

Our opinion

Don't Be a Stranger

Hillary Rodham Clinton's Central New York tour should be just the beginning.

As Hillary Rodham Clinton passes through Syracuse today on the last leg of her scheduled "listening tour" of upstate New York, here's hoping she hears what she needs to hear, not just what she wants to hear.

What she needs to hear is a loud-and-clear message from upstate that New York needs active, focused representation of its interests in Washington — whether it's from an ex-first lady, a feisty former mayor of New York City or anyone else.

Rodham Clinton's carefully stage-managed journey is notably missing the kind of barnstorming, no-holds-barred, meet-and-greet sessions one would expect from a probable candidate just starting out.

Of course, this is not just any candidate. Already one of the nation's best-known public figure, a political star in her own right, Rodham Clinton hardly needs to knock on doors to introduce herself.

Indeed, her status as first lady presents special problems for a candidate. Not only is she surrounded by media representatives wherever she goes, but she also is insulated by a buffer of Secret Service agents. Already her critics have faulted her for traveling on government planes — as though the first-ever first-lady almost-candidate had the option of hopping on a commuter shuttle.

Yet even the hand-picked few who had the opportunity to see Rodham Clinton up-close got to ask the kind of tough questions that are on a lot of minds — like Who-Does-She-Think-She-Is-Running-in-New-York, and What-About-Whitewater-and-Monica.

Rodham Clinton handled these questions with ease. On the Washington investigations she said on Wednesday, "I think we've moved beyond it all." Regarding her status as an out-of-stater, she acknowledged the fairness of the question, and responded she has "some real work to do, to get out and listen and learn from the people of New York."

The "carpetbagging" issue no doubt will dog a Rodham Clinton

candidacy right up to Election Day. The same thing happened during Robert F. Kennedy's successful drive for a Senate seat from New York in 1964.

As for Whitewater and the rest, that field surely will be ploughed again, though it's hard to imagine what's left to uncover after the five years of Kenneth Starr's probe.

Her political stardom will doubtless help counteract these vulnerable points. Typical was the comment of a rank-and-file Republican in Oneonta — "I think she ought to go back to Arkansas" — as he nevertheless waited for the opportunity to catch a glimpse of the Illinois-born, Wellesley-and-Yale-educated global celebrity.

One could argue that her prominence and experience could work for New York in the Senate — that her knowledge of national issues and connections in national political circles would serve her and her constituents well. The question is: To what purpose would she apply that knowledge and use those connections?

Some already have suggested her only reason for running in New York is because the state is such a well-known stepping stone to the presidency. Just look at Van Buren, Fillmore, Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt, and Robert Kennedy himself, whose presidential juggernaut was derailed by an assassin in 1968.

To which the answer might be: If being a stepping-stone means benefiting from such first-rate representation by a senator that it catapults her into the Oval Office, so much the better.

Which brings us back to the opening point. To be that kind of representative requires the kind of bond between the leader and the led that cannot be imitated or bought or faked in any way. Rodham Clinton has made a decent start by admitting she has lots to learn. She is a smart woman, and a quick study. This "listening tour" is a low-risk venture with the prospect of modest returns. We hope it is not her last foray into these precincts. And as time goes by, if she is to be a serious candidate, we will expect to hear what she has learned, and what she intends to do about it.

Rope-a-dope

Peggy Noonan, the author and former speechwriter for Presidents Reagan and Bush, was impressed by first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign debut Wednesday in upstate New York.

"Hand it to her. Hillary Clinton had a spectacular day," Mrs. Noonan said in an opinion piece in the Wall Street Journal.

Mrs. Noonan said Mrs. Clinton is doing two things right: nailing down her base on the left, and "absorbing attacks."

"For the next nine months or so she'll be playing rope-a-dope, exhausting her foes by taking every blow they can throw. She's doing this now because right now, it doesn't matter what is said of her."

"A year from now, when it matters, if New York's pundits — the Dunleavies and Dowds, the Brookhisers and Breslins — are still attacking her, they will look obsessed and winded."

"She will look long-suffering and glistening. The criticisms of '99 will be but a memory. Reporters will be reduced to covering her latest proposals. She knows this. Her people know this. It's why, right now, they don't mind attacks."

Mrs. Noonan added: "[Wednesday] was a very good day for Mrs. Clinton because it gave her wall-to-wall great coverage. But that may turn out to be good news for Republicans, in the same way that an alarm clock going off at the right time is good news. It rings, you hear it, you wake up and get dressed and stop dreaming and go to work."

Golden opportunity

A 19-hour blackout in one of New York's poorest neighbor-

hoods gave Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani a golden opportunity to demonstrate his crisis-management skills as he heads toward an expected U.S. Senate race against first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, Reuters reports.

Political observers said yesterday that the blackout could not have happened on a better day for the Republican mayor because Mrs. Clinton, his likely Democratic opponent in the 2000 U.S. Senate race, was in New York for the start of a heavily publicized campaign-style tour.

"What better moment for a small, manageable catastrophe to strike New York City than the very day that Hillary Rodham Clinton went to an upstate farm on her gimmicky Listening Tour?" wrote New York Daily News columnist Jim Dwyer. "Rudy Giuliani, blackout boy, was back in Washington Heights on a Doing Tour."

Residents in the densely populated Washington Heights area in upper Manhattan were without electricity in sweltering heat from 10 p.m. Tuesday to 5 p.m. Wednesday.

Mr. Giuliani, known as a 24-hour-a-day mayor who visits the site of almost every large or small city catastrophe, sent extra police and city workers to provide safety, assistance and shelter.

He also vowed to sue Consolidated Edison Inc., which provides electricity to millions, after accusing the company of failing to have a solid backup plan in times of increased demand.

"People are going to be talking about this for a long time," said columnist Jimmy Breslin.

Close to home

Shots were fired last night near

the hotel in Utica, N.Y., that was serving as a base for Hillary Rodham Clinton's Senate campaign.

No injuries were reported and the first lady was not in danger.

A man opened fire about 9 p.m. in a parking lot across the street from the rear of the Radisson Hotel, said restaurant manager Deni Frederick.

"The police responded and are dealing with it as a bar brawl," she said.

Campaign staffers and reporters from around the world are booked at the hotel. Most of them were out during the incident. Aides said Mrs. Clinton spent the night at a private residence,

Abortion foes line tour stop in Utica

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sector, and in places where that is happening you see results," she said.

"Some of the jobs they thought were lost forever in Binghamton are coming back because there's been a concerted effort to create training programs and continuing education programs at the university there."

As a senator, Clinton said she would try to consolidate disparate job training programs into one program and help steer non-college-bound young people into appropriate training programs.

The upstate economy was again the subject during one of two sessions Thursday. At the East Side Senior Center in Utica, Clinton took questions from a crowd of 150, including one about the lack of jobs for young people and the deterioration of Utica, once a thriving community.

"I've heard that you have among the highest electricity rates in the entire country," she answered. "I've heard you have high transportation costs and very bad air travel connections. I've heard that the combination of state and local taxes is quite high ... and I've heard that there's not the kind of strategic partnership in government and the private sector to promote economic development."

At an earlier session at Bassett Healthcare in Cooperstown, about 50 invited guests discussed one of the first lady's favorite topics.

"You may recall I've had some thoughts about health care reform in the past," she said, referring to the Clinton administration's failed first-term effort to launch universal health care. "I now come from the school of smaller steps."

Doctors, nurses and patients spoke about the special needs of teaching hospitals and of hospitals that serve rural areas. Bassett does both through regional facilities



Dennis Nett / Staff photographer

MARY FRANZONELLO of Endwell holds a sign protesting Hillary Rodham Clinton's Thursday visit to a senior center in Utica. Franzonello's 5-year-old daughter, Rita, carries an umbrella that reads: "Go home carpetbagger." Mary Franzonello says she believes Clinton is listening to a selective audience.

"You may recall I've had some thoughts about health care reform in the past. I now come from the school of smaller steps."

Hillary Rodham Clinton

ties that stretch from the village of Hamilton in Madison County to Gloversville in Fulton County.

Clinton said she supports the Patient's Bill of Rights, a proposal in the Senate that would guarantee a third-party evaluation in disputes between patients and managed-care companies. She also mentioned her husband's proposal to expand Medicare coverage for prescription drugs.

Bragman and one of his daughters, Heather, had Clinton's ear for nearly 40 minutes in the

van that took her from Oneonta to Cooperstown Wednesday night.

"You absolutely lose track of who she is," Michael Bragman said, describing Clinton's ease at conversation. "We talked political strategies, issues; we talked about job creation, lowering energy costs and air fares. We also talked about baseball."

The National Baseball Hall of Fame was among Clinton's Cooperstown stops Wednesday night.

Her most enthusiastic response probably came in Clinton, where a crush of supporters reached across a rope line to shake her hand.

But in Utica, anti-abortion advocates Vicki and Robert Syversen held up their fetus posters, which read, "Hillary's Legacy" and "Clinton's Legacy."

A short distance away, a group of young Republicans organized by the Oneida County GOP Committee held up signs read-

ing, "Rudy (Giuliani) For NY" and "Rudy From NY."

Many supporters also stood behind police lines across from the senior center, and the two sides got into a shouting match about the merits of a Clinton Senate candidacy.

Protesters in Oneonta and Cooperstown said they were chased away from some of Clinton's events, while supporters were allowed to stay close to the first lady. Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson denied that her exploratory committee had any part in the security.

In Oneonta Wednesday, an Otsego County sheriff's deputy told protesters outside Brooks House of Barbeque, where Clinton ate lunch, that the owner wanted them off his property.

Clinton got a warm reception from at least one Republican, Mayor Ed Hanna of Utica, a former Democrat who switched parties last year and endorsed Gov. George Pataki for re-election.

Clinton Greeted by Crowds

Local lawmaker guides first lady across CNY

By Erik Kriss
And Mark Libbon
Staff writers

Utica — Hillary Rodham Clinton's upstate "listening tour" hit heavier traffic Thursday, both pro and con, as she prepared to bring her expected Senate candidacy to Syracuse and Albany today.

The first lady encountered crowds of about 500 in both the village of Clinton, where she ate lunch at the Alexander Hamilton Inn, and in Utica, where she visited a senior citizen center.

Many applauded her and encouraged her to run. Others presented her with the most dramatic protests to date, including blown-up photographs of dismembered fetuses to protest her support for abortion rights.

Meanwhile, in a session with selected New York reporters, Clinton:

■ Promised to serve her full six-year term if she's elected to replace retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan next year. Many observers believe Clinton would use her Senate seat as a stepping stone to the presidency. New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, a Republican who might oppose her, has refused to promise he would serve the full term.

■ Said she would like her husband to campaign for her in New York if she runs, noting that President Clinton carried the state by wide margins in both 1992 and 1996. She also said she hoped to use the lure of great golf courses to persuade the president to visit Central New York.

■ Pledged to help New York close the gap between what its taxpayers send the federal government and what Washington returns to New York in services.

■ Reiterated her support for the death penalty but stressed she is not enthusiastic about it.

Clinton spent a good chunk of time Wednesday night and Thursday with state Assembly Majority Leader Michael Bragman, who has played a leading role in organizing and planning her upstate visit.



Dennis Nett / Staff photographer

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON waves to admirers as she leaves Bassett Healthcare in Cooperstown Thursday. She is accompanied by state Assembly Majority Leader Michael Bragman, who has helped plan her upstate New York visit.

Inside

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Bragman, D-Cicero, plans to be by her side for most of today, as Clinton visits his house for a "listening" session with

the local school community, tours New Process Gear and meets with civic leaders at Fred Grimaldi's Chop House.

Clinton was asked Thursday how she would help lure back to Central New York those skilled workers who left during the recession of the early 1990s but are needed now as the local economy expands.

"It's an issue that requires a high level of partnership among different governmental jurisdictions and with the private

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Thursday, July 8, 1999

THE CLINTON SPEECH

Text of statement by Hillary Rodham Clinton, as transcribed by the Federal Document Clearing House:

Well, I want to thank Senator Moynihan and my friend, Liz Moynihan, for welcoming me and a few of my friends and associates here to their farm.

I'm very grateful for their friendship and their hospitality and their support. It means a great deal to me to stand here with someone whom I admire so much.

You know, I'm starting a listening tour of New York, and I thought it only proper that I start by listening to probably the wisest New Yorker that we can know of at this time, and ... and his neighbors agree.

And we started in the schoolhouse, which is appropriate because it is a place where Senator Moynihan has written so many of the books and articles and speeches that have been so important and influential in our country and in the deliberations of the United States Senate.

The last few months have been quite extraordinary for me, and I must say that I am very humbled and more than a little surprised to be standing here today.

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

New Yorkers from all walks of life have called me and written me and e-mailed me and stopped me and visited with me. And I think that there is a great feeling in this state that there is a lot of work ahead in the future, but it's work that people are ready to roll up their sleeves and do together.



Star photo by Allegra Boverman

Hillary Rodham Clinton speaks Wednesday morning at Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's farm in Pindars Corners.

So I intend to be spending my time in the next days and weeks and months listening to New Yorkers.

Now I suppose the questions on everyone's mind is why the Senate and why New York and why me. And all I can say is that I care deeply about the issues that are important in this state that I have already been learning about and hearing about, that I am very much

concerned that we work together to try to find answers to the challenges that face New York and the people of New York.

And I'm going to be listening very hard and I'm going to be learning a lot and I'm going to be looking for ways to work together with people to help figure out how to meet those challenges of providing quality education — maybe not any longer in a one-room schoolhouse, but in the various settings that exist around the state of New York.

And providing good quality, affordable health care and making sure that the crown jewels of the health care system, namely the teaching hospitals, are able to continue doing the work that is so important to all of us. And 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 that the senator has championed to ensure that New York gets its fair share from Washington.

I've been a tireless advocate all my life on behalf of what I believe in, and I believe that the causes that are embodied in the political deliberations that the United States Senate will be facing in the future are ones that are very important.

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

I'm very excited about this. I'm looking forward to it. It's great to be out here on this beautiful day. And over the next few days I expect to meet with and hear from a lot of New Yorkers and to have a chance to learn even more about what's on their minds.

So thank you so much, Senator, for having me here.

GOP blasts Clinton

The Daily Star, Oneonta, N.Y., Thursday, July 8, 1999

Republicans focus on 'carpetbagger'

ALBANY (AP) — Republicans greeted Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign-style presence in their traditional upstate stronghold Wednesday by assailing her as an ambitious, but unwanted, interloper in New York public life.

The state needs a U.S. senator who has an "emotional tie" to New York, Gov. George Pataki said.



Pataki

going to go down to Washington and try to represent the state."

Trying to mark the first lady with the "carpetbagger" brand has been the Republican strategy since it first became apparent she was seriously considering a run for Senate from New York. Though not a declared candidate, she has formed an exploratory committee and her four-day "listening" tour of central and eastern New York which began Wednesday had all the trappings of a campaign event.



Giuliani

likely to enter the Republican race for the Senate seat.

"It doesn't make sense for me to respond to someone exploring and listening and announcing that they're going to explain to us at some point in the future what they're for," Giuliani said. "When she explains what she's for and if I'm running against her, then I will respond to that."

"Everybody in the city and state knows what I'm for," he added.

The chairman of the state Republican Party, Bill Powers, hit on another anti-Clinton theme, that she really wants to be president and would use the Senate seat as a steppingstone to the White House.

"What we don't need is an ambitious outsider stopping in for a cup of coffee and then selling us out to run for president," Powers said.

"We need a senator from New York," the governor said during an appearance in Schenectady. "We don't need someone who is learning about the state and then who's

She got into few details about her stances on major state issues, something that New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani attacked her for Wednesday. He is considered

More media than crowds at the outset

By ERIKA ROSENBERG
Rochester Democrat and Chronicle

DAVENPORT — As First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton began her "listening tour" of upstate New York Wednesday, the media horde waiting to hear what she had to say far outnumbered anyone for her to listen to.

At least 200 reporters, including journalists from Canada and Japan, were here for the first stop on the First Lady's Senate campaign exploratory tour, which began with a visit with Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-N.Y., on his farm.

Yoichi Kato of *The Asahi Shimbun*, Tokyo's second-largest newspaper, said he wasn't on hand because the Japanese care about New York's Senate race or what effect Clinton would have on U.S.-Japan relations. The interest, he said, is personal.

"There is a lot of interest among the readers back in Japan what she's going to do after her husband is out of office," said Kato.

To some, the crush of reporters illustrated the sad state of today's journalism.

"All reporters cover the same story endlessly," said Gabe Pressman, a reporter for the NBC television station in New York City. "It's disheartening for those that believe in real journalism."

Pressman, who has been in the business since 1959, lamented that political reporting focuses too much on the race between candidates and not enough on the issues.

SENATE: Hillary Clinton launches 'listening tour' of New York

▼ CONTINUED FROM A1

night, said Clinton aide Howard Wolfson.

The change in plans — announced late Wednesday afternoon — came at the recommendation of Albany Mayor Jerry Jennings, Wolfson said.

"This was the mayor's preference," Wolfson said.

Jennings, reached at home Wednesday night, said it was not his decision that the First Lady change her Saturday plans.

"There were no firm plans for her to do anything here anyway," Jennings said.

His only recommendation, he said, was that she attend the grand opening of the Park Playhouse season, an event that could run late into the evening.

"My feeling was that it would just be better for her to go to the Park Playhouse because it is an important annual event in the city, and youth groups will be there that night," Jennings said.

Clinton will now possibly attend the Women's World Cup soccer final in California on Saturday, Wolfson said.

She will visit the Capital Region in August, Wolfson said. He did not have specific dates for the trip.

On Wednesday, as the First Lady traveled from Binghamton to Cooperstown, she enjoyed maximum face time with would-be voters at scheduled and spontaneous events alike. More supporters than detractors turned out along the roadsides to wave handmade posters.

And Clinton even managed to scoop a press corps some 300 strong by openly asking herself



MICHAEL P. FARRELL/TIMES UNION

REPORTERS quiz Hillary Clinton and Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

the three questions likely on most people's minds.

"Why the Senate? And why New York? And why me?" she asked after being endorsed by the man whose job she seeks — U.S. Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who will retire next year. "And all I can say is, I care deeply about the issues that are important in this state, that I've already been learning about and thinking about. And I'm very much concerned that we work together and try to find answers to the challenges that face New York and the people of New York."

Indeed, Clinton offered few solutions to the problems brought to her attention at a pass-the-microphone forum of educators and students at the State University College at Oneonta later in the afternoon.

She told the forum of about 25 people that she favors universal

pre-kindergarten classes for youngsters, wants to get all schools wired to the Internet, and is concerned about upstate poverty that she said undermines even the strongest attempts to educate.

She also said she'd like another try at the Clinton administration's failed health care overhaul in 1993.

But the locals appeared content simply to vent their concerns to Clinton, who generally was treated more like a first lady than a prospective Senate candidate throughout the day.

That is sure to change in months leading up to the November 2000 election, and state Republican Party loyalists took care Wednesday to let Clinton know that they're watching.

Clinton is currently in a statistical dead heat with the GOP favorite, New York City Mayor

Rudolph Giuliani, according to a survey released last week by the Quinnipiac Polling Institute.

Abortion foes and Giuliani supporters heckled Clinton at several stops along the campaign trail, most vociferously at Brooks' Bar-B-Q in Oneonta, where Clinton grinned as she walked through a shouting match that erupted in the lobby between supporters and critics.

Fifty-three of New York's registered Republicans live upstate, as do 54 percent of the state's Conservative Party members.

"Go home, Hillary," shouted one faction at Brooks'. "YOU go home," shouted back one pro-Clinton woman. "I live here," a young man countered. "I'm not the one running for Senate."

Few bystanders polled along the way were ready to say they'd vote for Clinton if, in fact, she does run — which would make her the first sitting first lady ever to vie for public office. Clinton gave no indication of when she'd make that decision.

And Clinton herself admitted that her lack of New York residency is a legitimate concern for state voters. "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, or if not more important, as where I'm from."

Clinton was raised in Illinois and lived in Arkansas with Bill Clinton for two decades before moving to Washington. She's now house-hunting in Manhattan and Westchester County.

How voters view the President — and Senate candidate Clin-

ton's relationship with him — is another matter. Political scientists have suggested that Hillary Clinton may offend women voters because of the President's relationship with White House intern Monica Lewinsky.

But 32-year-old Beth Kutler, an Oneonta nurse practitioner, said it wasn't an issue with the women she knew. "Women have respect for her professionally," Kutler said.

Allecia Tull, a 21-year-old Hartwick College senior, said Clinton shouldn't have to rely on a sympathy vote, adding: "We don't look at it that way — it was her husband that did it."

Clinton ended her day at the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown. She'd begun it at Moynihan's Delaware County farm, where the senator predicted a Clinton victory.

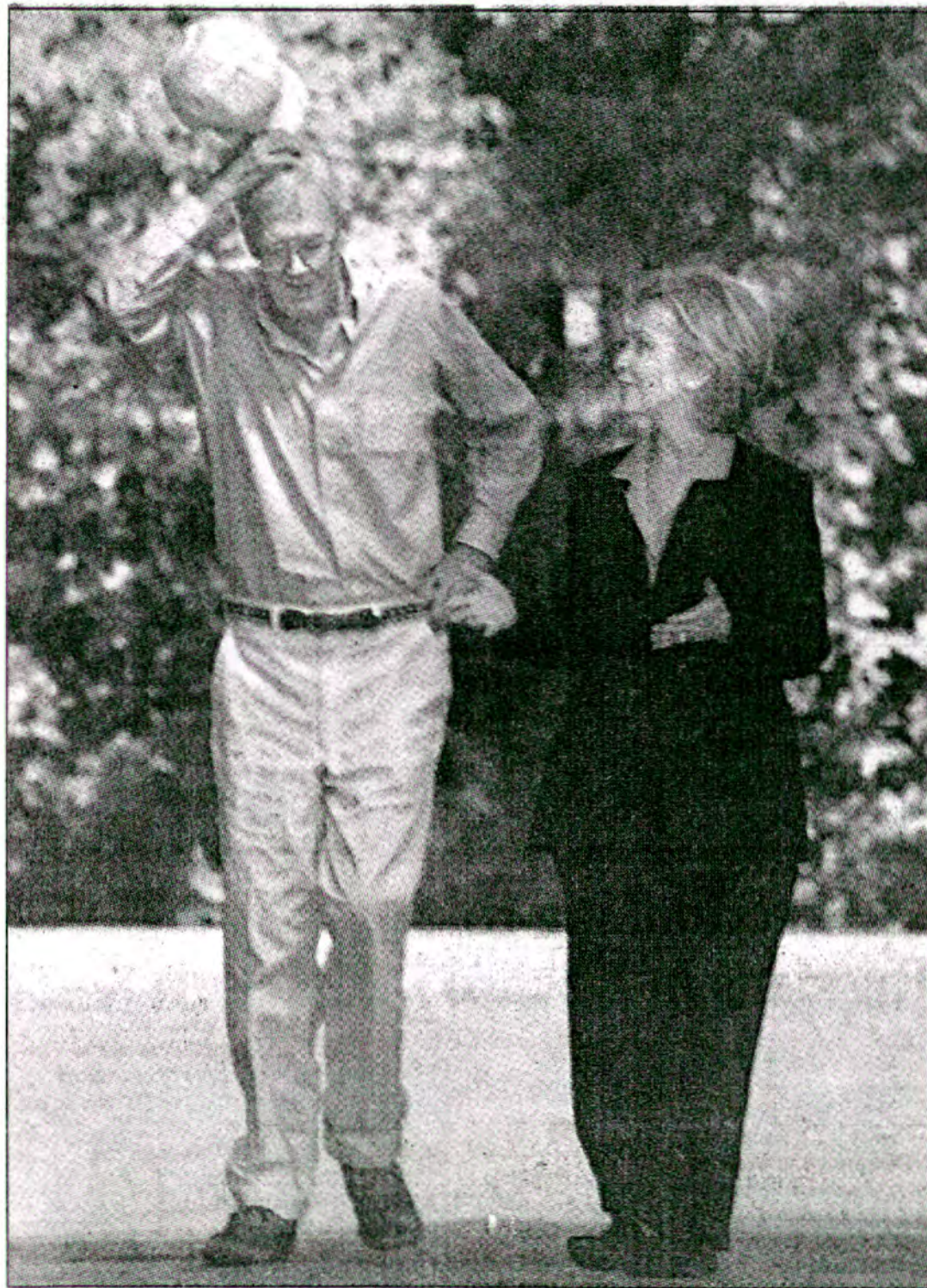
Moynihan, who's had sharp differences with the Clintons over welfare reform and the proposed health care overhaul, said, "I'm here to say I hope she will go all the way. I mean to go all the way with her. I think she's going to win, I think she's going to be wonderful for New York."

But an endorsement just as strong was accompanied by a little advice from an insightful upstater who met Clinton's plane at the Binghamton airport at 8:30 a.m. Wednesday.

"You hang in there," Broome County Committeewoman Clara Pruitt told Clinton, shaking her hand.

"Oh, I will," Clinton replied.

"It's gonna get dirty," Pruitt said.



THE FIRST LADY talks with U.S. Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan at his summer home Wednesday.

PHOTOS BY MICHAEL P. FARRELL/TIMES UNION

First Lady launches her upstate tour

The potential candidate enjoys an outpouring of support; she also curtails her plans to visit the Capital Region this week

By LARA JAKES
Capitol bureau

ONEONTA — Stumping on a "most glorious day" in and around the Southern Tier, Hillary Rodham Clinton basked in the glow of the endorsement of her possible predecessor Wednesday as she reached out to hundreds of voters for her likely run for a New York Senate seat.

The First Lady may have been talking about the sun-drenched afternoon, but she just as easily could have been referring to the outpouring of support during her upstate debut on the hustings.

In her first campaign-style swing since officially declaring her interest in the Senate seat, Clinton traveled from Binghamton to Cooperstown — with pit stops in between — on the first leg of her three-day "listening tour."

She will be in Utica today, and in Syracuse and Albany on Friday.

But she has canceled her Saturday appearances in the Capital Region,



JOHN KEEGAN, 9, offers First Lady Hillary Clinton a warm greeting on Route 7 in Oneonta Wednesday.

A8 ► Media horde invades upstate.

A9 ► GOP rips First Lady's visit.

promising to be back for a longer stay next month, her aides said Wednesday.

The First Lady will still attend a Friday evening fund-raiser for U.S. Rep. Michael McNulty, D-Green Island. She will then go to a performance of "Gypsy" at the Washington Park Playhouse before flying out of Albany International Airport that

Please see **SENATE A8** ►

Thursday, July 8, 1999

Oneonta, New York



Star photo by Anita Briggs

Kicking off the campaign

Hillary Rodham Clinton greets the crowd Wednesday at the new National Soccer Hall of Fame in the town of

Oneonta. The first lady also unveiled a 20-foot statue of a soccer ball at the hall.

Hillary's running — from Bill, it seems

CALL me an incurable romantic, but I can't help thinking that there's pathos in the Clintons' conflicting travel schedules this week. The President is winding up his four-day "poverty tour," promising to pour money into parts of the country that have been bypassed by the economic boom. Thousands of miles away, his wife, who has at last formed her Senate campaign exploratory committee, has launched her very own "listening tour" of voters in upstate New York. At least for the moment, it seems like there's not even a pretense of a personal partnership between these two.

Certainly the First Couple's separate agendas are nothing new. But this latest symbolism of their divergent paths — he, heading for political retirement; she, heading for political independence — neatly coincides with a disturbing new study about the weakened state of American matrimony.

According to a report released last week by the National Marriage Project, young women are more reluctant to marry than ever before, and the marriage rate has dropped by 43 percent in the last 36 years. But more revealing than the figures is the possible explanation behind them: The study's authors believe that modern couples are more focused on individual fulfillment than they are on the health of the third party commonly known as The Marriage.

I'm not blaming the Clintons for this disturbing cultural shift or claiming that their bizarre bond — perhaps the most speculated upon in recent history — has undermined our social fabric. Like most people I know, I have wondered aloud about what "arrangements" they may have between them, or if they will divorce as soon as they leave the White House. But I also believe that only the two people intimately involved in the relationship can ever know its reality.

Still, on the surface at least, the First Marriage seems to represent this new to-thine-own-self-be-true marital attitude. Maintaining your sense of self is essential to a happy and healthy marriage, especially for women, who have traditionally sublimated their own ambitions and desires. But when both parties refuse to compromise or sacrifice for the greater good — that is, for the benefit of the relationship — then trouble invariably lies ahead. Since I naively maintain that the Clintons' battered union is based on love (a position for which I've been ridiculed by friends and family), I find the couple's single-minded post-presidency plans a little sad.

In the last few months, Bill Clinton has sounded wistful as he muses about his past, and ponders his uncertain future. The youngest president to leave the White House since Teddy Roosevelt has maintained he will work hard — probably planning his presidential library and raking in big bucks as an all-star lecturer. But it's hard not to imagine that battle-scarred Bill sometimes dreams about retiring to a sprawling Westchester estate, playing a lot of golf, and watching HBO all day. Maybe he even harbors a fantasy that his hard-charging wife Hillary — who has borne the brunt of her husband's bad behavior — will agree to join him in a restorative extended vacation. Or at least agree to take a much-needed political break.

*Maybe Bill,
driven all
these years to
satisfy himself,
had finally
pushed his
wife too far.*

But Hillary's apparent decision to run for office even before her husband leaves office looks like she's running from marital quiet time — or maybe couples therapy — as fast as she can. It also reminds me of a very touching and tragic moment in "No Ordinary Time," the 1994 Pulitzer Prize winning book about Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt written by historian Doris Kearns Goodwin.

In the summer of 1942, Goodwin reports, Franklin approached globe-trotting Eleanor — who was legendary for her efforts on behalf of the American poor — and proposed that they "try once more to live as man and wife." The aging First Couple — though proud and respectful of each other — had grown far apart over the years. (Their marriage was wounded back in 1918 when Eleanor discovered that Franklin was cheating on her with her social secretary Lucy Mercer; however, she later accepted Franklin's White House affair with his secretary Missy Le Hand.)

As much as she may have wanted to, Eleanor — who had forged her own political identity, often publicly challenged Franklin and loved her important work — could not bring herself to reach out for her husband's extended hand. She refused him over dinner by simply announcing that she wanted to visit American troops abroad. "... Too much had happened over the years to allow her to begin again," Goodwin writes. "There were too many hurts to forget."

Since Hillary Clinton has proudly claimed Eleanor Roosevelt as her role model, I wonder if she took this episode to heart before she marched into the private dining room one morning and informed her husband of her post-White House plans. Maybe Bill, driven all these years to satisfy himself, had finally pushed his wife too far — all the way to Oneonta.



The Idiot's Guide to Upstate

ON Day One of Hillary 2000, the reporters swarmed thicker than Adirondack deer flies, and most of them seemed just a little lost. Memo to the crackerjack press corps: Pindars Corners is not a "tiny upstate town" — it's what Pat Moynihan calls his farm.

As this campaign stands to last longer than the Siege of Leningrad — it may turn almost as nasty — clearly there is a need for a geography lesson. And not just for the reporters.

So here's the short course:

That portion at the top of the Rand McNally glove-compartment map is known as the North Country. The part running along the bottom is called the Southern Tier.

To the west, there's the Niagara (not Niagra) Frontier. To the east is Albany, generally a source of much mischief and right now a little bit brain-dead.

In between, there is tranquillity, relative prosperity, a touch of drought but a promising corn crop, pockets of despair and — yes, indeed — an abundance of deer flies. But there is no such place as "Glovertown" — where Hillary Rodham Clinton was said to be planning a stump stop. (Neither is there a "Monroe," near Rochester — Mayor Giuliani's recollections to the contrary.)

Now, if the First Family is still in search of a vacation spot, there is Camp Hilary, on Long Lake way up in Hamilton County — where a mobile home rents for \$625 weekly, but where, no doubt, the trailer trash costs extra. (Sorry, Mr. President.)

From there, it's just a short hop to the Saratoga Race Course — for sure a must stop for Mrs. Clinton: Anyone who can convert \$1,000 into a hundred grand in a year betting on cattle futures just has to have a go at the horses. Opening Day is July 28.

Upstaters talk funny, by the way. Berlin is pronounced Burr-lin, not Berlynn; Cairo is Kay-row, not Ki-row; Also, there are a lot of places with Indian names, like Cheektowaga, Conewango and Shenedahowa. Roughly speaking, these words all mean "Land of Perpetually Rising Property Taxes" —



**BOB
McMANUS**

which is why they are so common.

Ain't it the truth about the taxes, though. To the extent that issues are going to matter in this campaign, taxes — including what New Yorkers get for their money — could make a big difference 16 endless months from now.

In one very fundamental sense, there really isn't a lot separating Hillary Clinton from Rudy Giuliani.

Both serve constituencies that depend heavily on social spending; while the mayor goes to great lengths to mask this, it's the reason that he endorsed the re-election of Mario Cuomo in 1994 — and it's why, all other things being equal, he may turn out to be more popu-

Upstaters . . . can follow the money like everybody else — and they know where it's going. Or, at least, they think they know where it's going. Right to New York City. And they resent it.

lar in New York City next year than the Clinton camp is counting on.

If so, that probably will hurt him upstate, upon which he is counting.

There was a time when New York state could well afford to lavish the big bucks on social programs. One result, though, was the construction of the heaviest tax burden in America — which has led directly to the effective depopulation of much of upstate.

Yes, with a couple of exceptions, the economy is booming north of Yonkers. And, yes, unemployment is a record lows. But total employment sure is nothing to shake a stick at.

Why? Here's a clue: Yesterday, the U.S. Census Bureau reported that the upstate population declined sharply between 1990 and last year, with cities being the hardest hit.

Utica (which Mrs. Clinton will visit today) lost 13.6 percent of its population

and Binghamton (where she was yesterday) was down by 11.8.

There is nothing mysterious about this. New York's extraordinary high business taxes (to say nothing of personal levies) simply have driven opportunity out of the state.

"People follow emerging industries," says Kevin Pollard of the Population Research Bureau in Washington. "We can basically expect it to continue," he said — "it" being the relentless upstate population decline.

At the same time, New York City's population grew by 1.3 percent — because immigration more than made up for a heavy outflow of the young and the educated, who left before the current boom began.

Now, upstaters may be rubes, but they're not dopes. They can follow the money like everybody else — and they know where it's going. Or, at least, they think they know where it's going.

Right to New York City.

And they resent it.

True, they don't resent it as much as they did in 1994, when they rose up and evicted Cuomo from the Governor's Mansion. Last year, for example, they stayed home in such numbers that Gov. Pataki won re-election with a bare majority of the total vote

against an under-funded, ineffective Democrat — and Alfonse D'Amato, emphatically, became an ex-senator.

Can Giuliani somehow manage to rekindle the restiveness that led to Cuomo's retirement — but without damaging himself fatally in the city and the near suburbs?

Upstaters are not likely to come out to vote for a New York City mayor — a species generically viewed as only slightly more palatable than an Arkansas opportunist, even if he is tough on crime — unless they have a reason to.

Hillary Rodham Clinton may supply such reason before this campaign ends on Nov. 7, 2000. (Good God!)

Rudy can only hope.

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A FILING petition to a federal judge last week raised the possibility that the FBI files case, one of the capital's great all-time mysteries, might yet be broken open — with political implications for Hillary Rodham Clinton. It requests the deposition of a former Clinton White House aide's ex-wife, who claims she observed her husband transferring FBI files into his laptop computer.

The June 29 filing by the conservative Judicial Watch asked U.S. District Judge Royce Lamberth in Washington to authorize the sworn testimony of Leslie Gail Kennedy, who was married until late 1994 to then White House Associate Counsel William H. Kennedy. The request also quotes Mrs. Kennedy's opinion that Mrs. Clinton was associated with the FBI files. The next day, Judicial Watch also asked Lamberth for a deposition of the First Lady herself on grounds that "she was involved in, if not responsi-

Filegate: Back From the Dead — with New Woes for Hillary

ble for, making key decisions that bear on 'Filegate.'"

Most inscrutable of the Clinton scandals is the appearance in the White House during President Clinton's first two years in office of FBI personal files of prominent Republicans. Even partisan



ROBERT D. NOVAK

Democrats suggested this was an inexcusable invasion of privacy. Yet, after the White House shrugged it off as a "bureaucratic snafu," Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr seemed to lose interest.

But not the dogged Larry Klayman, chairman of Judicial Watch.

His class-action suit against the White House, the FBI, selected aides and Mrs. Clinton asks \$90 million for person-ages whose confidential files went astray. Happily for Klayman, the case is in the courtroom of Lamberth — a Reagan appointee who shows no deference to the Clinton administration.

Still, the case looked dead until Judicial Watch employee Christopher Farrell interviewed

Mrs. Kennedy at her Little Rock home June 11. According to Farrell's court filing, she told him that her then husband "brought FBI files from his White House office to their home in Alexandria, Va." She observed him "on several occasions" working for hours,

"making entries from the files into a database he maintained on his laptop computer."

Kennedy's wife, according to the filing, asserted that the database "was intended to make FBI file information accessible and useful to the Clinton administration." Asked whether these were files of Reagan and Bush administration staffers, she replied there would be no need to review files of Democrats "routinely available" at the White House. Her statement tended to be confirmed by the deposition in the case last December by Linda Tripp, swearing that as a White House staffer she knew of Kennedy putting FBI files into his database.

Farrell visited Mrs. Kennedy again June 16 to get a sworn affidavit,

but she demurred. According to the filing, she said she "could not be seen by people in this administration as being out here volunteering information. If I get subpoenaed, that's a different story. At least, I'll have some cover."

If she is telling the truth, her ex-husband is in trouble. When deposed by Judicial Watch last October, Kennedy denied ever using a laptop computer while working at the White House. He said "I don't recall" bringing home work related to the personnel clearance process and declared FBI files were "locked up after-hours in the White House." Kennedy's attorneys did not respond to my telephone calls.

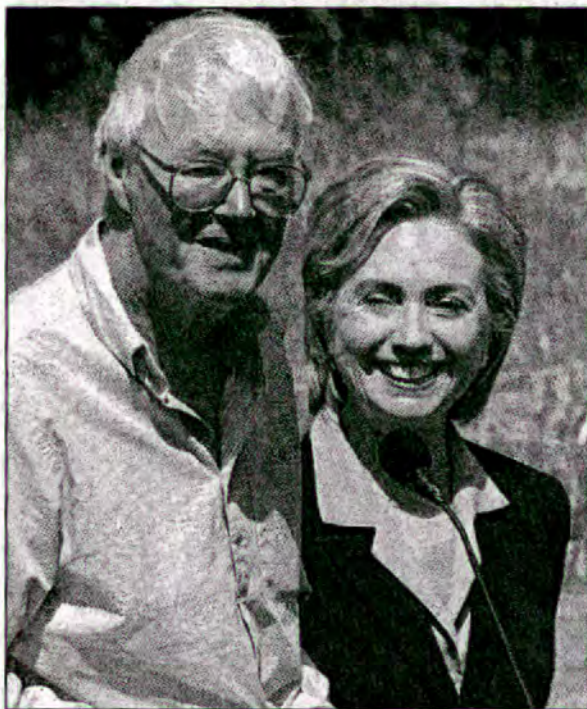
Kennedy was no underling in the category of file purveyors Craig Living-

stone and Anthony Marceca. He was Mrs. Clinton's colleague at the famous Rose Law Firm in Little Rock and is back there now. It is improbable that he would carry on activities alleged by his former wife without higher approval.

Mrs. Kennedy expressed personal views about how high the scandal goes. Asked what use might be made of the files, the court filing says, she "pointed out that Mrs. Clinton's first major policy objective was 'health-care reform' and that Mrs. Clinton anticipated resistance from many people in forwarding her agenda."

What Mrs. Kennedy would say under oath and cross-examination remains to be seen. Judge Lamberth now must decide whether she will be brought to Washington. He also must decide whether the First Lady must finally tell what she knows about her erstwhile law partner and what he was doing with those FBI files.

A Pastoral Start to First Lady's Campaign



Reuters

Hillary Clinton with Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

By GERALDINE BAUM
TIMES STAFF WRITER

PINDARS CORNERS, N.Y.—Hillary Rodham Clinton made her beginning Wednesday as a candidate rather than a candidate's wife, a first for a first lady. And she made it so with all the trappings of the Clinton White House playbook.

Indeed, the day no one ever thought would happen was happening. The wife of an impeached incumbent president was all but running for Senate in a state she has never lived in, and she was talking about it on the edge of a hayfield in nowhere New York, covered by 200 journalists looking like a Woodstock of the chattering class.

There was a backdrop of gorgeous rolling hills, the smell of freshly cut hay, the blessing of the man she would succeed and responses to questions she would not answer. (When asked about Whitewater and Monica S. Lewinsky, she calmly said the people of New York would decide, adding, "I think we're past that.")

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the retiring Democratic senator from New York, loaned Hillary Clinton his 900-acre farm in this central upstate hamlet to inaugurate a summer-long "listening tour" so she can later tell New Yorkers what she would do for them as their senator.

Sen. Moynihan's wife, Elizabeth, set up a 25-cent
Please see HILLARY, A6

HILLARY

Continued from A1

lemonade stand in her barn for the media mob and even tried to get a kite airborne before the cameras started rolling. The wind wouldn't cooperate.

But as the new candidate and the senator ambled side by side down his country road—she in her navy pantsuit and TV makeup, he in his weekend white pants and rubber duck shoes—the candidate couldn't have asked for more. (What other novice politician has launched a candidacy live on national TV?)

The senator with the ethereal image who often remained above the fray during 23 years in Washington got right to the point: "I'm here to say I hope she will go all the way. I'm here to go all the way with her."

Clinton smiled broadly and, speaking ever so slowly, got down to the business of her rebirth by talking about who she has long been and what she hopes to be for New Yorkers: an advocate for education and health care.

"What is new to me is being on this side of the microphone," she said, "and talking for myself and talking on behalf of what I believe. And I'm looking forward to that."

This came after she acknowledged the obvious. "I suppose the question on everyone's mind is why the Senate, why New York and why me?"

Clinton's most direct response was that she cares "deeply about the issues that are important in this state that I've already been told about and that I'm hearing about."

A day earlier, as long expected, Clinton officially established a campaign committee, known as an exploratory committee, that allows her to raise and spend campaign money before she further declares herself.

This is how extraordinary a Senate race this is: The election is still 16 months away, long before most Senate candidates have even hired a press secretary, and the leading but unannounced Republican candidate, New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, is traveling the state with a scowling posse of city police officers. But that's nothing compared to the grimacing Secret Service phalanx around the first lady—nevermind the editorial writers, the Kyoto News Service and knots of protesters at every stop holding things like pieces of carpet in the shape of Arkansas.

Now back to the hayfield.

Ginny Van Horn and several other ordinary citizens who sought out the curiosity of this "historic day," as they repeatedly described it, said they were struck that, however much she tried, the first lady is, well, the first lady.

"She's so polished and composed, but there's a certain amount of acting that goes on in the political world," said Van Horn, who lives down the road from the Moynihans. A Democrat in this largely Republican area, Van Horn said she was duly impressed by the spectacle and by the first lady's "poise." But the 48-year-old financial analyst said the best she could do was withhold judgment.

"I'm not ready to judge her yet," she said. "I judge people by their actions. Integrity means a whole lot to me. I'll give her a chance."

Moynihan, for his part, helped Clinton



Agence France-Presse

Tami Dawson, right, and Mathew Bergeron hold up signs showing conflicting opinions about Hillary Rodham Clinton as the first lady arrives at State University of New York in Oneonta, N.Y., on Wednesday.

navigate this new world. After she first called on a Washington-based TV reporter, Moynihan stepped in to save her from the faux pas, directing her attention to Gabe Pressman, the dean of the New York press corps.

After the hayfield, the Moynihans offered Clinton a brunch of quiche, ham and biscuits in the farmhouse. But first she took a phone call. The president had interrupted his poverty tour to check in on her one-hour-old venture.

Later, at a "listening" event of educators at a local college, she mentioned the

president's call from the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. "I could hear the drums in the background," she said, laughing. She praised her husband's ability to deflect critics, which she said she hopes to adopt if elected.

"One of my husband's great contributions is he keeps going," she said. "I think that's the way for leaders to lead."

As the day wore on, however, the differences between the Clintons' campaign styles began to surface. At lunch at the best barbecue joint in the county, for example, instead of gnawing the chicken to

the bone, as her husband surely would have, she had iced tea and a salad.

But the first lady also showed she's picked up a thing or two in her 25 years of marriage. At the Soccer Hall of Fame, a new \$8-million facility in Oneonta, she threw her arms around six female soccer players, ages 19 to 31, for a group photo after they presented her with a red soccer jersey and a silver stadium coffee cup, and she revealed that she played goalie on her junior high school soccer team.

"She seems like a down-to-earth person," said soccer player Beth Kutler, a nurse practitioner at the local college. "Like a soccer mom."

But there was no mistaking the Clintonian ability to recognize acronyms and sling wonk slang with the best of them. During the listening session at the Oneonta campus of the State University of New York, she took notes as she displayed, rapid-fire, all her new knowledge of New York. It was as if she forgot about the campaign thing for a moment and reverted to her first lady role.

"I think a lot of people would be surprised that if upstate New York were a state it would rank 49th in job creation," she mentioned ever-so-casually.

It was certainly no accident that the cosmopolitan first lady/candidate began her tour in upstate New York, a Republican-dominated area that typically produces 45% of the votes in statewide elections. This was an opportunity not only to listen but also to reach out.

So when state Assemblyman William Magee, a Democrat, mentioned he wanted to talk agriculture, a pressing upstate concern, with the first lady, she asked him if he wanted to say something then.

"Yes," Magee said, "But another day, another visit."

First Lady Kicks Off Senate Bid, Takes On Carpetbagger Issue

FIRST LADY, From A1

istic is not all bad, in certain parts of New York," Clinton said with a broad smile. "I may need a lot of that."

The opening day of Clinton's first, four-day "listening tour" of New York drew more attention than most presidential campaign kickoffs, with four busloads of about 300 journalists trailing the first lady at Moynihan's farm and an education "listening session" at the State University of New York at Oneonta. With a smaller group of reporters in tow, Clinton also visited a barbecue joint and the Soccer Hall of Fame in Oneonta.

It was clear that for now, at least, Clinton's residency status is Topic A for her campaign, though she obviously hopes it will fade as an issue over the next 16 months. At every stop today, protesters greeted her with signs such as "Hillary Listen: Go Home!" and "A New Yorker For New York." Her already besieged campaign spokesman, Howard Wolfson, kept repeating a mantra: Where she stands is more important than where she lives. New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, her likely GOP opponent, continued to ridicule her newfound interest in the state. And even before anyone had a chance to ask, Clinton acknowledged "the questions on everyone's mind: Why the Senate? Why New York? Why me?"

The answer, she said, is that New Yorkers have a deep interest in such issues as education, health care and job creation, and that she has been a "tireless advocate" on those issues for her entire adult life.

"It's a fair question, and I fully understand people raising it," Clinton said. "I think I have some real work to do, to get out and listen and learn from the people of New York, and to demonstrate that what I'm for is as important if not more important than where I'm from. ... Hopefully, I'll be able to make it



Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) speaks to a media throng after showing Hillary Rodham Clinton, who hopes to succeed him, around his farm near Davenport, N.Y.

clear that I'd be a very strong and effective advocate for the people of New York."

New York has sent out-of-state candidates to the Senate before, most memorably Robert F. Kennedy in 1964, but Clinton conceded that her immediate thought when she was first approached about running here was: "That seems like a very strange idea." She said she was "very humbled and more than a little surprised" to be the only Democratic contender for the seat. But she said that the more New Yorkers encouraged her to run, the more it began to make sense. "Ultimately, New Yorkers will decide if it's a good idea," she said.

Significantly, Clinton chose to begin her listening tour by listening to the man she

hopes to succeed, whom she oddly described as "probably the wisest New Yorker that we can know of at this time."

Moynihan has had a rocky relationship with the administration. He described the first lady's health care plan as "fantasy" in 1993, and later he became the first Democratic senator to call for an independent counsel to investigate Whitewater. But today, after meeting with her in the one-room schoolhouse where he has written 18 books—and wryly noting that an 1856 inventory of the schoolhouse library included "Paradise Lost" and "Pilgrim's Progress"—he offered a short but warm endorsement of "the candidate."

"I hope she will go all the way," Moynihan said. "I mean to go all the way with her."

After the event, they walked off arm-in-arm, Moynihan looking gaunt in his blue oxford shirt and bright white pants and Clinton looking vibrant in a navy pantsuit. It was a poignant moment that suggested a changing of the guard.

"We've had an amazing senator for a long time," said Delaware County Democratic Chairman James Wood, who showed up wearing a Bill Clinton tie with a Mickey Mouse pin. "Now it's Hillary's turn."

Giuliani, who is clearly thinking about his turn, was asked today by reporters about Clinton's venture. "It doesn't make sense for me to respond to someone exploring and listening and announcing that they're going to explain to us at some point in the future what they're for. When she explains what she's for and if I'm running against her, then I will respond to that," he said. "Everybody in the city and state knows what I'm for."

Clinton plans to spend the next three days and most of the summer listening to New Yorkers in small groups—"no major speeches, no major rallies," Wolfson said—but today's remarkable media crush was a stark reminder that this will be no ordinary Senate race and that the first lady will have a tough time conducting normal retail politics. She did have a few spontaneous moments: At a rest stop she pointed out to two girls named Heather and Harleigh that all of their names begin with H, and during the education forum, she at times seemed to get so entranced by discussions of teacher shortages and Internet access and home visitation programs that she forgot about the cameras.

But far more typical was her comment after the event at the Moynihan farm, when 5-year-old Elizabeth Gallager offered her some orange day lilies: "Elizabeth, would you mind doing what they call a photo op?"

The other indication of Day One is that

Clinton is going to face some questions she would rather not answer. One reporter asked whether she thinks the Lewinsky scandal will make her a more sympathetic candidate. She merely replied that New Yorkers will make their own judgments. Another reporter asked about the \$99,000 windfall she once made in the cattle futures market. She said she thinks voters have "moved beyond that." She passed off a question about the controversial redesign of the Peace Bridge between Buffalo and Canada to Moynihan, saying she would "let the expert speak on that." And she seemed to go out of her way to avoid talking about her husband, at one point discussing in the passive voice how proud she was of "what has been accomplished for this country" in the last 6½ years.

Overall, Clinton seemed energized by the race, but she also seemed to recognize the absurdity of this unprecedented spectacle: "I'm really excited about taking these long, beautiful summer days at a leisurely pace—you know, with a few hundred of you—to travel from place to place and meet people."

Tonight, the newly declared Yankees fan visited the Major League Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown. Thursday, she will get to meet people in Cooperstown and Utica. Friday, she will travel to Rome, Syracuse and Albany. Her aides hope New Yorkers will get used to thinking of her as one of them, even if she did grow up in Illinois and spend her professional life in Arkansas and Washington.

That might take some time, though. Before Clinton's lunch at Brooks Bar-B-Q in Oneonta, there was a screaming match in the restaurant lobby. "Go home, Hillary!" one man shouted.

"You go home!" another patron responded.

"I live here," the man replied. "I'm not the one running for Senate."



BY MIKE SEGAR—REUTERS

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton greets supporters at the Binghamton, N.Y., airport yesterday.

First Lady Kicks Off Run

Carpetbagging Is Topic A as N.Y. 'Listening Tour' Opens

By MICHAEL GRUNWALD
Washington Post Staff Writer

PINDARS CORNERS, N.Y., July 7—Hillary Rodham Clinton launched her seemingly inevitable Senate campaign today by taking on the all-important carpetbagger issue, conceding New Yorkers have "legitimate questions" about her out-of-state candidacy but pledging to convince them she would be a "strong and effective advocate" for their interests.

At a wide-ranging news conference with retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) on his rolling 900-acre farm, the first lady sidestepped a media mob's questions about the Monica S. Lewinsky saga and her

bonanza in the cattle futures market. She made only one, passing reference to her husband, who was visiting an Indian reservation in South Dakota while she was kicking off her first bid for elected office, and none to Vice President Gore.

But Hillary Clinton was certainly more accessible than usual, and she patiently answered several biting questions about carpetbagging. She laughed heartily when a reporter suggested there might be an element of chutzpah to her quest to represent a state in which she has never lived, and even conceded there probably is. "I understand that character-

See FIRST LADY, A8, Col. 1

Thursday, July 8, 1999

GOP greets First Lady's visit with scorn

State needs a senator with an "emotional tie" to it, Gov. Pataki says

By **JOEL STASHENKO**
Associated Press

ALBANY — Republicans greeted Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign-style presence in their traditional upstate stronghold Wednesday by assailing her as an ambitious, but unwanted, interloper in New York public life.

The state needs a U.S. senator who has an "emotional tie" to New York, Gov. George Pataki said.

"We need a senator from New York," the governor said during an appearance in Schenectady. "We don't need someone who is learning about the state and then who's going to go down to Washington and try to represent the state."

Trying to mark the First Lady with the "carpetbagger" brand has been the Republican strategy since it first became apparent she was seriously considering a run for Senate from New York. Though not a declared candidate, she has formed an exploratory committee and her "listening" tour of central and eastern New York, which began Wednesday, had all the trappings of a campaign event.

She got into few details about her stances on major state issues, something that New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani attacked her for



MICHAEL P. FARRELL/TIMES UNION

FIRST LADY Hillary Clinton talks with reporters at U.S. Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's summer home in Delaware County Wednesday.

Wednesday. He is considered likely to enter the Republican race for the Senate seat.

"It doesn't make sense for me to respond to someone exploring and listening and announcing that they're going to explain to us at some point in the future what they're for," Giuliani said. "When

she explains what she's for and if I'm running against her, then I will respond to that."

He added that, "Everybody in the city and state knows what I'm for."

The chairman of the state Republican Party, Bill Powers, hit on another anti-Hillary Clinton

theme, that she really wants to be president and would use the Senate seat as a stepping-stone to the White House.

"What we don't need is an ambitious outsider stopping in for a cup of coffee and then selling us out to run for president," Powers said.

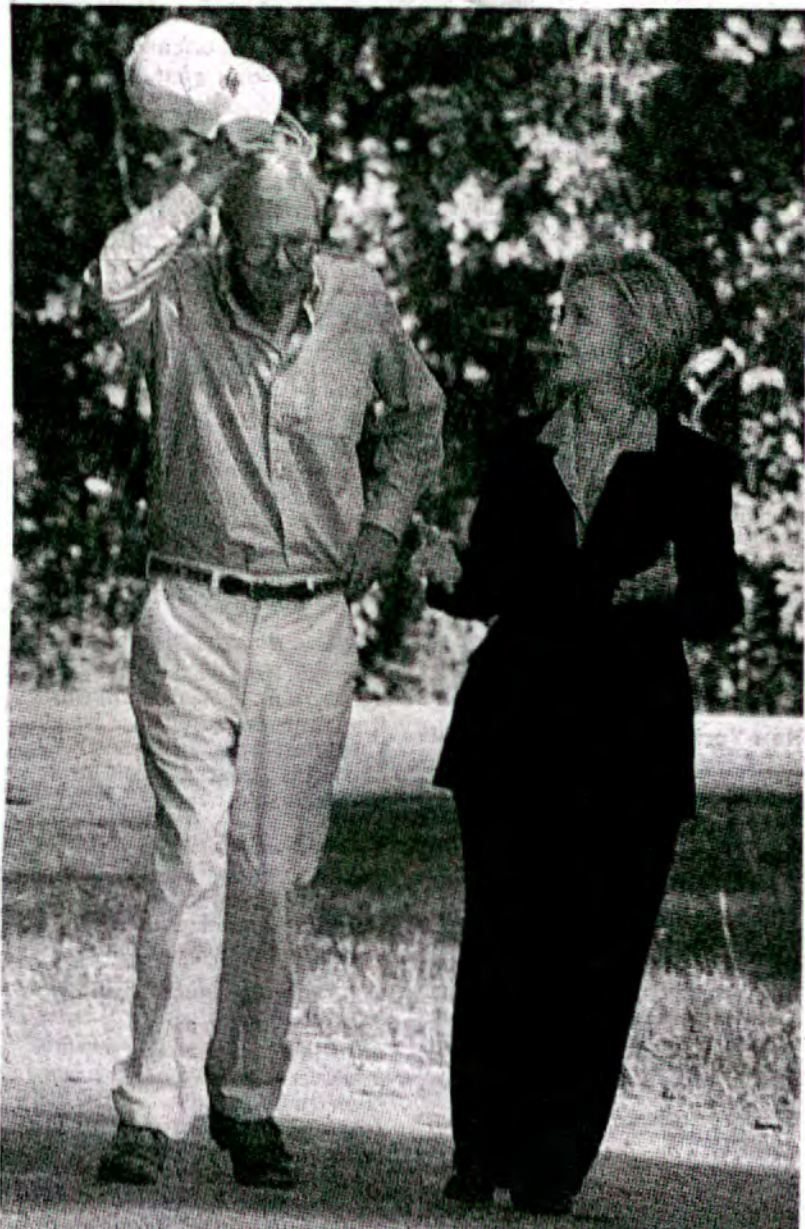
He also criticized the use of public aircraft and a Secret Service security detail accompanying the First Lady as an improper use of public funds by a candidate. Last week, national GOP Chairman Jim Nicholson made appearances across upstate New York to criticize her for the same thing.

John Faso, the Republican leader of the state Assembly, said New Yorkers will come to find it "odd and peculiar" that the First Lady should represent them.

"We wonder how someone who's never lived a day in New York, never paid a dime of taxes in New York, never sent her child to school in New York, can presume to represent New York," he said.

Faso also said the First Lady will lose votes once she starts to define what she stands for.

"Hillary Clinton is very liberal," Faso said. "Her views on education, which is in dire need of reform in New York, are against the interests of New Yorkers. Her views on taxation are things that we don't really know very much about."



Keith Meyers/The New York Times

Hillary Clinton Sets Out on New York Tour

The First Lady met with Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan at his farm in Pindars Corners yesterday, beginning a tour of the state to open her still undeclared campaign to be his successor. She said questions about her residency were legitimate and she would address them. Page A21.

200 Hear First Lady. Townsfolk Were There, Too.

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

PINDARS CORNERS, N.Y., July 7 — The likely candidate put it wryly.

"I'm really excited about being able to take these long, beautiful summer days," she said, looking out toward the gentle upstate farmland and probably the largest press corps ever to assemble for a United States Senate race, "and, you know, kind of at a leisurely pace with, you know, a few hundred of you."

The Schumer campaign was never like this. The Pataki, Cuomo and Koch campaigns were never like this. Even Hillary Rodham Clinton's husband, the President, didn't have as large a press entourage with him today as he traveled to a South Dakota Indian reservation in one of the poorest parts of the United States.

But then, the trip of a second-term President with 18 months left in office was no match for the sometimes surreal spectacle of the first campaign-like day of the first First Lady to seek political office on her own, with her husband still in the White House.

By 9 A.M., four huge press buses had disgorged more than 200 reporters and television technicians from around the world on the farm of Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who after 2000 will vacate the seat. Two days ago, bales of hay were cleared from one of Mr. Moynihan's fields to make way for an enormous press platform, more than 30 television cameras and 8 satellite dishes.

"When I woke up this morning and went out on the front step and saw the satellite trucks at the top of the hill," said Elizabeth Moynihan, the Senator's wife, "I felt like a character in 'The Invasion of ...' — you know, one of those space

Sometimes it's not so easy to travel light.

alien movies."

Although this is Mrs. Clinton's 13th visit to New York since announcing her interest in the Senate seat earlier this year, the trip was the first to be paid for by her Senate exploratory committee and not the White House. Still, it seemed a strange hybrid of an official White House trip and a traditionally bumpy Senate campaign.

There was a White House-like press pool and a press center in Oneonta. And there were the typical trappings of a Senate campaign, with Clinton aides — many of them former members of the Presidential staff — volunteering their time, and complaining that the rented cell phones and beepers were not to White House standards.

Howard Wolfson, the press secretary for Mrs. Clinton's exploratory committee, would not say what the trip was costing and how much money the committee, formed on Tuesday, had raised in the 24 hours of its existence. But he did offer that "you don't pay for these trips in cash." In the past weeks, Mrs. Clinton has made fund-raising calls from her residence in the White House, using either a cell phone or a line paid for by her exploratory committee, Mr. Wolfson said.

The sight of the day was of Mr. Moynihan slowly walking Mrs. Clinton down the road from the one-room schoolhouse where he has written his 18 books toward the gantlet of press in his

field.

The Clintons and Moynihans have had a sometimes difficult relationship in Washington — particularly when the Senator criticized the Clinton health care plan during the President's first term. But this time it seemed as if the Senator could be giving away a bride, or at least sending Mrs. Clinton off on her journey across New York, a state she has never lived in.

When the two reached the press, under brilliant sunshine and cooled by the first breezes in days, Mr. Moynihan introduced the First Lady, and said simply: "I'm here to say that I hope she will go all the way. I mean to go all the way with her."

Then New York's senior Senator took the job of refereeing questions from the press for the First Lady. When Gabe Pressman of WNBC-TV asked about Mrs. Clinton's "chutzpah" in running for Senate, Mr. Moynihan said: "Now, Gabe, we're in Delaware County. What was this word?"

At the first "listening" event of what Mrs. Clinton is calling her summer listening tour of New York, most television cameras slowly slipped out of a conference room at the SUNY college campus at Oneonta as Mrs. Clinton listened for more than an hour and a half as local citizens complained about the education system, lack of high-speed Internet access and, at one point, the manners of young people.

But the Oneonta citizens were also impressed by the media intensity. "We should be historically recording these cameras for our purposes," said Margaret Maguire, associate professor of economics and business at Oneonta, staring at the television crews crowding two sides of the room. "I've never seen anything like it."

Movers and lawmakers

By Wilton S. Dillon

If Hillary Rodham Clinton runs, is elected and serves as a U.S. senator from New York, she will follow a number of precedents not always associated with carpet bagging. We Oklahomans, for example, are proud that Tulsa helped to nurture Daniel Patrick Moynihan until he developed a New York identity at age 6, giving him time enough to learn how to be a New Yorker during his formative years.

While the first lady was born near Chicago, she was a fast learner in Arkansas without acquiring the local vowel sounds. Similarly quick was Nancy Langhorne, born in Danville, Va., who, as Lady Astor, became the first female member of the British parliament in 1919 to represent Plymouth—where she had not lived. (Scholars need to travel to the University of Plymouth to study her papers today).

Indeed, one has more domestic credentials for living in a place for some time rather than making short visits or renting a flat in the U.N. plaza, as did Robert Kennedy. Voters might find some value in acquiring public servants who have served in positions requiring one to be the servant of "all the people"—that is, the ability to examine universal issues in regional and local dimensions. Hiring a lawyer to represent you does not always depend upon his or her place of birth or length of residence, but rather the appropriate

bar license and powers of persuasion.

As the European Community has yet to evolve to the point where a Bavarian might stand for election in Provence, the U.S. penchant for geographic mobility has long made us more forgiving of public figures representing constituencies far removed from their birthplaces. Georgia seems particularly welcoming to at least two "foreigners"—Newton Leroy Gingrich, born in Pennsylvania, and Robert Barr, born in Iowa. And Pennsylvania is still represented by Sen. Arlen Specter, born in Wichita and schooled in Oklahoma. Former Sen. Harris L. Wofford Jr. served the same commonwealth without

forgetting his ancestral roots in Tennessee and a Scarsdale childhood.

Remember, too, that Indiana's discerning voters kept reelecting Florida-born Lee Hamilton. The Bush family diaspora deserves attention, as do Rockefeller who served Arkansas and West Virginia.

There seems to be no end to documenting how quickly Americans can take root after moving around. Sen. Jesse Helms and former Sen. Sam Ervin, both of North Carolina, represent a more organic type.

And one does not have to be born in the United States to serve in elected office, as witness Rep. Tom Lantos of Budapest and San Mateo—or in nominated positions such as Henry Kissinger of Feurth, Madeleine Albright of Prague and Zbigniew Brzezinski of Warsaw.

What a wonderful country to produce such diversity and such enduring propositions as Tip O'Neill's "All politics is local," and Rene Dubos' admonition: to "Think globally, act locally."



HILLARY CLINTON

Wilton S. Dillon is a fellow of the American Anthropological Association.

Hillary out to shed 'carpetbagger' tag

Urges focus on substance, not residence

By Barbara J. Saffir
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

ONEONTA, N.Y. — First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton began the first day of her Senate exploratory campaign yesterday, warning critics that their "carpetbagger" label will not stick.

"I take very seriously the legitimate question of New Yorkers," Mrs. Clinton said. She promised to "demonstrate what I'm for is as important or more important than where I am from."

Mrs. Clinton made the remarks at the opening of her four-day "listening tour" of upstate New York. It began at the sprawling farm of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, whom she hopes to succeed.

The four-term senator gave Mrs. Clinton his blessing as she begins to test the waters for a possible Senate campaign.

"I hope she will go all the way. I aim to go all the way with her," Mr. Moynihan said after they strolled along a gravel road on his Pindars Corner farm.

"I think she's going to win," he said.

Although Mrs. Clinton largely received a warm welcome everywhere on her tour, not everyone she encountered was so supportive.

She saw handfuls of demonstrators as she traveled in her van through the rolling, green hills around Oneonta after her arrival at the Binghamton airport Wednesday morning.

When Mrs. Clinton stopped at the Brooks Bar-B-Q restaurant one customer shouted "Go home, Hillary."

At the turnoff to Mr. Moynihan's farm, one man held a white sign shaped like an elephant that said simply, "Rudy." It was referring to New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, who is the first lady's most likely Republican opponent if



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton greets supporters during the first leg of her tour of upstate New York.

she decides to run.

Neither Mrs. Clinton nor Mr. Giuliani have decided definitely to run, but they have formed exploratory campaign committees to help them raise money while they weigh their options.

Mrs. Clinton said she is considering the Senate run so she can continue her public service after she steps down as first lady. She plans to focus on issues such as "good-quality, affordable health care," education and the economy.

"I intend to be spending my time — the next days and weeks and months — listening to New Yorkers," she said. "I care deeply about the issues that are important in this state."

Some voters already are buying her message, but others — especially those in the traditionally Republican region — are not as convinced.

Kevin Hodne, a Democrat

turned independent, was impressed with Mrs. Clinton but said he was not sure he would vote for her.

"I'm a little concerned she needs to know New York and New Yorkers better," he said.

But he said he was "so disgusted with downstate Democrats and their disregard for the agriculture economy" that he likes the fact that Mrs. Clinton is taking the time to visit and "listen to upstate concerns."

Mr. Hodne met the first lady during a reception at the State University of New York at Oneonta on Wednesday afternoon, where she conducted an informal roundtable with about 25 educators and local politicians.

Mrs. Clinton wowed the audience, which had been hand-picked by the local Democratic mayor.

Even David Brenner, the city's former Republican mayor, praised

Mrs. Clinton, but said he does plan to vote for her.

The first lady sat in a semicircle around coffee tables, facing an audience of about 50 mainly middle-aged men and women.

She shared the informal sit with a student, a school board member, the superintendent of schools and two other educators.

To impress upon them that she was listening to their concerns, occasionally took notes with a rapped pen.

The first lady also toured Soccer Hall of Fame in Oneonta.

On her way there, she pulled into a rest stop along Interstate 190 where Melinda Filidei and her daughter Harleigh and Heather, we shocked to find that the first lady had used the restroom there.

"My God. No way," said Melinda Filidei, a Texan. "That's the first lady that's in there?"



New York Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan talks about his farm Wednesday in Davenport, N.Y., as he meets with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton to meet the press. Mrs. Clinton began her "listening tour" in central New York by visiting with Moynihan, a day after forming a committee to explore a run for the Senate.

Associated Press

Mrs. Clinton courts voters in New York

She vows work to shed 'carpetbagger' label

BY SUSAN ROTH
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

PINDARS CORNERS, N.Y. — From the hillside farm of Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton on Wednesday declared her desire to be his successor as Democratic senator from New York.

A day after filing papers in Washington establishing an exploratory campaign committee, Mrs. Clinton kicked off a four-day "listening tour" of central New York state with the support and encouragement of Moynihan, the retiring four-term senator she

TRAVELERS' ready to blaze trail again. Page 9A.

called "the wisest New Yorker." She said she intends to return throughout the summer and the fall to listen to state residents tell her what they want in a senator.

"I will be a strong and effective advocate for the people of New York," she said, making history as the first person in her position to seek elected office. "I care deeply about the issues that are important in this state."

Though the first lady has never lived in New York, she listed among those issues: providing quality, affordable health care, building the economy in a way that creates

See **CLINTON**, Page 9A

SHE'S OFF AND RUNNING

Hill tackles 'outsider' rap as she hits trail upstate

By GREGG BIRNBAUM
Post Correspondent

ONEONTA — First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday met the "carpet-bagger" issue head on, admitting she has an image problem and more homework to do before New Yorkers accept her.

"It's a very fair question," Clinton said when reporters asked about Mayor Giuliani's charges that she doesn't know New York.

"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 may be as important, if not more important, than where I'm from.

"Eventually, New Yorkers are going to decide whether it's a good idea or not."

	SURVEY Hillary Rodham Clinton's decision to run for the U.S. Senate from New York is: <table border="0"> <tr> <td data-bbox="408 867 712 1068"> 69.5% Wrongheaded, she's a carpetbagger </td> <td data-bbox="712 867 1037 1068"> 30.4% Good news, she'd make a great senator </td> </tr> </table>	69.5% Wrongheaded, she's a carpetbagger	30.4% Good news, she'd make a great senator
69.5% Wrongheaded, she's a carpetbagger	30.4% Good news, she'd make a great senator		

Kicking off a four-day "listening" tour of upstate, Clinton made her most extensive comments to date about her possible race for the U.S. Senate next year during a photo-op visit to U.S. Sen. Daniel Patrick

Moynihan's 900-acre farm near Oneonta.

"The questions on everyone's mind [are]: Why the Senate, why New York and why me?" the First Lady said. "All I can say is, I care deeply about the is-

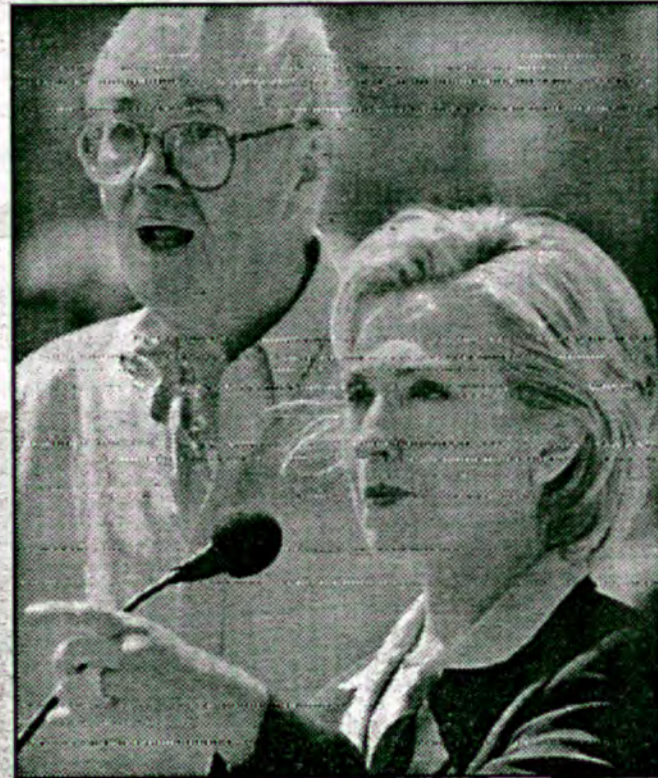
ssues that are important in this state."

Revealing few specifics, Clinton cited four issues about which she is concerned: health care, jobs, education and making sure that New York "gets its fair share" from the federal government.

Moynihan, who is retiring from the Senate next year, told more than 300 reporters that Clinton would be a great choice to follow in his footsteps.

"I'm here to say that I hope she will go all the way, and I mean to go all the way with her," Moynihan said.

"I think she's going to win. I think it's going to be wonderful for New York, and we'll be proud of our senator, and the nation will notice."



POLITICAL POINTS: Hillary Clinton and Sen. Pat Moynihan meet the press upstate yesterday. Alan Solomon

The First Lady dismissed a reporter's question about her scandal-plagued past — including the whereabouts of her long-missing Arkansas law-firm billing

records and how she turned a huge quick profit in the commodities markets — saying, "I think we've moved beyond all of it."

Throughout the day, small groups of protesters dogged Clinton on the carpetbagger issue.

A tractor-trailer truck parked along the road carried a gigantic message on its side: "Go Home Hillary." One demonstrator held up a piece of carpet that said, "Carpetbagger go home."

But larger crowds of supporters welcomed the First Lady with open arms, and she showed her appreciation.

Displaying the legendary campaign skills of her husband, Hillary ordered her eight-car motorcade to stop on the roadside so she could greet her fans. The supporters chanted: "Run, Hillary, run." One well-wisher welcomed her to New York, and a smiling Clinton shot back: "Glad to be here."

"I need you," she said. "I need your help."

She also talked soccer with college students at the soccer Hall of Fame in Oneonta; chowed down on lunch with locals at a barbecue joint; and stunned drivers at a Unadilla rest stop when she got out to answer nature's call.

"Oh, my God! That's the First Lady. No Way!" exclaimed a woman in the rest room with Clinton, according to a female reporter who provided the account to other journalists.

She'd be nothing but an empty carpetbag

WHAT'S in it for New York if Hillary Clinton becomes the Empire State's next senator?

Most likely, nothing but *tsuris*. Which, for visiting Arkansans who don't know Yiddish, means a whole lot of trouble.

Democrats have a Rosy Scenario in which Veep Al Gore becomes the next president and Democrats sweep into control of the Senate and House — with Hillary Clinton into a superstar who can really deliver.

Don't bet on it.

Polls say the most likely next

president will be a Republican named George W. Bush who has no love for the Clintons — and Republicans will keep control of both Senate and House.

Which means Mrs. Clinton would be a junior senator in a minority party in a country with a new president elected on a pledge to move in a non-Clinton direction. In other words, Sen. Clinton would have zero clout.

Look at the numbers. Bush leads Gore by 15 points and there's not one state in the nation (including Tennessee) where

Gore has a statistically significant lead. That may change, but Gore is going down, not up.

Republicans control the Senate by a 55-45 margin and hardly anyone really thinks Democrats have a chance to win control. They'd need to capture six seats, because Bush's veep would get to break any ties.

Even if Clinton wins in New York, Dems risk losing New Jersey (where

GOP Gov. Christie Whitman wants to replace retiring Dem Sen. Frank

Lautenberg), and Virginia (where Chuck Robb is in big trouble).

In the House, Democrats talk bullishly about winning the seats they need for control. But privately even Dems admit that's all but impossible if Bush wins big. Besides, Hillary Clinton isn't running for the House.

Some senators are great at delivering even when the other party controls — like Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-N.Y.), who has warm, cordial relations with the GOP. But that's

See **INSIDE D.C.** on Page 28

DEBORAH ORIN

INSIDE WASHINGTON



DID SHE MAKE THE GRADE?

Here's a report card for Hillary Rodham Clinton's first day on the campaign trail:

RECEPTION: B+. Supporters outnumbered protesters at each stop, and the First Lady energized her followers, who were mostly women.

ACCESSIBILITY: B. Showed solid "retail" campaign skills that made her husband famous. Warmly greeted voters on roadsides, at rest stops and restaurants. Answered some impromptu questions from the press, and introduced herself to New York reporters.

ISSUES: D. Offered only meaningless, broad strokes — education, jobs, health care, getting a fair share from the feds. Had no specific new plans or proposals, took no controversial positions, and ducked a few.

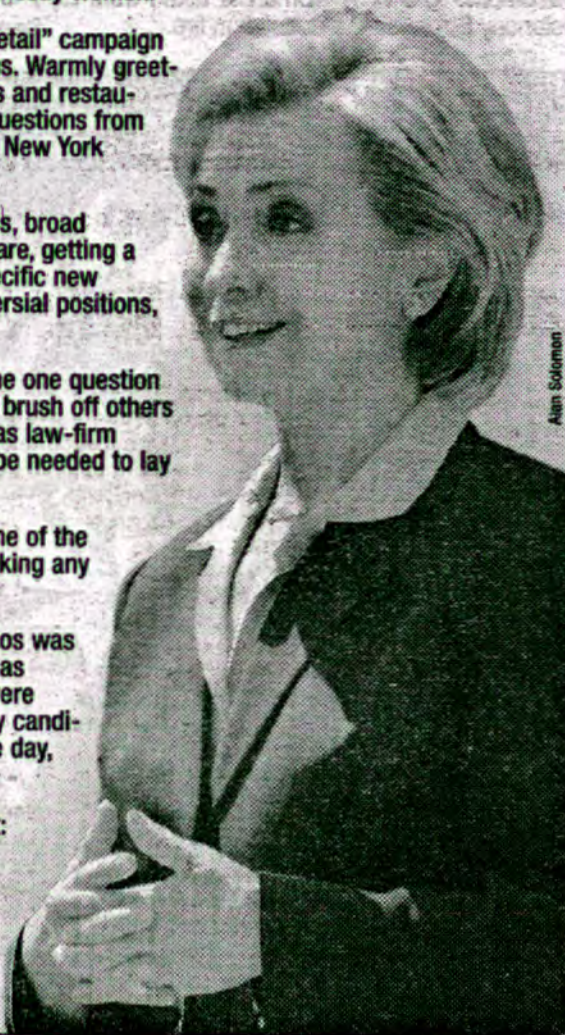
SCANDAL CONTROL: C-. Dodged the one question about Monica Lewinsky and tried to brush off others about her own long-missing Arkansas law-firm billing records. Better answers will be needed to lay the issues to rest.

FLUBS: A+. Made it through Day One of the four-day "listening tour" without making any potentially fatal mistakes.

ORGANIZATION: C+. Controlled chaos was the tone of the day. Events went off as planned, although too many stops were crammed in. Clinton may be the only candidate to visit two halls of fame in one day, soccer and baseball.

OVERALL: B. Clinton made her point: She is serious about running for Senate, intends to mount a strong campaign, and won't let carpetbagger charges stand in her way. One big problem still remains: What is her message?

Gregg Birnbaum



Aam Solomon

not how Republicans see Mrs. Clinton, author of the "vast right-wing conspiracy" theory.

"I don't think she was particularly charming or gracious toward them, so I doubt any Republicans would go out of their way to help her in the Senate," says Republican strategist Rich Galen.

Says a Democratic strategist: "Publicly, the Republicans will be very nice to her. They'll just make sure that she gets absolutely nothing. As a senator you don't have to be mean to hurt someone."

And certainly no Republicans in Congress — or in a Bush White House — would want to do anything that could help Mrs. Clinton if she's planning to use New York as a stepping stone to run for president in 2004.

It isn't just Republicans. Mrs. Clinton could even have trouble with fellow Senate Dems, many of whom blame her husband — and her health-care debacle — for the fact that on Bill Clinton's watch, Democrats went from controlling Congress to minority status.

"Inside the Democratic caucus, the rap on [Senate Democratic leader Tom] Daschle is that he has been a bit of a toady for the Clinton administration," says a Democratic strategist.

"Particularly if Bush wins and there's a Democratic wipeout, Daschle would have to bend over backward not to give her special favors like good committees when more senior senators want them."

Ah, yes, seniority. As someone with no government experience, Sen. Hillary Clinton would rank close to last among all senators, say down around 98th, 99th or 100th.

And if Mrs. Clinton really is using New York as a stepping stone to run for president — her aides don't rule that out — then she'd have little time to learn how to be a senator before starting the 2004 race.

"That would really be a disaster. It would be as if New York had only 1½ senators," says a Democratic staffer.

No 'Glove' lost for Hillary over new geography goof

By FREDRIC U. DICKER
and GREGG BIRNBAUM

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton found herself in the middle of a new geopolitical flap yesterday after a longtime adviser misidentified a small upstate town.

"I think an apology would help," declared an angry Mayor Abe Seroussi of Gloversville, a town of 16,700 people in Fulton County, 25 miles west of Albany.

Seroussi's ire was raised by a Tuesday Washington Post story quoting Sara Ehrman, "a longtime

friend" of Mrs. Clinton's, saying the First Lady would soon learn "everything there is to know about New York," including that "Glovertown is a big labor area."

The only trouble is, there is no "Glovertown" in New York.

There is a Gloversville, which is in the path of Clinton's just-begun four-day upstate "listening tour." It once was a big labor area, where 99 percent of the nation's gloves were made.

"I've gotten three calls from people in our city about this, even though

the article appeared in a Washington paper," said Seroussi, a political independent elected on the Democratic line.

"The reaction is, 'Here they go again.'

"People just don't make an effort to learn about the small upstate cities, whether they're from Washington or they're our own politicians downstate."

An aide to Clinton, Howard Wolfson, cited Mayor Giuliani's failure a day earlier to distinguish between Monroe County and the town of Monroe, in Orange County, and down-

played the latest gaffe.

"Everyone makes mistakes," Wolfson said.

Giuliani also had egg on his face last month when a campaign schedule put the mayor in upstate "Niagra," instead of "Niagara."

Clinton also became involved in regional flap last month when one of her aides said the First Lady and her husband, President Clinton, wouldn't vacation in the Adirondacks this summer because there were too many flies.

Local officials insisted Mrs. Clinton's aide didn't know what he was talking about, and they demanded



ABE SEROUSSI

Gloversville's angry mayor.

an apology.

For his part, Giuliani repeatedly cut off questions about his Monroe gaffe. The town of Monroe is more than 200 miles from Monroe County, the home of Rochester.

"I think sometimes the frivolousness of the way we cover important things gets to be very frivolous. So why don't we move on to something else?" Giuliani said.

She's the Worst Lady for most upstaters

BINGHAMTON.

THE only problem with Hillary Rodham Clinton's much-hyped "listening tour" is that she's not listening to guys like Tom Holland.

"She knows nothing about New York and we don't want her here," said Holland, summarizing the prevailing sentiment of people upstate — as captured by the huge "Go Home Hillary" banner hanging from a semi-trailer across the

Metro Gnome



By Gersh
Kuntzman

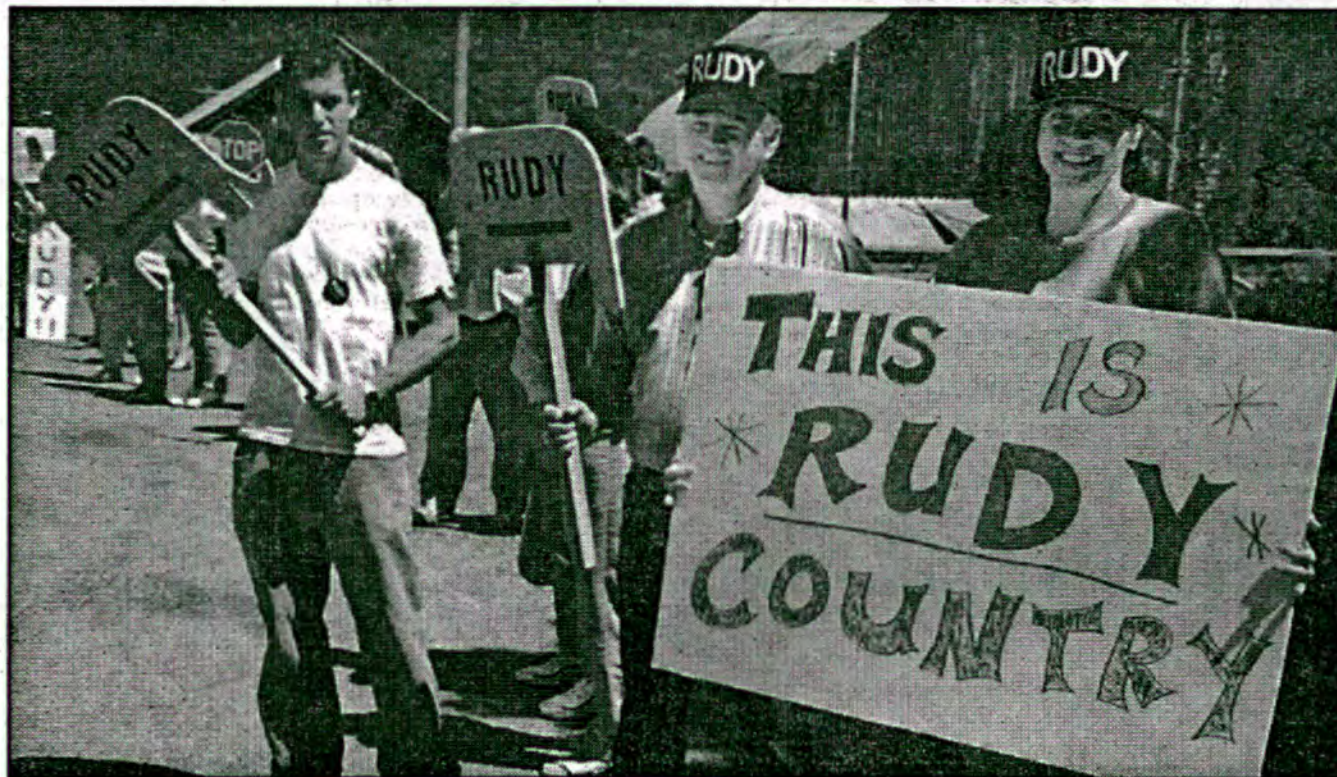
street from the airport here.

Holland's company, Gagne, Inc., makes photographic equipment and has expanded 1,000 percent over the past decade. That makes him a happy Republican. No wonder Hillary will not be listening to him this time around.

And therein lies the inherent problem with this entire listening tour: Over the next three days, the only people Clinton will hear from are party flunkies, pre-screened locals, or a gaggle of supporters standing on the side of the road with "Run, Hillary, Run!" signs.

Well, the Metro Gnome wouldn't stand for it.

That's why he set off on his own "listening tour." A cross between traditional whistle-stop barnstorming and an all-you-can-eat buffet in a Vegas casino, the Metro Gnome listen-



RUDE-Y WELCOME: Giuliani supporters get their message across in upstate Pindars Corner yesterday. Alan Solomon

ing tour stopped at seemingly every diner, roadhouse, farm stand or fancy eatery along Hillary's route yesterday in search of the real word on the street.

First stop, the Unadilla Diner.

Sitting at the counter for just five minutes, I heard more real talk than Hillary heard all day. I mean, how could you not feel the pain of a guy named Bernie, whose wife is nagging him because he won't take her on a whitewater rafting trip ever since she saw an unnerving clip on the Discovery Channel?

"Oh, come on, Bernie, that's something I always

wanted to do," chimed in a guy named Martin.

"You do that, and I'll leave you," replied his wife (Uh-oh! Marital-strife alert! No wonder Hillary won't be listening to them!)

Finally, the talk turned to Hillary. Too bad the First Lady wasn't there to hear it.

"She can't get elected in her own state, so she comes up here to get elected," Martin said. "She doesn't belong here."

"Hillary should either plead the Fifth or drink the fifth," added Mary, the waitress.

Never underestimate the value of listening to a few

cranks at a diner. From them, I learned a valuable lesson: always order the biscuits and gravy at the Unadilla Diner. And never order the chicken at the very restaurant in Oneonta where Hillary had lunch later in the day. Martin had it a while back and, well, let's just say he didn't have normal gastric function for a week.

Hillary, you could have been forewarned.

Up the road in Oneonta, Cynthia Hill and Judi Vinosky were standing in front of City Hall, talking about how great it is to live in a well-run upstate town.

"They have T-ball and

baseball, swimming lessons and games all summer for the kids," Hill said. (Uh-oh! Satisfied voter alert! No wonder Hillary won't be talking to her!)

And you can be sure that Hillary's motorcade didn't have the car radio tuned to the local chat shows. If so, the First Lady again would've heard more than she bargained for.

Virtually every caller complained about Hillary's run. Either they resented her carpetbagging or that many of her travel expenses are being picked up by U.S. taxpayers.

Is it any wonder Hillary won't be talking to them?

Moynihan helps kick off first lady's New York tour

Clinton says she expects 'very difficult race'

By Kathy Kiely
USA TODAY

ONEONTA, N.Y. — First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton launched her campaign Wednesday to become the next senator from New York, vowing to convince voters that "what I'm for is maybe ... more important than where I'm from."

A native of Illinois who spent most of her adult life in Arkansas, Clinton promised to be "a strong advocate for New York" if she is elected next year. She told more than 200 reporters who turned out to cover her maiden campaign tour that she expects "a very difficult and challenging race."

But Clinton, who has spent 25 years helping her husband win elections, admitted she's getting a kick out of "being on this side of the microphone and talking for myself and talking about what I believe."

A forest of cameras and satellite trucks sprouted on the rolling fields of Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's farm to record Clinton's first appearance as an announced candidate. Notoriously press-shy as first lady, she unflinchingly fielded questions from



By Ron Fehrm, AP

Facing the press: More than 200 media members attend the launch of Hillary Clinton's 'listening tour' of New York on Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's farm.

reporters on everything from her controversial commodity futures deal to Monica Lewinsky to a bridge outside Buffalo.

"I'm looking forward to meeting New Yorkers," she said evenly when one reporter asked if she thought she'd benefit from a sympathy vote because of her husband's relationship with the former White House intern. "I'm sure they'll have a lot to tell me about what they think of me."

Clinton's status as the first presidential spouse to run for elective office made for an unusual political debut. Her husband, who is on a

week-long, cross-country tour to promote economic development in the USA's poorer regions, telephoned from the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota to find out how things were going, the first lady told an audience at an education forum here.

Her first day on the campaign trail saw Clinton flashing a bit of her husband's trademark style. On her way to Moynihan's farm from the Binghamton airport, she halted her motorcade so she could jump out and shake hands with supporters gathered on the side of the road.



By Ray Stubblebine, AP

Reaching out: The first lady greets supporters outside the Binghamton airport on Wednesday.

But there were contrasts, too. At a local barbecue where she stopped for lunch, this Clinton was seen nibbling on a salad and sipping iced tea.

Mack Culpepper, an administrator at the state university campus here, said he would have to be convinced Clinton could represent him. He did not support President Clinton but is

"trying not to let that affect me" as he weighs whether to back the first lady. "I feel she's different from her husband. That's why I'm willing to give her a fair shot."

Clinton kicked off her summer "listening tour" of New York at the 900-acre farm owned by the retiring Democrat she wants to replace.

A quirky, erudite former Harvard University professor, Moynihan got so involved describing the 19th century schoolhouse where he and Clinton met for a private chat that he nearly forgot to endorse her. But when he did, he was enthusiastic, despite his sometimes-prickly relations with her husband's administration.

"I think she's going to win, and it will be wonderful for New York," Moynihan said.

Clinton, who said New Yorkers began urging her to get into the race immediately after Moynihan announced his plans to retire, acknowledged she initially had doubts. "I must say I'm very humbled and a little surprised to be standing here today," she said.

She has not quite formally entered the race and is putting a final decision off until after her summer tour.

But Democrats in the state have cleared the primary field for her and are clearly anticipating that she will be the party standard bearer in 2000.

Three Republicans have expressed interest in the race: New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani and

Reps. Rick Lazio and Peter King, both Long Island congressmen. Polls show Giuliani leading Clinton, but the first lady's supporters are hoping she can exploit upstate New York's traditional suspicion of the Big Apple.

Clinton is emphasizing education, affordable health care and economic development. "These are issues I've worked on all of my life," she said.

The first lady, who toured the National Soccer Hall of Fame while she was here, heads today to Coopers-town, home of the Baseball Hall of Fame and the site of a health-care forum. She will spend the rest of the week visiting upstate communities. Aides said she'll hit some New York City suburbs next week.

Clinton, who plans to spend most of the summer in New York, sees no problem juggling her roles as candidate and first lady. She said it's no different from House members who run for Senate or a governor who runs for president.

Reactions to Clinton's political debut ran the gamut. "You go, girl" read signs held by some supporters. Representing another view, a man at the airport carried a piece of carpet cut into the shape of Arkansas. "No carpetbaggers," his sign read.

Giuliani spent the day at several public events in Manhattan. "So far, the only thing we know is where she is from," the mayor said. "Someday we will find out what she is for, when the campaign starts."



Keith Meyers/The New York Times

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

Hillary Clinton Begins Pre-Campaign Swing at Farm

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

PINDARS CORNERS, N.Y., July 7

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

"It's a very fair question and I fully understand people raising it," Mrs. Clinton said at an appearance here that was part news conference and part political spectacle. "I think 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 as if not more important — than where I'm from."

Mrs. Clinton then plunged into her first day in the campaign trail for herself, as opposed to being the candidate's spouse. She visited the Baseball Hall of Fame in Cooperstown, ate lunch at a barbecue restaurant in Oneonta, and savored the generally giddy and enthusiastic crowds who lined out to catch sight of the First Lady and her entourage at every stop. She also held the first of the "Listening to New Yorkers" forums that are to anchor the schedule this summer, listening intently and taking notes during a 45-minute discussion about education.

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

At the center of the kind of attention that is unheard of in a race for the United States Senate — or even in the early days of a race for President — Mrs. Clinton began molding a new public image for herself. With each

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

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

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

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

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

She added: "I would be, if I run and am honored to be elected, a

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

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

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

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

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

Mrs. Clinton was assured if self-effacing throughout the day, taking the guidance of her advisers, who have been concerned she may have projected something of an air of entitlement in past discussions about the seat. She seemed also undisturbed as

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

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

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

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

Mrs. Clinton seemed eager to come across as student rather than teacher. When someone said the upstate economy and schools were hobbled by the absence of high-speed Internet connections, the First Lady's eyes lit up. She asked him to give her a memo. At the Soccer Hall of Fame, she stopped to talk to Frank Bachelor after learning that he was a dairy farmer. "Dairy farmers need your support," said Mr. Bachelor. Mrs. Clinton responded with her own request. "I need your help."



Star photo by Allegra Boverman

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

Getting to know you

First lady listens and learns what's important locally

By Tom Grace
Cooperstown News Bureau

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

This was just her first stop here in a day when she flew from Albany to Binghamton, then rode to Cooperstown by way of Oneonta, stopping at two halls of fame, two colleges and Brooks House of Bar-B-Q's.

The first lady met Moynihan at

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

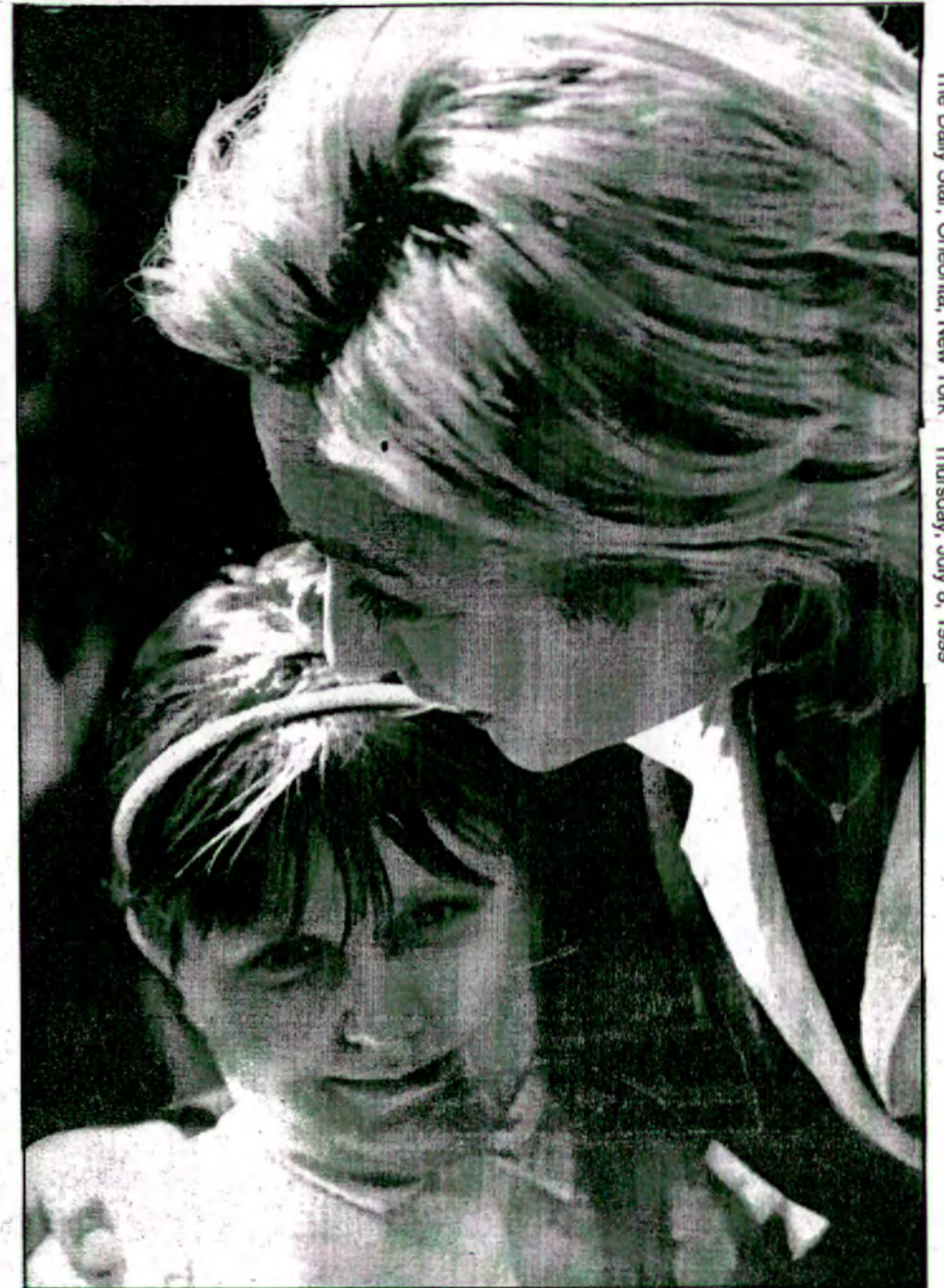
Moynihan noted that he'd had the hay field mown a week early to accommodate the cars, vans and satellite dish trucks on the hillside. He then said he hoped Clinton would "go all the way to the U.S. Senate and I plan to go all the way with her."

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

See CLINTON on Page 9

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

— Hillary Rodham Clinton



Star photo by Allegra Boverman

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

Thursday, July 8, 1999

OUR OPINION

Welcome, Hillary?

Our first inclination would be to say, "Hillary, go home."

The last thing we want, or need, is a carpetbagging First Lady spending the next 16 months trying to convince us she knows and cares about what is important to New Yorkers, especially upstate New Yorkers.

The more we think about it, however, the better we like the idea. Not because we believe she is necessarily the best candidate, but because her candidacy may stimulate more interest and involvement on the part of the public.

Voter turnout has been dismal, at best, in recent elections as fewer and fewer people participate in this democracy. Officials are being elected and decisions about our future are being made by a smaller and smaller handful of people as disenchantment with the political process grows.

If Hillary Clinton does decide to run for Senate from New York, her candidacy may prove to be the impetus for some of those disenchanted people to once again become involved.

She will have to work hard to demonstrate an understanding of upstate New York, its people and its problems. She will have to convince us she is more than a carpetbagging razorback trying to take advantage of lax residential requirements for Senate candidates.

While the carpetbagger image may remain paramount in many people's minds, her position as First Lady will bring additional press coverage, or scrutiny, to the election process. Hopefully, it will also result in a more detailed, frequent discussion of the important issues.

If her candidacy works to bring people back to the polls, it will have been a success.

The biggest drawback to having the First Lady in a Senate race is that with 16 months to go before the election, by the time next November rolls around people may be so saturated with electioneering that they simply tune it out.

The Leader-Herald

ESTABLISHED AUGUST 30, 1887

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

(P1)

First lady becomes a candidate



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

Upstate N.Y. trip transforms Hillary into senate hopeful

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

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

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

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

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

HILLARY — On Page 7

'Glovertown' gaffe receives national scrutiny

By DIANNE NEVICH

The Leader-Herald

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

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

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

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

GLOVERTOWN — On Page 7

'Glovertown' gains national attention

farms in Watertown. She'll know that Glovertown is a big labor area. She'll know the best corn is in Suffolk County ... Then she'll show people how hard she'd fight for them." But some residents think if Mrs. Clinton and her associates are to have success on her present "learning and listening tour," they should learn the names of the places she hopes to represent.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Local Republicans did not mince words.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Area Democrats show support for Senate run

BY WYN HORNBUCKLE

Staff Writer

As soon as First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton hit the tarmac at the Binghamton Regional Airport Wednesday, it was apparent her reception in upstate New York would be as warm as her battle for a Senate seat would be hot.

Clinton spent a half-hour speaking with about 40 well-wishers and local Democratic party members, who formed a greeting line outside the Air Force Gulf Stream Jet that carried her here. Clinton made only a brief comment on her first stop of a four-day "listening tour" of central and eastern New York, which comes a day after filing paperwork with the Federal Election Commission to form an exploratory committee for the 2000 U.S. Senate race. Clinton is considering a run to replace retiring U.S. Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, D-Pindars Corners.

"I'm on my way to Senator Moynihan's farm and I'm looking forward to going out and listening to New Yorkers," Clinton said before being whisked away to Moynihan's Delaware County residence.

Outside the Miller Aviation hangar, a small group of protesters held signs that described the first lady as a "carpetbagger" with, at best, superficial knowledge about the concerns of New Yorkers.

"We're truly Yankee fans," said protester Brett Mecum, 20, a State University of New York at Albany student from Waterloo, in a reference to Clinton's newfound loyalty to the state's premier baseball team. "She's from Arkansas. If she wants to run for the Senate in Arkansas, I have no problem with that."

But Democrats Wednesday put up a strong show of support for Clinton's potential run. "Not since Robert Kennedy has a candidate so energized this population," said Frank Palmisano, vice president of the Broome County Democratic Committee. "Whether you love her or hate her, she energizes the campaign."

"I firmly believe the first lady will become a candidate and a senator for New York," said Keith Zulko, who also serves as vice president of the Broome County Democratic



PHOTO PROVIDED

Hillary Clinton chats with Stephanie Stein at Binghamton Regional Airport.

Committee and was the first to greet Clinton as she stepped off the plane. Zulko — who invited Clinton and her family to the July 20 Democratic Committee Picnic at Ross Park Zoo — said New York needs Clinton's advocacy in the state's most pressing issues and some of her favorite passions — health care, education and child care. "She's a fighter for us," Zulko said.

Two young women were thrilled to see — and meet — Clinton. The first lady is "pretty cool," in the words of Binghamton High School tenth-grader Stephanie Stein, 15.

On Tuesday night, Peggy Stein, who works on the local Democratic committee, asked her daughter if she wanted to go to the airport to meet Clinton Wednesday morning, and to bring something that means a lot to her, on the off chance that they would get an opportunity to interact.

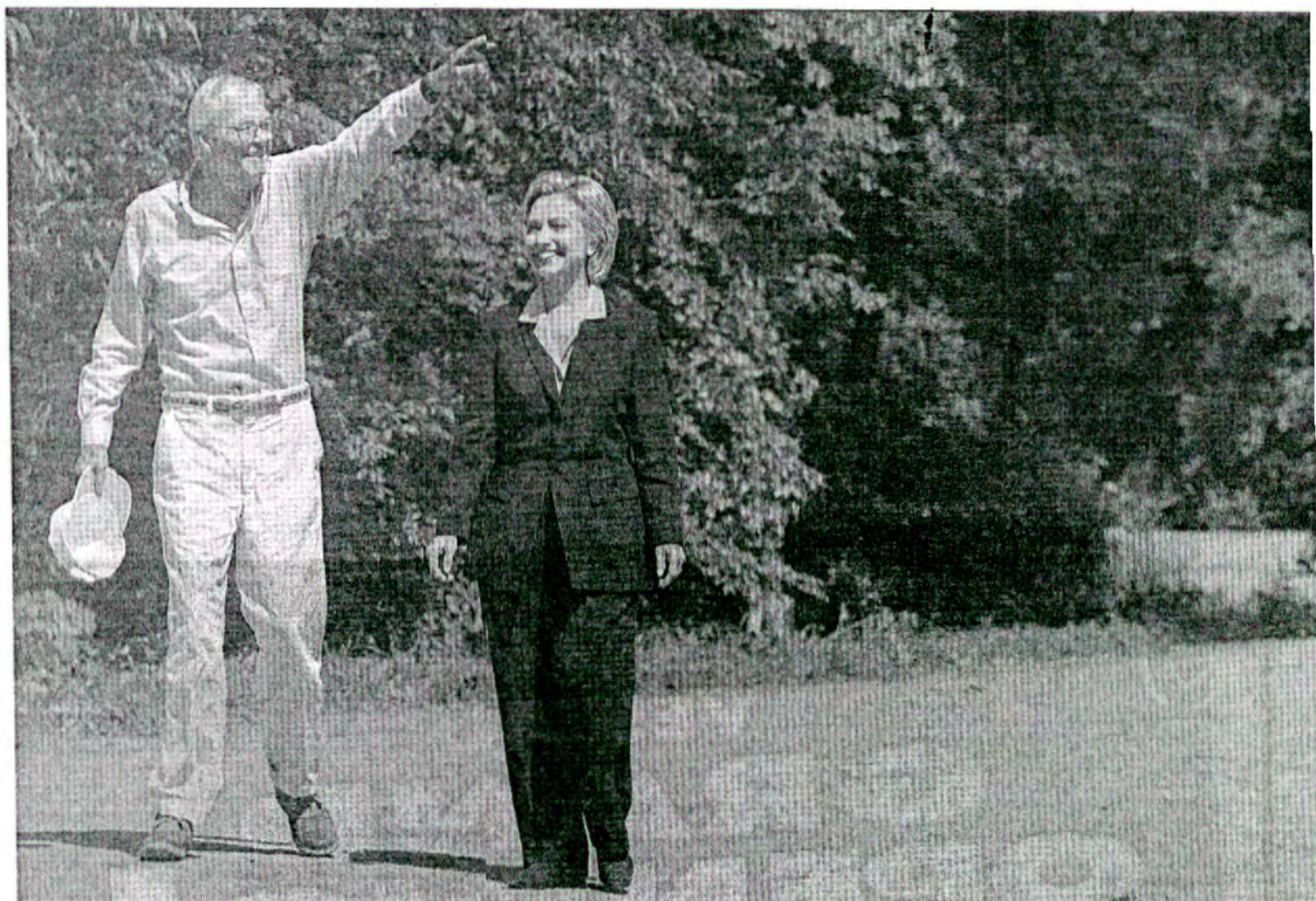
Stein brought two things: a picture of herself cheerleading — she is on the junior varsity squad — and her best friend, Brittany Weingartner, also 15. Not only did Clinton shake hands with the girls, she had a conversation with Stephanie, asking her about her cheerleading, what grade she is in and wishing her luck. Then she gave the pair the keepsake of a lifetime: she was photographed with them.

"I think she is an incredible person. She is smart, she cares about people. Just the way she carries herself and takes the time to talk is so impressive," Stephanie said.



CHUCK HAUPT staff photographer

Hillary Rodham Clinton shows off an AmeriCorps shirt to Colleen Merced of Bainbridge. She received the shirt from AmeriCorps members at SUNY-Oneonta. Clinton, who started her "listening tour" Wednesday, is spending three days in upstate New York after forming a committee to explore a run for the Senate.



CHUCK HAUPT staff photographer

York Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan walks Hillary Rodham Clinton to his farm in Pindars Corners. Clinton began her upstate "listening tour" Wednesday.

Carpetbagger' issue may not matter much to voters

BY SAMME CHITTUM

Staff Writer

ONEONTA — Upstate New Yorkers spotted along the campaign trail blazed by Hillary Rodham Clinton on Wednesday said they are looking beyond where Clinton is from and deciding if she is like someone who should be a senator.

"I don't think somebody has to be from this area," said Sheila Simon, 34, of Oneonta, who showed up at the State University College at Oneonta to welcome the first lady. "Because she's not from the area, I think she will work harder to educate herself."

Simon raised another issue as well: Whether New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, the leading contender on the Republican side, will

be perceived as someone who can represent upstate New York. "You could apply the same argument to Giuliani, who is from New York City," said Simon. "So he's been to Saratoga — big deal. Does that mean he knows New York state?"

Others who showed up to see Clinton expressed similar sentiments. "It's what she can do that's important," said Marilyn Touma, 20, a political science major at SUNY, who brought her 6-month-old daughter along with her. Touma said she had not decided whether she would vote for Clinton or not, but said she would judge the candidate on her merits.

Touma speculated that the carpetbagger issue would be less important as the campaign progresses. "I think it's going to blow over, it's just hype now," she said.

Some Pindars Corners neighbors of Sen. Daniel Moynihan showed up on the senator's farm to try to get a better fix on the woman who wants to succeed Moynihan. "I don't think you have to live in the area," said Glenn Mendez, 40. "I'm sure she'll have plenty of people telling her what they think and what she should do." Mendez said he would like to see her focus on boosting the economy in upstate New York and also on protecting the environment.

However, Joe Giallanzo, 31, a conservative Republican from Pindars Corners, said he felt Clinton would be unable to overcome the fact that she lacks a lifetime of exposure to the people, places and issues of New York. "It takes a New Yorker, someone who's lived here all their life, to know what the state

needs," he said.

Two other Pindars Corners neighbors said they are already Hillary Clinton boosters. Jim Ball, 45, said he doesn't think Clinton should be penalized because she's not a New Yorker. The fact that she has never lived here "doesn't bother me at all," he said. Ball said that Clinton will benefit from her husband's successful term in office. "The Clinton presidency has been good for New York, both upstate and downstate. If it's not broke, don't fix it."

Some political observers are speculating that Republicans may exhaust the carpetbagger issue by raising it so early in the race. Clinton spokesman Howard Wilson is betting that "New Yorkers are going to be a lot more interested in what Mrs. Clinton is talking about than where she is from."

first lady listens, learns



Moynihan supports Senate run

BY SAMME CHITTM

Staff Writer

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

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



MOYNIHAN

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

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

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

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

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

SEE CLINTON 7A

BETH KAPLAN staff photographer

Hillary Rodham Clinton greets well-wishers on Wednesday at Binghamton Regional Airport. Clinton began a three-day tour of upstate New York with a trip to Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's home in Pindars Corners.

Clinton shares concerns about schools, funding

BY LINDA JUMP

Staff Writer

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



CHUCK HAUPT staff photographer

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

Clinton begins three-day tour of upstate New York

CONTINUED FROM 1A

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ham Clinton Listening Tour."

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

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

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

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

Hillary tour stops in Cooperstown

By LUCY ATKINSON
Staff Writer

The day after formally filing papers for an exploratory committee, First Lady and senatorial hopeful, Hillary Rodham Clinton, began her listening tour of upstate New York yesterday, which included an unscheduled stop at Cooperstown's Hall of Fame and a welcome reception by a crowd of several hundred cheering on-lookers.

Having declared herself a possible contender for the senate seat being vacated by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan of Pindars Corners, Clinton is making her way through upstate New York, listening to the concerns and issues that face residents in Pindars Corners, Oneonta, Cooperstown, Utica and Binghamton.

"I'm looking forward to meeting with New Yorkers," said Clinton. "They have a lot to tell me, about me and about the issues."

Despite accusations that as an out-of-stator Clinton is not in touch with the issues that face New Yorkers, and is unqualified to represent them in the Senate, many of the hundreds awaiting her arrival at the Hall of Fame thought otherwise.

"I have mixed feelings about her being from out of state," said Tom Witkowski, who was visiting from Troy. "But I look at it this way: if a corporation puts out a search for an executive, they put it out to the whole country. They

would want the best person for the job."

For Michael Zimmermann, a Washington resident who grew up in Westchester County, N.Y., Clinton's residency should have nothing to do with her candidacy.

"I think it fine that she's not from New York," he said. "We're one nation, indivisible, etc. but we tend to get concerned about specific interests. Residency issues are not important."

For others, where Clinton lives is a concern, but one they are willing to overlook if she can prove she is up to the job.

"The residency bothers me but a lot of other people have come in to New York from out of state," said Betsy Hayes of Toddsville. "We need some fresh blood. And she's pro-child."

But the discussion may be premature since Clinton has yet to officially declare herself as formally running for the senate seat.

"Why the Senate? Why New York? Why me?" said Clinton. "I care deeply about the issues that are important in this state. I'm trying to find answers to the challenges that face New York. So I can be responsive and make a decision about this race."

Clinton is expected to pay a visit to Bassett Healthcare Thursday where she will discuss rural healthcare. That afternoon she leaves for Utica, followed by stops in Syracuse and Albany.



Crier photo by Lucy Atkinson

First Lady Hillary Clinton takes time to sign autographs after visiting the National Baseball Hall of Fame Wednesday evening. Clinton will spend Thursday morning in Cooperstown, before continuing on her "listening tour" of upstate New York.

First lady's filing sets stage for Senate run

GANNETT NEWS SERVICE

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton launches a summer-long tour of New York today after filing papers that take her a historic step closer to being the only first lady to run for a U.S. Senate seat.

On Tuesday, the first lady filed a statement of organization with the Federal Election Commission to form an "exploratory committee" for the 2000 Senate race for the seat being vacated by N.Y. Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is retiring after four terms.

The filing—actually a single sheet—allows the first lady to raise and spend money for trips into the state and other political expenses as she

considers a full-fledged candidacy.

She already has come under fire from Republicans who say her use of federal government aircraft and White House offices mean that taxpayers may be paying for her unofficial exploration of the Senate race so far.

"Forming the committee makes it clear and on the record that she is raising money and spending money," said Howard Wolfson, spokesman for the exploratory committee. "She is seriously considering the campaign and this is the way to pay" for her trips and other political activities.

Key members of the committee are all lawyers with federal government experience. William J.

Cunningham III, a Long Island lawyer and former assistant U.S. Attorney from the Eastern District of New York, is the committee's treasurer. Others are Jim Lamb, a former Democratic minority counsel on the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee and Lynn Utrect, a former Federal Election Commission lawyer who will be the committee's general counsel.

On the Republican side, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who also is pondering the Senate race, formed an exploratory committee a few months ago and has raised \$3 million. Rep. Rick Lazio, a GOP congressman from Suffolk County, has said he is inching toward announcing his candidacy.

First lady back in Tier as candidate

Clinton will
share thoughts
on education

BY SAMME CHITTUM

Staff Writer

It's billed as the Hillary Rodham Clinton Listening Tour. But the first lady's current visit to the Southern Tier remains a carefully orchestrated event that most ordinary New Yorkers will only glimpse from afar.

Clinton will start her visit today by flying into the Binghamton Regional Airport. She has no scheduled Broome County stops, although she did pause, during her last visit here, to acknowledge well-wishers. Then she is off to visit the Pindars Corners farm of Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan at 10:15 a.m., where a crush of reporters will likely be the only voyeurs present.

The centerpiece of the day's activities will be a two-hour "listening event" at 2 p.m. devoted to the topic of education. The session will take place in the Morris Conference Center at the State University College at Oneonta. There, some 40 to 50 educators, administrators and parents — all pre-selected from suggested lists forwarded to the first lady's staff — will get to share their views with Clinton. Some 200 reporters are expected to be on hand.

"We are going to adhere to the first lady's request to keep it small and intimate so that she can relate to the people who will be there," said Carol Blazina, assistant to the president of the university. During her last visit, the press was allowed to listen to Clinton, but not to ask questions. It's not clear whether she will entertain questions from the press during this visit.

Depending who is asked, the first lady is either accessible as she can be, with Secret Service in tow — or a candidate keeping press and public at arm's length.

"This is ridiculous," said Joe Laughney, chairman of the Broome County Republican Committee. "She wants to be senator, but she won't open herself up to the public and the press. How does she expect to get to know people?"



GANNETT NEWS SERVICE

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton arrives for a visit today.

Clinton forms 2000 committee

WASHINGTON — With a single typewritten page filed with the Federal Election Commission, Hillary Rodham Clinton launched her campaign Tuesday for a Senate seat from New York.

By creating a campaign exploratory committee, Mrs. Clinton may raise and spend money for political travel, polling and ads.

STORY, PAGE 5A

Said Laughney, "It's going to be controlled; that's the Clinton way."

But Barbara Fiala, former chairwoman of the Broome County Democratic Party, said Clinton is genuinely interested in getting to know New Yorkers but can't move with the same freedom as other campaigners.

"She is very, very dedicated to talking to people and trying to make New Yorkers comfortable with her," said Fiala.

"But she is the first lady and that separates her from other candidates. She has to deal with the Secret Service. She cannot go to a local factory and stand around handing out leaflets."

Fiala said Republicans are sounding sour notes because Clinton is doing well in the polls. "Obviously, they're not happy with her approval ratings. The Republicans are trying to turn everything into a negative."

The next step on the Clinton listening tour will be in Cooperstown on Thursday, where the first lady will talk about health care issues in the Bassett Auditorium at 31 Beaver St.

'Ultimate balancing act': candidate and first lady

By Mary Leonard
GLOBE STAFF

WASHINGTON - A typical day last week in the life of the most active and activist first lady went like this:

A millennium event on preserving historic documents at the National Archives. A White House meeting on the effect of Medicare cuts on teaching hospitals. A drop-by at Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin's farewell party. An outing with daughter Chelsea and husband Bill to the quarterfinals of the Women's World Cup. And many, many phone calls.

Now, into what aides say is this superwoman schedule, Hillary Rod-

ham Clinton is about to wedge one more thing - a campaign for an open US Senate seat in New York.

"Women are used to juggling many roles every day, and I have no doubt that Mrs. Clinton will be able to juggle one more undertaking," said Melanne Verveer, the first lady's chief of staff. "In actual practice, we have to see how it evolves. It will be the ultimate balancing act."

In Washington, "Where's Hillary?" is about to become a favorite parlor game. Yesterday, Mrs. Clinton made history when she filed papers with the Federal Election Commission and officially launched a political exploratory committee aimed at capturing the seat in 2000 of retiring Democratic Senator Daniel Patrick

CLINTON, Page A14

Mrs. Clinton faces 'ultimate balancing act'

■ CLINTON

Continued from Page A1

rick Moynihan. Today, as she sets off from the senator's farm in Oneonta, N.Y., for a four-day "listening tour" of the state, a new chapter opens on the country's most controversial and scrutinized first lady.

"The listening tour will put her face-to-face with New Yorkers in small settings," said Howard Wolfson, Mrs. Clinton's campaign spokesman, adding that the first lady's get-acquainted trips to her adopted state will span most of the summer.

It has been clear for some weeks that Mrs. Clinton had made up her mind to do what few of her close friends expected and what Carl Sferazza Anthony, a biographer of first ladies, called "unprecedented."

"It is amazing, it is overwhelming," Anthony said. "But if any woman could handle being first lady and a Senate candidate, Hillary Clinton is the one."

It is generally agreed that Mrs. Clinton has set a new standard for what it means to be first lady and political partner to the president. But the implications and consequences of her likely run for the Senate are just starting to sink in.

For example, how will she coordinate her ceremonial White House duties with what is expected to be a bruisingly partisan campaign against

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani? Where will she live? How will she handle an aggressive press corps that for years has been held at bay by a protective White House staff and the unofficial status of her job? Who pays for her travel and how will she utilize the perks of the White House? What role will the president play? And how often will she be at odds with or try to influence Clinton administration policy?

"From now on, everything she does as first lady is going to be viewed through the prism of 'does it help her or hurt her in New York?'" said Paul Costello, who was first lady Rosalynn Carter's press secretary. "There are apt to be situations where the White House makes policy that runs counter to New York, and it will be interesting to see how Mrs. Clinton balances it and weighs in."

That has happened already. Mrs. Clinton was invited by New York political and labor union leaders to join them at a White House meeting last week in arguing that the administration's plan to overhaul Medicare would cut payments to New York's teaching hospitals. Mrs. Clinton did not dominate the session, her press secretary told reporters, but she did share the hospitals' concerns.

At a news conference the same day, President Clinton said he won't be offended if Mrs. Clinton goes



AP FILE PHOTO

Hillary Rodham Clinton will kick off a four-day "listening tour" of New York State today.

public with some of the policy disagreements they have had in private. "That's the way democracy works," the president said.

"I have to laugh: On one hand, Hillary Clinton is criticizing some aspect of her husband's Medicare plan, and on the other, we hear that the president is going to be one of her most important political advisers," said Sheila Tate, former press secretary to first lady Nancy Reagan. "I think it's schizophrenic, and it's a good example of how strange and peculiar Mrs. Clinton is making life for herself."

Tate says she cannot imagine that Mrs. Reagan ever contemplated a run for public office.

But historians say Mrs. Clinton, a lawyer by training and a policy advocate by experience, has redefined

cy issues, her causes, her travel, and her entertaining in and restoration of the White House. "She has said to all of us that while this is a new process, she is not intending to give any of her responsibilities as first lady short shrift," Verveer said.

But the West Wing of the White House has come under fire from the Republican Party and public interest groups for an alleged misuse of federal resources to support Mrs. Clinton's frequent political trips to New York. GOP chairman Jim Nicholson last week asserted that Mrs. Clinton's flights on military aircraft had cost the government more than \$220,000.

"Hillary's flying military jets, but it's the taxpayers who are being taken for a ride," Nicholson said.

The White House insists that the exploratory committee, which allows Mrs. Clinton to raise money, will pay for future travel, a headquarters and separate staff in New York, and any other expenses her campaign incurs. But the first lady will not be able to reimburse the Secret Service for the security and logistical support it is required to provide her, and she may never convince New Yorkers that the Manhattan traffic nightmares created by her presidential-sized entourage are absolutely necessary.

"Mrs. Clinton's stature as first lady will enhance her Senate race, but it will also reinforce her status as an outsider in New York," Costello said.

Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, a political scientist at Claremont Graduate University, said there is an ethical question of whether the first lady is trading on her position, and even on her misfortune in the wake of the scandal involving Monica S. Lewinsky, to advance a political career.

the role of first lady to the extent that this political race is not so extraordinary. Mrs. Clinton has spearheaded an ambitious but unsuccessful effort to overhaul health care, championed women's rights in dozens of foreign countries, raised millions of dollars for Democratic candidates, testified before an independent counsel's grand jury, and advised the White House through a sex scandal and impeachment.

"Mrs. Clinton has done some good things, but I think now there will be this nagging question that maybe everything she did in the second term was inherently political," said Myra Gutin, author of "The President's Partner" and a professor at Rider University in New Jersey. "I think her Senate candidacy will really affect her legacy and how she is perceived."

So far, the public appears to support the first lady's pursuit of a political career. A recent NBC/Wall Street Journal poll found 68 percent of Americans believe the first lady can perform her White House duties while running for the Senate.

Mrs. Clinton has told her staff she has no plans to give up her poli-

"I may be prudish about this, but it seems to me that this particular first lady allowed herself to be part of a campaign promise and package to the American people - 'elect one, you get two,'" Jeffe said. "Now, I wonder if her candidacy would be so real if people didn't perceive her as the wronged woman, and that this is her way, and the electorate's way, of getting back at the president."

Letitia Baldrige, who was first lady Jacqueline Kennedy's social secretary, remembers Mrs. Kennedy carried out her duties "through thick and thin," and took an unconventional route - taking up with Greek tycoon Aristotle Onassis - at an appropriate time after her government role had ended.

"There has never been a first lady running for office, and maybe there shouldn't be," said Baldrige, a doyenne of Washington's dwindling white-glove manners and good taste. "Hillary Clinton has a huge job right here in the White House, but she will have to shirk her duties - she certainly won't be the hostess with the mostest - if she is off in New York somewhere, giving a campaign speech."

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Hillary Clinton Begins First New York Campaign Tour

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By THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

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

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

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

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NEW YORK

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

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

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

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

At her arrival at the Binghamton Airport, Mrs. Clinton was greeted by about 50 supporters, including state Democratic chairwoman

Judith Hope and former state Democratic chairman John Burns. Outside the airport, about three dozen supporters waved placards while further along the road a tractor trailer carried a sign that read "Go home Hillary" in large letters.

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

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

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

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

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

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



By Keith Meyers/The New York Times

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

Republicans were poking fun.

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

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

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

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



By Keith Meyers/The New York Times

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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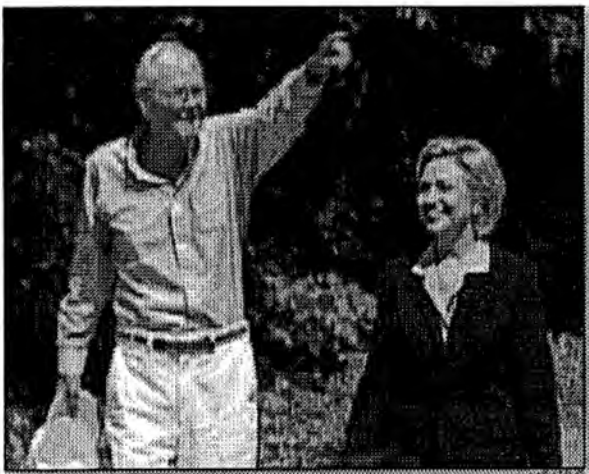
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Clinton offers herself to New York


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

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

MSNBC STAFF AND WIRE REPORTS

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

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

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

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

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

VICTIM OF LEWINSKY SCANDAL?

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

ÉMIGRÉ CANDIDATES

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

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

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

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

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

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

Clinton's campaign on Tuesday filed a single page with the Federal Election Commission in Washington, declaring that she had formed a committee to explore a Senate race. That enables her to raise and spend money for political travel, polling and advertising.

COMING UP ON TV NEWS

- **MSNBC Cable coverage**
Check out the MSNBC Cable schedule for coverage of this and other stories.

How key counties voted in 1998 Senate race

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

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

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

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

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

THE BATTLE FOR SUBURBIA

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

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

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

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

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

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

D'Amato also carried neighboring Suffolk County,

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

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

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

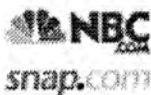
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TIME CQ

First lady sets off on 'listening' tour

July 7, 1999

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Associated Press contributed to this report.

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Hillary Clinton Confronts Issue Sure to Dog Campaign

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

By Brian Hartman

ABCNEWS.com

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

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

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

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

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

No Illusions' About Easy Campaign

And listening is what Mrs. Clinton has come to the

SUMMARY

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

sidebar

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If they both become

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

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

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

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

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

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

Day of Firsts

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

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

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

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

☐ Hillary Clinton

☐ Rudy Giuliani

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Another Arkansan in New York

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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AUP

WEDNESDAY, JULY 7, 1999 ★

The Washington Times

Hillary launches first formal New York campaign swing

By Barbara J. Saffir
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton heads to the heartland of New York today now that she has taken her first formal step toward becoming the state's first female senator.

Campaign aides dropped off her Statement of Organization at the Federal Election Commission shortly after 9 a.m. yesterday. About a dozen cameras recorded the brief, ceremonial event.

Her four-day swing through New York will be her 13th visit there this year, but her first official campaign-related trip.

"Over the next month, Mrs. Clinton will travel throughout the state meeting with New Yorkers in small groups and listening to them

discuss the issues that concern them the most," campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson said.

Creating the committee provides a vehicle to reimburse taxpayers for her political forays. That may help allay some of the criticism her taxpayer-funded trips has drawn.

Her first appearance today will be at the 700-acre Binghamton farm of Sen. Patrick Daniel Moynihan, the man Mrs. Clinton hopes to succeed — and the first Democratic senator to call for an independent counsel to investigate Whitewater.

Next, Mrs. Clinton will travel by motorcade to the State University of New York in Oneonta with more than 200 reporters in tow.

Tomorrow, she plans to address supporters at Bassett Healthcare

in Cooperstown and senior citizens in Utica. On Friday, Mrs. Clinton will stump in Rome, Syracuse and Albany, the state capital.

While in Albany, she will headline a fund-raiser for Michael R. McNulty, a six-term Democratic congressman. On Saturday, Mrs. Clinton tentatively plans to host two more public events before returning to Washington.

The bulk of Mrs. Clinton's earlier trips to New York focused on Manhattan. But about 45 percent of the state's voters live elsewhere — voters who are more conservative and voters she needs to win.

President Clinton scored big with New York voters. New York gave Mr. Clinton the second-highest percentage of votes in 1992, after Arkansas; and the third-highest percentage of votes

in 1996, after Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

In 1996, however, Mr. Clinton got 77 percent of the New York City vote, but only 50 percent elsewhere in the state.

For her part, Mrs. Clinton will face one hurdle that her husband never encountered: the lack of political experience.

"She has never held an elected office in her life," said Gary Nolan, who hosts a radio talk show, "Nolan at Night."

Mr. Nolan is running a political action committee, "Conservatives for Leadership," that is bankrolling an advertising campaign against Mrs. Clinton planned for New York. It will post the ads on buses and run them on television and radio, he said.

"It's not going to be a vicious

campaign," Mr. Nolan said. "We're just going to let New Yorkers know what she has said."

The PAC was designed to target all "unqualified candidates," he said, but Mrs. Clinton is so far the sole target.

Another controversy Mrs. Clinton faces is her residency. Republicans and others have tagged her a "carpetbagger" because she has never lived in New York and was not born there.

But Mrs. Clinton is not the first woman to run for a national office in New York who was born in another state. The first woman ever elected to Congress in New York — Ruth Sears Baker Pratt — was born in Massachusetts. Mrs. Pratt, a Republican who served from 1929 to 1933, moved to Glen Cove, N.Y., after graduating from Welles-

ley College, which also is Mrs. Clinton's alma mater.

Mrs. Clinton's most likely GOP opponent, New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, 55, was born in New York City.

The only other candidate for the Senate from New York who has created an exploratory committee is Clark Gebman, 43, who was born in Syracuse and now lives in Brooklyn.

Mr. Gebman, the president of a small Manhattan-based computer-software company, has not decided if he will run as a Democrat or Republican.

But Lee Daghljan, a spokesman for the New York State Board of Elections, said he does not expect any others to challenge the first lady for the Democratic nomination for Senate.

Continued from Page 1

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

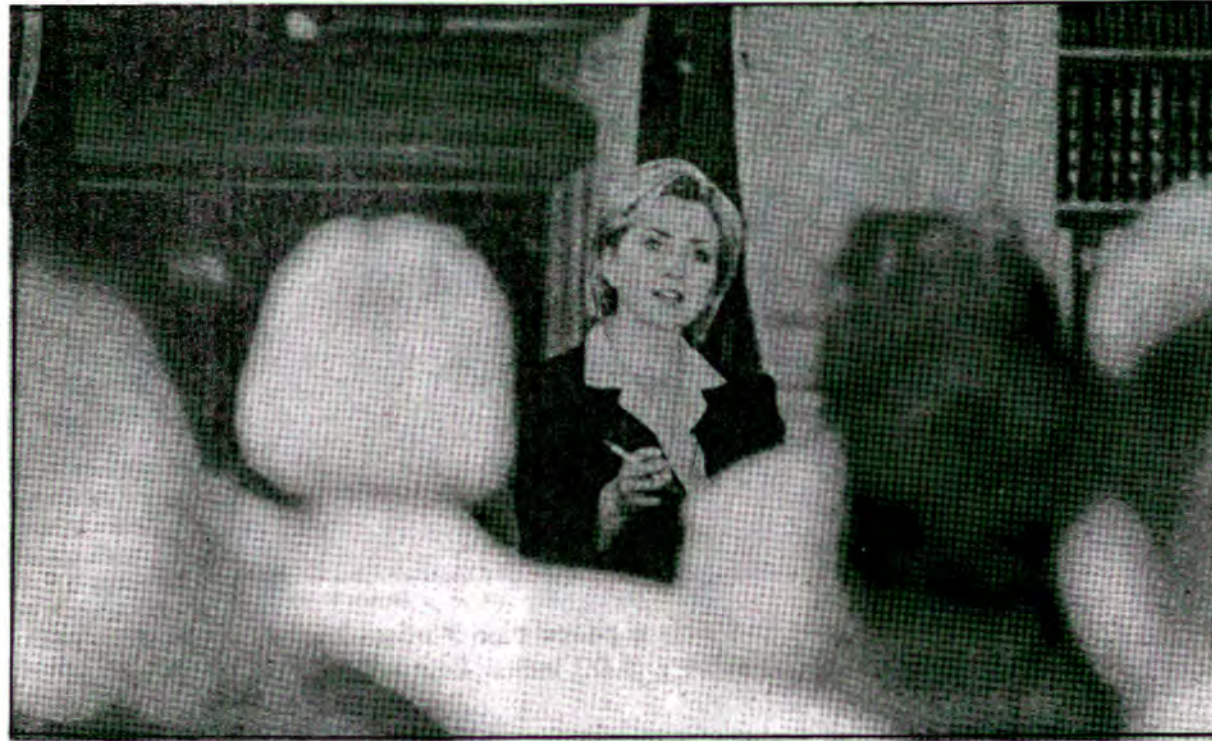
Running for the Senate from New York had seemed strange at first, she said. "I suppose the questions on everyone's mind are why the Senate? Why New York? And why me? All I can say is that I care deeply about the issues that are important in this state."

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

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

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

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



Star photo by Allegra Boverman

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

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

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

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

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

University College at Oneonta.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

First lady sets up her campaign

Prepares to launch historic Senate run

By Kathy Kiely
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — After 25 years of supporting her husband's bids for elective office, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is about to launch one of her own.

Trailed by what is undoubtedly the largest press corps to chronicle a rookie candidate for statewide office, Clinton is set to kick off a U.S. Senate campaign from New York this morning at the picturesque farm of Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the retiring Democrat she hopes to replace.

Aides to the first lady filed papers with the Federal Election Commission on Tuesday establishing the Hillary Rodham Clinton for U.S. Senate Exploratory Committee, which will allow her to begin raising and spending money for next year's Senate race. This morning, the campaign is launching a Web site: www.hillary2000.org.

No president's wife has run for elective office, and Clinton backers emphasize that the first lady's historic step is still a tentative one. The campaign committee she is unveiling today is "exploratory." Her four-day swing through upstate New York this week is being billed as a "listening tour," not a campaign trip.

But many believe there's no turning back now. "A lot of New Yorkers are already investing heavily in time and money in her campaign," the state's former governor, Mario Cuomo, said in an interview. "They believe she is going to run."

The first lady's unprecedented campaign already has raised one unprecedented campaign issue: Should an unelected spouse be allowed to use White House aircraft for her campaign travel?

Last week, Republican National Committee Chairman Jim Nicholson made a four-city swing



By Ron Edmonds, AP

Exploratory panel: Tuesday, Lynn Utrecht delivered to the Federal Election Commission papers establishing a Hillary Clinton for Senate committee.

through upstate New York to complain that taxpayers subsidized 11 New York trips by the first lady this year to the tune of \$222,550. The RNC calculated the figure with the expert advice of Billy Dale, the former White House travel director who was fired early in the Clinton administration.

As an official candidate, Clinton will reimburse the government for a portion of her campaign

travel costs, using the same formula that applies to presidents and vice presidents. But her campaign says she will continue to travel on military jets at the recommendation of the Secret Service.

"We are not going to allow partisan politics to compromise the security of the first lady," says Howard Wolfson, Clinton's campaign spokesman.

The first lady's candidacy seems likely to make the New York Senate race rival the presidential contest for national interest next year.

As many as 300 reporters, including representatives of news organizations in Asia and Europe, will be on hand for Clinton's Senate campaign kickoff, about as many as Vice President Gore drew when he announced his bid for the presidency. Republicans have three potential candidates eyeing the Senate race: New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani and Reps. Rick Lazio and Peter King. Some in the GOP accuse the first lady of being a political carpetbagger who is using New York to further her ambitions.

A recent poll of New Yorkers taken by Zogby International showed Giuliani leading Clinton by 10 percentage points. The survey of 705 likely voters, taken June 26-28, has an error margin of ± 4 percentage points.

Clinton, who was born in Illinois and spent most of her adult life in Arkansas, has only begun to house-hunt in New York. But New Yorkers have shown a soft spot for celebrity outsiders.

One of the first lady's chief backers, state Assembly Majority Leader Michael Bragman, says his office has been inundated with 200 calls a day since it was reported that he is hosting a cookout for her this weekend at his Syracuse home.

"She has star quality. I have not seen any reaction like this since the Kennedy days," says Bragman, referring to the late Robert Kennedy, who moved from Washington to New York and won a Senate seat in 1964.

But Bragman, who has consulted frequently with the first lady in recent weeks, adds that New York Democrats have been "very candid" in warning her that "it will be a very difficult race" whose outcome is far from certain.

Hillary loves N.Y.; state has reasons not to reciprocate

As the eastern half of the nation bakes under the kind of searing heat last experienced during the 1950s sci-fi classic *The Day the Earth Caught Fire*, the Clintons have chosen this week to set forth on their separate but equal odysseys in quest of the Other America.

The president is belatedly touring poverty pockets left woefully empty, save for a few stray nickels and dimes, by all forms of American prosperity since the Model T Ford. And Hillary — pioneering the cause of political representation for downtrodden first ladies — will kick off her Senate candidacy today with a “listening tour” of that other terra incognita, the forgotten land known as upstate New York.

Upstate, defined as all of New York north of the Bronx Zoo, has not boasted its own born-and-bred senator

since liberal Republican Charles Goodell (appointed to finish Robert Kennedy's term) was defeated by Connecticut transplant James Buckley in 1970.



HYPE & GLORY
By Walter Shapiro

It is odd that Americans, entranced with shopping malls filled with interchangeable could-be-anywhere chain stores, are obsessed with local roots and the carpetbagger issue when it comes to politics. The British (no slouches in the local-history department) never seem to mind when national political

leaders, who have never been outside of London aside from country weekends, choose a rural constituency to ensure their safe return to Parliament.

Geography as the basis for electing a Congress is one of those outmoded 18th-century notions like the

Third Amendment protections against the quartering of soldiers in private homes. Wouldn't it make more sense for America to adopt the old-time Soviet model and base representation on occupation? That way, at least, we would know precisely which congressmen were in the pockets of the banking industry or the trial lawyers.

Here's a notion that reflects the product placements and money-mad consumerism that have become the true American ideology: Why not let legislators represent stores and the brands they buy rather than places on the map? Hillary might run for the upmarket Senate seat allocated to Donna Karan clothes, while Rudy Giuliani could campaign as the law-and-order candidate of handcuffs and bulletproof Kevlar vests.

But the first lady has chosen to go the traditional route and become the most New York you can get in a 16-month cram course. She has already donned a Yankees cap, reflecting the

same pathetic effort to pass as a local that prompts Midwestern tourists in Paris to sport berets. In sharp contrast to her brooding silence when her husband signed the GOP welfare bill, Hillary recently attended a White House meeting to raise concerns about the way that the president's Medicare bill shortchanges New York's teaching hospitals.

Hillary clearly believes she can reinvent herself as a knish-eating, Chinese-restaurant-loving, upstate-friendly New Yorker. But such a transformation ignores the baggage the first lady brings to the race — not a carpet bag, but a steamer trunk loaded with all 1,342 pages of her ill-fated 1993 health-care bill.

Glossed over in the revisionist history surrounding her Senate bid is the inconvenient fact that her health-care plan could well have been titled *Putting New Yorkers Last*. Reflecting the first-term Clinton administration's love affair with California, the bill refused to adjust the Medi-

caid formula under which New York pays 50% of the program's total cost, while other states with far less generous benefits ante up as little as 20%.

The White House sniffed at these objections as a parochial concern, but in Hillary's newly adopted home state, her plan provoked a bipartisan uproar. All 31 members of New York's House delegation signed a letter in 1993 demanding “immediate solutions” to the Medicaid problem. Then-governor Mario Cuomo, a Democrat, even wrote a blustery opinion piece for the *Daily News* that was headlined “Prez' health plan bodes ill for New York.”

OK, it wasn't “Hillary to State: Drop Dead.” But if the first lady is to rightfully claim that she did more in the White House than play long-suffering wife and hostess, then her health-care plan is an infinitely more relevant issue to New Yorkers than Ken Starr's endless sifting through the muck of Whitewater.

As a political reporter, I shudder at

the thought of the thundering herd of more than 200 correspondents and TV techies who will shadow Hillary on her upstate get-acquainted tour. Throw in the Secret Service and aides with walkie-talkies, and you have a cast the size of Steven Spielberg's D-Day invasion.

Sure, presidents and even certain Texas governors travel with vast entourages. But no one with Hillary's celebrity and security needs has ever campaigned in a single state for 16 months. The sleeper issue in this over-hyped Senate race might be the Hillary hordes who will disrupt traffic from Montauk to Niagara Falls.

Still, if the citizens get ornery, Hillary could always update Nelson Rockefeller's slogan when he was the only major contender in the 1964 Oregon primary:

“He Cared Enough to Come.”

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

Me-First Lady deluded by sense of grandeur

THERE is a name for someone like Hillary.

A name exists for a person who routinely cuts corners. Who has no problem appropriating the money or labor or talents of others to achieve personal gratification and glorification.

There is a name for someone who exaggerates accomplishments. Who believes her innate superiority entitles her to obfuscate, evade and lie.

There is something you could call one who is fundamentally incapable of carrying out any task to completion. A person who continually leaves those who count on her for guidance frustrated and empty. Angry. Unsatisfied.

The name could be Bill Clinton. These two are a pair.

But there is a deeper disorder afflicting the First Lady, a woman so deluded, she believes she can bend the rules, stomp on friends and squander taxpayer money without penalty.



ANDREA PEYSER

It is what led her to put her name on a book she didn't write, while refusing to give her ghost writer any credit.

It is what made her not only fire staff, but trash their reputations.

It is what led her last week to skip a fat-cat fund-raiser that tied up Broadway in a heat wave — one in which she was the program's featured speaker — so she could house hunt.

And bail out of yesterday's official opening of her new "exploratory" campaign, while 15 cameras from around the world waited for her.

It is what led her to Whitewater.

And it is leading a failed co-president and rejected wife, whose resume contains not a single useful

adult accomplishment, to believe she is qualified to serve in the Senate.

The name for Hillary is contained in a chapter of the American Psychiatric Association's Manual of Mental Disorders, which was kindly forwarded by lawyer John Ruti of Mount Kisco.

It's titled: "Narcissistic Personality Disorder."

Here are some excerpts, plus instances where the name fits Hillary to an N — for Narcissist:

"The essential feature of Narcissistic Personality Disorder is a pervasive pattern of grandiosity, need for admiration and lack of empathy.

"Individuals with this disorder have a grandiose sense of self-importance. They routinely overestimate their abilities and inflate their accomplishments..."

Health care. Cattle-futures trading.

"They are often preoccupied with fantasies of unlimited success, power, brilliance, beauty or ideal love. They may ruminate



HILLARY CLINTON
Full of herself.

about 'long overdue' admiration and privilege and compare themselves favorably with famous or privileged people."

Eleanor Roosevelt. Princess Di.

"Individuals with Narcissistic Personality Disorder believe that they

are superior, special or unique and expect others to recognize them as such."

Paula Jones.

"A sense of entitlement is evident in these individuals' unreasonable expectation of especially favorable treatment. They expect to be catered to..."

An estimated \$220,000 of taxpayers' money spent to use New York as a photo-op backdrop.

"Individuals with Narcissistic Personality Disorder generally have a lack of empathy and have difficulty recognizing the desires, subjective experiences and feeling of others. They are often contemptuous and impatient with others who talk about their own problems and concerns."

Every man, woman and child in the state of New York.

Hill off and running with campaign panel

By BRIAN BLOMQUIST
and MARILYN RAUBER
Post Correspondents

WASHINGTON — Hillary Clinton is finally on the run.

The Senate wannabe — after filing formal papers yesterday saying she probably will run — heads upstate today to launch her historic campaign, with more than 200 reporters nipping at her heels.

Her four-day "listening tour" through GOP-friendly territory kicks off at Pindars Corners, the Oneonta farm of the man she hopes to replace, retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Later, she'll "listen" to students and teachers at the local SUNY campus, and rumors were buzzing that she — in a classic campaign move her hubby might have thought of — will chow down on barbecue at nearby Brooks' restaurant.

"It would be an honor. Lunch is good here," said co-owner Ryan Brooks.

But the president won't be dotting by his wife's side — he'll be on a South Dakota Indian reser-

vation and touring a food factory in Phoenix as part of his poverty tour.

"It's her day," President Clinton said yesterday.

Aides said Mrs. Clinton, who has avoided the press, will answer reporters' questions today. She and Moynihan are expected to make brief remarks near a barn on the 100-year-old dairy farm.

"It doesn't do anything for me," shrugged likely foe Mayor Giuliani, after Mrs. Clinton registered the "Hillary Rodham Clinton for U.S. Senate Exploratory Committee" with the Federal Election Commission.

"You should always explore... You should always listen," the mayor cracked.

A new Siena College poll of New Yorkers has Giuliani now leading Mrs. Clinton 49-40 percent. That's a gain for Hizzoner, who was trailing 45-41 percent in a Siena poll in March. A new

Quinnipiac College poll of registered voters has them in a dead heat.

Mrs. Clinton — slammed as a "carpetbagger" by Republicans who plan to make more mischief this week by dredging up her husband's programs that have been unpopular in New York — still doesn't have a home in the Empire State.

But she does have an address — her Seventh Avenue campaign headquarters, which she listed on her one-page FEC statement.

Under state law, she doesn't have to become a resident until the November 2000 election, though she has been house-hunting in posh Westchester County.

By waiting until this month to form her exploratory committee, the First Lady doesn't have to reveal her campaign contributions until January, an FEC aide said. Some unsolicited checks have already arrived.

The Hillary Sleaze Factor

Sleaze follows the Clintons as surely as summer follows spring, and the first real indication of its presence in the nascent Hillary Clinton campaign has surfaced in the improper conduct of White House Communications Director Ann Lewis.

Lewis will be writing a "substantial amount" of Hillary Clinton's campaign Web site — even as she continues to be paid as an employee of the federal government.

The dual role Lewis apparently intends to play as both West Wing staffer and Hillary campaign worker raises important legal questions about the use of the White House as a campaign base for the First Lady Candidate.

Campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson says Lewis has been working on the Web site "on her own time, using her own resources. No taxpayer equipment was used. No taxpayer funds were spent. It's totally appropriate."

Jim Kennedy of the White House Counsel's Office said Lewis' work is "perfectly lawful." Of course, this is a Clinton White House lawyer we're talking about here; when he says something perfectly lawful is going on, you can almost be sure the opposite is true.

The crux of the matter is whether Lewis is using the facilities of the White House in any way to further Mrs. Clinton's campaign goals. Lewis' free time is her own, but she cannot do the work in any publicly owned space or on any publicly owned equipment.

According to the 1978 Ethics in Govern-

ment Act, "an employee has a duty to protect and conserve government property and shall not use such property, or allow its use, for other than authorized purposes."

The law says that "government property" includes "any form of real or personal property in which the government has an ownership, leasehold or other property interest as well as any right or other intangible interest that is purchased with government funds, including the services of contractor personnel. The term includes office supplies, telephone and other telecommunications equipment and services, the government mails, automated data-processing capabilities, printing and reproduction facilities . . ."

Kennedy, the White House lawyer, has already given the game away by saying that "if there are any long-distance calls, [Lewis] can use a credit card." No, she can't, not out of her White House office. Kennedy appears to have confirmed, by this quote, that Lewis has already done so.

This is a significant issue, one that implicates Mrs. Clinton in the fast-and-loose way the Clinton White House plays with the law. The First Lady is on the verge of attempting an unprecedented run for office. She has every right to do so. But it is, and will be, illegal for Hillary Clinton to use either the personnel or the facilities of the White House in her quest for office.

The journalists in New York state should be aggressive in monitoring Hillary's campaign to ensure that Clinton sleaze does not permeate the upcoming U.S. Senate contest.

The New York Times

On Eve of Four-Day Tour, Hillary Clinton Makes It Official

By DAVID M. HERSZENHORN

Hillary Rodham Clinton filed yesterday with the Federal Election Commission to form an exploratory committee for a Senate race in New York next year, taking a formal step toward becoming the only wife of a sitting President to actively seek elective office.

Under Federal election rules, the formation of the committee allows Mrs. Clinton to raise money for travel, advertising and other expenses in her effort to succeed Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat and New York's senior Senator, who is retiring next year after 24 years in office.

Today, Mrs. Clinton, who has never lived in New York State, is to begin a four-day "listening tour" through central New York, starting at Mr. Moynihan's farm in Delaware County and continuing through Oneonta, Cooperstown, Utica, Rome, Syracuse and Albany.

The First Lady is not expected to face a challenge in next year's Democratic primary. She is widely expected to face Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, a Republican, who formed his own exploratory committee in April.

Another Republican, Representative Rick A. Lazio of Long Island, has indicated that he also plans to run for the Senate, despite Mr. Giuliani's greater name recognition and already formidable advantage in campaign fund-raising.

Mr. Giuliani has taken to mocking Mrs. Clinton repeatedly in recent weeks for seeking public office in a state where she has never resided. To that end, Mr. Giuliani has planned a campaign trip later this month to Arkansas, where Mrs. Clinton has

lived most of her adult life.

Yesterday, in response to a question about Mrs. Clinton's impending visit, Mr. Giuliani said he was far more knowledgeable about the rest of New York State than his reputation as the consummate urbanite might suggest. "I have a great deal of knowledge of the state of New York — far more than you actually

A one-page form is a step toward a Senate campaign.

think I do, because, you know, you think of me as being the Mayor of New York City," Mr. Giuliani told reporters at his daily news conference.

The Mayor, who often takes great glee in his image as a Flatbush-born, maniacal Yankee fan wholly devoted to the city he refers to as the Capital of Everything, instead stressed his ties to places like Saratoga, Lake George, Utica and Elmira.

"I have always spent a great deal of time upstate," he said. "I know Saratoga really well. I have been to Lake George. I worked in Syracuse and I worked in Utica and I have worked in Albany and I have worked in Binghamton and I have worked in other parts of the state."

Mr. Giuliani apparently spent most of the time upstate when he worked as a law clerk to a judge after graduating from New York

University Law School in 1968. The Mayor's press secretary, Sunny Mindel, did not respond to requests yesterday for specific details about his upstate work experience.

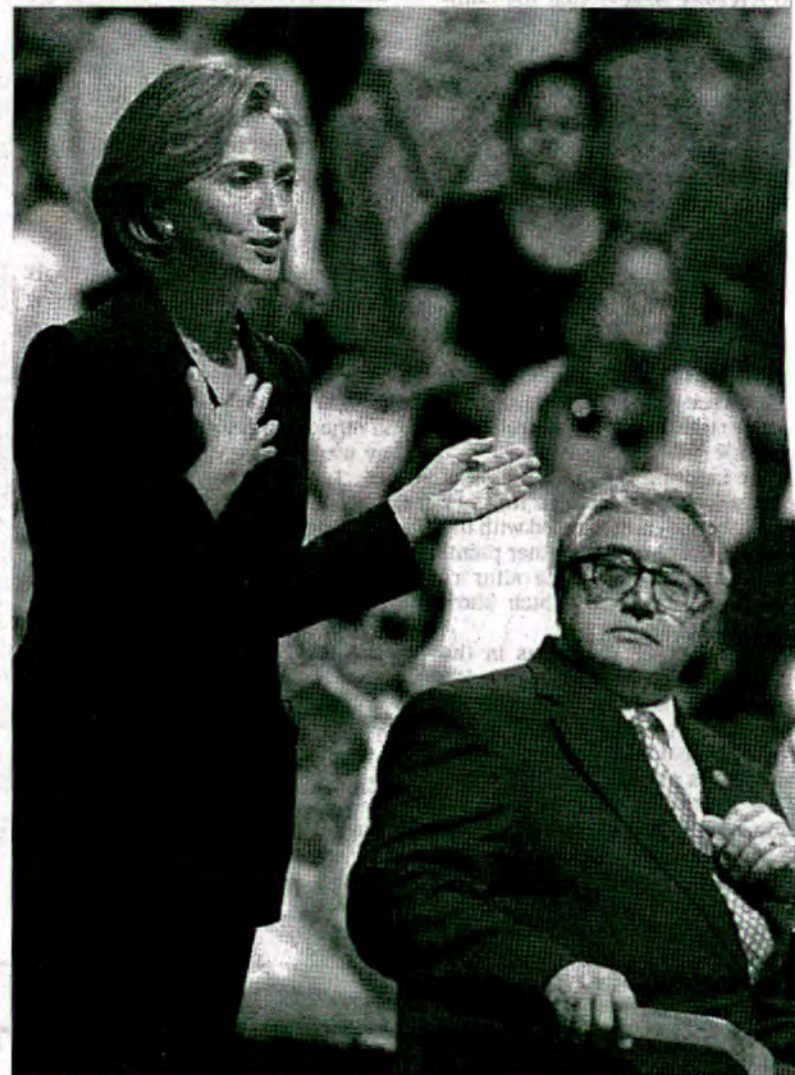
Suburban and upstate voters are likely to be crucial in the Senate contest, and each candidate will strive to be seen as in touch with local needs and concerns. Mr. Giuliani asserted that he has already begun to get that message across. "Every time I have gone up there, I have gotten the sense that they like me," he said of upstate voters yesterday. "I think they like what I did with New York City."

Still, there are pitfalls in navigating new geographical terrain. Mr. Giuliani said he spent Monday relaxing with his son in Monroe County, but a spokeswoman, Jennifer Chait, later he said he had actually been in Monroe, N.Y., which is in Orange County.

In Washington yesterday morning, Mrs. Clinton remained at the White House while Lynn Utrecht, an expert in elections law who is serving as general counsel to Mrs. Clinton's committee, brought the single-page filing form to the Federal Election Commission's downtown offices.

Ms. Utrecht was accompanied by Howard Wolfson, the committee's press secretary, who addressed a crowd of about 10 television crews gathered in the suffocating heat outside the commission's offices.

In a brief statement, Mr. Wolfson said, "Over the next months, Mrs. Clinton will travel throughout the state meeting with New Yorkers in small groups and listening to them discuss the issues that concern them the most."



Associated Press

Hillary Rodham Clinton, with Representative John J. LaFalce at a May speech in Buffalo, took a step toward a Senate campaign yesterday.

Hillary by Default

By Matthew L. Lifflander

Is the soul of the New York State Democratic Party so dead that, even with Chuck Schumer's triumphant win over Al D'Amato last year, it can't come up with one Democratic New Yorker to fill Daniel Patrick Moynihan's Senate seat?

There are 18 New York Democrats in the House, 25 in the State Senate and more than 100 in the Assembly. There are Democratic mayors in cities throughout the state and a sprinkling of county executives and other elected municipal officials. (Al D'A-

matomato was only a town supervisor when he won his Senate seat.)

Democrats should support a locally grown candidate.

This vast army of elected Democrats make up a pool of accomplished campaigners who know how to win elections. Our legislators know the state because they serve with colleagues from other areas of New York and deal with mutual problems. Our local officials usually belong to statewide associations from which they pick up knowledge of other parts of our diverse state.

In addition to all these elected officials, there are potential candidates among people of stature in industry, academia, government, law, the arts, sports and the media.

Can Democrats look their supporters in the eye and say that the nation's oldest political party does not have a single resident who is qualified to be its candidate for Senate in 2000? This is a shameful show of political bankruptcy at a time when the Democratic Party is by no means politically bankrupt.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, who yesterday created her "exploratory committee," embarks today on what she calls a four-day "listening tour" of upstate New York to hear out residents about family issues.

Democrats can take no comfort from early polls that show Mrs. Clinton running neck and neck with Mayor Rudolph Giuliani. After all, he has been in the crucible of criticism for at least six years, while she is still benefiting from an understandable wave of sympathy because of what her husband did.

As a lifelong, participating Democrat who supported President Clinton in 1992 and 1996 (after a temporary deviation in support of Ross Perot), I have worked hard, raised a lot of money and managed state and local campaigns for more than 40 years. And I am appalled at the Democratic State Committee and elected party leaders who act as though there's such a vacuum among real New Yorkers that they will consider giving the nomination to a First Lady from Arkansas with Washington baggage. They are abdicating their responsibility and denigrating our party.

Spare us Mrs. Clinton's patent patronizing and give the opportunity to a real New Yorker — somebody who already understands that upstaters are concerned about mid-size cities, jobs, the flight of industry, taxes and the plight of dairy farmers. We cannot take pride in a party that sells its soul to an outsider whose major credentials are that she can raise a lot of money and that people feel sorry for her.



Associated Press

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

First lady files papers, opens 'listening tour'

Campaign starts today at Moynihan's farm

BY JANE FULLERTON
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

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

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

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

With her campaign organization
See SENATE, Page 9A

Senate

Continued from Page 1A

ing shape — officials have rented office space in Manhattan — Hillary Clinton will likely make several trips to New York over the summer. "This morning we filed a statement of organization with the Federal Election Commission to establish the Hillary Rodham Clinton for U.S. Senate Exploratory Committee," her spokesman, Howard Wolfson, told reporters outside the commission's headquarters.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Women's vote key in N.Y. race

■ Surprisingly, many women are tepid on Hillary Clinton's bid for a US Senate seat.

By Alexandra Marks
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK - At a packed fundraiser for women Democrats at New York's Plaza Hotel recently, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton awed former fashion executive Carolyn Gottfried.

After the speech, she gushed that Mrs. Clinton was "terrific." Her ideas are "just right for all of us." Then she added a caveat: "She should run for president - and leave New York out of it."

While the first lady would likely get Ms. Gottfried's vote, her ambivalence highlights a major challenge Clinton would face if she makes a historic run for the US Senate from New York.

As she moves inexorably toward a bid that could set up one of the marquee matchups of modern times, a top priority for her is to shore up the support of core Democratic supporters - none more important than women.

Indeed, women, who should be among her staunchest allies, could cause the first lady almost as many problems as Mayor Rudolph Giuliani (R) and his celebrated reputation as a dogged campaigner. Clinton still captures

Fight for the women's vote

WOMEN from page 1

more of the women's vote than Mr. Giuliani, her likely opponent, in polls. But her support is considered soft - a disturbing sign for a Democrat in New York, particularly one who has championed women's rights throughout her career.

"It's extremely important she solidify the women's vote," says John Zogby, a pollster based in Utica, N.Y. "It's traditionally a strongly Democratic vote."

To be sure, Clinton has other constituencies to worry about as she begins a high-profile campaign swing through the state. On July 7, she arrives at the bucolic hideaway of retiring Sen. Patrick Moynihan in upstate New York for what she hopes will be a symbolic passing of the Democratic mantle in the 2000 election.

It comes one day after she officially set up an exploratory committee. Already, she's got a freshly painted campaign office in Manhattan and plans to visit the state throughout the summer. Her formal announcement is expected this fall.

Overall, polls show a race with Giuliani would be tight, tough, and garner national attention as the heir to the Clinton legacy takes on a new breed of moderate - some say liberal - Republican. Certainly for Mrs. Clinton, the stakes are high. It's her first run for elective office - a center-stage test after a lifetime of playing understudy to her husband.

The importance of the women's vote in New York was underscored in the last two presidential elections, when more women voted than men. It was women voters who put Bill Clinton over the top, with 56 percent voting for him in 1992, and 64 percent in 1996.

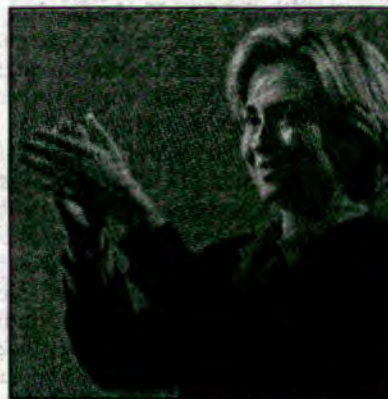
With Democratic presidential hopeful Al Gore trailing Republican George W. Bush by 11 points in New York, pundits say it's that much more important for Clinton to energize New York's base of female voters. But polls and anecdotal evidence suggest that support is less than rock solid.

Last week, two surveys showed her support weakening overall - and in particular upstate and with women. The Zogby International Poll of likely voters had her trailing Giuliani by 10 points. Among women, she led only 46 to 44 points. In a Quinnipiac College Poll, her lead shrank to a statistical dead heat overall. But she still had a 52-to-38 point edge among women.

Analysts note it's still early in the race, and the candidates have yet to articulate their issues. "She's pro-choice, pro-envi-

ronment, pro-gun control - these are all majority opinions in New York," says Ester Fuchs, a political scientist at Barnard College here.

One reason analysts believe Clinton's support at this point appears so shallow is the so-called carpetbagger issue. While the first lady has been house-hunting and says she plans to live in New York whether she



GREG GIBSON/AP

POLITICAL MATH: Hillary Rodham Clinton needs votes from women and Manhattanites to win.

she's not a state resident. Only 29 percent believed Clinton had a better understanding than Giuliani of the "problems and important issues" facing New York. Just 43 percent thought she was "more honest and trustworthy" than Giuliani.

"I have a gut instinct that she breeds trouble," says Marjorie Gaba, a working mother from Larchmont. But Ms. Gaba also says she'd probably vote for Clinton.

"I think she's absolutely intelligent. She has some excellent policy ideas."

Pollster Lee Miringoff attributes such sentiments in part to scandal "fatigue" with the Clintons. And it's early in the race. "She has yet to offer her rational answer to: 'Why New York and why now?'" he says.

Ms. Gaba is also from the suburbs, one of New York's three distinct regions. About 30 percent of the state's voters, suburbanites usually lean Republican. In the Quinnipiac Poll, Giuliani won overall, beating Clinton 2 to 1 among men. Among women, the race was even.

IN UPSTATE, where 42 percent of New York voters live, Giuliani also wins overall. And the gender gap that had upstate women favoring Clinton just a month ago has now disappeared. Here, too, the carpetbagger issue is important to women. "It's odd that she's establishing residency here. I don't know how she can have her finger on the pulse," says Peg Clement, a single mother from Delmar, near Albany.

Ironically, it's New York City - Giuliani's hometown - where Clinton still shines. She beats the mayor 63 to 29 percent - dominating among women in particular. Analysts say she's got to win at least 70 percent of the city vote to carry the state.

Still, she can't write off the suburbs and upstate. And many women say she is already beginning to energize a dispirited Democratic Party, especially upstate. Helen Desfosses, president of the Albany Common Council, believes a Clinton candidacy will be a "real unifying factor."

First Lady Forms Exploratory Committee

Prospective Senate Candidate Begins 'Listening Tour' in Upstate New York Today

By MICHAEL GRUNWALD
Washington Post Staff Writer

Hillary Rodham Clinton made it official yesterday: She is considering the race for Senate in New York.

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

The committee has been in operation for almost a week, but now she can officially start the exploring, which she will do today, when she begins a summerlong "listening tour" with a four-day jaunt through Upstate New York.

The tour opens at the farm of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), the intellectual heavyweight she hopes to replace, and continues with an education round table at the State University of New

York at Oneonta. Thursday she will start early with another "listening event" in Cooperstown—this time about health care, a topic with which she has some familiarity.

Also on this week's itinerary for Clinton and her entourage of Secret Service agents, aides and more than 200 media people: Utica, Syracuse and Albany.

"Hillary Clinton is eager to begin this tour and looks forward to listening to New Yorkers across the state," Wolfson said.

The first lady plans to spend a great deal of time in New York this summer. Some advisers believe that if she weathers the inevitable spate of carpetbagger questions now, 16 months before the election, voters will get tired of the issue by the time the campaign really heats up.

GOP Senate fund-raising chairman Sen. Mitch McConnell (R-Ky.) appeared on a talk show Sunday with an actual carpet bag to discuss her

candidacy, and New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani (R) continued to needle her yesterday about a comment from one of her aides dismissing the possibility of the Clintons vacationing in the "fly-infested" Adirondacks.

"I would recommend that people vacation in the Adirondacks. It's good for the economy of the state," he said. "As far as I know, there are flies in Massachusetts, Vermont. I think they even have flies in Arkansas."

Today, Clinton will be met in Binghamton by Republicans staging a contest that offers a weekend at a resort in the Adirondack Mountains for whoever shows up in the best fly costume.

Reacting to news of Clinton's filing, Giuliani called exploring "a good thing."

"Who could have anything against exploring? Or listening," he added.

Forming the committee allows

Clinton to raise money for polling, travel and other exploratory activities.

Clinton also announced a few personnel additions. William J. Cunningham, the managing partner of a Long Island law firm and a former federal prosecutor, will be the treasurer for her exploratory committee. Lynn Utrecht, a former attorney at the FEC, will be the committee's general counsel. The papers were filed yesterday by Jim Lamb, a former minority counsel for the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee.

In other New York political news, the Rev. Al Sharpton—the racial activist turned Democratic power broker who happens to be a walking political dilemma for Clinton—has made another bid for respectability, cutting off his famous pompadour for a more conservative hairdo. He explained he was getting too old to pull off the James Brown look and still expect people to take him seriously.

Mrs. Clinton's Exploration

PEOPLE WHO run for public office trade on celebrity, relationships, wealth and other such attributes all the time. Hillary Rodham Clinton, who today formally opens an exploratory campaign to succeed retiring Daniel Patrick Moynihan as senator from New York, is hardly disqualified by virtue of being the president's wife. This, after all, is a year in which candidates named Bush and Dole are seeking the Republican presidential nomination, while a relatively junior congressman named Kennedy is head of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, etc., etc. The three, and others you can name, are personages in their own right, but plainly that is true of Mrs. Clinton as well.

She faces the charge of carpetbagging. By no stretch can she be called a New Yorker, and the jokes already abound. But that's an issue for the voters of New York—and were she elected, she would hardly be the first successful carpetbagger, either. New York once had a senator named Kennedy, while Arkansas and West Virginia had governors named Rockefeller; the latter has gone on to the Senate.

The issue for Mrs. Clinton is not whether her position will be a factor, assuming she decides to run. It is part of who she is; it will help her in

some respects, hurt her in others. The issue is whether she abuses her position. In part the question is akin to the one faced by incumbents running for office, including Vice President Gore as he runs for president. When are trips official, when political, how do you tell the difference and who pays?

Up to now, she's been flying to New York on an Air Force plane. Not fair, Republicans say, and they have a point. It will be an abuse if she uses White House resources to defray campaign costs. Likewise, she will abuse her position if she seeks to tilt administration policy to benefit her campaign. She attended a meeting the other day on Medicare reimbursement of teaching hospitals, of which there are many in New York. Nationally, these hospitals say they are being unfairly squeezed; they seek an easing of a cut imposed as part of the balanced budget act two years ago. Mrs. Clinton is hardly a stranger to health care issues, and we suppose it's as fair for her to make her presence felt on this as on any other. But she crosses a line if it looks as if she is pulling a string for the sake of her senatorial aspirations. One of the standards for judging her candidacy will be how fastidious she is in juggling, and separating, her two roles.

Hillary Run Gives Him Splitting Headache

■ Politics: On the one hand, she's good on issues. On the other, who does she think she is?

By MATTHEW MILLER

Now that our first lady is set to run for the U.S. Senate in a state she's never lived in from a White House that's not hers to exploit, it's time to share my Hillary problem: I'm rooting for her to win, and I'm itching for her to get destroyed. This psychic turmoil shows once more how the Clintons have turned public life into a national therapy session.

Intellectually, I want Hillary in the race for a simple reason: Without her, there will be no high-profile progressive voice in the 2000 campaign. Even in today's boom, 43 million Americans have no health insurance, 15 million dwell in poverty despite living in homes headed by full-time workers, and 6 million kids have their lives blighted by failed urban schools.

Al Gore and George W. Bush won't address these realities except through pretty rhetoric. When it comes to policy, Gore's "practical idealism" and Bush's "compassionate conservatism" operate within the safe 45-yard lines on either team's side. There's no Jesse Jackson or Paul Wellstone making quixotic runs to get these issues some media attention; if Bill Bradley is planning to sound the alarm, he's being pretty coy about it.

Mrs. Clinton, therefore, is our only hope. So run, Hillary, run, I say!

But then there's my emotional side. Yes, it's petty and bitter, and it certainly suggests I have some anger to work through, but let's be honest: Who does this woman think she is? This isn't about her. What business does Hillary have posing as some feminist icon—this woman who married her way to the top? "Well, she could have done it herself," runs the reply, to which the truthful and trumping answer is: "But she didn't."

There's nothing wrong with that, of course, except Hillary's attempt to cast herself disingenuously as an independent force, and her desire now to cash in. How dare she exploit the White House to launch her own political career!

If she moved to New York once the president left office and then ran a few years later, that would be a different matter. But this abuse of her current perch is indefensible. It feels like it should be illegal. No, this side of me wants Hillary to face the humiliation of a lifetime (well, the second, actually, but this one will be deserved)—the ultimate reminder that, electorally speaking, it was never about her, but about her husband.

The presumption and arrogance Hillary brings as a carpetbagger make matters worse. But at least it will be amusing. For a preview, recall 1988's nasty New Jersey Senate brawl between incumbent Frank Lautenberg and Pete Dawkins, which produced my favorite political ad.

Dawkins was the golden boy: West Point legend, Heisman trophy winner, Rhodes scholar, Vietnam hero and Wall Street investment banker. He also had barely set foot in New Jersey before receiving the Republican nomination.

"Why did Pete Dawkins move to New Jersey last year?" began Lautenberg's ad.

Cut to a clip of Dawkins.

"I moved around a lot," Dawkins told reporters. "I lived in a lot of places. But I have to tell you (here the insincerity really started to ooze) that throughout all those years, in all those places, I've never found a single place that had as good people or as much promise as I've found right here in our Garden State."

As every sentient viewer felt the nausea rising, Dawkins' image froze, mid-fib, while the voiceover delivered the tagline:

"C'mon Pete—be real."

So, yes, even though I'm conflicted, this will be fun. F. Scott Fitzgerald wrote famously that "the test of a first-rate intelligence is the ability to hold two opposed ideas in the mind at the same time, and still retain the ability to function."

By this measure, since my Hillary problem seems contagious, the first lady is about to bank her greatest solo achievement: Just by jumping in, she's turned plenty of us into Einsteins.

Matthew Miller writes a syndicated column.

Why Should Hillary Be the Only Outsider in the New York Race?

Off-Kilter

By ROY RIVENBURG

Tabula Rasa Bureau: A recent visitor to our house noticed a pen on our night stand and asked, "Why do you keep a pen by your bed?" Our answer: "In case we get any brilliant ideas in the middle of the night."

She then asked, "What happens when you get a lame idea?"

Answer: "Those go in Off-Kilter."

For example, we are seriously thinking about moving to New York to run for U.S. Senate—and we're encouraging others to do the same. Our theory is that the contest will be more exciting with more outside

blood. So, in addition to Hillary Rodham Clinton (official campaign slogan: "It Takes a Greenwich Village"), we'd like to see campaigns by Rep. Barney Frank (slogan: "It Takes the Village People"), Dan Quayle ("It Takes a Village Idiot") and Slobodan Milosevic (mainly so NATO will bomb Congress if he wins).

As for our own platform, it consists of one idea: a proposal to make it illegal for anything invented in this century to be manufactured in the next. Although we realize this would mean outlawing such useful devices as heart defibrillators, airplanes and Thighmasters, we think it'd be worth it to stop the following product:

- Millennium Celebration Cabbage Patch Kids, which are dressed in diapers

and a sash, and come with miniature party favors, shiny hats, a baby bottle and a birth certificate dated Jan. 1, 2000.

The other good thing is we'd be able to get rid of the word "jiggy."

Promising Authors Bureau: Writer John Boe tells the San Francisco Chronicle he's working on the Great American Electronic Novel. The book's opening sentence: "Call me E-mail."

Ashes to Fishes: Every time we report on a brilliant new method of burial—whether it's hologram tombstones or cremated ashes being turned into fireworks—we assume it's the last. But every time, we underestimate the ingenuity of the funeral industry.

The latest breakthrough is transforming cremated ashes into underwater reefs. An Atlanta entrepreneur has begun selling Eternal Reefs, which he makes by mixing cremated remains and concrete to form a 3,600-pound artificial reef, which can be dropped into the ocean to create a new ecosystem.

Think of it as an upscale version of Mafia victims being dumped in the East River wearing cement overshoes.

Inventor Don Brawley says the underwater urns cost \$850 to \$3,200, depending on whether the deceased wants to swim with the fishes solo or join a communal graveyard.

Weird Polls Department: The latest

useless research from America's premier social scientists:

- 3% of men wish their bosses would let them work in the nude.
- When women were asked to choose their least desirable celebrity marriage partner, President Clinton topped the list, followed by O.J. Simpson, Dennis Rodman and Donald Trump.
- Marlon Brando's character in "The Godfather" ranked seventh on a survey of ideal movie dads.

Unpaid Informants: Ann Harrison, Wireless Flash News Service, PR Newswire, Susanna Timmons. Off-Kilter's e-mail address is roy.rivenburg@latimes.com. Off-Kilter runs Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

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**Beyond the City****For Hil, One Giant Step
Forms Senate run study team
as upstate tour nears**By KENNETH R. BAZINET
Daily News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON

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

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

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

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

"But we anticipated this," she said of the media crush.

Utrecht made a similar historic filing in 1984 for Geraldine Ferraro — the first woman to seek the vice presidency as a major party's nominee.

The exploratory committee allows Clinton to raise money and spend it on polls, travel and other campaign costs without having to declare herself a candidate.

Her Web site debuts this morning. The site is:

www.hillary2000.org

While the frenzy swirled eight blocks away, the First Lady was in the White House, "tying up loose ends," ahead of her

Turnbull NEWS
Hillary Rodham
Clinton

four-day "listening tour," said spokeswoman Marsha Berry.

"Over the next month Mrs. Clinton will travel throughout the state, meeting with New Yorkers in small groups and listening to them discuss the issues that concern them most," said Howard Wolfson, spokesman for her campaign.

President Clinton had little to say about his wife's history-making turn. "It's her day," he said.

About 200 journalists from around the globe are expected to witness candidate Clinton's kickoff today at the Pindars Corners farm of retiring Sen. Daniel Moynihan.

Not to be outdone, Mayor Giuliani, her prospective Republican rival, shot back yesterday at City Hall that he's "always spent a great deal of time upstate."

Giuliani also took a swat at a Clinton adviser's recent comment to the Daily News dismissing buzz that the First Family would vacation in the "fly-infested" Adirondacks.

The Adirondacks, the mayor said, do not have an "undue number of flies."

"I think they even have flies in Arkansas," he added, gibing her about her Arkansas roots.

With Michael Finnegan

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

Original Publication Date: 07/07/1999

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AP Photo
Clinton aide Lynn Utrecht delivers the paperwork registering the Hillary Rodham Clinton for U.S. Senate Exploratory Committee yesterday in Washington.

'Listening' Tour Begins For 1st Lady

Four-day swing will take Clinton upstate

By William Douglas
Washington Bureau

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

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

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

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

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

Lazio Seeking Higher Profile

By Ellen Yan
Washington Bureau

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

aerospace company.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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OBSERVER-DISPATCH

TUESDAY, JULY 6, 1999

UTICA, N.Y.

METRO EDITION

50 CENTS

Clinton to visit Utica senior site, Rome

Radisson prepares for barrage of guests

By MEGAN ALLEN

Observer-Dispatch

Hillary Rodham Clinton's itinerary for the Mohawk Valley continues to take shape—with more details emerging Monday.

A Clinton spokesman said the potential U.S. Senate candidate will visit the East Side Senior Center Thursday afternoon, after spending the morning in Cooperstown.

She'll stay overnight in the Radisson Hotel-Utica Centre, then head to Rome's Griffiss Business and Technology Park Friday morning, spokesman Howard Wolfson said.

The activities in the region are part of her summerlong Listening Tour of the state, and should coincide with her plans to file papers today to form a Senate exploratory

committee.

Public details of her itinerary were sketchy over the past week, but locally preparations already have begun for her visit to Utica.

Radisson General Manager Mark Cherry said additional staff will be on hand for guests of the 100 rooms reserved by Clinton in the 158-room hotel. "We want to put our best foot forward for the Radisson and



CLINTON

the city," he said.

He was told 80 of the rooms are for members of the media, but Cherry said he would not learn until today who would occupy the other rooms. "There are a great many things that are up in the air," he said.

Cherry said rooms for the VIPs will be dressed up, and the hotel likely will be given specific requests by the

guests, which staff will try to accommodate.

Meanwhile, the city's welcome is being determined. Mayor Edward A. Hanna said he would talk today about what the city will do to welcome the first lady.

Rome officials said they've had a difficult time obtaining a clear itinerary outlining Clinton's travel plans because of strict Secret Service guidelines, said Patty Hudak, head of the Democratic Party in Rome.

► WHERE SHE'LL BE

Wednesday: Binghamton Airport; SUNY Oneonta. (In between those events, she will visit Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's farm in Davenport.)

Thursday: 10 a.m. Bassett Healthcare's Bassett Auditorium, Cooperstown. 3 p.m. East Side Senior Center, Catherine Street, Utica.

Friday: 9 a.m. Griffiss Business and Technology Park, Brooks Road; then to Syracuse, then Albany.

THE-O'REILLY-FACTOR-01
Hillary Clinton Candidacy
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Show: THE O'REILLY FACTOR>

Date: July 6, 1999>

Time: 20:00>

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Type: Show>

Head: Hillary Clinton Candidacy>

Sect: News; Domestic>

Byline: Bill O'Reilly>

Guest: Lanny Breuer>

Spec: Government; Politics; Elections>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

O'REILLY: Well, obviously...

BREUER: ... to affect change.

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

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

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

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

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

-END-OF-AUTOBREAK(1)-

-AUTOBREAK(2)-FOLLOWS

**** filed by:FDCH(--) on 07/07/99 at 00:38EDT ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 07/07/99 at 08:19EDT ****

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

Show: FOX THE CRIER REPORT>

Date: July 6, 1999>

Time: 22:00>

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Sect: News; Domestic>

Byline: Catherine Crier>

Guest: Eleanor Clift; Alan Keyes; Allan Lichtman>

Spec: Government; Politics; Elections>

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

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

But first a look at the day's headlines.

(NEWS BREAK)

(BEGIN VIDEO CLIP)

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

(END VIDEO CLIP)

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

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

Welcome to you all.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**** filed by:FDCH(--) on 07/07/99 at 00:56EDT ****
**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 07/07/99 at 08:20EDT ****

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

AP DAYBOOK, WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, JULY 7

UPDATE: Fox News Channel -----

FOX NEWS CHANNEL

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

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

PM-Mrs Clinton Senate, Bjt, 740

Hillary Clinton sets off on first full-scale campaign foray

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

With AP Photo

By MARC HUMBERT= Associated Press Writer=

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

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

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

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

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

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

Giuliani formed a Senate exploratory committee in April.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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ISO: An Empire State Building

Where Will Hillary Clinton's Housing Search Lead Her?

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

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

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

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

So Clyde Rabideau suggests Plattsburgh.

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

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

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

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

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

Here our mayor pauses rather dramatically.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Tell her to give a call."

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

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

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

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

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

Now is that New York living, or what?

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For First Lady, A Controversy In Plane Terms

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Aides to Hillary Clinton said yesterday that she was there

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Sleepless Gun for Hire Joins Mrs. Clinton

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

AT 9:15 this morning, a sleep-deprived Howard Wolfson is to accompany a lawyer to the Federal Election Commission in Washington as the lawyer files a piece of paper establishing the Hillary Rodham Clinton for United States Senate Exploratory Committee. After tending to the television cameras, and perhaps savoring a small role in history, Mr. Wolfson will go to Albany and to care for 200 reporters from around the world who are to trail Mrs. Clinton, starting tomorrow, on a four-day campaign trip across New York; the opening day, simultaneously, of the wildest ride of Mr. Wolfson's life.

"I was in at 6 this morning and I'll probably be here until midnight," Mr. Wolfson said distractedly but not unhappily over lunch, as his pager vibrated steadily against his hip.

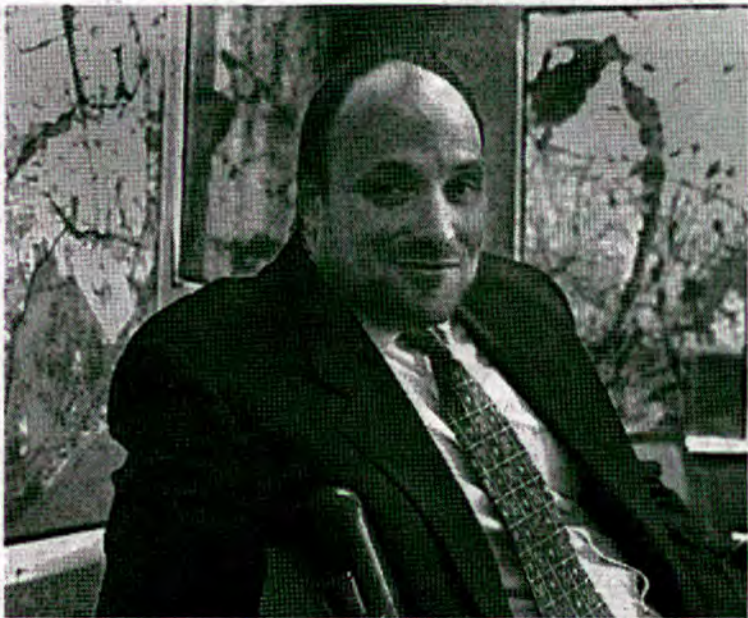
Mr. Wolfson, 32, is Mrs. Clinton's press secretary for her exploratory committee, a job he has held for a political eon, 11 days.

On Friday afternoon, June 25, Harold M. Ickes, Mrs. Clinton's political adviser, offered Mr. Wolfson the job of press secretary to the first First Lady to explore running for political office on her own. By the following Monday, Mr. Wolfson was out of the Capitol Hill offices of Representative Nita M. Lowey of Westchester, where he was the chief of staff, ensconced in a corner of Mr. Ickes's Washington lobbying firm. Since then he has been, basically, on the phone. Not sleeping.

"This is going to be nuts," said Josh Isay, the chief of staff to Senator Charles E. Schumer of New York, who is a good friend of Mr. Wolfson's. "He's perfect for them."

Mr. Isay, Mr. Schumer's campaign manager for his 1998 Senate race while Mr. Wolfson was Mr. Schumer's director of communications, meant his assessment as a compliment. In short, Mr. Isay said, Mr. Wolfson has just the right amount of obsessiveness, aggressiveness and capacity for hard work required in a race that will rival a Presidential campaign. (Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani is Mrs. Clinton's likely opponent in the New York Senate race, although neither has officially declared a candidacy.)

Mr. Wolfson was one of those responsible for the Schumer campaign's daily "rapid response" counterpunches to attacks by Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, who was thought unbeatable at the beginning of the race. "If he uses a fist, you use a bat," Mr. Wolfson told his troops each day, citing a



Paul Hasefros/The New York Times

Howard Wolfson, Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign press secretary, a veteran of the victorious Schumer Senate campaign last year.

line from the movie "The Untouchables": "If he uses a knife, you use a gun."

Mr. Wolfson raced with Mr. Isay to Elaine's late one night in search of former Police Commissioner William J. Bratton, hoping to find him to get assurances that he would appear at an endorsement news conference the next morning. (They didn't find him, but Mr. Bratton turned up in the morning nonetheless. Mr. Wolfson was in before that, at 5:30.)

SUCH is Mr. Wolfson's stock among New York politicians that Ms. Lowey, his former boss, called up unsolicited to say nice things about him. "He is overwhelmed," she said. "It's a huge job. But he's up to it."

Ms. Lowey, who announced last month she would not run for the Senate because, she said, Mrs. Clinton's intentions were clear, also offered the unsolicited view that Mrs. Clinton had not lured Mr. Wolfson away. "Several people have been saying that she stole him," Ms. Lowey reported. "That wasn't the case at all." After she dropped out, Ms. Lowey said, she called Mrs. Clinton and offered Mr. Wolfson for an interview. "And she was very grateful," Ms. Lowey said.

Meanwhile, the object of the women's affections, Mr. Wolfson, was trying to concentrate the other day over his grilled chicken sandwich at Luna, a restaurant across from Mr. Ickes's office, but he kept looking at his watch, worrying about his pager and trying, apparently, to be uninteresting, lest he say something deli-

cious that might offend his new boss at the White House. (He spent an hour with her before he got the job, and described her as "very warm" and "funny.")

Mr. Wolfson wouldn't say what the two talked about, but it is probably safe to say that Mrs. Clinton was pleased to hear that Mr. Wolfson grew up in an apartment in Yonkers. His parents, who divorced when he was a toddler, were teachers; his father taught social studies at a junior high school in South Orange, N.J., and his mother special education at public elementary schools in the Bronx.

Mr. Wolfson went to Yonkers public schools until the fifth grade, switched to the Fieldston School in Riverdale, the Bronx; graduated from the University of Chicago, got a master's degree in American history at Duke University and read the Theodore H. White "Making of the President" books throughout. He got his first job on Capitol Hill in August 1992, with Representative Jim Jontz of Indiana, who lost his bid for reelection in November. "It was not an auspicious way to begin a career," Mr. Wolfson said. He was hired in 1993 by Ms. Lowey, who lent him to Mr. Schumer last year. Mr. Wolfson's girlfriend, Terri McCullough, is a lobbyist for the National Abortion Rights Action League in Washington.

Yesterday, Mr. Wolfson said he had no knowledge of Mrs. Clinton's house-hunting forays or vacation plans in New York.

"The only vacation plans I'm aware of are my own," he said. "I have none."

Elmira Star Gazette

July 6, 99

Local 7-6-99 Democrats waiting for first lady

By KATI PHILLIPS
Star-Gazette

When Hillary Rodham Clinton begins her three-day tour of upstate New York in Binghamton Wednesday, area Democratic leaders say they'll stay home and play the waiting game.

They're waiting for the first lady to come to Elmira.

"Just like the Republicans are waiting for their candidates to come here," said Elmira Councilman James Hare, D-6th.

Elmira isn't on the list of



H. CLINTON

Mrs. Clinton's stops this week, but her advisers have said she will visit Elmira.

"I am fairly comfortable that we will have her here by the end of

the year," said Keith Osborne, chairman of the Chemung County Democratic Committee.

Mrs. Clinton was expected to file papers today with the Federal Election Commission in Washington to establish an exploratory committee for a Senate run. That will allow Mrs. Clinton to raise and spend money for a Senate race during her visits.

Her "listening tour" schedule includes events in Oneonta, Cooperstown, Utica, Syracuse and Albany.

Mrs. Clinton's first upstate tour begins Wednesday at Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's farm in Davenport, in Delaware County east of Oneonta. Moynihan has announced that he will retire next year after 24 years in the Senate, and many top New York Democrats have urged Mrs. Clinton to run for his seat.

New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and U.S. Rep. Rick Lazio of Long Island, both Republicans, are among the candidates for their party's nomination.

Local Democrats have asked state party officials to schedule Mrs. Clinton for a full day in Elmira.

"We'd like to see her talking to various community leaders, and it would be nice for her to talk to people and get their ideas," said Cindy Emmer, a Chemung County member of the State Democratic Committee.

pg ①

First Lady May Detour Hard Issue: Geography

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

The "Listening to New Yorkers" discussions that Hillary Rodham Clinton is planning for the exploratory phase of her Senate campaign will focus on familiar political issues: health care, public schools and the economy.

In truth, though, there is a more fundamental mission to these forums, and it has less to do with the problems facing the nation than with the problems confronting Mrs. Clinton's candidacy.

The real goal, Mrs. Clinton's advisers acknowledge, is less to educate her than to address what they see as her most serious vulnerability — that she is seeking to represent in the Senate a state where she has never lived.

This is a case where what a candidate says may not matter, and according to her advisers, Mrs. Clinton plans to say very little of substance in the months ahead, starting with the six "Listening to New Yorkers" forums that she has scheduled this week in central New York.

Instead, her intention, aides said yesterday, is to spend so much time in New York, with a procession of cookie-cutter forums intended to produce a daily diet of television images, that her trips to the state become as routine as a visit by the First Lady can be. In that way, her aides hope that Mrs. Clinton, a native of Illinois, will become as familiar a part of the state's political geography as, say, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

"In a couple of weeks, people are going to look and say, 'She's still out there,'" Mandy Grunwald, one of Mrs. Clinton's strategists, asserted. "And a couple of weeks later, they're going to look again and say she's STILL out there."

Whether Mrs. Clinton, who will formally register an exploratory committee for her campaign with Federal election officials today, can succeed at this strategy is open to question but is critical to her ambitions in New York.

Aides to Mr. Giuliani, the Republican who is also interested in running for the seat, are dubious that she can, as are some independent political analysts following the race.

Still, there is a factor working in her favor: The calendar. There are 16 months until the vote to replace Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the Democrat who is not running for re-election in 2000, and that is a huge stretch of time in American politics.

On the one hand, such a long cam-

paign presents the risk of overexposure or campaign missteps. But it might also give the First Lady enough time so that by next year she can, with some credibility, claim ties to a state where she has never lived a day. And even if she can not quite get away with that assertion, it is a reasonable bet that over time, the issue of carpetbagging will lose some of its edge: that an attack that seems highly potent today will seem stale and familiar, particularly if it remains as much in the spotlight as it has been so far this year.

And from this perspective, Mr. Giuliani's relentless focus on Mrs. Clinton's residency seems an odd bit of political strategy, as even Mr. Giuliani's own supporters have begun to acknowledge. It is not that they think he should not raise the topic. But by doing it so soon, he may actually be helping to inoculate Mrs. Clinton from attacks on the issue next year, when they will really matter.

It may only be a matter of time

A weakness: running where she has never lived.

until the press, and the public, tire of this topic and move on to other ones, which will make it harder to move the carpetbagger question back to center stage when the 2000 campaign comes around.

There is, one of the Mayor's friends said, no grand strategy being executed: it is only Mr. Giuliani being Mr. Giuliani. Another adviser, Bruce Teitelbaum, the head of Mr. Giuliani's political action committee, maintained that Mr. Giuliani was only responding to the inquiries of reporters.

But Mr. Giuliani certainly seems to encourage the questions.

He has, for example, decided to make a fund-raising trip to Little Rock, Ark. Little Rock is known for many things in American politics, including being the former home of a certain First Lady, but fund-raising is generally not one of them.

Inevitably, Mr. Giuliani's trip will provide the grist for a few more articles about Mrs. Clinton and carpetbagging, which may well be exactly what Mrs. Clinton needs right now.

TUESDAY, JULY 6, 1999



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton savors the applause of delegates to a National Education Association convention in Orlando, Fla., at which she spoke yesterday.

In Orlando, teachers union sings praises of Hillary's run

By Andrea Billups
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

ORLANDO, Fla. — The nation's largest teachers union celebrated first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's likely Senate bid with the sounds of "New York, New York" yesterday and gave the first lady the organization's top award.

After a speech accepting the highest honor of the National Education Association, meeting in Florida for the past week, Mrs. Clinton was mobbed by delegates of the 2.4 million-member union as she stepped from the Orlando Convention Center stage to work the crowd.

Delegates enthusiastically cheered Mrs. Clinton's call for increased federal spending on public education and her criticism of school-choice vouchers, which she said weaken the entire educational system.

"There is simply no evidence that vouchers improve student achievement," she said.

Across the cavernous Orlando Convention Center, teachers raised signs reading "Run, Hillary" and "Hillary for President 2004" as the strains of "New York, New York" blared over speakers and the words were flashed karaoke-style on giant video screens in the front of the room.

As much of the crowd stood and applauded, singing and straining for a glimpse of Mrs. Clinton, dubbed an "icon" and "national treasure" by NEA President Bob Chase, the Illinois delegates, representing the first lady's home state, offered their symbolic approval of her candidacy. They whipped out bright red flags, waving them high in the air in a unified show of support — despite the fact that the first lady snubbed her roots to run for office in a state where she has never lived.

New York NEA President Gregory Nash

said Mrs. Clinton's outsider status did not bother the members of his delegation.

"My members care much less where a candidate is from than where a candidate is," said Mr. Nash, an alternative-education teacher from Albany. "If the candidate is right for public education and for children, that candidate is right for us."

Since Mrs. Clinton has not yet formally announced her candidacy, the delegation has not voted on an endorsement, he said. But Mrs. Clinton's support of public education and children makes her attractive to teachers, he said.

"New York is not only a cosmopolitan city, but a cosmopolitan state," said Mr. Nash, whose group represents 40,000 educators across the state. "Our doors have been open for the past 230 years and they will continue to be open in the future."

Mrs. Clinton made little political news during her NEA visit, thanking the group for the "Friend of Education" honor, given to her husband in 1996 but never before awarded to a first lady. She touted her husband's education policy, smaller class sizes and hiring more teachers, and urged Congress to support teachers and schools at a time when the economy is running in high gear.

"Let's celebrate our prosperity by making a commitment to our schools that will be worthy of the children they serve, now and into the future," she said, drawing extended applause.

Mrs. Clinton called for higher teacher pay and better training, particularly in the use of computer technology, and asked the educators to look out for their youngest and most inexperienced members as teacher shortages continue to grow around the country.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JULY 6, 1999

Welcome, Hillary

The New York Republican Party is planning a big welcome for first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton tomorrow, the New York Post reports.

Mrs. Clinton, who is flying into Binghamton on her way to announcing a Senate-campaign exploratory committee, will be met by Adirondack flies.

"We are inviting members of the public to show up at the Binghamton airport in fly costumes so the first lady, who obviously doesn't know much about New York, can get an idea what a good Adirondack fly looks like," state GOP Executive Director Brendan Quinn told the newspaper. "We're going to offer the person who shows up with the best fly costume a free weekend at the Lake Placid Resort in the Adirondacks,

where we know the winner will have a wonderful, fly-free weekend."

Mrs. Clinton is eager to vacation somewhere in New York later this summer, but a political aide recently ruled out the Adirondacks because of a supposed fly problem.

Hillary's N.Y. trip a case of exploratory 'urgery'

By GREGG BIRNBAUM
Post Correspondent

ALBANY — She's off and running.

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton today will officially launch her exploratory committee for a possible U.S. Senate campaign as she prepares to kick off a four-day barnstorming tour of heavily Republican upstate New York.

Legal papers creating the committee will be filed with the Federal Election Commission in Washington so that Clinton can begin raising political cash to pay for her trips to New York.

The "Hillary Rodham Clinton for U.S. Senate Exploratory Committee" is a formality, but signals the seriousness of the First Lady's interest in representing New York. The organization's treasurer is attorney William Cunningham of Mineola, L.I., a law partner of Harold Ickes, Clinton's chief political adviser.

"The committee will provide Hillary Clinton the opportunity for a summer-long 'listening tour' of New York," said her campaign spokesman, Howard Wolfson.

"Over the next two months, she will travel the state meeting with small groups of New Yorkers. Mrs. Clinton is eager to begin the tour."

The First Lady's initial extended swing through New York gets under way tomorrow morning near Oneonta, at the farm of U.S. Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is vacating his seat after his term expires next year. Moynihan will be on hand to sing the First Lady's praises.

The First Lady will then visit the State University of New York at Oneonta, and hold additional events during the week in Cooperstown, Utica, Syracuse and Albany. She will return to the White House on Saturday.

More than 200 reporters from around the globe are planning to shadow Clinton's every move across a state in which she has never lived.

Her potential Republican challenger, Mayor Giuliani, has already set up a political committee and raked in more than \$3 million for a possible race.

Clinton has made 12 visits to New York already this year.

The First Lady is expected to be met along the way by demonstrators charging that she is a carpet-bagger who is improperly using taxpayer funds to pay for her trips to the state.

Republican National Chairman Jim Nicholson made several stops upstate last week to let voters know he estimates her New York trips have already cost taxpayers \$220,000.

Clinton's aides said the government has been reimbursed for the

political portions of the trips, but they have not made that financial information public. They also said the upcoming four-day tour will be covered by political donations.

That may dampen one controversy, but another is sure to follow as GOP activists arrange for people dressed in fly costumes to pester the First Lady. They want to draw attention to a



HILLARY

recent comment of an unidentified Clinton aide who said the president and First Lady will not vacation in the Adirondacks because of its notorious, but short-lived, seasonal black-fly infestation.

Wolfson said no decision has been made about where the Clintons will vacation this summer. He also said Hillary's house-hunting in New York is continuing.

TUESDAY, JULY 6, 1999

N.Y. Will Test First Lady's Fighting Form

By MICHAEL GRUNWALD
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK—They do not have names or faces, but Hillary Rodham Clinton knows Those People are out there, and she attacks Them almost every time she speaks in New York.

In March, at a Democratic women's fund-raiser in Manhattan: "Many People believe they can turn the clock back, shut our borders, tell people how to live, point fingers at one another." In April, at a teachers union convention in Niagara Falls: "Some People are still arguing against the need for sensible gun control." In June, at a meeting with Lockheed Martin workers near Binghamton: "Some People just don't understand that you can protect the environment and grow the economy at the same time. . . . They still don't get it."

The first lady's us-against-them instincts have often guided her in public life, from her refusals to compromise on her ill-fated health care plan in 1993 to her behind-the-scenes push for President Clinton to shut down the government in 1995 to her famous broadside about the "vast right-wing conspiracy" when the Monica S. Lewinsky saga broke in January 1998. But as she sets off this week on the first official campaign trip of her all-but-declared Senate race, Democrats are hoping this combative politician proves to be a perfect match for this combative state.

Clinton has never run for office—no first lady has—but she is far from a blank slate as a politician. She has served for years as an unsentimental adviser to her husband, perhaps the most talented campaigner of his generation, and as a hard-nosed political operative in her own right. The question is how her confrontational style and

N.Y. to Test First Lady's Fighting Style

CLINTON, From A1

the rest of her political package will play on the trail now that she is no longer the woman behind the candidate.

Today in Washington, Clinton will formally launch an exploratory committee, kicking off a still-hard-to-fathom journey that could pit her against an even more pugnacious and polarizing brawler, New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani (R).

Wednesday in Oneonta, she will begin a four-day swing through upstate New York at retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's farm. The trip has been billed as a listening tour, a chance for Clinton to hear about issues that matter to New Yorkers. But it is likely to be a talking tour as well, a chance to start trying to convince voters she is the kind of battler they want fighting for those issues.

"Hillary is someone you want on your side in a fight, and New Yorkers will see that," said Sara Ehrman, a longtime friend of the first lady's. "She will be a vigorous, tireless, brilliant campaigner—just watch."

This race may have seemed to emerge out of nowhere, but in some ways Clinton has spent her life preparing for it. She has been involved in politics since she started registering voters for George McGovern's presidential campaign in San Antonio in 1972. She helped run her husband's campaigns for Congress, attorney general, governor and president, plotting his strategies, analyzing his polls, tweaking his message, rewriting his speeches. In the 1992 campaign, she was the guiding force behind his campaign's rapid-response deployment to knock down media attacks, and even coined the memorable phrase "The War Room."

As first lady, she has carved out an unprecedented role as a policy operative—first during the health care debacle, later as a key player on issues from adoption to historic preservation to consumer bankruptcy to arts education to early childhood development. But even though she faces no Democratic opposition, while Giuliani faces potential challenges from Long Island Reps. Rick Lazio and Peter T. King, most early polls suggest that a general election battle between the lawyer and the prosecutor would be extremely close.

Clinton's most obvious liability in the Senate race is her carpathaggar problem: She's never lived, worked or spent much time in New York. And while the state overwhelmingly supported her husband in 1992 and 1996, it is hard to know how much Clinton scandal fatigue—or general Clinton fatigue—will hurt her candidacy. She also has a somewhat frosty relationship with the media, and many analysts expect the tabloid-driven New York press to pummel her about the mysterious disappear-

'Friend of Education' Honored

Reuters

ORLANDO, July 5—Greeted with strains of "New York, New York," first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton accepted the National Education Association's top honor today at a meeting of the nation's largest teachers union.

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

That included a slap at school vouchers in Florida, where the nation's first statewide voucher plan was signed into law last month by Gov. Jeb Bush, younger brother of Republican presidential hopeful George W. Bush. She said that in districts where vouchers are already in place, such as Milwaukee and Cleveland, there has been no evidence that test scores are rising. "What they have done is divert badly needed public funds," she said.

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

Clinton adhered to the administration's broad primary and secondary education goals in her speech. She said educators should expect every child to succeed "and hold every one of them to high academic standards." She called for smaller schools and classrooms and increased spending on school construction and rehabilitation.

ance of her Whitewater billing records and her unusual success in the cattle futures market.

But in many ways, Clinton is a campaign consultant's dream. She is a national celebrity, a children's advocate with an almost devout following among liberals and many women. She will enjoy access to a well-oiled Democratic money machine. She is riding a wave of sympathy created by her stoic reaction to her husband's affair. And even many critics agree that she is smart, hard-working, charismatic, passionate about policy and eloquent on the stump.

Clinton has been a lightning rod for the right, but she is also a remarkable generator of Democratic energy. She was the most-requested Democratic campaigner in 1998, swooping in for 28 candidate events and 17 fund-raisers in the month before the election; some analysts believe her rallies with then-Rep. Charles E. Schumer in New York helped lift him to the Senate. Here is another measure of the enthusiasm she can inspire: The Erie County Democratic office signed up about 50 volunteers for the entire Schumer race. It is already getting 50 calls a week from would-be volunteers for the Clinton campaign.

In recent months, as Clinton has begun touring the state, she has received rousing "Run, Hillary, run!" ovations from Democratic audiences, with some supporters bursting into tears after shaking her hand on rope lines. But even the nonpartisan assortment of Lockheed Martin employees seemed awed after her brainstorming session about economic development. "That was really incredible," said Doug Becker, a registered Republican who is director of

business development at the plant. "That is one impressive woman."

"She's just a fantastic campaigner. No one alive is better than her husband, but she's really close," gushes former White House scandal spinner Lanny J. Davis, who knew both Clintons at Yale Law School. "The first time I saw her, I thought she'd be a senator someday. She's got that natural charisma. She just looks you in the eye and draws you in."

But some critics question Clinton's political instincts, arguing that her suspicious nature has led to unnecessary conflicts, from her decision to bar reporters from the West Wing to her refusal to release Whitewater documents to the press to her role in the firings at the White House travel office. She told her husband to attack independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr during the president's televised apology for the Lewinsky mess, with disastrous results. And even her allies concede she mishandled her health care plan six years ago, operating in too much secrecy, blocking even minor changes, impugning the motives of her critics.

"She's a good campaigner. She's a good debater. But her political skills have always been suspect," said Dick Morris, a longtime strategist for the Clintons who is estranged from them. "It's always combat with her. She always wants to put her horns down and charge."

Former presidential aide George Stephanopoulos was Morris's sworn enemy at the White House. But in his memoir, "All Too Human," he drew similar conclusions about the first lady, "whose combative litigator instincts were, sadly, behind many of her husband's missteps."

On Hillary Clinton's recent trips to

New York, those instincts have found their outlet in Those People—the anonymous cynics who try to tear down public schools instead of building them up, who just complain about crime rates instead of doing something about them, who snipe that it doesn't really take a village to raise a child when the evidence shows that it does. Her allies say that if Clinton sometimes sounds paranoid, well, that's because she has enemies.

"She stands for change, and some people can't handle that," said Lynn Cutler, another friend of the first lady's and a White House adviser on women's issues. "You can never underestimate the depth of the hatred on the far right. They'll do anything to destroy her."

Clinton's aides say she has learned valuable lessons from the health care defeat, and insist her reputation as a liberal ideologue obscures a savvy politician who is a pragmatic consensus-builder. They say her personal warmth makes her ideally suited for the collegial Senate—unlike, say, the congenitally abrasive Giuliani.

Still, they say, she is ready to come out swinging. Campaigns, after all, are about dividing the electorate into Us and Them—and making sure there are fewer of Them.

"She'll learn everything there is to know about New York," Ehrman said. "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."

Hillary's run has New York atwitter

By Liz Trotta
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

NEW YORK — The cat-and-mouse game that may be the prelude to a Hillary-for-Senate campaign gets more frenzied tomorrow when the first lady registers an exploratory committee with the Federal Election Commission.

New York's scribes and spinners, all but hysterical over the prospect of their "dream race" — a face-off between Hillary Rodham Clinton and New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani — will hit the tarmac running when her plane touches down in Albany as she embarks on a five-day swing across the state.

Although neither she nor the Republican mayor have officially announced their candidacies, Mrs. Clinton's visit is regarded here as the start of a campaign to capture the Senate seat to be left open by the retirement next year of Demo-

cratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. In fact, it is on Mr. Moynihan's farm in Binghamton that Mrs. Clinton will open her "summer-long listening tour of New York."

Bemused skeptics call it "the

silly season," but there is no doubt about the serious intent in both parties as they ruminate over what many are calling "the most excit-

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ing election of the century" — or at least this season's most exciting race of the century.

Political consultants practice their sound bites. Pollsters grind out the numbers. Real estate brokers twitter with speculation about Mrs. Clinton's living arrangements. Psychologists, bent on analyzing the first lady, have rushed in where even the occasional Republican fears to tread.

Gossip columnists report that Mrs. Clinton laid out \$5,000 for 18 pairs of Bruno Magli shoes. To add to the merry mayhem, Mr. Giuliani has challenged Mrs. Clinton to a baseball trivia debate, the consequence of her recent adoption of the New York Yankees at a White House ceremony.

Under state law, if she is to run, Mrs. Clinton must have a New York residence by Election Day 2000. Accordingly, where the Clintons will live is the talk of the town, despite reports that Secret Service agents have been spotted ringing doorbells in the leafy Westchester suburb of North Salem.

A New York real estate broker and Democratic fund-raiser says that although the Clintons want "a real home," she could not fathom how they would purchase a multi-

million dollar property when "they have no money." Meanwhile, in midtown Manhattan, workers are cleaning up the lobby of 450 Seventh Avenue, near Madison Square Garden, where Mrs. Clinton will establish her eighth-floor campaign headquarters.

On graver issues, Mrs. Clinton is for the first time publicly embroiled in a controversy that pits her against her husband's policies, namely cuts in Medicare that have affected New York's teaching hospitals. At a White House meeting attended by the Clintons and other officials, the first lady apparently sided with New York's labor and political leaders.

"It's very clear to us ... that she will be taking sides with us on this issue," says Dennis Rivera, president of Local 1199, a pro-Democratic union representing 155,000 city hospital workers.

Mrs. Clinton's new spokesman, Howard Wolfson, 32, a native of Yonkers, says "Mrs. Clinton is concerned about the impact."

Sen. Robert G. Torricelli, New Jersey Democrat and chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, says she should be: "Hillary Clinton now has a new set of responsibilities. She has to prove that she can put the interests of New York first, and I think she's ... in the process of doing that," he said yesterday, on CBS' "Face the Nation."

Mr. Torricelli addressed the issue again later in the interview. "Her priority, I think now, is to speak to the things that are important for the State of New York, to reveal her own independence as a woman and a potential United States senator."

Susan Molinari, former Republican congresswoman from Staten Island, sees pitfalls. Interviewed on ABC's "This Week," she said, "Mrs. Clinton does have some real problems ... because there are times when you don't just govern as a nation, you govern as a collection of states."

Alfonse M. D'Amato, who lost his New York Senate seat last year, foresees trouble for her. On "Fox News Sunday," he pointed out how Mrs. Clinton "claims the great power of the administration ... and has at her disposal the planes and the retinue."

For his part, Mr. Giuliani visited Chicago last week, Mrs. Clinton's hometown, and he says he is relishing the prospect of his fund-raising trip into the belly of the beast later this summer when he visits Arkansas, where there is mild speculation that the president will run for the Senate there in 2002, perhaps setting up his-and-her seats for the first couple.

• Joyce Howard Price in Washington contributed to this report.

MONDAY, JULY 5, 1999

Jewish vote not the usual certainty

By Joyce Howard Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The conventional wisdom is that Jewish voters will flock to the candidacy of Hillary Rodham Clinton, but that might not be so.

"Let's face it, her support of the Palestinians hurts," Hank Sheinkopf, a Democratic consultant and veteran of New York political wars, told U.S. News & World Report magazine. "And a

key sliver of Jews is becoming more conservative."

Many Jewish voters were angered by the presence of the Rev. Al Sharpton at a recent "press opportunity" on the White House lawn when the New York Yankees were invited to the White House to celebrate the World Series they won nine months ago. Mrs. Clinton announced then that she was a Yankee. **see SENATE, page A10**

SENATE

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kees fan.

Many Jews were offended by Mr. Sharpton's inflammatory remarks during four days of racial violence in Brooklyn's Crown Heights neighborhood in August 1991. The violence erupted when a motorcade carrying the leader of a Hasidic group known as the Lubavitchers accidentally jumped a curb and struck and mortally injured a black child. Three hours after the child died a young rabbinical student from Australia was beaten and stabbed to death on the street by several young black men.

Some polls have shown Mrs. Clinton doing well among Jews; others have not. A poll in May by the Marist College Institute for Public Opinion, based in Poughkeepsie, N.Y., showed the first lady and New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani in a dead heat. But among Jews, who represented 12 percent of the 512 New Yorkers surveyed, Mrs. Clinton won 51 percent to 31 percent.

A more recent poll of 748 voters by Zogby International of Utica, N.Y., showed Mr. Giuliani ahead of Mrs. Clinton among Jewish voters, 50 percent to 36 percent.

Mr. Sheinkopf and other political analysts who discussed Mrs. Clinton's campaign on TV talk

shows yesterday agreed the battle would be fought in the suburbs, home to many Jews.

Jews represent 15 percent of the population of Long Island and 9.1 percent of all residents of New York state. They usually vote in large numbers.

Interviewed yesterday on CBS' "Face the Nation," Sen. Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, chairman of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, said most polls either show Mr. Giuliani a few points ahead or a few points behind Mrs. Clinton.

"This essentially is a dead-even race," he said. "I think it's going to be interesting all the way to the finish."

Some Democrats are concerned because geography is a diminishing Democratic advantage. Downstate is largely Democratic, the party favored by immigrants, minorities and liberals. Everything else in New York state leans Republican.

But the city's population has declined steadily since the 1950s. "And it now accounts for less than 30 percent of the state's vote," U.S. News & World Report notes.

Mr. Giuliani is believed to have lost favor with immigrants and minorities in the city in the wake of several celebrated police-brutality cases. However, he has gained favor in the suburbs, where he is credited with making the city safer

for work, entertainment and cultural attractions.

"He has turned the city around beyond anybody's wildest expectations," former New York Rep. Susan Molinari, a Republican, said yesterday on ABC's "This Week."

Many of the suburbanites credit Mr. Giuliani for this are Jewish, and the mayor's support for school vouchers has won him fans among Orthodox Jews. Although Jews often are regarded as a liberal Democratic voting bloc, there's a significant Jewish Republican tradition.

The late Jacob Javits, who was Jewish, served as a Republican in the Senate from 1957 to 1981. Rep. Benjamin A. Gilman, another Jewish Republican from New York, has served in the House since 1973. He chairs the International Relations Committee.

Two polls showing Mrs. Clinton more popular with Jewish voters than Mr. Giuliani were conducted before June 10. That was the day Mrs. Clinton shared the spotlight with Mr. Sharpton and the Yankees on the White House lawn.

At least one New York area Jewish leader — William Rapfogel, executive director of the Metropolitan Coordinating Council on Jewish Poverty — canceled his appearance at the event after learning Mr. Sharpton had been invited.

McConnell and Hillary

Kentucky Sen. Mitch McConnell, head of the campaign arm of Senate Republicans, went after first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday on CBS's "Face the Nation."

"Well, there's no question that the people of New York have to decide whether or not they think it's appropriate for someone from Arkansas to represent them in the Senate," Mr. McConnell said.

"... I brought along a carpet-bag, actually, for Mrs. Clinton, which would be a good symbol of her candidacy in New York. In addition to that, inside the carpet-bag, we have here a map of New York, which will help her find her way around her adopted estate. Also, we found out that she's just recently become a Yankees fan, but in case the Yankees go south

after the All-Star break, here's a Mets cap. She could switch over to the Mets."

In the course of making fun of Mrs. Clinton's expected Senate candidacy, Mr. McConnell also sideswiped New Jersey Sen. Robert G. Torricelli, who heads the campaign arm of Senate Democrats and who was on the program with him.

"And of course, there's been some dispute about whether the Statue of Liberty is in New Jersey or New York. She and Bob might want to have that debate," Mr. McConnell quipped.

"And finally, finally, there's the question of all the trips, about \$220,000 owed the federal government for 11 trips to New York this year."

Will Hillary Take Manhattan?

REAL ESTATE, From G1

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

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

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

Here our mayor pauses rather dramatically.

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

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

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

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



MILL'S RIDGE - NORTH SALEM
Dazzling views over the Titicus Reservoir distinguish this 17-acre estate with pool, poolhouse, tennis court, caretaker's cottage and barn. Fully-renovated 18-room residence with sweeping views. Five bedrooms, 6.5 baths. Multiple terraces. Staff apartment. \$3.8M.

SOTHEBY'S VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Hillary Clinton reportedly viewed this rustic Westchester estate—complete with pool and caretaker's cottage—in the very recent past.

be)... Staten Island..."

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

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

Former mayor Ed Koch has lived this headache before: He runs for governor in 1982, and he's the favorite until he yaks to Playboy magazine about gingham dresses and milking cows and the incredible

boredom of farms and life upstate. Next thing he knows, Mario Cuomo, the 4-H guy from Queens, is governor.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Down south in New York City,

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

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

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

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

"Tell her to give a call."

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

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

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

Why not settle in Allegany? It's in western New York, and it's real small. One traffic light, one moose-crossing sign and a bar called the

Hickey run by a guy named Lou. He makes shakers of kamikaze shots for \$10.

And once Lou gets to know the first lady, after she's limped in from a hard day of campaigning and put a

few quarters in the jukebox and gets that whiskey growl... y'know, he just might let her have the extra-special, 11-shot shaker.

Now is that New York living, or what?



BY JOHN ANDERSON—
THE WASHINGTON POST

**The queen of
Queens? Unlikely.
Westchester
seems a surer bet.**

ISO: An Empire State Building

Where Will Hillary Clinton's Housing Search Lead Her?

By MICHAEL POWELL
Washington Post Staff Writer

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

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

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

So Clyde Rabideau suggests Plattsburgh.

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

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

PM-NY--Mrs Clinton Senate, 735

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

By H. JOSEF HEBERT= Associated Press Writer=

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Democrats urge Mrs. Clinton to escape White House cocoon

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

By MARC HUMBERT= Associated Press Writer=

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Party Animus

It's **RUDY GIULIANI'S** city and he'll cancel a party if he wants to—particularly if it crimps the campaign of a potential political rival. The party in question was to celebrate the launch of *Talk*, former *New Yorker* editor Tina Brown's latest magazine. Brown and Harvey Weinstein, a hefty Democratic supporter whose Miramax Films part-owns the

publication, had applied to hold their August revel at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, which is owned by New York City. But

Giuliani balked when rumors, still unsubstantiated, swirled that the magazine's first cover girl would be **HILLARY CLINTON**, who is likely to face the mayor in next year's Senate race. This

act led to more press than even the publicity-ravenous Weinstein could consume. The Navy Yard's administrator issued a

statement expressing concern that "... the party was beginning to take on a political cast and was no longer simply for the launch of a new magazine." You'd cancel too if it happened to you.

EDIE BASKIN—OUTLINE



NANCY KASZERNIA—ZUMA



JOHN MATTEO—LIFE

Latest "buzz" on Hill's N.Y. trip

By Fredric U. Dicker in
Albany and Marilyn
Rauber in Washington

State Republicans will "welcome" First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton to New York Wednesday with an airport "beauty contest" for the best-looking Adirondack fly.

"We're inviting members of the public to show up at the Binghamton airport in

fly costumes so the First Lady, who obviously doesn't know much about New York, can get an idea what a good Adirondack fly looks like," state GOP Executive Director Brendan Quinn told The Post yesterday. "We're going to offer the person who shows up with the best fly costume a free weekend at the Lake Placid Resort in the Adirondacks, where we know the winner will have a wonderful, fly-free, weekend."

NEW YORK POST EXCLUSIVE

The Republican "contest" is aimed at reminding the First Lady — and New York voters — that one of her political aides contended two weeks ago that Mrs. Clinton and the president won't vacation in the

Adirondacks this summer because of an alleged fly problem.

The crack drew loud protests from Adirondack politicians, and reinforced the perception that Mrs. Clinton, who is eyeing a cam-

paign for U.S. Senate — even though she has never lived in New York — has the potential to make political gaffes.

Meanwhile, two top New York Democrats who back Mrs. Clinton yesterday acknowledged that she might be using the Senate race as a stepping stone to the White House.

Rep. Charles Rangel (Manhattan), one of the first Democrats to urge her to run for the New York seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, said, "It doesn't surprise me" that a would-be senator would "aspire" to be president.

"There's something in the water those senators drink that allows all of them to believe that they should be the next president of the United States," Rangel told NBC's "Meet The Press."

Rep. Nita Lowey (Westchester), who was eyeing the Senate seat until Mrs. Clinton expressed her interest in it, told "Fox News Sunday": "I don't know a senator that doesn't have a twinkle in their eye and think about being the president of the United States."

Meanwhile, former presidential aide George Stephanopoulos said the rampant grumbling that Mrs. Clinton is "just an opportunistic carpetbagger trying to use New York ... as a stepping stone to higher office" is a "serious problem" for the First Lady.

In an open letter in Newsweek magazine, Stephanopoulos advises her to "face it head on and dispel it quickly."

Hospital Rodham Clinton

Hillary Clinton's stout defense of New York's wastrel ways in hospital spending has now put her crosswise of her husband. And for once in a dispute between the philanderer and his long-suffering wife, he's in the right.

The First Husband's administration proposes trimming some fat out of hospital spending in New York to ensure the long-term soundness of the Medicare program.

The problem is physician training, a major industry in New York — but one that exists solely by virtue of hugely disproportionate infusions of federal, state and local tax dollars into the state's hospital system.

From a federal perspective, whether New York — with 6.5 percent of America's popu-

lation — chooses to bleed itself white by training 16 percent of the nation's doctors is this state's own business. But the notion that Washington will let New York absorb 35 percent of the federal dollars distributed for doctor training forever is ludicrous.

It should be fun watching the president try to wriggle out of this jam.

On the one hand, there is his wife and a couple of her new best friends — Dennis Rivera, boss of the hospital workers' union, and Ken Raske, who represents the hospital system. They want even *more* money for this bottomless pit.

On the other is Clinton's stated desire to "save" Medicare. So which will it be? His legacy — or his wife?

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FORWARD, JULY 2, 1999 9

Run, Hillary, Don't

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



THE HOUR
LEONARD FEIN

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

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

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

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

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

Which, obviously, has nothing

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

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

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

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

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

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

**GOTTI: MY SON'S
A BABBLING IDIOT**

PAGE 3



**GRIFTER SUSPECTS
TALK TO THE NEWS**

JUAN GONZALEZ - PAGE 22

DAILY NEWS



NEW YORK'S HOMETOWN NEWSPAPER

Friday, July 2, 1999

KICK ME!

**Bill tells Hil: Beat me up
if it will get you elected**



SEE PAGE 5

Agreeing to disagree

By KENNETH R. BAZINET
Daily News Washington Bureau

Bill sez Hil should speak her mind

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

The President gave the same flogging rights to embattled Vice President Gore. Clinton offered himself up as

a target for his wife and former running mate during a news conference with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak.

Referring to the First Lady's expected New York Senate race, Clinton said, "Some of the disagreements that we've

had in the past over decisions I've made as President she may be constrained to state publicly because they'll be relevant to the future."

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

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

"I would encourage the sen-

sors from New York or anyone else who's concerned about this to bring those concerns," Clinton said.

The First Lady took him up on the offer almost immediately, sitting in on a meeting of top administration officials and a delegation of New York officials to discuss Medicare yesterday.

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

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

Kenneth Raske, head of the Greater New York Hospital Association, said he left the session thinking, "We persuaded the administration to join our fight over the hospitals."

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

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

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

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

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



THANKS, HILLARY: First Lady Hillary Clinton gets a pat on shoulder yesterday after introducing husband, Bill, at National Archives in Washington.

First Lady opens midtown campaign office



DOOR OPEN ON RUN: Staffers of First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's New York Senate exploratory committee got office in glow yesterday at 34th St. and Seventh Ave.

By JOEL SIEGEL

Daily News Senior Political Correspondent

Hillary Rodham Clinton opened a midtown office yesterday for her Senate campaign exploratory committee as the national GOP chairman traveled upstate demanding the stop using government planes for political trips.

The Hillary Rodham Clinton for U.S. Senate Exploratory Committee began operations in a building at 34th St. and Seventh Ave. — snaring one of the last available phone lines with the prestigious 212 area code.

It will be Clinton's base of political operations for her expected Senate race. She will begin fund-raising after registering the committee with the Federal Election Commission on Tuesday.

Underlining the interest of national Republicans in the race — and foreshadowing the role they might play in the campaign — Republican National Committee Chairman Jim Nicholson visited four upstate cities, expanding on previous demands that Clinton re-

imburse the government for the 12 trips she took to New York this year as she weighed a Senate race. He said Clinton should stop flying government aircraft for her New York travels.

"We have uniformed personnel waiting on her, catering to her. They didn't join the Air Force for that. We have a shortage of Air Force personnel. This isn't right. She is not a government official," he said.

Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson said, "The Secret Service's strong recommendation is that Mrs. Clinton travel on government aircraft. We are not going to allow political considerations to compromise Mrs. Clinton's security. New Yorkers understand that even if Jim Nicholson does not."

Wolfson said the First Lady will reimburse the government for all future trips. He called her earlier New York journeys "completely appropriate" for a First Lady, saying there would be no reimbursement for them beyond what campaign committees for other candidates already have been charged.

DAILY NEWS

Friday, July 2, 1999

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NEW YORK POST

NEWS

BILLY CLUB: PREZ INVITES HILL TO SLAM HIS POLICIES

By BRIAN BLOMQUIST and GREGG BIRNBAUM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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gets a chunk of its funding by extending Medicare cuts that hit teaching hospitals. New York gets hit especially hard because it has so many.

Dennis Rivera, president of Local 1199, a union that represents 155,000 city health-care workers and opposes the cuts, described his message to the White House this way: "Hey, we've got a problem out here that has to be addressed."

Meanwhile, top national and state Republican leaders crisscrossed upstate New York yesterday to charge that "Air Hillary" - Mrs. Clinton's use of U.S. military planes - has cost taxpayers \$200,000 as she campaigns for Senate.

"Pay it back and stop it!" demanded GOP National Chairman Jim Nicholson.

"She should not be waited on, served and catered to by members of our Armed Services while she runs for Senate."

The price tag was based on an hourly government airplane cost of \$2,179 to \$35,000, depending on which plane the First Lady was using, and the salaries of some government staffers on each trip. The figure did not include the use of Secret Service officers.

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—online edition—

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Beyond the City

Take Your Best Shot

Attack me if it'll help, Bill tells Hil

By KENNETH R. BAZINET
Daily News Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



Applewhite AP
Friendly Fire: The First Couple

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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FRIDAY, JULY 2, 1999

Billing Hillary

Conservatives for Effective Leadership yesterday demanded that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton repay the taxpayers for her Senate "campaign" trips to New York.

"Hey, Hillary! Real New Yorkers pay their own way," says CEL president Gary Nolan. "Whether you're from East Hampton or West Seneca, everybody knows you can't run for elective office on the taxpayer's dime."

Mr. Nolan calls Mrs. Clinton's likely candidacy for an open New York Senate seat her "Blonde Ambition Tour."

Press reports indicate an average trip by Mrs. Clinton to New York runs from \$10,000 to \$20,000. She's taken at least a dozen trips to New York this year.

"Just because she is the first lady doesn't mean Hillary Clinton should get a free ride from the taxpayers even if she is using her undeclared candidate status to flaunt both the spirit and letter of the law," says Mr. Nolan.

Hillary's travels

The chairman of the Republican National Committee criticized first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday for using government aircraft and resources for campaign-style visits to the state.

Mrs. Clinton, expected to seek the Senate seat being vacated next year by retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, has made 12 trips to New York in 1999.

The cost to taxpayers is estimated at more than \$220,000, said the top Republican, Jim Nicholson.

"Hillary's flying military jets, but at \$20,000 per trip, it's the taxpayers who are being taken for a ride," Mr. Nicholson said in a statement distributed by aides as he began a four-stop trip across traditionally Republican upstate New York.



A LETTER TO HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
From the Grassroots Organization
HILLARY FOR PRESIDENT 2000

Dear Hillary Rodham Clinton,

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



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

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

HILLARY FOR PRESIDENT 2000
800-563-1006

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

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

1044 S. Robertson Boulevard ★ Los Angeles, California ★ (800) 563-1006
 www.hillary4prez2000.com ★ e-mail: info@hillary4prez2000.com

PM-NY--Clinton Househunt, Bjt, 758

Mrs. Clinton looking for a house; Westchester looking for Mrs. Clinton

AP Photos NYR106-7

By JIM FITZGERALD= Associated Press Writer=

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Town Supervisor Sy Globerman, a Republican, said a few residents called him Wednesday asking if anything could be done to keep Mrs. Clinton out.

"They're worried about an intrusion on the peacefulness of the town," he said. "Traffic, the media, the Secret Service."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

has invited them to his middle-class city.

And there's still Manhattan to consider.

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

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

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

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

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(NOTE: adding dropped words in 5th graf)
(UPI Focus)

Hillary, Giuliani tied in poll

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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**** filed by:UPI-(us) on 07/01/99 at 05:36EDT ****
**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 07/01/99 at 08:52EDT ****

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

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

By SHANNON McCAFFREY= Associated Press Writer=

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PM-NY--Clintons Senate,0230

Adviser: Hillary Clinton will ask prez for campaign advice

With PM-NY--Mrs Clinton-Senate, Bjt

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

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

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

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

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

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

**** filed by:APE-(NY) on 07/01/99 at 01:28EDT ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 07/01/99 at 09:12EDT ****

AM-Clinton, Bjt, 600

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

By TERENCE HUNT= AP White House Correspondent=

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Gore, formally beginning his race for the White House, told Tennessee reporters last month that there have been many occasions when he disagreed with Clinton over the past 6 1/2 years. Clinton said that "I didn't ask Al Gore to become vice president so that he would agree with me on everything."

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

**** filed by:APE(--) on 07/01/99 at 17:28EDT ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 07/01/99 at 20:15EDT ****

First Lady's First Hill Hire

Wolfson Will Represent Clinton in N.Y.

By Rachel Van Dongen

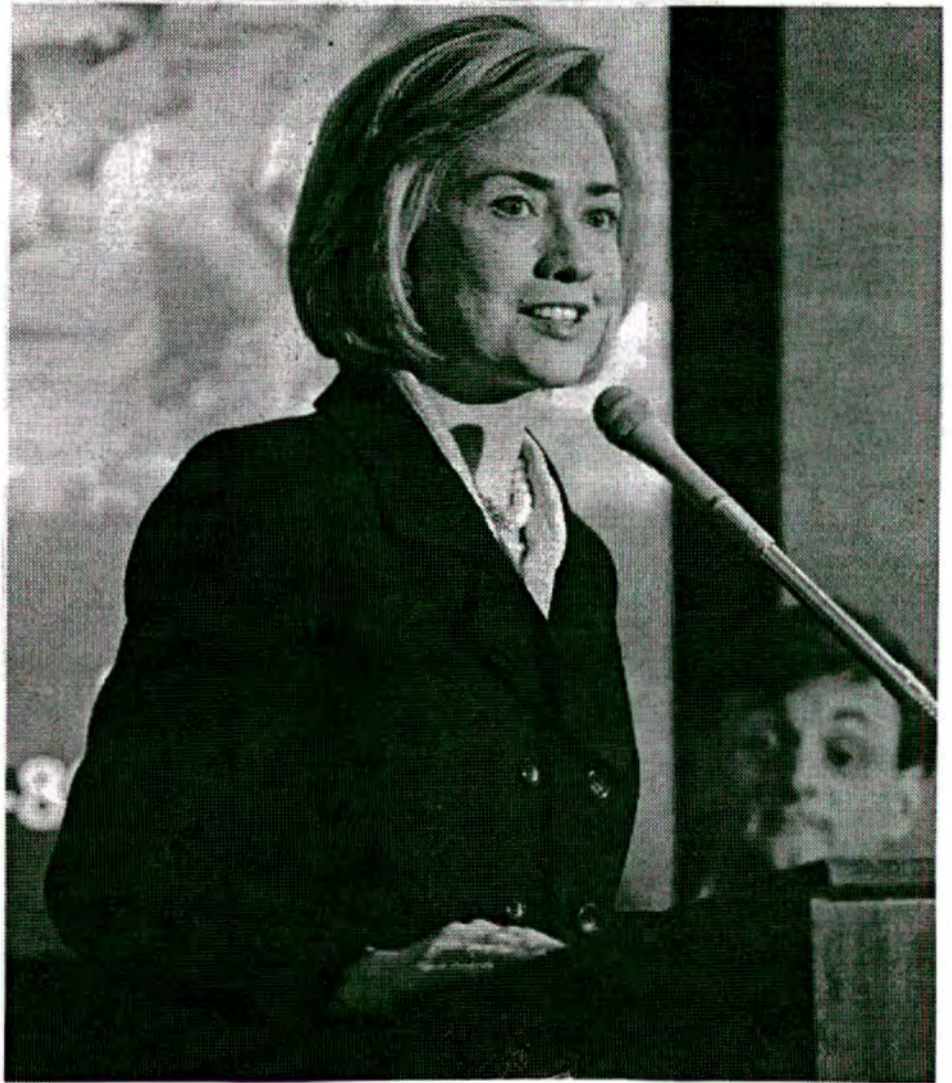
He's described as unflappable, a tremendously hard worker and a creature of habit.

While working on now-Sen. Charles Schumer's (D-N.Y.) 1998 campaign, for instance, he arrived at work before sunrise and ate the same thing for lunch every day — a roast turkey sandwich on a roll with salt and pepper, and a side order of peas.

But no past experience seems adequate prologue for Howard Wolfson's new job as press spokesman for first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's Senate exploratory committee.

Wolfson, a 32-year-old, native New Yorker who, until recently, was chief of staff to New York Rep. Nita Lowey (D), was hired by the first lady to smooth the crucial opening

Continued on page 28



Continued from page 1

phase of her all-but-certain Senate bid.

The first lady is expected to announce the formation of her exploratory committee next week at the Oneonta, N.Y., farm of retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D).

Between offices this week, Wolfson said he is preparing for the new challenge "with a great deal of humbleness."

"I'm very excited about it, it's a tremendous opportunity," he said in an interview. "I believe if Hillary Clinton decided to run for Senate, she'd be a great candidate."

"I'm honored to be part of the exploratory committee," he added, sticking faithfully to the Democratic party line.

Born in Middletown, N.Y., Wolfson grew up in Yonkers, N.Y., and graduated from the University of Chicago with a bachelor's in history in 1989 and earned a master's degree in American history from Duke University in 1991.

Wolfson began his Congressional tenure working as an intern for then-Rep. Jim Jontz (D-Ind.), and served a stint in Rep. Robert Matsui's (D-Calif.) office before joining Lowey's staff in 1993 as press secretary. He was promoted to chief of staff in 1995.

Although he worked on a number of Lowey's not-so-competitive House races, the 1998 Schumer campaign — where he served as communications director — was Wolfson's first Senate race.

He first got to know Clinton during the Schumer campaign, when she traveled to New York frequently to raise money for the Democrat. In an official statement, Clinton praised Wolfson's "invaluable" knowledge of New York, and one of Wolfson's first tasks will be to accompany the first lady on as many as three trips to the Empire State this month.

Wolfson is the second hire by the first lady's Senate exploratory committee.

Gabrielle Fialkoff, who raised money for New York City Council Speaker Peter Vallone's (D) 1998 gubernatorial bid, was recently brought on board as the fundraising

Wolfson Goes From Lowey to First Lady's Campaign

File Photo by Rebecca Roth

director.

Wolfson may have passed his first test in what is likely to be a daunting task with his skillful handling of the delicate months leading up to Clinton's announcement that she will form an exploratory committee.

As press secretary and chief of staff to Lowey, who was widely viewed as the fall-back nominee if the first lady did not run, Wolfson was charged with promoting his boss while at the same time not stepping on the first lady's toes.

"Congresswoman Lowey walked away from this with a lot more political capital than she went into it with," commented Erik Smith, a spokesman for the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee who previously worked for New York Rep. Maurice Hinchey (D).

"It's got to be one of the more challenging political dances that you have to face and I think Congresswoman Lowey and Howard handled it perfectly," he said.

"You see all the traps that were there and potential pitfalls. They walked away from it in very practical terms much stronger than they were before."

Added Cathie Levine, Schumer's press secretary who worked with Wolfson on the 1998 race, "Reporters really respect [Wolfson] because he's able to walk that really fine line of providing much needed information while fulfilling his responsibilities to the person he works for."

"I think he's a master at that. He's in a class almost all by himself."

Wolfson's friends and former colleagues describe the soon-to-be-former Hill staffer as the best man suited for a top job in what will be the highest-profile Senate race of 2000.

Not only is he familiar with New York politics, they say, but he is best under pressure and will go to great lengths to ensure that the trains run on time.

"I think he's known and respected by the New York press corps and Washington part of the press corps that's interested in New York," said Hank Morris, Schumer's 1998 media consultant who has had discussions with the first lady about the 2000 race.

In an official statement, Hillary Rodham Clinton praised Wolfson's 'invaluable' knowledge of New York, and one of Wolfson's first tasks will be to accompany the first lady on as many as three trips to the Empire State this month.

Morris added, "He's unflappable, smart."

"I think he's got a different level of maturity than you often find on the Hill," said Dan Sallick, the former DCCC communications director who is close friends with Wolfson.

"He's very seasoned, he's got excellent judgment and he never panics. He brings to the table all the experience you want, but he's also got a way about him that makes him easy to work with."

If ever there were preparation for a possible matchup between Clinton and New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani (R), it was the notoriously nasty 1998 slugfest between Schumer and then-Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R).

"He's not one to make enemies," Sallick noted. "He can come through a campaign like the Schumer campaign and have reporters still liking him, staff still liking him and all his old friends still liking him."

Of the 2000 race, Sallick said, "He's one of the few people that I know of who probably has the ability to come through a campaign like that and shine."

Aside from his arriving in the office at 6 a.m. every morning, former colleagues recall the time that Wolfson and Schumer Campaign Manager Josh Isay jumped into a cab at 11 p.m. to personally track down former New York City Police Chief William Bratton at Elaine's on the Upper East Side.

Bratton, a Republican working for Giuliani, was set to endorse Schumer, a major coup, but couldn't be found when it was time to pin down the details.

"Who better to put in this position than somebody who knows New York, who knows the people who cover New York and knows what it takes to win a New York Senate race?" Levine asked.

But political observers acknowledge the 2000 Senate race is a whole new ballgame. With just about everyone with a New York connection proclaiming to be an expert on the race, message discipline will perhaps be the campaign's biggest challenge.

Clinton's unannounced candidacy is already under the same bright glare as the 2000 presidential race, and has endured its share of mini-controversies related to Republicans' charge that the first lady is a carpet-bagger.

Clinton, for instance, was mocked when she wore a New York Yankees baseball cap at a White House event and claimed to be a lifelong fan of the team, despite having grown up in Illinois.

And much was made of an anonymous comment by an alleged Clinton aide, claiming that the first lady did not want to take her vacation in a "fly-infested Adirondack park."

Hinting at a possible campaign theme, Wolfson did not want to comment on past gaffes, saying he would focus on the future.

"New Yorkers, I think, understand it's not a question of where you're from, but where you stand that matters. And Mrs. Clinton is going to spend a fair amount of time this summer listening directly to New Yorkers."

POSTOPINION

Hillary's Bankruptcy Plan

ALMOST anything Hillary Clinton does or says or intimates gets widely broadcast these days, and so we find on Page One of last Sunday's New York Times a heavy story on Mrs. Clinton and the bankruptcy laws.

A quick catch-up: In Congress there is legislation wandering about designed to make it harder to bail out via Chapter 7 of the bankruptcy code. Those who are hot for the legislation are banks and credit unions of any kind, especially the credit-card companies, and they have a point. Last year 1.4 million people declared bankruptcy. That's three times as many as declared bankruptcy in 1996. Obviously what is being discovered is a loophole, attractive to people (mostly students and the elderly) who find themselves in a hole. You come back one day from the corner lawyer and say, Whee! I don't owe anybody anything!

What has caused the acceleration of bankruptcies is the painlessness of the operation plus little avenues of abuse attractive to high-class bankrupts.

There are variables in different states, but in almost all, if you go bankrupt the creditors don't get the house you live in, even if it is Versailles. And a part of the federal law leaves to the debtors \$11,000 — i.e., the court that distributes your assets to the creditors can't take away your last \$11,000. Call it your nest egg for rebirth.

Two aspects of the situation have brought on Hillary. She complains that, in search of patronage, the credit-card companies all but take people by the hand and force them to accept a credit card. And she fears one draft of pending bankruptcy reform that fails to protect women receiving alimony and child care. Existing procedures cede priority to payments in alimony, but a bill making its way through Congress would reduce that priority and make the mother and children simply co-beneficiaries,

along with the banks and the credit card companies, of whatever is left.

The reformers are arguing the ancient axiom, *caveat emptor*, let the buyer beware. If you are male, white and 21, to use the old expression, and you order up \$5,000 worth of goods and services, then you owe \$5,000, and if you don't come up with it, collection agencies will make your life miserable.

The friction here between the lender, engaging in entrepreneurial activity, and the consumer, engaging in consumption, recalls the friction one hears about every now and then on the battleground of sexual harassment. Is the girl whose dress and makeup are designed to inflame the appetite of normal men

in any way responsible for their over-reaction? The whole world agrees that rape is not justified even if the girl is squirting an aphrodisiac up your nose, but inevitably if a jury is brought in to judge lesser forms of harassment, some attention is going to be given to the vulviform emanations of the plaintiff back when the tort took place.

The situation is ripe for compromise. The credit-industry lobby donated more than \$4 million to political campaigns at the last election, and they want some protections against carefree bankruptcies. But they are reasonably asked to

show potential customers something other than the Hawaiian beach side of borrowing money.

Somebody close to Mrs. Clinton, if such can be found, should advise her not to turn the whole bankruptcy business into another health-care plan.



WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.

EDITORIAL

SMART TALK



Pressed

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

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

False patriotism

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

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

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

Partisan justice

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

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

THE INSIDER

Without license

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

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

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

See page 3



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

Loose ends

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

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

She'd seen it before

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

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

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

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

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

THE WEEK THAT WAS

JUNE 24 - 30, 1999

IT WAS A GOOD WEEK FOR...



WEBB HUBBELL.

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

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

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

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

IT WAS A BAD WEEK FOR...



LITTLE ROCK.

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

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

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

election law. Story, 18

Sexual abuse effort gets new name

UTICA — Oneida County's effort to help victims of sexual abuse will get a new name: the Child Advocacy Center. It better reflects the agency's role in investigating allegations of sexual abuse and helping victims and their families. Story, 18

2 village leaders die in June

Former Yorkville Mayor James A. Widman and New York Mills Trustee Lawrence "Larry" Kupiec were remembered Wednesday as caring, generous men who dedicated their lives to their communities. Story, 38

KOSOVO



The Associated Press

Milosevic urges unity; bodies found

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



The Associated Press

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

Hillary Clinton to stop in Utica on upstate swing

Public session by first lady is possible

By MEGAN ALLEN
Observer-Dispatch

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

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

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

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

SOUND OFF TO FIRST LADY

First lady and potential Democratic U.S. Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton will be in Utica July 8, as part of an Upstate New York swing.

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

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

A few rules:

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

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

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

To participate:

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

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

FAX: (315) 792-5033.

DEADLINE: Tuesday.

opens up the seat next year.

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

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

Coopersstown, Syracuse and Albany.

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

Please see FIRST, 7A

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

Presidential hopeful Bush coming to Cooperstown

Clinton house-hunting?

The Associated Press

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

So far, the speculation has been raging like this:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Continued from HILLARY, 1A

Area residents have a mixed reaction.

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

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

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

North Utica resident Eileen Burdick said she had "nothing

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

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

But other residents rebelled

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

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

Remick would not try to see

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

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

Observer-Dispatch, Thursday, July 1, 1999 / 7A

W.S.I. CUSTOMER TRASH PICKUP Schedule FOR JULY 5

This week only will be -
MONDAY, JULY 5, 1999 PICKUP WILL BE ON TUESDAY
TUESDAY WILL BE ON WEDNESDAY
WEDNESDAY ON THURSDAY
THURSDAY ON FRIDAY
FRIDAY ON SATURDAY
EXCEPT

- Village of Whiteland will be Mon. & Tues. on Tuesday
- Village of Clinton will be on Tues.
- Village of Vernon will be on Wednesday
- Village of Halford Patent will be on Thurs.
- Village of Canastota will be on normal Thurs. & Fri.

please have out by 6:00 am!

PRE 4th of JULY SALE



FINAL 3 DAYS

These are the final days to experience an eye opening, breathtaking selection of the most sought after home furnishings from the leading furniture makers, all at Pre 4th of July Sale Prices.

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6A / Observer-Dispatch, Thursday, July 1, 1999

Clinton redefines first lady's role

By GERALDINE BAUM
Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON — Like many American women who hold down at least one difficult, if unpaid, job, Hillary Rodham Clinton is considering taking a job outside the home, which in her case happens to be the White House.

But no metaphor aptly describes the balancing act that is required here. A first lady is, about to run for a New York Senate seat, and these are uncharted waters. Clinton hasn't even declared her candidacy — she is expected to inch closer this week — yet the public already is wondering how it will all work.

Clearly, the first lady and her husband plan to figure it out as they go along. Yet this much is certain: How Clinton manages to be first lady and candidate could reshape the role of president's wife.

Clinton has tested the boundaries of that role, downplaying her duties as First Hostess to become Health Care Czarina for a time. But even she would concede running for office is not part of the first lady's job description.

So, just what will and won't Clinton be doing for her family, her causes and her party as she

attempts to serve two masters: the voters of New York and the taxpayers of the other 49 states — if not the women of the world who look to her as their first lady too? How will she keep her schedule? Who will pay for her campaign trips? Can she disagree with her husband's policies, or — worse — will she try to influence him to change them to help her election?

Geraldine Ferraro, who knows something about being a first woman in politics, senses in all this heightened scrutiny and hyperbolic questioning a double standard. No one balks when the boys hit the campaign trail and leave their jobs behind, she says.

"The other guys don't have to quit their jobs. Why should she?" says Ferraro, the first female vice presidential candidate and, later, a failed candidate for a Senate seat from New York. "Look at (New York Mayor and likely Clinton opponent) Rudy Giuliani. No one is worried about how he's going to run the city while he's off raising money around the country for his campaign."

"Last time I noticed," Ferraro adds, "first lady wasn't even a paid job."

But that doesn't mean people don't take it seriously. But nothing short of seeing

Hillary Clinton "resign" as first lady is likely to quiet the true carpers, the critics who say she's sure to shirk her first ladyship in pursuit of a Senate seat, which her harshest detractors describe as her way of acting out a midlife crisis.

Even Clinton's supporters, who portray her candidacy as a sincere pursuit of public service by a woman who for 25 years has lived her beliefs by advancing her husband's career, wonder why she would put aside top-of-the-marquee billing to be gnawed at by New Yorkers.

"She has to strike a balance between Hillary the diva and Hillary who really wants your vote," said Paul Costello, a Manhattan public relations consultant who was press secretary to Rosalynn Carter and Kitty Dukakis. "Stardom is important in New York, but super stardom can be a problem."

Certainly, there will be things she's done as first lady that she will no longer have time for, including those wildly successful overseas adventures advocating for women and human rights. She is, however, squeezing in two trips this fall to Ireland and Poland.

And while she will be missed on the international scene, advo-

cates for these issues say they don't mind if it means they'll have a new friend in the Senate.

Beltway Democrats aren't as easy on her. They say Vice President Al Gore needs her to raise money and plug his gaping problem with female voters. But Terence McAuliffe, the Clintons' fund-raising wizard, insists Hillary Clinton "will have time to do events for Gore. She's committed to him."

The candidates who will feel what might have been are Democrats running for House and Senate seats. In 1996 and 1998, McAuliffe estimates Clinton raised "upwards of \$50 million" for congressional candidates and energized female voters. But if she's to raise \$20 million for her New York race, "there's only a certain amount she can do at the end of the day," McAuliffe concedes.

This unprecedented transformation of a president into a political spouse likely is to be tricky, especially as the first lady seeks Republican votes.

"We'll know how bad it's getting if she gets upstate and starts calling herself just plain old 'Hillary Rodham' and drops the Clinton," says Sheila Tate, a press secretary to Nancy Reagan.

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 Mrs. Roy Maitland, 2 year old son,
 toy and Kristina Jansen Maitland.
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 Vergara Cemetery.
 Friends may call at the funeral
 at from 2-4 and 7-9 pm
 Wednesday.

contributions may be made to the
 mas Roy Maitland Scholarship
 d for the Future Farmers of
 Wisconsin.

IASTON — Wednesday, June 30,
 Carollee J. DeMoranville, wife of
 art J. Marston, Sr., age 87 years.
 Funeral services will be held at
 the Salvation Army Citadel, Friday
 1 am. Burial will be in Evergreen
 cemetery.
 Friends may call at the Strong and
 is Funeral Home, Thursday from
 and 7-9 pm.
 Contributions in Carollee's memory
 be made to the Rome Salvation
 Army or Hospice Care, Inc.

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 loving memory of brother and
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 for a man we loved
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 Living nature; a heart of gold, you
 are the best the world could hold.
 We think of you in silence; talk
 about you too,
 's have lots of loving memories,
 but wish we still had you.
 Linda and Family

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NO ANN DESTROY

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

First lady will campaign in Utica

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Valve maintenance

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

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

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FOCUS ON THE FIRST LADY

Schumer puts heat on Hillary

Democratic Sen. Charles Schumer demanded yesterday that Hillary Rodham Clinton start fighting for New York — even if it means crossing her husband on such pet projects as Medicare reform that socks it to city hospitals.

"I think as New York's senator, she has to defend New York's interests," Schumer (D-N.Y.) said the day after the president unveiled a Medicare plan that could cost city hospitals \$1.7 billion and state hospitals \$3.2 billion.

A spokesman for Mrs. Clinton, who initially ducked comment, tried to have it both ways yesterday, hailing her husband's plan but saying the state's cherished teaching hospitals "should be protected from excessive cuts."

Says N.Y.'s interests come before Bill's

By Brian Blomquist and Marilyn Rauber in Washington, and Fredric U. Dicker in Albany

"She will closely follow this initiative as it moves through the legislative process," aide Howard Wolfson said without saying whether Mrs. Clinton will join Schumer and other lawmakers in fighting to restore the megabucks for New York.

Ken Sunshine, a spokesman for the pro-Democratic Local 1199, a union that represents 155,000 city health-care workers and opposes the cuts, warned her, "You

can be sure this issue is not going away."

Mrs. Clinton earlier this month ducked her husband's controversial refusal to move the U.S. Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem, and her Web site initially may not even include an "issues page," according to an internal memo obtained by The Post.

As another poll shows her popularity sinking, she announced a summer-long "listening" tour, plunging first into GOP upstate strongholds where the poll finds she's hemorrhaging support.

A new Quinnipiac College poll shows Mrs. Clinton in a statisti-

cal dead heat with Mayor Giuliani, 46-44 percent, with Giuliani surging 13 points ahead upstate. A Zogby poll had Giuliani leading.

Mrs. Clinton's campaign Web site also drew fire after The Post revealed that an internal memo shows White House communications director Ann Lewis will play a major role.

White House spokesman Jim Kennedy said Lewis' campaign work is not only legal, but she'll be allowed to do it from her White House office, insisting it'll be on her own time and "if there are any long-distance calls, she can use a credit card."

In some good news for Mrs. Clinton, Whitewater prosecutor Ken Starr yesterday closed the Arkansas part of his five-year probe of the First Couple's financial dealings after Mrs. Clinton's ex-law partner Webster Hubbell walked away from the courthouse without jail time and said, "Mrs. Clinton did nothing wrong."

But Starr said two matters were still before grand juries. Sources said they are the Travelgate firings, in which Mrs. Clinton's role is a central issue, and Sexgate.

**Inside Washington /
Deborah Orin: Page 12**

Dear Diary: Is running really easy as 1-2-3?

A MOLE at the White House faxed us Hillary Rodham Clinton's imaginary secret diary entry for Monday, written while she was supposedly house-shopping in Westchester County:

Dear Diary:

The president, Spielberg, Streisand, Ickes, and Mrs. Roosevelt's spirit have all asked me the same question: Why do you really want to run for the Senate?

Am I running to solve a mid-life crisis? To get even with Bill? As a reward for marital humiliation? To defend the liberal agenda?

Oh, things used to be so simple. When I was at Wellesley, it was stop the war, end apartheid and promote feminism.

How did I get from there to capital punishment and our welfare bill 20 liberal senators voted against?

I'm not sure who I am anymore.

At least Giuliani knows he likes opera and baseball. I don't even know if I care about baseball, but I'm going to Coopers-town next week — or is it Cooper Union?

Do I root for the Yankees or the Cubs? I don't know anymore.

I know I looked so phony when I put on the Yankees cap. I looked like Mike Dukakis wearing that oversized helmet in that dumb tank in 1988.

Where did I get so lost?

It must have been when I let that lawyer for Tyson Foods make those commodities trades for me in 1979. I like the \$100,000 profit. I was pregnant with Chelsea, and I was afraid Bill would dump me, and I would end up a single mom in a trailer park.

I know Rudy will use this against me. Didn't he send all those people to prison for insider trading?

Maybe this is a bad idea. Maybe I should wait and run in Illinois in 2004 against Peter Fitzgerald. At least he's not a former prosecutor!

If I run, I'm going to have to do another wretched

"Today" show interview. The last one backfired, but maybe it would be an opportunity to

soften my image. Maybe a pink dress instead of a black pantsuit.

Maybe I'll grow my hair longer. I could tone down the highlights. But what do I do if Katie Couric asks me about Bill, Monica and sex?

Bill only lies about golf and sex because those are the two things he cares most about. Lying about sex is his biggest weakness, but the polls say it's also the biggest reason voters feel sympathy for me. It's a tricky question for me.

Bill just doesn't understand this is the age of confession. Celebrities now just make up some personal flaw and confess it on

"Oprah" to humanize themselves. I told Bill to call Hugh Grant and ask him how to confess with charm. Bill just should have cried and apologized. He cries every week about nothing. I know that cretin Dick Morris isn't playing with a full set of toes. But he did give Bill the best advice. I remember he told Bill, "There is a great capacity for forgiveness in this country, and you should consider tapping into it."

And that writer, Walter Shapiro, sure got it right when he said that when it comes to sex, my husband is "stuck halfway between Arkansas and adolescence." I should hire Shapiro as my speech writer. I know I need some humor. The press is just not fair to me. Look at what Rudy gets away with. He's been an opportunist all his life and nobody calls him on it. Peter King told me how Rudy was rooting for the rioters and Rap Brown back in 1967. I never went that far out. Then he registered as a Republican to work in the Nixon and Reagan Justice Departments. Then he ran for mayor on the Liberal

line. Now he's lurched back to the right because he is afraid of Rick Lazio upstate. He's tearing down community gardens! I could never get away with such atrocities. So should I run? Spielberg told me to put on paper three true reasons why I want to be a senator. So here goes:

1. I am entitled to this as a reward for all the humiliations I endured because of Bill.
2. Rudy is part of the Vast Right-wing Conspiracy.
3. I want to be president while Bill is a junior senator from Arkansas.

JACK NEWFIELD



(UPI Focus)

NY Post: Hillary using fed workers

NEW YORK, June 30 (UPI) Hillary Rodham Clinton is reportedly using the White House communications director and two staffers working for Senate Democratic leader Tom Daschle to help prepare a Web site for the July 6 launch of her Senate exploratory committee.

A White House spokesman and an aide for Daschle tell the New York Post it is legal for the government employees to help with the first lady's campaign as long as they put in a 40-hour week for their main jobs.

The Post reports the Hillary 2000 site is not open to the public yet, although the section for credit card contributions is ready to go.

A June 25 memo obtained by the Post says a substantial amount of the Web site should be written by White House communications director Ann Lewis and media consultant Mandy Grunwald.

The memo also says some pages must be translated into Spanish and "vetted by several N.Y. Puerto Ricans."

When asked by the Post why Clinton wanted Puerto Ricans rather than other members of New York's diverse Hispanic community to review the Web pages, her campaign spokesman Harold Wolfson said, "It was not meant to be exclusive."

The Post also reports the Secret Service has checked a 17-acre mansion in North Salem, Westchester, as a possible residence for Mrs. Clinton and her family.

Clinton reportedly has her eye on the 18-room mansion just north of New York City that went on the market this spring for \$3.8 million.

It belongs to Democrat-supporter and Wall Street executive James Kohlberg.

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Clinton, Giuliani tied in N.Y. Senate race -poll

By Ellen Wulforth

NEW YORK, June 30 (Reuters) - First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, poised to announce formally the creation of a committee to explore a 2000 run for the U.S. Senate in New York, is in a virtual dead heat with her likely opponent, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, according to a poll released on Wednesday.

A Quinnipiac College Polling Institute survey of 1,131 registered voters in the state found that Clinton was preferred by 46 percent of respondents and Giuliani by 44 percent, with a margin of error of 2.9 percent. The poll was conducted June 22-28.

The poll marked the first time Clinton, a Democrat, has not led Giuliani, a Republican, since Quinnipiac began testing the hypothetical Senate race in early February.

The shift came among voters upstate, where Clinton possessed a 12-point lead in February and Giuliani now owns a 13-point lead, said Quinnipiac spokesman Maurice Carroll.

With Clinton showing solid support in New York City and Giuliani strong in the suburbs, "upstate is clearly the battleground," Carroll said.

Clinton plans to kick off a four-day tour of upstate New York next Wednesday, the day after she is slated to file papers officially creating an exploratory committee that enables her to raise campaign funds.

Her upstate tour includes scheduled stops in Oneonta, Cooperstown, Utica, Syracuse and the state capital, Albany.

Neither Clinton nor Giuliani officially has declared their expected candidacies. But Giuliani already has been raising money and travelling the country soliciting Republican Party support.

The seat is being vacated by the retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat.

According to the new poll, Clinton holds a lead of 52 percent to 38 percent among female voters, while Giuliani leads by the identical margin among male voters.

The poll showed 40 percent of New Yorkers had a favourable opinion of the first lady, compared with 33 percent for Giuliani.

More voters said Clinton, rather than Giuliani, had the personality to be an effective senator, but said they thought Giuliani understands the issues and problems facing New York state better than Clinton.

"In the character trait where we saw the biggest difference, familiarity with New York's needs, Giuliani outpoints Clinton overwhelmingly," Carroll said.

The Quinnipiac Polling Institute is based in Hamden, Connecticut.

**** filed by:RB--(--) on 06/30/99 at 16:25EDT ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 06/30/99 at 16:40EDT ****

Mrs. Clinton departs Albany for Washington, DC

Press Note: Currently we do not plan on creating a filing center in Albany.

CONTACT: Howard Wolfson for the Hillary Rodham Clinton for U.S. Senate Exploratory Committee, 202-955-6340 SOURCE Hillary Rodham Clinton for U.S. Senate Exploratory Committee

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06/30/99

/PRNewswire -- June 30/ CO: Hillary Rodham Clinton for U.S. Senate Exploratory Committee ST: New York, District of Columbia IN: SU: LEG CPN SL -- DCW004 -- 4260 06/30/99 08:03 EDT <http://www.prnewswire.com>

**** filed by:PR-F(--) on 06/30/99 at 08:10EDT ****

**** printed by:WHPR(SCOH) on 06/30/99 at 09:25EDT ****

In N.Y., The Senate Polls Keep Coming

■ IN YET ANOTHER SURVEY on the possible matchup between Hillary Rodham Clinton and New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani in next year's New York Senate race, Republican pollster Frank Luntz has found Giuliani with a slight advantage.

The poll of 800 registered voters, conducted June 10 and released Tuesday, gives Giuliani a 48-44 percent lead — just outside the survey's 3.5 point error margin.

While Luntz worked for Giuliani's mayoral campaigns in 1993 and 1997, the latest poll was not conducted for Giuliani — but involved adding Senate questions to a poll Luntz was conducting for a corporate client.

Giuliani has a 54-37 percent lead

among men, while Clinton has a 50-42 percent advantage among women.

Luntz told a group of reporters that if Clinton and Giuliani end up as the two nominees for the seat of retiring **Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan**, D-N.Y., "you will see the biggest difference in gender probably of any modern statewide campaign."

While the gender gap is nothing new, Luntz said in this case "it is deep and it expands" — and could lead to a gender realignment in New York politics.

Luntz also cautioned the "carpetbagger" issue is overrated.

"It is an excuse for people who don't like Clinton," he said. "You will find very few people in New York who would vote for her except for the fact that she is a carpetbagger."

He added, "It is not something I would run a campaign on."