won plaudits in the Arab world.

Then yesterday, Mrs. Clinton broke with her husband again, this time in the opposite direction. She now takes Israel's side and favors an "indivisible" Jerusalem as its capital and wants the U.S. embassy moved there.

Which means the Palestinian state she supposedly favors won't be able to fly a Palestinian flag even over a tiny symbolic bit of Jerusalem, which Palestinians also claim for their capital.

The flip-flop came after President Clinton said his wife has the green light to blast his policies if it will help her win the Senate seat.

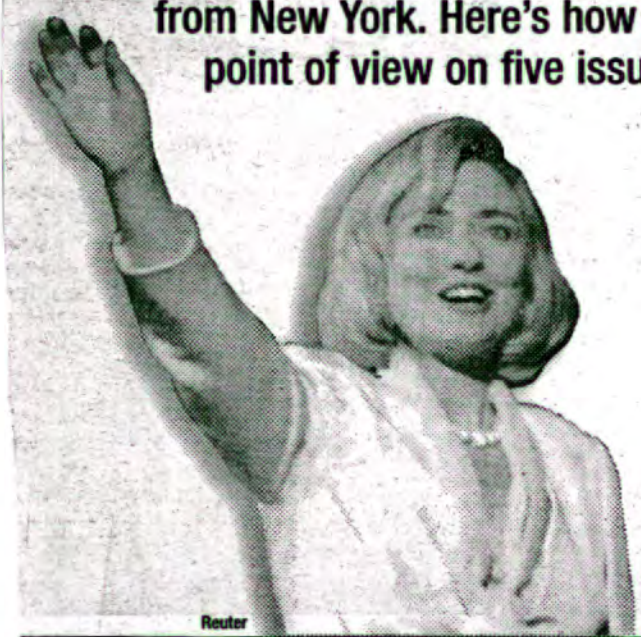
No wonder Arab-Americans accuse Mrs. Clinton of pandering. Her positions on Jerusalem and a Palestinian state sure seem contradictory. The open question is whether the switch wins her votes or backfires.

AS WITH ALL

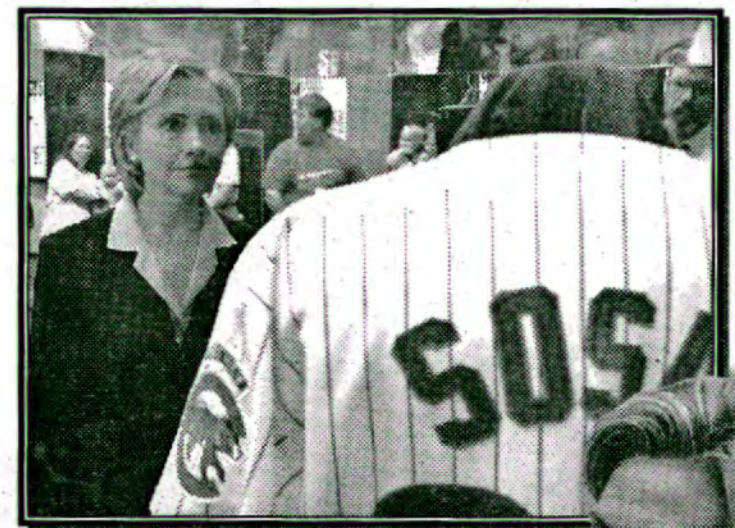
NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, JULY 9, 1999

Which side is she on? It all depends . . .

Hillary Rodham Clinton has a new attitude now that she's considering a run for Senate from New York. Here's how the First Lady, as First Candidate, has reinvented her point of view on five issues:

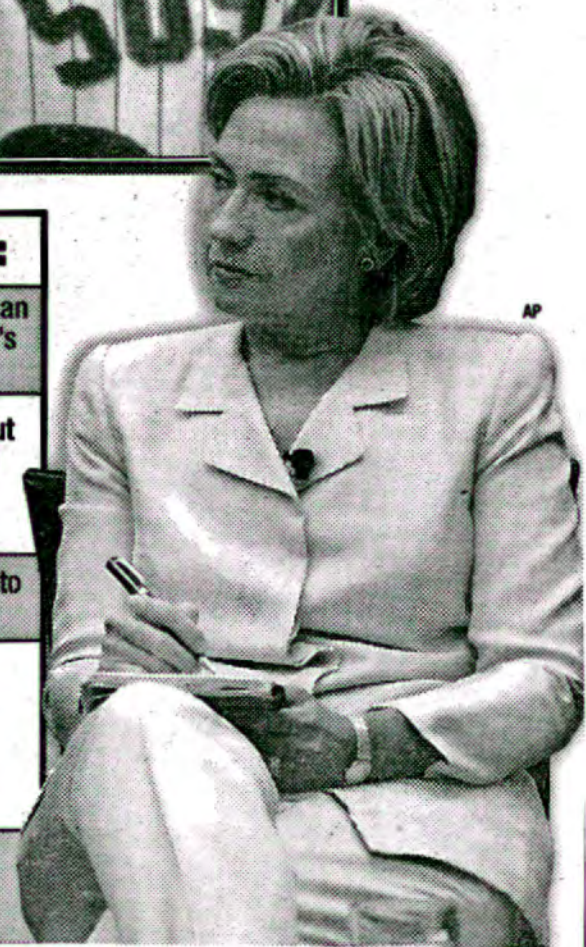


Reuter



UPSTATE GIRL: Hillary visits Cooperstown's Baseball Hall of Fame yesterday

Reuter



AP

As First Lady:		As First Candidate:
Favored Palestinian statehood, angering Israelis.	ISRAEL	Favors president's position of an undivided Jerusalem as Israel's capital, angering Palestinians.
Pushed failed health-care plan that would have cut billions in funds for New York hospitals.	HEALTH CARE	Says she has "concerns" about president's plan, which would cut billions in funds for New York hospitals.
No stated position.	DEATH PENALTY	Says she supports, according to her press secretary.
Describes herself as lifelong Cub fan; admits it might be "politic" to root for both Yankees and Mets.	BASEBALL LOYALTIES	Says she's "always been a Yankee fan" . . . "As a kid, I became very interested and enamored of the New York Yankees."
Lifelong Bull fan. "What did happen to the Bulls? Good question."	BASKETBALL LOYALTIES	"I am a Knick fan now."

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.



tarring Hillary Clinton

First lady and would-be Sen. Hillary Rodham Clinton is everywhere, but her life isn't a movie of the week — it's a reality show.

The Drudge Report this week reports that the major networks have opted not to make a movie based on the first lady's life.

"The project, based on David Brock's book *The Seduction of Hillary Rodham*, was pitched to the majors — with actress Susan Sarandon, at one point, expressing interest in the title role," Drudge reports.

He says CBS passed, probably because of the Clintons' close relationship with the head of the network.

Actress Holly Hunter was supposedly a prospect if Sarandon didn't work out for the possible miniseries.

Drudge quotes one anonymous network executive as saying, "Hillary should play herself ... she would be terrific."

Travel rules eased for LR lawyer serving Whitewater probation

BY LINDA SATTER
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

In an order filed Thursday, U.S. District Judge Stephen M. Reasoner eased travel restrictions on Little Rock tax lawyer John Haley, who is serving 3 years' probation for a Whitewater-related misdemeanor conviction.

During a hearing Wednesday, Haley asked Reasoner for some relief from a U.S. Probation Department requirement that he seek approval at least 48 hours before traveling out of state. Haley said that requirement interferes with his law practice and visits with family members.

Reasoner said in court that when he sentenced Haley last August for

failing to supply information to an accounting firm, the judge intended for Haley's travel to be as unrestricted as possible within federal rules. Reasoner said he wouldn't rule on the matter, however, until ascertaining whether he had the authority to interfere with rules and regulations of probation officers.

Reasoner's brief order states that "as soon as defendant knows he will be traveling out of the state, or out of the country, he is to inform the Probation Office. However, there will be no minimum time requirement imposed as long as defendant, in good faith, notifies the Probation Office as soon as possible."

Hillary gets kid-glove treatment

U.S. taxpayers get to share the bills

How much will Hillary Clinton's run for the U.S. Senate from New York cost American taxpayers?

We'll never know. Oh, sure, we'll be getting periodic rundowns on how much she's received in campaign contributions and how much is being paid out, but that won't tell the real story.

First ladies, like all members of the president's immediate family, are well provided for during and after their White House tenure. All we know is that the ultimate cost for her family is in the millions of taxpayer dollars, much of it hidden in the budgets of government agencies.

A political campaign launched by a first lady in her own behalf cannot avoid being an additional financial burden to taxpayers.

True, Hillary's campaign committee will pick up some of the costs of her travels around New York, a state in which she has neither lived nor worked at any time in her life, but nowhere near most of them.

The cost of Secret Service protection alone will be staggering. Or at least we would find it staggering were we privy to the actual amount, which we most certainly will not be. That's the type of state secret doubt even the Chinese could obtain.

Let's just say we should be grateful for small favors. She could be running for president. Which, of course, she is, in increments.

First, however, there's the New York campaign, which taxpayers began financing several months before she got around to forming her "exploratory" committee earlier this week. I don't have a tally, but I know she's made many trips to New York in recent months to test the political waters.

I don't know about my colleagues in the media, but I happen to find the prospect of Hillary stumping for votes for herself intriguing. I suspect they do, too; otherwise, more than 200 reporters and photographers from around the world wouldn't have been in hand for the kickoff at outgoing Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's farm on Wednesday.

The appeal is not just in the historic significance, although there is that, because no

Meredith Oakley



first lady has ever run for office, let alone run for office while living in the White House.

Of far greater interest to me is the notion of Hillary Rodham Clinton finally stepping out of Bill's shadow and coming into her own as a politician.

I don't know what kind of public servant she'd make—I characterize her in this way for purely rhetorical purposes, because the notion of HRC as a "public servant" is downright incongruous—but no one can fault her as a campaigner.

I knew the first time I saw her in action—it was during her husband's gubernatorial comeback campaign in 1982—that she was a very effective public speaker, and I wondered at the time why she hadn't done more of it earlier in Bill's career.

There's no point in revisiting the contribution Hillary's detachment from his governance and his politicking made to his defeat in 1990 except to note that had she taken an active role in both his first term and his first re-election bid, Bill might never have had to make that comeback and would have realized his dream of becoming the youngest man ever elected president of the United States.

But even HRC can make mistakes. What distinguishes her from her husband is that she seems capable of learning from them, even if she is rather choosy about which lessons to take to heart.

Another interesting aspect of the HRC for Senate campaign is how she will interact, if at all, with the New York media—or rather, whether they will try to force the issue when she doesn't.

I'm betting they don't. For all their fabled fractiousness, I'd bet a dollar to a doughnut that they'll back down and back off at every turn, just like most reporters do

when confronted with (or by) self-possessed, authoritative people.

Look at how the White House press corps retreats every time this president refuses to be baited. They treated Hillary with the same deference during that innocuous "Pretty in Pink" news conference she held in response to the cattle futures controversy.

For my money, this New York crew is made of no sterner stuff.

Admittedly, the New York press contingent made up only a small percentage of the madding media crowd on Wednesday, so they haven't had a real chance to show their stuff.

But when a group of reporters elicits as many non-answers from a candidate, even a prospective one, as this one did from Hillary, ya gotta wonder.

Pointed questions don't count unless they prompt a pointed response, and it behooves any reporter who's capable of lobbing a blunt question to keep dogging it until he gets a proper response.

Take, for example, that question about the so-called "carpetbagger issue." Hillary breezed right through that one.

She allowed as to how it was "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."

True enough, but she didn't really address the issue.

Moreover, not one single reporter made an effort to get her to do so.

According to one press account, Hillary "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."

Oh, yeah, the thought of squaring off with the New York media really has Hillary quaking in her boots all right.

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

Hillary makes a Saudi splash

TOO bad Hillary Clinton isn't running for office in Beirut. The First Lady seems to be popular among Arabs, even though she has backed off her statement that the Palestinians should have their own nation. Look at how lovingly Hillary is depicted on the cover of Al-Hawadeth, a Saudi-backed weekly printed in Lebanon (right). Inside are seven flattering photos of the cover girl. "If her political ambitions succeed, she will not owe her husband political favors. Her future may surpass his," says the magazine, which PAGE SIX had translated from the Arabic. "There is speculation she will separate from her husband after his term finishes in January 2001, ridding herself of all his burdens . . . People sympathize with Hillary's suffering after the globalization of her husband's cheating." The story might be different after today's news (see pages 2 and 3) that she's declaring Jerusalem should be the capital of Israel. Palestinians, who claim much of the Holy City as their own, are dead set against that idea.



What Hillary Learned from Bill

Now that she's formed an exploratory committee and launched her first campaign swing — excuse us, "listening tour" — of New York, the next task for Hillary Rodham Clinton is to start raising cash for her Senate bid. To that end, she's turning to Terry McAuliffe — the man who first hung the "for sale" sign out in front of the White House.

McAuliffe, the Tony Coelho prodigy whose activities on behalf of the Clinton-Gore team and the Democratic National Committee have caught the attention of various congressional committees and grand juries, says he can raise \$20 million for the First Lady. We don't doubt it.

Al Gore, after all, calls him "the greatest fund-raiser in the history of the universe." McAuliffe earned that reputation by starting the ball rolling on the White House kaffeeklatches for big-money donors and writing the memo that inspired Bill Clinton to start selling weekends in the Lincoln Bedroom.

But McAuliffe has also been linked to contribution trade-offs that are far more problematic.

One of them came up last week, when U.S. Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt testified before the grand jury that is investigating whether he denied a casino license to three Wisconsin Chippewa tribes after three rival tribes agreed to contribute \$270,000 to

the Clinton-Gore campaign.

An attorney for the Chippewas has testified that Babbitt, his longtime friend, told him that he'd been ordered by White House Deputy Chief of Staff Harold Ickes to deny the license because the rival tribes were prepared to contribute up to \$500,000 to the Clinton-Gore campaign.

That same day, a lobbyist for the rival tribes wrote in his diary that he was about to launch the donation campaign, and outlined plans to contact McAuliffe and Ickes — who, obviously not coincidentally, is now Hillary Clinton's chief political counselor and strategist for the Senate campaign.

McAuliffe also has been linked to an alleged money-laundering scheme to siphon Teamsters Union money to the 1996 re-election campaign of its president, Ron Carey — who switched his union's political loyalties from the Republicans to the Democrats.

When the scheme was uncovered, Carey's election was overturned and he was barred from holding union office.

Hillary Clinton wants us to believe that she's running as her own woman. She could prove it by turning her back on her husband's administration. Instead, she has put her campaign in the hands of the same sleazy crowd that has made such a mockery of political ethics these last six years.

New Yorkers are entitled to draw the appropriate conclusions.

The Remaking Of Hillary Rodham Clinton

So now we know how Bill Clinton plans to get around the sticky little problem of presidential term limits. His wife is going to run as Bill, while he morphs into his wife. Down the road this gives them a shot at another eight years.

Or so it looked this week, the kickoff of the most amusing case of trading places since Eddie Murphy and Dan Aykroyd swapped chauffeurs on film.

The soon-to-be-former president spent the week campaigning as the liberal his wife once admitted to being. He finally stumped for the poor he's kept at a safe political distance during seven years of masaging the "forgotten middle class."

Meanwhile, Hillary Rodham Clinton began her New York Senate campaign as a born-again moderate, a candidate ardently but modestly "listening" to New Yorkers to discover what in Oneonta's name to run on. About Mrs. Clinton it was once said, as a compliment, that she "has the courage of her husband's convictions." Now, as a candidate in her own right for the first time, she's suddenly conviction-free.



Hillary Clinton

You have to appreciate the audacity. Bill Clinton has always been expert at reinventing himself—from Hot Springs gadabout to Hope idealist, from New Democrat to FDR wannabee and back to New Democrat. Now it's Hillary's turn to exploit America's short attention span, and she got off to a brilliant start this week.

Her photo-op schmooze with retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan was especially rich. This is the same senator who was the most vigorous Democratic opponent of the Clintons' two most notable proposals—health care and welfare reform.

He called the former a misguided attempt to restrict medical choices and the latter a betrayal of Democratic principles. Mrs. Clinton's mentor and policy guru, lib-

Throngs 'listen' with the first lady

■ In Day One on campaign trail, Hillary Clinton survives trick questions, media horde.

By Ron Scherer

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

PINDARS CORNERS, N.Y. — At the only traffic light within miles of this country intersection, Katherine Engert is holding a "Go-Home" sign for Hillary Rodham Clinton. As a long black limousine slides past, Ms. Engert and others around her start waving their signs in the hope Mrs. Clinton will get the message.

But she is not in the stretch limo: The occupants are, of all people, members of a Japanese television crew.

Yes, Japanese television crews, not to mention 250 other journalists, gathered Wednesday in a hayfield to watch Clinton start her "listening tour," a prelude to her formal candidacy to run for a US Senate seat in New York State.

Only a few days earlier, bales of hay had been rolled and shrink-wrapped outside of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's farm, where Clinton kicked off her tour. Now, the field is sprouting trucks with satellite an-

tenna. White House reporter Andrea Mitchell from "NBC News" is soiling her shoes along with local reporters from "Inside Albany."

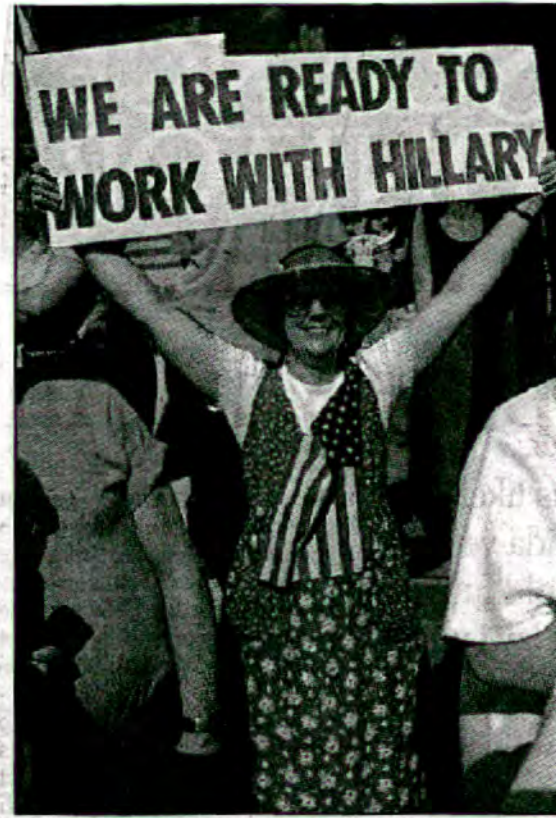
This spectacle of both celebrity and local reporters comes during a slow news week in Washington. The media horde has come to a place so small — it's not even a dot on local maps — to get the ultimate sound bite as a first lady finally embarks on a campaign trail for herself.

"Will someone come down here and turn me on?" Clinton says after her microphone failed during her first listening session.

"She's such a character," says Osmau Sorimachi of Japan's Fuji television network. "In Japan, there are not so many women — none — who are so ambitious."

That ambition has nearly every political reporter in the nation salivating. They are analyzing, looking for nuance, trying to trip Clinton before she even leaves the gate. They need to find something to write about, after all.

Does she have an opinion on



PHOTOS BY MIKE SEGAR/REUTERS

AND SHE'S OFF: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton (right) has been on a "listening tour" in upstate New York to acquaint herself with local issues. Some in the area are already showing support (left).

the design of the Peace Bridge at Niagara Falls? asks one local reporter, knowing the candidate would rather talk about Medicare reform and changing the education system. "I'll leave that to the experts," Clinton says as Sen. Moynihan quickly moves to another reporter at a first-day press conference.

In fact, at the end of the day many reporters were left scratching their heads, looking for a second-day news story. Would it be Mrs. Clinton's visit to the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown? Would she wear an Oneonta

Tigers baseball cap? How would she care to rate the barbecued chicken at Brook's House of Bar-B-Q in Oneonta?

Judith Hope, the state Democratic Party chairwoman, is expecting that national reporters contemplating such dramatic journalistic coups will feel compelled to go back to Washington. There will be no battle with Andrea Mitchell or Barbara Walters for air time. "As she keeps coming back, local reporters will get all the access they want," she says.

What they are likely to hear is

more of the same. At this stage in her campaign, Clinton is taking the high road. On Day One, she said she was contemplating the run because "I care deeply about the issues that are important in this state."

When reporters tried to get her to talk about White House scandals, Monica Lewinsky, or some questionable dealings in her Arkansas past, she talked about education and health care. Didn't she have chutzpah to run in a state where she's never lived? asked one reporter. Yes, laughed Clinton, the word had entered her

head when people first suggested she run for the seat.

During the afternoon of Clinton's first day on the trail, she held her first listening session at the State University at Oneonta. Clinton asked five local residents to talk about the education system and how it could be improved.

It was the perfect forum for the first lady, who can talk about educational theory with almost anyone. She supports pre-kindergarten classes, mothers reading to children, and families eating together around the kitchen table.

By the time Clinton gets around to telling the locals she is "serious about listening and learning about upstate New York," many of the reporters have left. As many people are yawning, Clinton says she is looking forward to the "slow relaxed pace."

By the next morning Clinton is in Cooperstown talking about another of her favorite topics—health care. Then she goes to Utica for a session on technology. Then on to Syracuse for an economic development panel. "There are no stump speeches, just listening," says Clinton's spokesman Howard Wolfson.

The farmlands of upstate New York are Republican strongholds. So, it's not surprising that almost everywhere Clinton goes there are protesters. But, she seems unfazed by the activity. When she actually does go by Ms. Engert at the intersection, she sees the Rudy signs. She waves and smiles. This is also part of the listening and learning tour.

Political Notes

Clinton stops in Syracuse today

Staff reports

Hillary Rodham Clinton's exploratory tour of upstate New York arrives today in Syracuse. The times listed are the scheduled times, but most events on this tour have run late.

For example, Thursday's 10 a.m. session began at 10:45 and the 3 p.m. event began at 4:15.

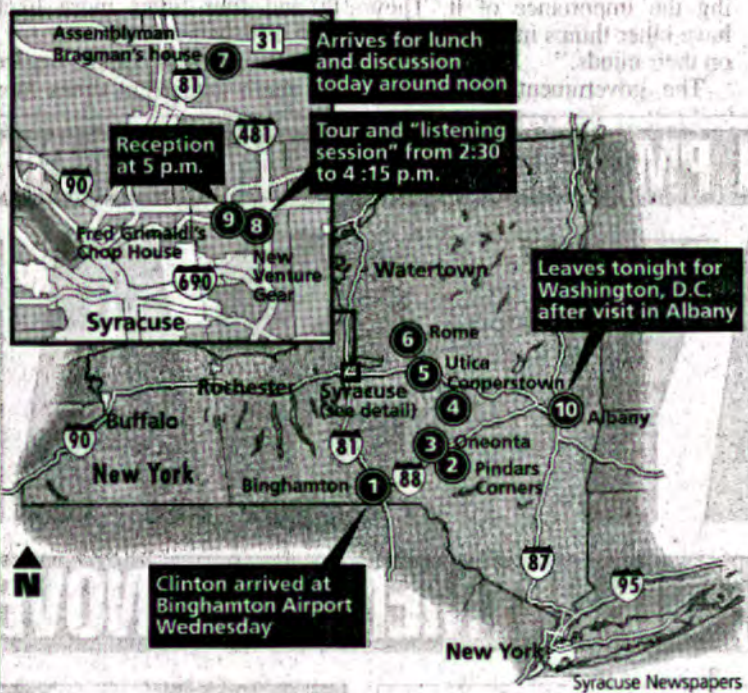
The events are open to invited guests only. In other towns, supporters and protesters have been kept behind police barricades — often across the street from her appearance.

Scheduled stops:

- **9 a.m.:** Griffiss Technology Park in Rome
- **Noon:** Lunch at the family home of Assemblyman Michael J. Bragman on Thompson Road in Cicero, followed by a discussion of education issues with student leaders, educators and parents.
- **2:30 p.m.:** Arrive at the New Venture Gear plant on Chrysler Drive in DeWitt for a tour of the plant.
- **3 to 4:15 p.m.:** More "listening" with workers at the New Venture Gear plant.
- **5 p.m.:** Reception with

Exploring the area

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's "listening" tour of upstate New York this week brings her to the Syracuse area today. The numbers on the maps represent the order of the stops on her tour.



about 100 community and political leaders at Fred Grimaldi's Chop House (near Carrier

Circle).

Clinton will fly from Syracuse to Albany after the reception.

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