

Lazio accepts GOP's nomination

'Underdog' to take on Hillary Clinton in race for N.Y. spot in Senate

By Martha T. Moore
USA TODAY

BUFFALO — Two weeks ago, he was without a date to the political prom. Tuesday, citing his "mainstream" record and his New York roots, Rep. Rick Lazio accepted the Senate nomination of a party that had initially asked him to wait 'til next time.

Gathered in a hotel ballroom here, about 2,000 Republicans made a show of rallying behind Lazio, 42, a relatively unknown congressman from Long Island who leapt into the race after the dramatic withdrawal of New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani.

It was a smaller affair than the one in which 11,000 people filled an arena May 15 in Albany to nominate first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton as the Democratic Senate candidate from New York. But state Republicans hope their candidate comes with less baggage than Giuliani, their first choice in the nation's most closely watched Senate race. Like Giuliani, Lazio immediately set out to portray Clinton as a left-wing extremist and a carpetbagger. "I am the underdog in this race. My opponent is better financed and better known," Lazio said. But, he added, "I have one advantage she'll never have: I can be myself. I am a New Yorker. For me, New York isn't just a mailing address, it's my home."

Lazio trails in fundraising in what is expected to be the most expensive Senate race in the nation. As of March 21, he had \$3.5 million on hand, assembled before state Republicans asked him to step aside in favor of Giuliani, compared with Clinton's \$6.6 million. But in a Zogby International Poll released Thursday, Lazio was in a statistical tie with Clinton, a measure of both the enormous amount of news coverage given to the race and of what Republicans call the "ABC" factor — Anyone But Clinton.

For his day in the spotlight, Lazio sported a fat lip caused by a fall in a Memorial Day parade Monday. The injury required eight stitches. "I've heard of pounding the pavement, but this is ridiculous," Lazio joked to the convention. Organizers played the theme from *Rocky* as he took the stage.

Some Republican enthusiasm may be relief at the end of Giuliani's protracted exit from the race. The mayor withdrew May 19 after being



By David Duprey, AP

New candidate: Rick Lazio and his wife, Patricia, celebrate his nomination Tuesday in Buffalo.

diagnosed with prostate cancer and announcing plans to separate from his wife, Donna Hanover.

"Our party had to move very quickly from the Giuliani announcement two Fridays ago to the convention here today. And it did," said Bob Davis, Erie County Republican chairman. "Here we are ready to unite behind this young congressman from Long Island and engage the battle."

Saying he didn't want to take the spotlight from Lazio, Giuliani didn't attend the GOP convention here. Republicans said that although Lazio lacks Giuliani's celebrity, he also lacks the mayor's polarizing effect.

"We're going to have a campaign that isn't going to have those lightning rod personality issues. We're going to have a campaign that Rick Lazio will define by talking about issues, on his record, on her lack of a record," Davis said.

So far, Lazio has differed from Clinton — and from Giuliani — in supporting a ban on a procedure opponents call partial-birth abortion. Clinton supports registration of handgun owners; Lazio does not.

Lazio has won GOP approval by showing himself to be a whirlwind campaigner. Giuliani limited his campaign events as he continued in

the job of New York City mayor, and he irritated Republicans by his apparent reluctance to venture north of New York City. He canceled a fundraiser in Rochester, for example, to attend the home opener of the New York Yankees. But after hitting two parades and a barbecue on Memorial Day, Lazio crammed in five events Tuesday in addition to his acceptance speech at the convention. Then he set off on a three-day bus trip.

"This guy is totally committed to running," said Rep. Tom Reynolds, R-N.Y., Lazio's interim campaign chairman. "And he certainly has made that the centerpiece of his life for the next five months."

Lazio comes with a good pedigree for New York's ethnic politics: He is an Italian-American Catholic from the suburbs. He is married and has two young daughters. In his acceptance speech, he reminisced about his immigrant grandmother's meatballs.

Lazio's bus, dubbed the "Mainstream Express," appears to be a direct descendant of Sen. John McCain's "Straight Talk Express" bus that rolled through the early Republican presidential primaries. Lazio also has hired Mike Murphy, the media strategist who worked for McCain.

What Does Hill Believe?

She bashes Lazio's votes for the Contract with America — so is she *against* welfare reform & the death penalty?



**WILLIAM
TUCKER**

ONE of the more bizarre aspects of the current Senate campaign is Hillary Clinton's crusade against Rick Lazio for voting in favor of the Contract with America.

Does Mrs. Clinton remember what the "Contract" was? I doubt it, because if she did she certainly wouldn't be criticizing Rep. Lazio for supporting it. In fact, like her husband, President Clinton, she would probably be taking credit for helping enact most of it.

A 10-point manifesto carefully selected by the Republican leadership and signed by the entire slate of GOP House candidates, the contract was hardly a controversial document. At the time, none of the points had less than 60 percent support of the public and a few — like the crucial first point — had 90 percent support.

Rather than a manifestation of Republican genius, it was a measure of how far out of touch with the public the Democrats had become after 40 years as the House majority.

The contract's 10 points and their eventual outcome:

1) Congress shall apply the laws it passes to itself. After four decades of rule, the Democratic majority had developed the habit of exempting Congress from all the laws it imposed on the rest of the country.

Labor and environmental laws,

health and safety regulations — Congress was not subject to just about any form of government regulation. The argument was that Congress was too important to be hampered by distractions like paying overtime to file clerks or providing wheelchair access to its bathrooms.

The new GOP majority overturned this practice its first week in office. Would Hillary Clinton like to go back to the old manorial system?

2) Welfare reform. In 1994, we still lived with the perversion of the 1933 Social Security Act that had turned Aid to Families with Dependent Children (originally a "widows and orphans" program) into a massive subsidy for illegitimacy. President Clinton vetoed two versions of welfare reform, but finally approved it in 1995. Since then, teenage pregnancy has plummeted to the lowest level in three decades.

President Clinton claims welfare reform as one of his greatest accomplishments. Does Mrs. Clinton oppose it?

3) The Balanced Budget Amendment. In 1994, we were still running peacetime deficits of close to \$300 billion — almost a billion dollars a day. The amendment fell one vote short in the Senate, but the Republican budget-cutting drive erased the deficit in four short years. The



this and President Clinton enthusiastically embraced it until it was overturned by the Supreme Court. Mayor Giuliani initiated the legal challenge after President Clinton vetoed a special arrangement for New York Medicaid funding. Does Mrs. Clinton support Mayor Giuliani on the line-item veto? It would be interesting to hear her say so.

6) Tax cuts for families with children. The GOP Congress settled on a \$500 tax credit for children as the fulfillment of this promise. President Clinton vetoed it as not being "targeted" enough.

Mrs. Clinton constantly criticizes all Republicans for wanting to lower taxes, so it's probably safe to say where she stands on this one.

7) An enforceable death penalty. Congress has adopted a death penalty for "drug lords" and Attorney General Janet Reno is enforcing it. On the state level, the death penalty remains the only tool for differentiating between felony robbery and felony murder. Lazio is right that last week's Queens killings are "what the death penalty was made for": Without the death penalty, it is all too tempting for a robber to kill to eliminate the

witnesses to a crime — just as the Wendy's killers allegedly did.

Does Mrs. Clinton oppose the death penalty? It would be nice to hear her say so.

8) Regulatory reform. This comes in many shapes and sizes. Newt Gingrich tried to institute "Corrections Day" in which Congress would spend one day a week repealing outmoded laws. This quickly petered out. Al Gore is of the "reinventing government" school and takes credit for eliminating all kinds of waste.

Does Mrs. Clinton oppose regulatory reform? If not, what kind does she support?

9) Litigation reform. Here the lines are clearly drawn. Outside of Hollywood, the trial lawyers remain the Democratic Party's most reliable and generous source of funds. The issues are simple. Lawyers like the idea of having the courts transfer billions of dollars in damage awards. Republicans find it arbitrary and wasteful. If Mrs. Clinton would make her support of the trial lawyers manifest, we might have an interesting — if predictable — election issue.

10) A strong national defense. Without the Republican buildup, simultaneous peacekeeping operations in Bosnia and the Middle East probably wouldn't have been possible. Does Mrs. Clinton oppose bolstering our national defense? It would be nice to hear her say so.

Shouting "Newt Gingrich" in a crowded convention hall is one thing. Discussing the issues is another. It will be interesting to hear Mrs. Clinton elaborate her opposition to the Contract With America.

William Tucker is CEO of TheElevator.com, an Internet matchmaking service for entrepreneurs and investors. A veteran journalist, he assisted Newt Gingrich in writing "To Renew America."

WEDNESDAY, MAY 31, 2000

The Washington Times

GOP hopeful faces Hillary in N.Y. race

By Steve Miller
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BUFFALO, N.Y. — Rep. Rick A. Lazio yesterday accepted the Republican nomination to oppose first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton for the U.S. Senate, continuing to stress his New York roots and vowing to deliver on a "message of hope, opportunity and responsibility."

"I am the underdog. My opponent is better financed and better known," Mr. Lazio acknowledged to the 400 delegates and party supporters in the packed ballroom at the downtown Hyatt Regency.

"She comes to New York with the support of every left-wing interest, from the Washington insiders to the Hollywood elite."

"But as I've said before, bring 'em on."

Mr. Lazio sported a swollen lip held together by eight stitches, a wound he received when he fell at a Memorial Day parade on Long Island. In several speeches during the day, the candidate referred to his obvious injury.

"I've heard of pounding the

LAZIO

From page A1

pavement, but this is ridiculous," he said in his acceptance speech filled with self-deprecation that went over well with a crowd that was positively in his pocket.

Mr. Lazio larded his speech with digs at Mrs. Clinton, continuing to tout his lineage as a New Yorker.

"I have one big advantage here," said Mr. Lazio, who was born and raised in his home district on Long Island. "I can be myself. I am a New Yorker. It's not just a mailing address."

Mrs. Clinton has fought the "carpetbagger" tag since she moved to the state last fall to seek the Senate seat.

Attendees were sometimes as anti-Clinton as they were pro-Lazio. Many wore pins disparaging Mrs. Clinton and bumper stickers doing the same were handed out — and grabbed up — with zeal.

In introductory speeches, other high-profile New York Republicans also disparaged the first lady.

Gov. George E. Pataki said that when Mr. Lazio puts on a New York Yankees cap, "it fits." Mrs. Clinton donned an oversized hat in the early days of her campaign.

Mrs. Clinton's campaign spokes-

man Howard Wolfson said Mr. Lazio had "offered the people of New York recycled insults and rhetoric that doesn't match his record. Time and time again, Rick Lazio has voted against New York's working families in Washington."

Mr. Lazio's campaign is just two weeks old, having been assembled on short notice when New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani dropped out as the potential Republican nominee, citing his affliction with prostate cancer.

Peppering his speech with calls for better public education and affordable health care, Mr. Lazio was unrepentant about his voting record during his eight years in Congress.

"I have a mainstream record and am proud of it," he said.

Mr. Lazio's opponents already have started accusing him of being a Newt Gingrich clone, citing voting similarities with the divisive ex-speaker of the House.

Mr. Lazio's speech was delivered in a brightly lit and overcrowded room that was festooned with red, white and blue at every turn. Balloons and bunting draped the walls and a huge American flag hung behind the stage.

The candidate entered to the "Rocky" theme, a musical choice that drew some titters from the au-

dience.

A good-sized chunk of the narrow ballroom was set aside for a photographers' platform, and a media table took up more space at the back of the room. The crowd overflowed into hallways to watch the proceedings on television.

Most of the party faithful were jubilant about Mr. Lazio's entry into the fray, fostered in part by his openness and his willingness to talk to anybody at any time.

"I met him last year, when he was considering running for office, and liked him immediately," said Christine Pilozi, a convention attendee from suburban Tonawanda. "It was like talking to him ... was no big deal, he was so down to earth."

Mr. Lazio's stance on abortion, which is mostly pro-choice, has done little to alienate most Republicans, while the 42-year-old congressman has attracted the respect of younger party members, said Buffalo resident Emil Everett.

"I think more and more, younger people can be attracted by that kind of stance," said Mr. Everett, 38, who said he has been involved in politics since he was a teen-ager.

The candidate yesterday attended a special "Women for Lazio" luncheon before the convention, drawing a full house as

well as a bevy of reporters and camera crews.

In a charcoal suit, white shirt and salmon tie, Mr. Lazio freely gave interviews, took pictures and grasped the hands of supporters while working the room. Women hugged him even as they munched their broiled chicken, and he didn't miss a hand extended for a shake.

"He has electrified this party," said Richard Don Zarbo, a party member and a city council member in nearby Lancaster. "He couldn't have timed his candidacy better."

Mr. Lazio also is drawing the ABC (Anybody But Clinton) vote with ferocity. One veteran attending the convention, who did not want to be identified, said he was an Independent Party member.

"But I could never vote for Hillary because of her husband, a draft-dodger," said the man, who was adorned with military medals.

For others, Mr. Lazio's smooth style was a draw. Women became radiant when he walked by them and his easygoing demeanor played well as he walked down the streets of Buffalo.

"He's exciting," said Karen Braner, who was visiting Buffalo with her husband, Roger. Both were sporting the flavor-of-the-day anti-Clinton stickers on their la-

pels, a circle around the word "Hillary" with a line drawn through it.

The Falls Church couple have a cottage in nearby Ridgeway, Ontario, and crossed the border to see Mr. Lazio speak.

"We don't know much about Lazio, but he just started," Mr. Braner said. "But we know nothing about Hillary, and she's been at it for months."

The couple's interest is part of the national appeal of the New York Senate race, even without Mr. Giuliani, the acerbic and colorful New York City mayor.

Mr. Lazio's doubters claim he does not have the celebrity status of Mrs. Clinton and carries a congressional voting record that is mixed, sometimes even waffling.

"He needs to show me who he is before he gets my vote, or I'll vote for a third-party candidate," said one onlooker.

Pollsters have Mr. Lazio in a statistical tie with the first lady. Mrs. Clinton will try tenaciously to garner any edge she can muster through her legendary roadwork, which includes visits to all 62 of New York's counties.

But Mr. Lazio plans on racking up some miles himself. Last night, he departed Buffalo for Syracuse and an ambitious campaign tour of central New York.



Ozler Muhammad/The New York Times

Marching, and Running

Representative Rick A. Lazio and Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani marched in a Memorial Day parade yesterday in Queens, while Mr. Lazio's rival for the Senate, Hillary Rodham Clinton, marched in her new hometown, Chappaqua, N.Y. Earlier, at a parade in Babylon, on Long Island, Mr. Lazio tripped and fell, splitting his lip. It needed eight stitches. Page A25.

THE NEW YORK TIMES
TUESDAY, MAY 30, 2000



Librado Romero/The New York Times

Mrs. Clinton, In Rochester, Tackles Queries On Motives

By RANDAL C. ARCHIBOLD

Hillary Rodham Clinton used a town hall forum in Rochester yesterday in part to answer what she acknowledged were continuing concerns about her ambitions and motives in running for a Senate seat representing a state where she had never lived until five months ago.

Would she serve a full six-year term?

"I am committed," Mrs. Clinton said, "because I think it would take a good six years to be able to accomplish issues that I care about. Doing what I would like to see us do to get the pieces in place for a good economic strategy, you can't do that in a year or two or three."

Will she live in New York even if she loses?

"Absolutely."

When told by a participant that "many of your potential colleagues in the U.S. Senate knew you as a polarizing personality; that scares me," Mrs. Clinton rattled off a list of issues on which she has worked with the Republican leadership. And she drew titters with an end point, "After what I've been through for the last seven years nothing they can say can possibly hurt my feelings."

Mrs. Clinton has addressed some of those concerns before, particularly on her residency and ambitions, but they have been freshly raised by her new opponent, Representative Rick A. Lazio, a Long Island Republican who announced his candidacy on Saturday after Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani dropped out.

Mrs. Clinton took questions for about an hour and a half from 85 people participating by e-mail, by fax and in a studio for a "Voice of the Voter" program sponsored by WXXI Public Broadcasting, WOKR-TV and the Rochester Democrat & Chronicle. The program was broadcast live on radio and the Internet and was to be shown last night on television in an upstate region where the two candidates are vying for critical votes.

Mrs. Clinton appeared on the program after a Manhattan news conference to accept the endorsement of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League. Mr. Lazio scoffed at the endorsement, saying he too is "pro-choice." But he has drawn criticism from abortion rights advocates for opposing public financing for abortions and a late-term procedure critics call "partial birth abortion," a stance he says is in line with "mainstream New Yorkers."

Many questions, however, focused as much on style as on substance. Mrs. Clinton appeared poised in response to questions about her personality and ambitions, issues Republicans cite as faults. She sounded surprised only when she was asked "if you were to die tonight do you know if you would spend eternity in heaven or hell, and if you don't know would you allow me to tell you how you could know?"

Mrs. Clinton seemed to wrestle with a response. She started by saying "I greatly respect the question" and ended with "I also do not believe that we should be, in public, putting people in a position of responding to questions that are really focused on ones of personal faith."

In between she said, "I hope that I will be someone who will live a life that is worthy of my strong Methodism and my Christian faith and my commitment to doing the very best I can to keep the example of our Lord and savior. But I cannot tell you where I will be. I can only hope and pray that I will find favor in God's eyes."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

FRIDAY, MAY 26, 2000

THE WASHINGTON POST

POLITICS

Lynne Duke

NARAL Backs Hillary Clinton For Senate

The National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League and its New York chapter endorsed **Hillary Rodham Clinton** for Senate yesterday and criticized her new Republican opponent, Rep. **Rick Lazio**, for describing himself as an abortion rights supporter.

NARAL's endorsement comes the week after New York Mayor **Rudolph W. Giuliani** dropped out of the race. Both he and Clinton are sufficiently in favor of abortion rights that NARAL had not endorsed either candidate.

But now Clinton faces an opponent whose abortion stand is decidedly different from hers. Though Lazio describes himself as a supporter of abortion rights, he opposes Medicaid funding for abortions for poor women and is against a type of late-term abortion. And he is sufficiently antiabortion that he won the endorsement of New York's Conservative Party—which had refused to support Giuliani.

"There is only one pro-choice candidate in the race for U.S. Senate," said **Kelli Conlin**, executive director of NARAL/NY.

Clinton, at her own news conference in Rochester, was asked whether she would try to link Lazio to former House speaker **Newt Gingrich**. "I cannot speak for all my supporters because certainly the facts are that he was closely allied during those years . . . with that leadership in the Congress, and I think New Yorkers need to know that," she told reporters.

Lazio got his own good news yesterday, with a poll showing him in a dead heat with the first lady. The poll, taken May 23 to May 25 by Zogby International, put Clinton at 45.8 percent and Lazio at 43.8 percent, with 10.4 percent undecided. It has a margin of error of 3.8 percent. A Zogby survey released on Sunday showed Lazio with 32 percent and Clinton 45 percent, with 17 percent undecided.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

CAMPAIGN 2000



Rising star Lazio catches Hillary in N.Y. minute: poll

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

It's a race! In the blink of an eye, Rep. Rick Lazio has zoomed to within two points of Hillary Clinton in New York's Senate race — nearly wiping out a 14-point deficit since Sunday, a new poll by Zogby International showed yesterday.

Yesterday's survey found 46 percent backing Clinton and 44 percent supporting Lazio — who became the Republican Senate candidate less than a week ago, when Mayor Giuliani dropped out. Ten percent were undecided.

Clinton's edge is within the poll's 3.8-point margin of error, making the contest a statistical dead heat.

"Lazio had the kind of opening week that new candidates only dream about," said pollster John Zogby.

The speed of Lazio's 12-point leap is breathtaking, and he has gained in

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

every area of the state — upstate, the suburbs and New York City — while Clinton has been standing still or backsliding.

He's also winning favor among independents and it appears that many of last week's undecided voters have shifted into Lazio's corner.

A Post Poll on Sunday had Clinton leading 46 percent to 32, with 17 percent undecided.

Since Giuliani dropped out, Lazio has benefited from an enormous amount of publicity, as he has campaigned aggressively around the state.

Even Clinton's supporters admit Lazio's off to a good start and the first lady has retooled her message to brand the newcomer a

right-winger in a bid to slow his march.

Most shocking is a 25-point turnaround in the suburbs, putting him ahead of the first lady.

Lazio now leads 54 percent to 36 in the crucial battleground, after being down to Clinton last Sunday by 43 percent to 36. He also holds a 46-41 lead upstate and has trimmed his deficit in the city.

Part of Lazio's sudden rise can be attributed to the fact that only 11 percent of voters have an unfavorable view of him, while 38 percent have a negative opinion of Clinton.

The survey of 713 likely voters was conducted Tuesday through yesterday.

"Hillary is going to keep working hard to earn the trust and support of New Yorkers," Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson said in a statement.

The Lazio campaign didn't return a call for com-



HELL OF A QUESTION: Hillary Clinton, in Rochester yesterday, responds to a man who asked if she thinks she'll spend eternity in heaven or hell. AP

ment. Meanwhile, a Republican at a town-hall meeting in Rochester surprised Clinton by asking: Does she think she will spend eternity in heaven or hell?

"I cannot tell you where I will be," Clinton responded.

"I can only hope and pray that I will find favor in God's eyes."



RICK LAZIO
Within 2 points.

**Lazio is no
Gingrich / Post
Opinion: Page 31**

Lazio quickly catches up to first lady

NEW YORK (Reuters) — Rep. Rick A. Lazio has moved into a tie with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton among New York voters less than a week after announcing his candidacy for the U.S. Senate and just days after trailing Mrs. Clinton by 13 points.

The poll released yesterday by Zogby International of 713 likely New York state voters showed Mrs. Clinton, the first wife of a president to seek national office, leading Mr. Lazio by 45.8 percent to 43.8 percent with 10.4 percent undecided.

The poll, taken from Tuesday through yesterday, has a margin of error of 3.8 percent, making Mrs. Clinton's 2-point lead statistically meaningless.

A Zogby survey of 506 likely voters released Sunday, a day after Mr. Lazio announced that he would

replace New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani in the Senate race, showed the Long Island Republican with 32 percent and the first lady with 45 percent while 17 percent were undecided.

"This didn't take very long. Lazio had the kind of opening week that new candidates only dream about — a lot of publicity, a successful swing through the state and polling validation," said pollster John Zogby.

In a dramatic City Hall news conference on May 19, Mr. Giuliani announced he was withdrawing from the Senate race to battle prostate cancer.

Since his formal announcement Saturday, Mr. Lazio — who was relatively unknown outside his suburban district — has gone on a whirlwind tour of upstate New York and New York City to introduce himself

to voters.

The Republican Party, both nationwide and in the state, has rallied around the congressman.

In Sunday's Zogby poll, 63.5 percent said they didn't know enough about Mr. Lazio to form an opinion. In yesterday's survey, that number dropped to 41.4 percent.

Also yesterday, Mr. Giuliani said he will return \$2.8 million to people who contributed to his aborted campaign and ask them to send their money to Mr. Lazio instead.

The mayor also said he will campaign with Mr. Lazio next week.

Election laws require Mr. Giuliani to return money that donors earmarked for the general election rather than the primary; in this case, that's \$2.8 million.

After that, the Giuliani campaign will be left with about \$3.3 million.

Sorry, Hillary, but —

Lazio Is No Gingrich



**FLOYD
FLAKE**

RICK Lazio is no Newt Gingrich.

I have some authority on this topic: As their colleague in the Congress from 1994 to 1998, I watched the two men take decidedly different paths to success and failure.

I have endorsed Hillary Rodham Clinton, but if her campaign takes the "he's just like Gingrich" course this summer, it will quickly learn that the differences between Gingrich and Lazio are like night and day. Worst of all — for the first lady and for Democratic fortunes in November — any effort to brand Lazio "Gingrich Lite" will ultimately cheat Democrats and the state out of the most exciting race they have had in years.

Gingrich was one of the most publicly reviled politicians of this century. People all across the nation used to stop me in churches, at conventions and on planes to inquire if Gingrich was really as bad as he came off on television and in the press in general.

Of course he was not and could not have been this bad: In politics, it's easy to create a persona even if it is not true. But Lazio — young, affable and telegenic — will never have to endure the drag on his public image that was Gingrich's lot.

And Lazio is willing to work

hard to improve his name recognition. Indeed, low name "ID" may be an advantage over the first lady — who has such high negative numbers among people who mortally hate her

husband and his policies. This Lazio edge was in evidence earlier this week, when he made his first foray into Harlem's Hispanic and African-American communities and people were seemingly open to his presence and message.

The often loose-lipped candor that Gingrich brought to serious situations assisted his undoing. One never knew which Gingrich would show up: The practical Gingrich, seeking to affirm the dignity of the poor by stressing the virtues of freedom? Or the cavalierly foolish Gingrich, spouting pseudo-science about women being less able to fight in combat because they contract infections when they spend extended periods of time in foxholes? Nothing so foolish will ever come from Lazio's lips.

When he doesn't know the answer to a question, Lazio will probably seek the insight of somebody who knows better. Gingrich, always the knowing professor, seemed to think he knew everything all of the time.

Gingrich also shot from the hip from the speaker's chair. Yet, from the closest thing to the speaker's chair that Lazio has sat in — the chairmanship of the House Banking Committee's Housing subcommittee — he was



N.Y. Post:
Tamara
Beckwith

Post photo
composite

the picture of political and policy prudence.

Lazio generally sought to include the voices of both Democrats and Republicans into legislation reported out of his subcommittee. As manager of the 1996 Housing Bill in the Banking Committee, he often appeared personally pained when

forced to carry water for more conservative members of the GOP majority, with which he often disagreed. Nonetheless, a good soldier and team player, he just marched on with his larger goals clearly in sight.

In 1996, I watched a sophomore congressman artfully build coalitions and sidestep snares set

for him by both Democrats and Republicans on the Banking Committee, which was then notorious for its cut-throat politicians and staff. Nothing would have pleased some senior members more than to watch a young subcommittee chairman fail on his maiden voyage. But the schoolboyish Lazio impressed everyone with his sureness of foot in legislative battle and his remarkable housing knowledge amassed so quickly.

If the Clinton campaign tries to paint Lazio as a Gingrich clone, it will soon find out that the record, legislative and otherwise, will not help build a strong case.

Of course there were times when Lazio voted with his party on ill-conceived components of the "Contract with America." For these actions, Lazio should and will be held responsible. But so should and will some Democrats be forced to answer for their votes on some of the contract's components — including yours truly!

Parts of the "contract" actually made sense. Then too, with its clear vision for government and its declarations of "an end to government as usual," the Contract with America actually enjoyed overwhelming support across America and in New York state.

And though the anti-Gingrich message brought electoral victories for Democrats elsewhere, there was no bloodletting among GOP members of the Congress here in New York state. New York Republicans who lost in 1998 did so because of their own campaign shortcomings and inability to create a strong, coherent message.

If Hillary Clinton is to succeed in November, she must forge a message out of herself and what she offers New York state, and not try a campaign strategy that links her opponent to a defeated politician when they really have so little in common. It didn't work before, and it probably won't work in November.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Ta king it Over with Hi ary

Earlier this week, the FBI released new statistics showing that crime is down for the eighth year in a row, the longest decline record. One dramatic statistic: in 1999, there were over 8,000 fewer murders nationwide than in 1992.

And yet, with gun violence declining, gunfire still claims the lives of nearly 12 children every day.

The American Academy of Pediatrics calls the rate of firearm injuries and deaths among young people a major public health issue, and warns that, if current trends continue, gun violence could become the leading cause of death among children in this country by 2006.

In the nation's capital, Easter Monday dawned bright and sunny - the perfect day for an outing. Schools were out, and hundreds of families headed to the National Zoo. But before the day was over, seven children, ranging in age from 11 to 16, fell victim to gunfire when a 16-year-old allegedly used a handgun to settle a dispute. Shot in the head, fifth-grader Harris Bates remains hospitalized with critical injuries.

So now, we add the National Zoo to the list: Littleton, Jonesboro, Flint, West Paducah, Springfield, Pearl, Conyers, Fort Worth and Granada Hills - names that should haunt us until, as a nation, we summon the courage to get guns out of the hands of children and criminals.

Predictably, after each tragic shooting, there are loud calls for stricter gun laws. The President has urged Congress to send him a gun safety bill that he can sign, and has proposed the largest national gun enforcement initiative in history. Last May, the Senate passed a bill that mandated

safety locks for handguns, banned imports of large-capacity ammunition clips, and required sellers at gun shows to do background checks on gun buyers. But under the weight of the gun lobby, negotiations with the House so far have failed.

Meanwhile, as this lifesaving legislation languishes, thousands more children have been killed or injured with guns. I find myself wondering how members of Congress can bear to delay taking action even one extra day. How many more children are they willing to let die? When will they join the majority of Americans and say, "Enough is enough?"

Last August, a New Jersey mother of two decided she had had enough, and that it was time to send a very loud message to Congress and politicians around the country. Donna Dees-Thomases says her wake-up call came as she watched the news of the Granada Hills day camp shooting. She says she felt ashamed - "Ashamed because I've sat back while others battle the gun lobby to protect our children."

One week later, Donna applied for a permit to lead a Mother's Day march on the nation's capital. On May 14, Women from every corner of the nation will descend on Washington for the Million Mom March. Designed to put Congress on notice that common-sense gun policies, such as licensing and registration, are what the American people want, organizers are hoping to attract not just mother, but also fathers, grandparents, children, neighbors, family and friends to join in their efforts.

Leaders of the rally do not advocate banning guns. Rather, they want gun owners to be licensed, registered, and

to participate in mandatory safety training. Organizers also support sensible "cooling-off" periods for handgun sales, background checks for all gun purchases, safety locks, one-handgun-per-month purchase limits and no-nonsense enforcement of existing gun laws.

Yvonne Pope, whose son was shot dead on July 29, 1993, after an argument on the basketball court, will march on Sunday. Even as she talks about what it's like to know that she will never hear her son's voice again or give him a hug, she says that standing arm in arm with thousands of other women will be a blessing.

November 6, 1995, is the day Jaquie Algee lost her 19-year-old son Kenneth to gun violence. Jaquie is organizing the Atlanta march, the largest of the local events that will take place on Sunday in 63 other cities around the country. Like millions of other moms, Jaquie is angry. She says, "Too many children are dying preventable deaths. We are putting our elected officials on notice that we, the mothers, will no longer tolerate them putting the gun lobby before the safety of our children." It is past time for congress to support meaningful gun safety measures. Like car owners, gun owners should undergo safety training. And like drivers, gun owners should be licensed and required to register their weapons. The choice is simple:



Hillary Koaham Clinton

Stand by and do nothing as a dozen children are killed each day, or join the Million Mom March and send Congress the message that Americas' moms have had enough.

The Hudson Valley Black Press

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NOTHING BUT THE TRUTH

Chicago Defender

HUD begins a nationwide sale of foreclosed houses to governments for \$1 apiece

The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) today began selling homes to local governments at a price of only \$1 each, to create housing for families in need and to help revitalize neighborhoods, Secretary Andrew Cuomo announced.

Under the \$1 Home Initiative, single-family homes that are acquired in foreclosure actions by the Federal Housing Administration (which is part of HUD) are eligible for sale to local governments around the nation for \$1 each whenever FHA is unable to sell the homes for six months.

More than 1,000 homes are initially eligible for sale to local governments under the initiative, and additional homes will become available for sale each month.

Hundreds of local governments have informed HUD they are interested in buying \$1 homes.

Newport News and Norfolk, VA; Pittsfield, MA; Rockford, IL; and San Bernardino, CA have already agreed to purchase homes.

"These \$1 homes will unlock the door to homeownership for struggling families and will help build better futures for neighborhoods," Cuomo said.

By selling vacant homes for \$1 after six months on the market, HUD will make it possible for communities to fix up the homes and put them to good use at considerable savings.

The newly occupied homes can then act as catalysts for neighborhood revitalization, attracting new residents and businesses to an area.

Local governments buying HUD homes for \$1 can sell or rent them to low- and moderate-income families, to first-time homebuyers, or to groups that will use the homes to provide services such as child care centers or job training centers.

Homes in extremely deteriorated condition, where rehabilitation is not feasible, will be demol-

ished by HUD and the vacant lots will be offered for sale to the local government for \$1.

The initiative won't cost taxpayers a penny. Because of improvements in FHA management and because few FHA-insured home loans default, FHA's revenues exceeded expenses and the agency returned about \$1.5 billion to the U.S. Treasury in 1999.

The \$1 Home Initiative complements a system HUD instituted last year under which contractors rather than HUD employees sell FHA-owned homes.

Under this system, the average time it takes to sell a home has dropped by 38 days and the amount of money HUD recovers from each sale has increased by an average of \$4,500 per home.

With more than 50,000 sales to date, the new system has saved HUD more than \$225 million.

FHA currently insures about 6.7 million mortgages.

When homeowners fail to make their mortgage payments, FHA first tries to help them stay in their homes through foreclosure avoidance.

If this is not successful, the lender forecloses on a home and conveys it to FHA in exchange for FHA payment of the outstanding mortgage balance. FHA then puts the home up for sale.

The vast majority of FHA-owned homes sell within six months.

For example, in the past six months FHA has sold about 39,000 homes, while only about 3,000 homes have been on the market for six months or more.

Last year FHA sold about 6,500 homes to local governments and community-based nonprofit organizations through the Direct Sales Program.

This program offers homes located within a revitalization area that are in need of repair for sale at 30 percent discounts off the appraised value.

The program, which sells homes as soon as they become available to FHA,

will continue.

HUD has implemented many reforms at FHA since Cuomo became Secretary. HUD has reorganized and consolidated 81 field offices into four state-of-the-art home ownership centers, approved and adopted Freddie Mac's and Fannie Mae's automated underwriting systems, and developed an FHA scorecard, which will be available to the marketplace later this year.

Eighty percent of FHA loans go to first-time homebuyers.

In addition, FHA insures about 40 percent of all home mortgages to African American and Hispanic homebuyers.

FHA does not make mortgage loans directly, but rather insures loans made by private lenders to homebuyers.

Because FHA mortgage insurance protects lenders from losses, it has enabled 30 million American families who would otherwise be locked out of the mortgage market and homeownership to qualify for mortgages.

FHA-insured loans also benefit homebuyers in these ways:

- * FHA downpayments of 3 percent are lower than the minimum that many lenders require for non-FHA mortgages. Higher downpayments are a major roadblock to homeownership.

- * FHA's requirement for homebuyer credit ratings are more flexible than those set by many lenders for non-FHA borrowers.

- * FHA permits homebuyers to use gifts from family members and nonprofit groups to make their entire downpayment, while conventional loans generally require homebuyers to come up with a portion of the downpayment from their own funds.

- * FHA permits a borrower to carry more debt than a private mortgage insurer typically allows.

First lady jabs Rick on guns, Buchanan

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.



COURTING SENIORS: Hillary Rodham Clinton addresses senior citizens in Mount Vernon yesterday. Yechiam Gai

Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday made her strongest attack on newcomer Rick Lazio, saying he's on the wrong side of the gun-control battle and shouldn't share the Independence Party line with Pat Buchanan.

Appearing at a senior-citizens center in Mount Vernon, Clinton spoke out against her GOP senate foe after she officiated at a bingo game for 250 elderly players.

"I do not believe that it's New York's interest to support or be allied with Pat Buchanan, who has been a divisive force, a voice for anti-Semitism, and I strongly reject that and my opponent has not," Clinton said.

Buchanan is the odds-on favorite to receive the presidential nomination of the Reform Party, the national affiliate of the Ross Perot-inspired Independence Party in New York. Lazio has said he would run on the Independence line even if Buchanan were its presidential

candidate.

In words that she had previously used to describe Mayor Giuliani, the first lady took Lazio to task for critical remarks he has made about her ideology since announcing his candidacy Saturday.

"I've been a little disappointed," she said when asked to evaluate Lazio's nascent campaign.

"I thought it was unfortunate that he seems to be running a campaign of insults instead of ideas, an issue-oriented campaign."

Clinton seized on remarks made by Lazio over the weekend in which he said he opposed handgun licensing and registration.

"I also think that there's a big difference between us on the licensing and registration of handguns. I want to do everything I can do to keep handguns out of the hands of children and criminals," she said.

Clinton has tried to define the little-known congressman to New Yorkers before they can form an opinion about him.

For the last month, the first lady's aides have been carefully dissecting the Lazio's eight-year voting record looking for controversial bills he has supported.

Yesterday, Clinton also highlighted Lazio's support last year for a proposed \$800 billion tax cut that her husband vetoed.

Lazio spokesman Dan McLagan responded by saying, "Rick is proud to have voted for that tax cut that would have helped millions of New Yorkers. Instead, it was vetoed by the tax-happy Clinton administration."

Noting that Lazio supported the Brady bill, which requires background checks for gun buyers, McLagan said that Lazio "has been a champion for reasonable gun control."

As for Buchanan and the Independence Party, McLagan repeated Lazio's comments last weekend in which he said he supported George W. Bush for president.

Hillary's RFK Nightmare

Kennedy's carpetbag campaign came close to sinking him in '64



ERIC FETTMANN

RUDY Giuliani's withdrawal from the U.S. Senate race has created both opportunities and problems for Hillary Rodham Clinton. Opportunities: She no longer faces the strongest possible opponent. Problems: With Giuliani's record off the table, that means the first lady is the main campaign issue.

And that doubtless means an even sharper focus on the nagging question of her carpetbagger status. It's the issue that has changed little since she first considered running: A Marist College poll in late March showed that 50 percent of those surveyed said they were "concerned" about the fact that Hillary isn't from New York — with 31 percent "greatly" bothered.

As one upstate Democratic leader told *The Post's* Gregg Birnbaum recently: "It's an issue that's not going away, and that surprises me."

Actually, it shouldn't. Though the first lady is reportedly studying how the late Bobby Kennedy handled the issue when he ran for the same seat in 1964, that may not be such a good guide. Yes, Kennedy won

by a comfortable margin. But the fact is, the carpet-bagger issue nearly sank him.

Only the fact that he was a Kennedy running less than a year after his brother's assassination, and the fact that Lyndon Johnson was winning 67 percent of the New York vote against Barry Goldwater, ensured RFK's victory.

In the end, Kennedy garnered a million fewer votes than did Johnson. And where LBJ's margin over Goldwater in the state was 2.7 million, Kennedy defeated Republican Sen. Kenneth Keating by just 700,000 votes.

On a recent segment of NBC News, Gabe Pressman — dean of the local TV news corps — was asked about his recollections of the carpetbagger question. It wasn't an issue at all, Pressman maintained, "New Yorkers were honored to have him run here."

Not quite, Gabe. A look back shows that the carpetbagger issue plagued Kennedy throughout the campaign. It was the single basis on which many newspapers, including the Times, endorsed his opponent.

Nor did it help when, declining early on to run, Kennedy declared: "All things being equal, it would be better for a citizen of New York to run for the position."



Robert and Ethel Kennedy, shortly after RFK announced his candidacy for the Senate from New York in August 1964.

And those who think that Rick Lazio has entered the race too late to win may be astonished to learn that Kennedy didn't declare his candidacy until Aug. 16 — and wasn't formally nominated until the beginning of September. In fact, he registered to vote so late that he wasn't even able to cast a ballot for himself in November.

And there was no denying RFK's dubious connections to New York, although he'd actually lived with his family in The Bronx for several years as a youngster. A resident of Virginia at the time he declared, Kennedy was registered to vote

in Massachusetts — indeed, he was even slated to be a Massachusetts delegate to the Democratic convention.

Originally tempted by the idea of running, Kennedy backed out twice, hoping LBJ would pick him for the national ticket. When Johnson decided otherwise, Kennedy leaped back into the Senate race.

Kennedy was hit with many of the same charges being leveled at Clinton: That he was a stranger to New York, trading on his family name and interested in the seat only as a stepping stone to the presidency.

Unlike Hillary, he and his opponent generally agreed on the

issues — so, like Mrs. Clinton, he tried to paint his opponent, a Rockefeller-Javits liberal, as a Goldwater conservative. Few voters were convinced — especially since the fledgling Conservative Party was fielding its own candidate, who ended up winning 3 percent of the vote.

There's no doubt that Kennedy became an effective campaigner — but recognized that the excited crowds that greeted him were attracted more by the Kennedy part of his name than the Bobby. "It's for him, it's for him," he said repeatedly, referring to his slain brother.

"Around him is the aura of the fallen leader," wrote columnist Marquis Childs. "The crowds see him as the devoted brother who stood in dedicated service at the side of the late president." That was a powerful factor. Aided by the Johnson landslide, it made Kennedy's victory inevitable. But the relative slimness of his margin — he won just 53 percent of the vote, compared to more than 67 percent for Johnson — suggests strongly that in any other year,

Kennedy's electoral career might have been stillborn.

So what are the lessons for Hillary? Yes, Bill Clinton remains popular here, but Al Gore is not going to carry the state by 2-to-1. Nor does her name carry with it the emotional trappings of a beloved martyr's grieving followers.

What's left is someone who, for reasons of convenience, hand-picked New York as the launching pad for a personal political career that has long-range ambitions. And that's something that leaves many voters suspicious.

Nineteen sixty-four was Bobby Kennedy's year, for a multitude of reasons. But his ability to overcome the carpetbagger label wasn't one of them.

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Mrs. Clinton Steps Forward To Lead the Attack on Lazio

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

MOUNT VERNON, N.Y., May 23 — After spending several cautious days on the sidelines, Hillary Rodham Clinton took out today after her new opponent, Representative Rick A. Lazio, asserting that there were sharp differences between them and criticizing him for saying he would accept the support of the Independence Party in New York, even if its presidential candidate is Patrick J. Buchanan.

"I think it's fair to talk about the differences in issues between us, and just over the last several days, we learned some things about his positions that are in very clear contrast from where I stand," Mrs. Clinton declared to a long line of television cameras and reporters at a campaign stop here.

Her audience of elderly New Yorkers, who had put aside an afternoon of bingo to make way for an appearance by the first lady, watched transfixed as Mrs. Clinton spent seven minutes criticizing Mr. Lazio for his opposition to handgun registration and his support for an \$800 billion tax cut proposed by Republicans. Mostly, though, she criticized him for saying he would accept the Independence Party's support.

"I do not believe that it's in New York's best interest to support or be aligned with Pat Buchanan, who has been a divisive force, a voice for anti-Semitism," Mrs. Clinton said. "I strongly reject that, and my opponent has not."

Mrs. Clinton's remarks signaled a new phase in her campaign, as she lent her own voice to a line of attack that had until now been carried by her aides. Her decision to criticize Mr. Lazio came after 48 hours of discussion among her advisers about the extent to which Mrs. Clinton's campaign should seek to shape New Yorkers' views of the relatively unknown congressman from Suffolk County by attacking him, and whether Mrs. Clinton herself should take the lead in seeking to discredit him.

Mr. Lazio's campaign spokesman, Dan McLagan, dismissed Mrs. Clinton's attack tonight as "the typical Clinton administration modus operandi: search, distort and destroy."

Mr. McLagan said, "This demonstrates to me that Mrs. Clinton is out of touch with New Yorkers and she seems intent on distorting Rick's record."

Mrs. Clinton's attacks on Mr. Lazio were based on positions he laid out when he appeared on six television interview programs on Sunday, answering detailed questions about

his candidacy. The appearances were closely followed by Mrs. Clinton's aides, as they sought to assemble data about their new opponent.

Mr. Lazio's aides said the unusually heavy schedule of national television appearances was intended to draw a contrast to Mrs. Clinton, whom they described as leading a relatively cloistered candidacy. The first lady has so far turned down requests to appear on national television interview programs, though she has appeared on New York-based news programs.

In the process of gaining the exposure, however, Mr. Lazio found himself questioned intensively about his record and his candidacy less than 24 hours after he entered the race.

Mrs. Clinton was clearly moving in today on what she saw as openings in Mr. Lazio's remarks. For example, in saying that he would take the Independence Party support even if Mr. Buchanan is at the top of the ticket, Mr. Lazio took a far less nuanced position than Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, who had been the Republican candidate.

"If I can get it, I will take it," Mr. Lazio said on "Meet the Press."

Mr. Giuliani, aware that Mrs. Clinton's aides were hoping to link him to Mr. Buchanan, did not automatically reject the party's ballot line, which could provide as many as 300,000 votes to the Republican candidate.

Mr. McLagan said that Mrs. Clinton was distorting Mr. Lazio's position because the congressman has clearly stated his support for the party's candidate for president. "The fact is that Rick supports George Bush for president, and opposes Pat Buchanan."

The campaign clipped along at a negative pace even as both sides seemed concerned that they would be blamed for its tenor. Mrs. Clinton bristled today when a television reporter asked her whether it was disingenuous to complain — as she did again today — that Mr. Lazio was running a "campaign of insults," when, the reporter said, she had been running advertisements attacking Mr. Lazio.

"Which ad was that?" the first lady demanded tersely. While Mrs. Clinton has run no such advertisements, her aides had begun attacking Mr. Lazio's record even before he announced, and Mrs. Clinton said she had no apologies for that.

"This is a campaign about issues," she said, "and we will be pointing out the difference between me and my opponent on the issues that are important to the people of New York."

Dinner Is Reserved

For South Africa's Scholarly Leader, a Formal Welcome

By ROXANNE ROBERTS
and JANELLE ERLICHMAN
Washington Post Staff Writers

Nelson Mandela is a tough act to follow. Six years ago, the newly elected South African president received an extravagant hero's welcome at a White House state dinner. Last night, it was President Thabo Mbeki's turn—and while the greeting on his first official visit to Washington was very warm, it had a far different feel.

But then, Mbeki is a far different man: intellectual, reserved, even a bit stiff. Mandela wore informal Madiba shirts—Mbeki is rarely out of a suit and tie.

"He's the Thomas Jefferson to Mandela's George Washington," said former U.N. ambassador Andrew Young. "He was the scribe who wrote the [African National Congress] charter and most of the present constitution. The only thing that worries me about him is that he's too much of a brain."

"He's an intellectual activist politician, an able scholar and a freedom fighter," said Jesse

See DINNER, C8, Col. 1



BY ROBERT A. REEDER—THE WASHINGTON POST

Stevie Wonder and Morgan Freeman were among the huge number of guests at President Clinton's dinner for South African President Thabo Mbeki.

Saluting South Africa

DINNER, From C1

Jackson. He pointed out that Mbeki is a generation younger than Mandela; "he has a different role to play, and different size shoes."

More than 350 guests attended the party—the second largest state dinner in the Clinton administration—which was held in a pavilion tent on the South Lawn. The glittering guest list included the star power of Stevie Wonder, Spike Lee, Harry Belafonte, Morgan Freeman, Lenny Kravitz, BeBe Winans, Meshach Taylor and Theodore Bikel and the clout of 10 Cabinet members.

Detroit Mayor Dennis Archer and Atlanta Mayor William Campbell attended, as did African American leaders Benjamin Hooks, Kweisi Mfume, Ron Dellums, David Dinkins and Floyd Flake and businessmen Robert Johnson and Earl Graves. The Free South Africa movement was represented, but notably absent was TransAfrica's Randall Robinson, the Washingtonian who catapulted apartheid onto the international political agenda.

The receiving line took almost 90 minutes, as all greeted the man who will carry South Africa into the 21st century. Mbeki, a longtime ANC leader and Mandela's handpicked successor, was elected a year ago with a bigger majority than the legendary Mandela himself.

"He's very well thought of by a man we think highly of—Mandela," said actor Freeman. "For me, it ends right there."

The 57-year-old Mbeki is the son of radical party intellectuals—his father, Govan, was jailed with Mandela—and was originally a Marxist.

"He's an economist, which is what the country needs at this time," said former New York mayor Dinkins. "He's got his feet on the ground. He doesn't try to be Nelson Mandela, which is wise. Who the hell can be Nelson Mandela?"

So Mbeki, a mere mortal, must tackle real politics in a country facing real problems.

His visit to Washington has been dominated by his controversial thinking on AIDS. While clearly



PHOTOS BY ROBERT A. REEDER—THE WASHINGTON POST

Clockwise from top: The two presidents and their spouses in the receiving line; former New York mayor David Dinkins and wife Joyce greet President Clinton; and filmmaker Spike Lee with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.



knowledgeable about the disease, Mbeki has challenged the scientific community by questioning whether HIV causes AIDS and if medicines used to combat AIDS in the West will work for South Africans. Mbeki's refusal to distribute anti-retroviral medicines has baffled critics, who see AIDS as one of the country's most serious problems.

"I think many of his statements have been misinterpreted," said Sandy Thurman, director of the White House Office of National AIDS Policy. "He never said HIV doesn't cause AIDS, but he has spoken to dissident scientists. Having been a dissident himself, it would stand to reason he would be interested in hearing the views of the minority as well as the majority."

But last night the emphasis was not on problems but on mutual in-

terests, hopes and dreams.

"Life is a promise, and that promise is us," said Clinton in his toast. "And the promise of South Africa is a promise that will always join our two people."

Mbeki responded with thanks. "The friendship between our countries is getting closer and closer all the time. Our societies are based on fundamental principles of democracy."

Hillary Rodham Clinton took the night off from campaigning in New York to preside as national hostess. She wore a black two-piece dinner suit by Pamela Dennis. Mbeki's wife, Zanele, wore a national gown of soft yellow trimmed in black.

Candidate Clinton was in high spirits. "I'm great!" she told one guest. "I'm having such a good time!" And why not? She's double-

digits ahead of her new Republican rival, Rep. Rick Lazio.

"Lazio is one of the nicest guys I've met," said Rep. Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.). "But he's 10 months and \$10 million short."

Rangel sat at the president's table last night. The guests were ferried onto the South Lawn in cute little trolley cars decorated with summer flowers. The damp and chilly weather did not cooperate, but the theme of the night was supposed to reflect a balmy spring night: pink, blush and burgundy flowers, gold china and flatware, and soft blush draping inside the tent.

The menu opened with jumbo green and white asparagus with lobster, followed by glazed lamb with pistachio couscous and spring vegetables. Desserts at state dinners are becoming more fantastic with each outing. Last night, it was a creation called "The Pride of South Africa": a pineapple filled with pineapple ice cream and sour cherry sherbet, the whole thing wrapped with a white chocolate ribbon decorated with the shapes of exotic animals from Africa.

After dinner, classical pianist Awadagin Pratt performed, although undoubtedly some secretly hoped that Wonder, Winans and Kravitz might get up for an impromptu jam session.

Ah, well. It wasn't that kind of night, or that kind of president.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

E. J. Dionne Jr.

A New Race in New York

The best election campaign in New York's recent history was about issues, not outsized personalities. It cast an unabashed supply-side conservative against a liberal who called himself a "progressive pragmatist."

The conservative Republican said he would cut spending and be tough on crime—thus establishing "a limited state that is strong" to protect "free people." The liberal Democrat defended the "charitable" state. "The purpose of government," he said, "is to make love real in a sinful world." Voters appreciated the clarity of the choice, and gave *both* candidates exceptionally high approval ratings. There are worse things for politicians to do than argue about issues.

The election was the 1982 contest for governor between Republican Lew Lehrman and Democrat Mario Cuomo, who won narrowly. The success of that contest of ideas should offer modest comfort to the political junkies and cable news producers now mourning Rudy Giuliani's disap-

pearance from the New York Senate race.

Here's a bet that the new contest, between Hillary Rodham Clinton and Republican Rep. Rick Lazio from Long Island, will be (1) a real, if often nasty, debate on issues; (2) a tougher race for Mrs. Clinton than her contest with Giuliani would have been; and (3) a far more satisfying campaign for voters, who would have wearied of the Clinton-Giuliani psychodrama.

The confrontation of ideas won't be as bracing as the Cuomo-Lehrman race was. Centrism is the political flavor of the year, and Lazio and Mrs. Clinton will dole it out liberally. But Lazio made clear right out of the box that he intends to paint Mrs. Clinton as liberal, liberal, liberal and even, as he put it, "far left."

This was a political mistake that will make for an interesting campaign. The voters in New York who can't stand liberals already can't stand Mrs. Clinton and would vote for you or me on the Republican line. In 1998

former senator Al D'Amato tried to paint now Sen. Chuck Schumer as an ultra-liberal. It worked so well that D'Amato lost after 18 years in the Senate. "I hope that Rick's campaign team looks at what's happened in the last few years when we used that attack and it didn't work," said Assemblyman John Ravitz, a Manhattan Republican.

Every time Lazio says "far left," Mrs. Clinton will say "Newt Gingrich," another tattered attack line that Ravitz thinks won't fly, even though Lazio and the former House speaker did share some key votes in common. The upside of this clash is that both Lazio and Mrs. Clinton will be forced to detail why they aren't, respectively, a Gingrich clone and a far-left ranter. That means issue talk instead of ongoing Jesuitical arguments among pundits over the relative sinfulness of various forms of adultery. That alone should make New York voters stand up and cheer.

The advantages of Lazio over Giu-

liani are clear. He doesn't have Giuliani's enemies, especially among African Americans in New York City, who would have guaranteed a large Democrat turnout. And Lazio is not mayor of New York City, a fact about Giuliani that made upstaters nervous. Mrs. Clinton knew this, which is why she has campaigned so intensely in such places as Buffalo, Syracuse and Utica. Assemblywoman RoAnn Destito, a Democrat from the upstate city of Rome and a strong Clinton backer, thinks the attention Mrs. Clinton has lavished on cities and towns like hers will still pay off. But she acknowledges: "Her new opponent doesn't have the negatives that her former opponent had."

The one downside for Lazio is that he doesn't have the appeal to New York City Democrats—Jewish voters especially, but some Catholics, too—that Giuliani did. "There are a lot of people in New York City grateful for Giuliani's hard work in turning the city around, and they wanted to ex-

press their appreciation," says veteran state Sen. Frank Padavan, a Queens Republican. Some of those votes are now available to Mrs. Clinton. Padavan also notes that African American turnout was on the upswing two years ago "without Giuliani," and could be substantial again this year.

While we wait to find out, we should all pray for Giuliani's fast recovery from cancer. We should also appreciate that his leaving the race has saved us from a nightmarish campaign that would have been high on low entertainment but higher still on pretentious moralizing and heartburn. That there may be a conflict here between the interests of the media—on the cable chat shows especially—and the interests of the voters of New York might make us media folks rethink our role. Sure, and Rick Lazio will never, ever remind voters that Mrs. Clinton hails from Illinois, and Mrs. Clinton will never, ever use the word "Gingrich."

TUESDAY, MAY 23, 2000

At Her Day Job, Mrs. Clinton Is the Hostess of a State Dinner

By MARC LACEY

WASHINGTON, May 22 — Officially, Hillary Rodham Clinton, the Senate candidate, took a night off tonight. But Mrs. Clinton did not lounge on the sofa at home in Chappaqua, N.Y., with a good book or soak her tired feet in a White House tub.

Instead, Mrs. Clinton's first lady incarnation was dancing and dining and toasting at a state dinner for President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa and his wife, Zanele.

Although Mrs. Clinton has reduced her first lady duties since starting her New York Senate campaign, the White House social office has remained up and running, providing Mrs. Clinton with a series of marquee social occasions to break up the monotony of the campaign trail. Campaign food is a long way from the saffron pistachio couscous, apricot ginger glazed lamb and cape gooseberries that were served tonight in a large tent on the South Lawn to accommodate a larger-than-usual crowd.

Her campaign staffers play down the importance of Mrs. Clinton's duties as first lady in her effort to replace Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is retiring. It will be her stances on health care and education and other issues of importance to New Yorkers, they say, that will determine the election results, not which heads of state she welcomes to the State Dining Room.

But the dinners, which receive scant attention outside Washington, do give Mrs. Clinton the opportunity to reward loyalists in her campaign with coveted invitations.

In February, at a dinner for the king and queen of Spain, Mrs. Clinton invited her campaign scheduler, Evan Ryan, but there were few obvious campaign backers among the diners.

Tonight, however, many New Yorkers, most of them African-American, received embossed invitations. These included Floyd H. Flake, the pastor of the Allen A.M.E. Church in Queens, who had just endorsed Mrs. Clinton, and William A. Johnson Jr., the mayor of Rochester, who has campaigned at her side.

C. Virginia Fields, the Manhattan borough president, attended, as did David N. Dinkins, the former mayor, and New York Representatives Charles B. Rangel, Gregory W. Meeks and Louise M. Slaughter. Other New Yorkers in attendance included the director Spike Lee, State Comptroller H. Carl McCall and Howard Rubin, chairman of the computer science department at Hunter College.

Although state dinners rarely make the nightly news, they are followed closely in the nation's capital. The guest lists are published in The Washington Post, and reporters in dark evening attire stand in the grand foyer of the White House for glimpses of the official receiving line, the toasts and the entertainment.

Tonight, the concert pianist Awadagin Pratt performed, and Mrs.

Clinton decided upon gold base plates, crème china with a gold band and gold flatware on peach chamois tablecloths made of satin for the table settings.

Mr. Rangel said some of Mrs. Clinton's duties as first lady do help her campaign, but they are the substantive issue-oriented duties, not the social ones.

"Co-hosting a dinner is just not that newsworthy," he said.

But Mrs. Clinton did emerge from tonight's dinner with something more tangible than the goodwill of some supporters. Her South African counterpart gave her a 12-piece set of napkin rings in the shape of African animals. There was a lion, an elephant, a leopard and, perhaps most important for campaigning strategy, a buffalo.



Agence France-Presse

Hillary Rodham Clinton and Zanele Mbeki at a ceremony for President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa at the White House. Mrs. Clinton has a series of social events to break up the monotony of the campaign trail.

WILLIAM RUSHER

Ever since Hillary Clinton awarded herself to New York and indicated she would graciously accept one of its United States senatorships, it has been clear the election would be, in large measure, a referendum on her. Would a majority of New Yorkers like her, or not?

Mrs. Clinton is a strong personality, and for eight years has been a national celebrity. Her views, which are well over to the left, are widely known. There can't be many Americans, in New York or anywhere else, who haven't formed a strong opinion about her by this time. Either they think she is a meltingly beautiful, piercingly intelligent exemplar of modern womanhood, dedicated to enhancing the common weal, or they regard her as a calculating Ice Queen with a ferocious temper, bent on accumulating all the power she can lay her hands on and determined to become the first female president of the United States.

Where do New Yorkers come down in this debate? Mrs. Clinton, in choosing to run in New York, was doing what she could to maximize her chances. It is normally a Democratic state, with registered Democ-

Heart of the new contest

Mr. Lazio spent last weekend appearing on every television talk show in sight, and the reaction has been remarkably favorable.

rats outnumbering Republicans by about 3 to 2. Bill Clinton carried it by wide margins in both of his presidential elections. On the other hand, the Democrats cannot take it for granted: Its present governor, now in his second term, is a Republican, and the GOP has controlled the State Senate since time immemorial.

So it must have seemed providential to Mrs. Clinton and her strategists that fate appeared bent on giving the Republican senatorial nomination to New York City's Republican mayor, Rudolph Giu-

liani. Mayor Giuliani has been, by common consent, a truly magnificent mayor, making New York, which most people had written off as "ungovernable," one of the best-run cities in the country. But he is a former prosecutor, whose political style tends to the arbitrary; he seems to feel, in his heart of hearts, that you can catch more flies with vinegar than you can with honey. He is, in short, an alpha male if there ever was one, and he has rubbed a lot of New Yorkers the wrong way. If any candidate could drag the voters' attention away from the merits and demerits of Mrs. Clinton, and make the election a battle between two heavies with high negatives, Rudy Giuliani was that person.

Then came the diagnosis of prostate cancer, and Mayor Giuliani's dramatic withdrawal from the race. With less than two weeks in which to find an acceptable substitute, the New York Republican Party closed ranks behind Long Island Rep. Rick Lazio.

Rick who? The first poll pitting him against Mrs. Clinton showed

her ahead, 50 percent to 31 percent. No wonder: Scarcely anyone outside his congressional district had heard of Mr. Lazio two weeks ago. But he spent last weekend appearing on every television talk show in sight, and the reaction has been remarkably favorable. It begins to appear that, in replacing Rudy Giuliani with Rick Lazio, fate may have dealt Hillary Clinton an ugly blow.

First and (for the moment) foremost, it is clear that this young (42) four-term member of Congress is an extraordinarily attractive personality. Tall, slender and dark-haired, with an engaging smile, he is extremely articulate. Catholic, and married with two children (who go to public schools), his voting record is no doubt too "moderate" for fire-breathing conservatives.

(The American Conservative Union scored him at 52 out of a possible 100 on key votes in 1998, while Americans for Democratic Action put him at 40.) But unless I miss my



Hillary Clinton

guess, he is going to make the hearts of a lot of New York soccer moms go pitty-pat in a way that Rudolph Giuliani never could.

And that is crucial, because the polls have steadfastly reported that Mrs. Clinton has serious problems with women voters. Many of them, including a number of prominent and outspoken feminists, simply cannot abide her. If Mr. Lazio can overcome the famous "gender gap," Mrs. Clinton will be in deep trouble indeed.

Mr. Lazio is just getting under way — belatedly, but not fatally so. He must raise a lot of money, make himself known all over the state, and avoid serious blunders. Much, no doubt, will turn on the television debates that the two candidates will have, and I herewith predict Rick Lazio will do his backers proud.

Suddenly Mrs. Clinton is running, not against a masterful but heavy-handed mayor, but against a charming congressman 11 years her junior. That makes a big difference.

William A. Rusher is a nationally syndicated columnist.

TUESDAY, MAY 23, 2000 **

The Washington Times

President's 360 guests honor Mbeki

By Ann Geracimos
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Last night's White House state dinner for South African President Thabo Mbeki was a more theatrical function of its kind — and a lot more political.

The list of 360 guests made it one of the Clinton administration's largest state dinners and required setting up a large dramatically draped white tent — called a pavilion — on the South Lawn, lit with hanging chandeliers.

Mr. Clinton used his toast to refer to the early troubled years of both South Africa and the United States, an apparent reference to their racial struggles.

Pledging continued work toward peace in the continent, he hailed "the promise of South Africa, the promise that will always join our two people."

Mr. Mbeki hailed the close friendship between the two countries and cited Mr. Clinton's recent signing of a law to increase trade with Africa as proof the president "has provided a good lead for this country."

"And in that context, Mr. President, I must also express our appreciation for the increased focus

on Africa that you have paid," Mr. Mbeki said. "It is certainly inspiring to us as Africans."

Prominent among those invited were at least 20 New York politicians, including State Comptroller H. Carl McCall; Manhattan Borough President Virginia Fields; Rochester Mayor William A. Johnson Jr.; and the Rev. Floyd H. Flake of the Cathedral of the Allen AME Church in Queens, who recently endorsed first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in the Senate race.

Others included former New York Mayor David L. Dinkins and Bill Lynch Jr., Mr. Dinkins' former chief of staff and a key operative in New York political affairs.

Among a dozen or more journalists were New Yorker magazine writers Jeffrey Toobin and Jane Mayer, both of whom cover the White House; a member of the New York Daily News editorial board; and Black Entertainment Television head Robert Johnson and Essence Communications head Edward Lewis.

People close to Vice President Al Gore included Donna Brazile, his campaign manager; Leon Fuerth, his national security adviser; and Democratic Convention 2000 executive Cheryl Carter.

Representatives on the guest list were mainly from states such as Florida, Michigan and Texas, which have a large number of electoral votes.

After the arrival of Mr. Mbeki and his wife, Zanele, at the North Portico, President and Mrs. Clinton stood with the couple, greeting guests in a long receiving line at the base of the staircase in the White House Grand Foyer.

The foursome then were transported by trolley under threatening skies to the pavilion to be seated among 37 round tables decorated with blush, pink and burgundy peonies surrounding candle-filled crystal bowls.

Gold flatware was set on peach tablecloths. Diners could look through clear plastic sides of the tent to the spotlight dogwoods and greenery on the outside lawn. Each of the Napa Valley vineyards supplying the wines had connections with South Africa.

A starter course of green and white asparagus from California served with morels and marinated lobster was followed by an apricot ginger glazed lamb and saffron pistachio couscous.

The dessert, called "the Pride of



South African President Thabo Mbeki and his wife, Zanele, flank President Clinton and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

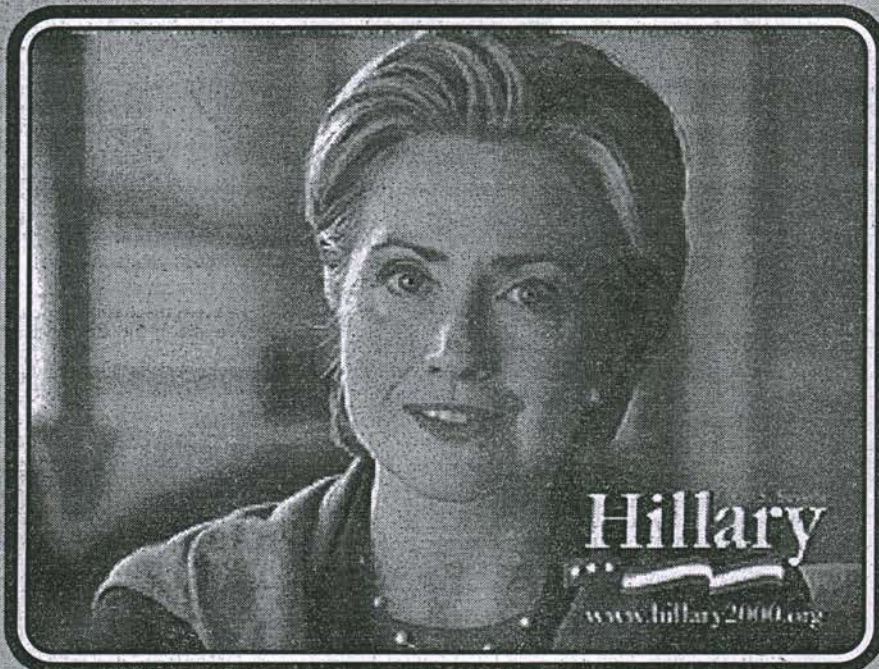
South Africa," consisted of pineapple and cherry sherbet in a pineapple shape, with fresh pineapple and cherries at the base. An edible white and chocolate ribbon wrap was decorated with images of safari animals.

Pianist Awadagin Pratt, the Baltimore's Peabody Conservatory of Music's first student to receive diplomas in piano, violin and conducting, entertained afterward,

playing music by Rachmaninoff, which he said earlier he knew Mr. Mbeki was especially fond of.

"This was quite a popular dinner," White House Social Secretary Capricia Marshall noted in the afternoon. "There were a lot of requests that President and Mrs. Clinton granted."

An understatement, it would appear, given the eclectic mix of the night.



TITLE: "Mission"

RUNNING TIME: 30 seconds

WHERE SHOWN: Statewide

PRODUCED BY: Mandy Grunwald, campaign's chief media consultant

TEXT: Clinton, speaking into the camera: "When I started this campaign, I'm not sure I knew quite what to expect, and you probably didn't either."

"But I've tried to stay focused on our common mission — making a difference for people."

"Lifting up our children with better education and health care. Helping our families with tax cuts for college and long-term care."

ADWATCH

Working to create new jobs.

"If we reach past our divisions, there's so much we can do working together. I hope you'll give me that chance."

VISUALS: Clinton wears a dark-gray suit, with a blue sweater tied over her shoulders and a pearl necklace. Her hands are folded and her legs crossed as she looks directly into the camera in a homey room that could be any living room. The setting is soft and warm; the camera slowly moves closer to Clinton as she speaks.

ANALYSIS: It's more than a coincidence that this ad — the first in which Clinton speaks — hits the airwaves just as Rep. Rick Lazio has been relentlessly pounding the first lady. With Lazio breathing fire, Clinton's advisers want New Yorkers to be comfortable with her, to feel they know her — and having Clinton talk directly to voters is an effective way to do that. It allows Clinton to deflect Lazio's charge that she is a far-left wing carpetbagger, without her going negative.

LAZIO RESPONSE: "It's a pleasant ad, but it begs the question: What has Hillary done for New York?" Lazio spokesman Brian Flood.

— Gregg Birnbaum

16 appearances in first two days

Rep. Rick Lazio ended his get-to-know-me tour yesterday with a parting shot at Hillary Rodham Clinton — while the first lady released a new commercial in which she speaks directly to New Yorkers.

At an Albany Airport rally, Lazio — joined by Gov. Pataki and state Republican Party Chairman William Powers — fired away at Clinton, again calling her a carpetbagger.

"New York is my home, not a steppingstone," Lazio said.

The Long Island Republican said voters want "a true New Yorker, someone who is not trying to fake it, someone who has delivered for New York and whose views reflect New York."

As he wound up his kick-

By Gregg Birnbaum in
New York and Kenneth
Lovett in Albany

off tour in White Plains, Lazio had made 16 campaign appearances around the state in the two days since he officially announced his candidacy on Saturday — 24 hours after Mayor Giuliani called it quits.

Lazio is expected to cam-

paign in New York City today.

Pataki praised him for facing tough questions on almost every morning TV news show on Sunday and said Clinton "doesn't have the guts" to appear on those shows.

Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson called Lazio's appearances the "Statewide Insult Tour."

"When you can't run on your record, you hurl insults," Wolfson said.

Lazio defended himself in White Plains, saying, "Some people think raising your residency, background and where you stand on the issues is negative."

Clinton's new 30-second commercial — just her talking directly to the camera about a "common mission" she shares with New Yorkers — will run statewide beginning today.

It appears designed to make voters comfortable and familiar with Clinton, especially at a time when she is under heavy attack from Lazio.

"We have a new opponent, and lots of voters are giving the campaign a second look," a Clinton adviser said.

"We wanted to talk directly to them."

Meanwhile, Lazio's campaign team is beginning to fall into place. His former chief of staff, David Horne, is expected to take on a major role, possibly as campaign manager.

Horne, a lawyer who worked most recently on a Housing subcommittee, just took a leave of absence from his government job.

Lazio spokesman Brian Flood confirmed Horne is joining the campaign as one of Lazio's key advisers, but said no decision has been made yet on his position.

The state's small — but influential — third parties also began to line up behind the candidates, with Conservative Party chairman Mike Long throwing his support behind Lazio and Liberal Party boss Ray Harding tapping Clinton.

In another development, former Giuliani campaign manager Bruce Teitelbaum met with several Lazio aides to discuss coordination between the two camps.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

POSTOPINION

A Clinton Cornered

Why lean, lovable Lazio has the Liberal machine worried



**JOHN
PODHORETZ**

AFTER an unimpressive speech kicking off his Senate run on Saturday, Rick Lazio rallied impressively the following morning. He was energetic, well-spoken and well-informed during his five appearances on the Sunday shows. And it was possible to see, in nascent form, the two tacks his campaign will take — one substantive approach, and one gimmicky.

The substantive campaign will try to draw clear distinctions between Rick and Hillary. The gimmicky one will aim to focus the public's attention on less important matters that might have symbolic impact on voters — like her inappropriate use of White House aircraft and her status as a carpetbagger.

Lazio blended the two approaches effectively in his clever and oft-repeated line this weekend: Hillary Clinton is "no more a New Democrat than she is a New Yorker." With that soundbite, Lazio made clear that he won't remain silent as Mrs. Clinton continues to pose as a moderate when everybody who pays attention to politics knows she has always been the leading left-liberal voice inside the Clinton administration.

There's no shame in that — in

fact, Hillary's leftism is one of the few indications that she might be a person of principle. But the fact that she feels compelled to hide behind a false front of moderation shows how vulnerable her campaign believes itself to be on ideological matters — even in a state as putatively liberal as New York.

That's why Hillary found it necessary to profess herself "disappointed that my latest opponent has already started hurling insults instead of offering ideas about what we can do to improve the lives of New Yorkers." The charge is absurd — Lazio spoke at great length about what he'd do to improve the lives of New Yorkers on Saturday, and most of what he said about her was pretty juicy — but it's telling nonetheless.

Lazio's criticisms are properly the subject of a senatorial race, and Hillary knows it. He believes in general tax cuts; she doesn't. He opposes partial-birth abortion; she supports it. He stands against large-scale government intervention in the economy; she was the author of the most far-reaching interventionist proposal in the last 30 years.

By complaining so early about Lazio's negativity, Mrs. Clinton is, I think, trying to enlarge the zone of silence that has surrounded her troubled marriage

to cover the substantive differences between Democrats like her and Republicans like Lazio. When she says he's gone "on the attack," she wants people to think about that "vast right-wing conspiracy" she accused of trying to get her and her husband back in 1998.

That's also the subtext of the Clinton campaign's early effort to paint Lazio as a Newt Gingrich clone. At first blush, this seems a little foolish: After all, Gingrich has been out of public office and the public eye for 18 months now — an eternity in politics, even when you're talking about someone as notorious as Newt.

The Hillary people have brought up Gingrich because they hope his name will serve as shorthand for "vast right-wing conspiracy." It may work. Who knows anymore? But so far, Lazio is handling the substantive part of the "Gingrich clone" caricature beautifully. He is not fleeing from his record, but embracing it — even his votes for the Contract with America.

"What is it exactly they don't like?" he said on Fox News Sunday. "The balanced budget, which was part of the Contract with America? Tax relief for working families, giving the ability [to those] who are self-employed to deduct their health insurance, helping people to retire more comfortably, building a strong national defense?"

What people like Hillary forget about the Contract with America they so reviled is that it was a document as poll-driven as any Bill Clinton



Rick Lazio does the rounds of the Sunday talk shows.

AP

speech. Every one of its 10 provisions scored 70 percent or better with the American people. From a distance, that stuff won't sound too bad to New Yorkers; in fact, it may sound (if you'll excuse the expression) moderate.

The Clinton campaign wants to make hay out of his conservative voting record, and it will

have some success. But the fact that Lazio was around to cast votes for these things in the House of Representatives and to co-sponsor all sorts of squishy soccer-mom stuff is his greatest asset, as well as his most profound liability.

At least he has a record to run on.

E-mail: podhoretz@nypost.com

Robert D. Novak

Not So Fast, Mrs. Clinton

As Rudy Giuliani's personal problems mounted, the spin by Democratic operatives was that only the mayor of New York could hope to defeat Hillary Rodham Clinton for the Senate. But after Giuliani actually dropped out Friday, the mood of the state's Democratic politicians was anything but buoyant.

Rep. Jerrold Nadler, a liberal Democrat from Manhattan, certainly contained his glee over Giuliani's replacement by a moderate Republican, Rep. Rick Lazio. Appearing on CNN's "Crossfire" Friday night, Nadler said: "I think it's a very difficult race. I think Rick Lazio is going to be a very strong candidate. He can unite, as Rudy Giuliani could not, the Republican and Conservative party lines. I think there are a lot of right-wing people out in this country who hate the president and the first lady, and thus supply plenty of money for the campaign."

What a difference a week makes. Only seven days earlier, Republican leaders in New York and Washington were distraught and bitter about the mayor's self-immolation. They had sacrificed the 25-year alliance in the state between the Republican and Conservative parties in the belief that Giuliani was their best chance to beat Mrs. Clinton. Now it is the Democrats, reflected by Nadler's complaint, who whine about the president's wife imposing her many disabilities on an overwhelmingly Democratic state that ought to be able to hold Daniel Patrick Moynihan's Senate seat without trouble.

How is it possible that an obscure 42-year-old Republican congressman in his fourth term would have the slightest chance against this famous and glamorous woman? Because there is a limit to how many New Yorkers will support the interloping, polarizing Mrs. Clinton.

While Giuliani's support wavered wildly between 40 percent and 50 percent in recent weeks, pollster John Zogby has had the first lady stuck at 42 percent. With Giuliani replaced by an unknown, Zogby's poll released this weekend should have been her high-water mark. Instead, she inched up to only 46 percent (compared with Lazio's 32 percent). The 22 percent undecided shown by Zogby points to where many of the confused former Giuliani voters have gone.

To have a chance to win over these voters, Republicans needed to replace the mayor quickly with an unopposed nominee and avoid a primary fight. They are

fortunate that the New York GOP is not (as Rep. Peter King, a disappointed aspirant for senator noted) a very democratic institution when it has a governor in Albany.

Once Giuliani finally bowed out, Gov. George Pataki immediately anointed Lazio before King or anybody else could start building support. Lazio had accepted Giuliani with no enthusiasm and little grace. But by not running against the mayor, he exhibited enough party regularity to satisfy the governor.

A middle-roader like Lazio was not what the brave young Goldwaterites had in mind when they founded the New York Conservative Party in reaction to Nelson Rockefeller's domination of the state's Republicans. But he meets the two conditions that Conservative Chairman Mike Long laid down and Giuliani would not meet: opposition to "partial-birth" abortion and no endorsement by the Liberal Party. Long's 14-month nightmare is over.

What's more, Lazio probably will also be the nominee of the Independence Party, which in 1996 finished third in the state with Ross Perot heading the ticket. Mrs. Clinton antagonized Independence Party leaders by first insisting privately on its nomination without facing a primary against Giuliani and then saying publicly she could not run on any ticket led by Pat Buchanan. She was finished when State Democratic Chairman Judith Hope called the Independence Party "an antisemitic party."

Even before the mayor dropped out, Democratic operatives were trying to implant among the news media the image of Lazio as Newt Gingrich's lieutenant. In his announcement Saturday afternoon, Lazio—while chastising Mrs. Clinton as a liberal outsider—introduced himself as moderately pro-choice, environmentally sensitive and an advocate of gun control. It won't be easy to demonize him.

That leaves the Democrats the option of minimizing Lazio as small change, not approaching Hillary Clinton's stature. That's one charge never leveled against Giuliani. If the young congressman closes the stature gap, the next five months will truly be difficult for the first lady.

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BY DAVID DUPREY—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Rep. Rick Lazio's Senate campaign will seek to repeat the public relations success of Sen. John McCain's "Straight Talk Express."

Late Starter Lazio Hopes 'Express' Bus Will Help

By MIKE ALLEN
Washington Post Staff Writer

BAY SHORE, N.Y., May 21—Rep. Rick Lazio, lacking the cash and cachet of first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, is rolling out an Empire State version of this year's hottest political weapon—the Straight Talk Express.

The original Straight Talk Express, the campaign bus of Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.), reaped publicity and goodwill when his late presidential campaign was barely a blip. The bus became so famous that the cast of NBC's "West Wing" went for a spin when the bus was in Washington, and McCain's staff joked about making it a ride at Disney World.

Staffers for Lazio, who was thrust into the year's biggest statewide race when Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani bowed out Friday because of prostate cancer, made calls this weekend to try to rent a similar executive motor coach, and are brainstorming clever names.

Mike Murphy, McCain's media consultant, is a consultant to Lazio and brought the idea with him.

Noting the harsh anti-Clinton remarks in Lazio's announcement speech, Howard Wolfson, Clinton's communications director, suggested calling the bus the Trash Talk Express.

Advisers to Lazio acknowledge that McCain set the bar high. From his captain's chair at the back of the bus, McCain held forth for hours on end, charming reporters who were amazed by his accessibility. Lazio is campaigning for the first time beyond Long Island, the land of slices and ices that he represents in Congress, and is unlikely to risk a similar daily high wire.

Any blunder could provide ammunition for Clinton strategists, who have been trying to plant the idea of a "stature gap" between the candidates. McCain,

then low in polls, had nothing to lose when he launched his bus, which is not the case for Lazio.

Lazio's advisers admit that his version will be "not quite as free-wheeling" but believe a similar arrangement will help the boyish candidate win attention in the state's smaller towns. McCain also used his bus to schmooze with local officials and activists, which would be another advantage for Lazio.

His staff hopes to have it ready sometime this week, then go on the road from next weekend's Republican convention in Buffalo.

Lazio, after touching down in four upstate cities today, plans to appear in Albany on Monday with Gov. George E. Pataki and the state Republican chairman, William D. Powers, who consulted party donors and local Republican chairmen before jumping aboard the Lazio train. Powers found strong support, and no challenge to Lazio is expected next weekend, a Republican official said.

Today Lazio appeared on all five major Sunday talk shows, a feat that CNN says has been performed only twice before—by Giuliani and by William Ginsburg, the loquacious lawyer for Monica S. Lewinsky.

On the shows, Lazio said he favors a tax cut but stopped short of endorsing the plan proposed by Texas Gov. George W. Bush. "It's going to depend on the revenues coming in," he said on NBC's "Meet the Press." Asked whether he favored converting part of the Social Security system to private investments, as Bush advocated last week, Lazio sidestepped the question slightly, saying, "We need to look for ways in which people have a little bit more control over that money."

Staff writer Amy Goldstein in Washington contributed to this report.

No News Is Good News for Cautious Candidate Clinton

By DAVID VON DREHLE
Washington Post Staff Writer

TROY, N.Y., May 21—The striking thing about the U.S. Senate race in New York, until Friday, was that Hillary Rodham Clinton was only the second-most talked-about candidate.

That was just the way she wanted it.

Week after week, month after month, she has told audiences and interviewers that "this campaign is not about me or about any opponent," even as the race became more and more about the midlife crises of New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

Now Giuliani is out of the race and Long Island Congressman Rick Lazio is in his place. The spotlight is likely to swing back toward Clinton, but she's doing her best to stay out of it.

"Yesterday we acquired a new opponent," she said here, referring to Lazio's Saturday announcement speech. "He has already started early offering insults instead of ideas. But I'm going to keep doing what I've been doing."

The coming weeks and months of this Senate race will be a test of Clinton's self-control. Lazio is making an extremely late start, but his supporters say this can be a virtue. Being famous wasn't necessarily a blessing for Giuliani, they say. Given a choice between focusing on a Nobody and a Major Somebody, the media are going to light up the Somebody.

Clinton knows as well as anyone that it is possible

to be too interesting for American politics. And so, though she is the hottest celebrity to run for the Senate in at least a generation, the first lady's strategy has hinged on remaining cool, calm and soothing.

New polls, taken after Giuliani left the race, confirm that strategy. Virtually every voter in New York knows Hillary Clinton, but less than half are planning to vote for her. If those numbers are correct, she doesn't need to let anyone know she exists. She needs to persuade a few more people that they can trust—or tolerate—her.

So we find her on a rainy day in a gray city smiling broadly, speaking evenly and saying not too much, offering an agenda as spicy as oatmeal. Hillary Clinton's campaign is about children and families, she says over and over, and she has no greater priority than to spur job growth in the dull regions known vaguely as "Upstate."

Her big speech last week, accepting the Democratic nomination, might have been an opportunity for an ordinary candidate to fire up the red meat and rah-rah. For Clinton, it was a chance to say things virtually no one could find objectionable. "I am here tonight because, as noble and rich as our past is, along with all of you, I believe that New York's future can be even better if we work hard to make it so," she summed up.

Polished and assured, her manner on the campaign trail is a mixture of industry and caution. Her Republican opponents have tagged her as a carpetbagging outsider, so Clinton has dutifully traveled to each of New York's 62 counties. She has studied the milk compact and has some ideas for cleaning up Onondaga Lake. She knows her Finger Lakes from her Great Lakes and she can discourse on the glorious history of the Erie Canal.

Lazio came out blasting at the supposed extremism of her agenda again today. "She's no more a New Democrat than she is a New Yorker," he repeated on talk show after talk show. Truth be told, audiences of labor organizers and Manhattan liberals seem confident as well that Clinton is a fellow left-leader.

But Hillary on the campaign trail is about as centrist as the dotted stripe on a two-lane highway. She supports gun registration, but gives a nod to the rights of hunters and sport shooters. She says she wants tax relief—carefully, narrowly, targeted—and more responsible teenagers. She extols the new millionaires even as she worries about people who are left behind.

"You may remember that I had a few things to say about health care a few years back," she tells her audiences, making a wry reference to the massive insurance overhaul she unsuccessfully promoted at the liberal apogee of her husband's administration. Depending on the audience, this can sound like either a boast or an apology. She adds that she intends to push the same ideals but in different, more measured, ways.

"I learned some things," she told Rensselaer County Democratic Party leaders at a luncheon here today.

Left unsaid is precisely what things she has learned. But if you compare Hillary on the campaign trail to the Hillary Clinton who burst onto the national stage eight years ago, you can't help but conclude that the things she learned have to do with turning down the temperature.

Recall those early images of her in 1992, campaigning for her husband, the would-be president. Remember the dark shades and the black leather jacket? From the start, Clinton lodged herself

squarely at the center of some of the most inflammatory subjects of the times: sex, politics, gender roles, power, money.

And for a while in those early years, she blithely stoked the fires. She didn't sit home and bake cookies, she bragged. She wasn't Tammy Wynette, standing by her man. Sure, she turned \$1,000 into \$100,000 in a few happy hours of cattle-trading. What about it? She was the family breadwinner, after all. And yes, she had a grand plan to reform the entire gazillion-dollar health care industry.

Gradually, it seems to have dawned on her that she was plenty hot already. She didn't need more intensity. She needed to be a balm, not a bomb.

There are no dark shades on Hil-

lary these days. Today we see Hillary smiling broadly in a red-white-and-blue union windbreaker. In this election, as in most New York contests, Upstaters hold the key, and they don't go for radical feminist icons. Clinton believes they'll go for better schools, lower prices for medicine, better jobs, "respect, responsibility and results."

By late afternoon, Clinton was aboard a chartered jet and winging her way home. She had spent another day as America's most famous and provocative candidate. She had spoken for nearly an hour and gripped-and-grinned at least that long. Hundreds of camera flashes and hundreds of hi-how-are-yous.

Once again, she made no news. Perfect.



Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton signs autograph at Rensselaer County Democratic Committee meeting.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Slight Change of Course

With Giuliani Out, Senate Race Is Focusing Less on Personality and More on the Issues

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

It had become a race about celebrity and personality: Hillary Rodham Clinton attacking Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani as harsh and temperamentally unsuited for a place in the United States Senate,

News Analysis

and Mr. Giuliani portraying Mrs. Clinton as opportunistic and untrustworthy, unsuited to represent New Yorkers in Washington.

But as Mrs. Clinton and her new opponent, Representative Rick A. Lazio of Suffolk County, set out across New York yesterday, laying out their divergent ideologies and themes, it was clear that the new candidate lineup had prompted the first lady, and to a lesser extent the Republicans, to retool their campaigns.

This has become a contest that is slightly less about who the participants are, and slightly more about what they stand for. And it is a development that appears to be wel-

comed by both sides.

In the old lineup, Mrs. Clinton had sought to attack Mr. Giuliani on both his disposition and his ideology. But she kept returning to his jagged personality, in no small part because depicting the moderate mayor as too conservative was "a stretch," as one of her advisers conceded yesterday with a sudden candor that surfaced with Mr. Giuliani's exit from the race.

The situation has now flipped. Attacking the temperament of Mr. Lazio — with his Boy Scout grin and telegenic good looks — seems even more improbable than attacking Mr. Giuliani as hard-right conservative. But Mr. Lazio stands to the right of Mr. Giuliani, which means that Mrs. Clinton may now be able to draw on the ideological differences with Mr. Lazio that had proved so elusive with Mr. Giuliani.

"We no longer have the hard-

Continued on Page A19

edged personality to pivot off," one of Mrs. Clinton's senior advisers said yesterday. "Now we really are, in a large measure, in a campaign of issues. I think that issues and ideology are going to play more importantly going forward than personality."

Indeed, if Mr. Giuliani at times sought to resist Mrs. Clinton's attempt to draw ideological distinctions between them, Mr. Lazio seemed yesterday to be encouraging them, in the calculation that he would benefit from the contrast more than Mrs. Clinton would.

At every turn, he belittled his new opponent as a liberal, reprising the playbook that Republicans have used in every state election in New York and throughout the country for the last 10 years. He even endorsed some Republican Congressional positions that Mr. Giuliani had methodically shied away from over the last few months.

To a certain extent, one of Mr. Lazio's advisers said, the new candidate, who won the formal endorsement of the state Republican chairman, William D. Powers, yesterday, will carry on with some of the more personality-driven attacks that Mr. Giuliani offered.

In an interview on Saturday, for example, he described Mrs. Clinton as an opportunist, and he has repeatedly labeled her a carpetbagger, in a line of attack that his aides said would be central to his campaign.

While a series of polls have suggested that the issue of Mrs. Clinton's new residency has receded in the minds of many New Yorkers, it is the kind of topic, one of Mr. Lazio's advisers said, that could help the Republicans paint Mrs. Clinton as "not one of us," to use the shorthand favored by consultants.

One Republican suggested that that could prove easier for the easygoing Mr. Lazio than for the hard-driven Mr. Giuliani.

When Mr. Giuliani was the opponent, there was some disagreement among Mrs. Clinton's advisers about the extent to which they should go after the mayor's personality rather than his ideology, because the two held such similar views. The question now, one aide said, is determining how aggressively Mrs. Clinton should move to show Mr. Lazio as ideologically extreme.

In particular, Mrs. Clinton's advisers were described as divided last night over whether they should quickly wheel out television advertisements attacking Mr. Lazio's positions, in particular his support for much of Newt Gingrich's Contract With America in Congress.

To date, it has been Ms. Clinton's surrogates (yesterday, it was her press secretary, Howard Wolfson, on "Meet the Press" on NBC) rather than the candidate who has carried the attack, reflecting the concern

among Mrs. Clinton's advisers that she remains too polarizing a figure to carry out the assaults herself.

In truth, it was Mrs. Clinton's aides who first attacked Mr. Lazio, a point that Mr. Lazio made over the last two days. Still, Mrs. Clinton presented herself as something of the victim in an appearance in Albany.

"I was a little disappointed yesterday that my latest opponent has already started hurling insults instead of offering ideas about what we can do to improve the lives of New Yorkers," she said. "I am sorry that my opponent couldn't even get through his announcement speech without going on the attack."

Mr. Giuliani was often cautious about embracing Republican positions on matters pending in Congress, in part because he viewed himself as a moderate on many issues and also in part because he suspected that reporters' inquiries had been encouraged by the first lady. Mr. Lazio showed no such reticence yesterday as he conducted a marathon series of television interviews.

Mr. Lazio, for example, said he would accept the support of the Independence Party, even if Patrick J. Buchanan was its presidential candidate. Mr. Giuliani, aware of the dangers of letting himself be associated with Mr. Buchanan, had avoided making a commitment on that issue, despite Mrs. Clinton's best efforts to push him to do so.

Mr. Lazio also attacked Mrs. Clinton's attempt to promote a national health care plan, describing it on "Meet the Press" as "an abysmal disaster." Mrs. Clinton has repeatedly called for universal affordable health care. He also defended his support of much of Mr. Gingrich's Contract With America, in particular the balanced budget amendment and welfare reform.

"I'm for those things," Mr. Lazio said. "I'm proudly for those things."

Mr. Lazio said he opposed handgun registration, which he described as "invasive," in contrast to Mrs. Clinton, and supported a "significant tax cut," though he stopped short of endorsing the one supported by his party's presumptive presidential nominee, Gov. George W. Bush of Texas. He also said he was open to allowing some private investments of Social Security funds.

To some extent, in taking these positions, Mr. Lazio is simply expressing what is already on the record from his eight years in Congress. It is, Mr. Lazio suggested yesterday, an expression of his ideology and reflects his view of government and the world.

The first lady's advisers had a different view, particularly after six months of trying to force Mr. Giuliani to take positions on many of these same issues. In that regard, Mrs. Clinton's aides, following Mr. Lazio's travels through the morning talk shows, were more than a little heartened by what they saw.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

A Fast Start by Mr. Lazio

With a quick announcement of his candidacy, rapid-fire attacks on Hillary Rodham Clinton and a sprint across New York State yesterday, Representative Rick Lazio has gotten off to an energetic start in his race for the Senate. All but anointed for the Republican nomination, he has not left any time for Republican leaders to wring their hands over Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's withdrawal. Five months before the election, the little-known Long Island Congressman must be rated the underdog. But Mrs. Clinton faces a challenge in having to adjust to his intensity, and to his strong drive toward establishing his stature as a credible candidate.

Mrs. Clinton should also expect an effort to revive the issue of her not being from New York. By campaigning hard upstate while Mr. Giuliani stayed home, she has overcome some skepticism but may find that voters outside New York City will see Mr. Lazio as a more comfortable figure than the mayor. Common sense suggests the G.O.P. will find the money to help Mr. Lazio close the gap in the polls.

For all the freshness of the race, there was a certain familiarity to its themes and politics. Mr. Lazio describes himself as a centrist, but in 1995 he voted fairly regularly with Speaker Newt Gingrich in the budget battles against President Clinton. Mrs. Clinton is certain to accelerate her attacks on his record of deep cuts in education, Medicaid, Medicare and environmental programs. On the talk-show circuit yesterday, Mr. Lazio tried to dismiss these actions as not relevant, but his record will surely be thrown back at him.

In speaking yesterday of repairing New York's

roads and empowering its average citizens, Mr. Lazio was casting himself in the Republican populist mold of his fellow Long Islander, former Senator Alfonse D'Amato. But he could draw fire because of his prodigious record of fund-raising among those interests that have business before him on the Commerce and Banking Committees.

The other familiar feature to the race is its reliance on the traditional building blocks for electoral success in New York. Against Mr. Giuliani, who was likely to get at least a third of the vote in traditionally Democratic New York City, Mrs. Clinton was under tremendous pressure to build up support in traditional Republican areas of the suburbs and upstate. She can now probably count on winning the city at least three to one and may not have to do as well outside it. Upstate Mrs. Clinton has presented herself as a kind of Daughter of the Great Lakes and has made great inroads, according to opinion polls. Ironically, Mr. Giuliani has always had his greatest popularity in the New York suburbs, where Mr. Lazio should also do his best.

Although New York and the nation relished a Giuliani-Clinton showdown, the focus on the mayor's health and personal life had, in a curious way, diverted attention from the electoral competition. Mr. Lazio's weekend blitz seemed likely to reignite voter interest in a race that will still be one of the most watched in the country. Its new dynamics will test Mr. Lazio's ability to adjust to a broader arena and test Mrs. Clinton's resilience and flexibility. New Yorkers are fortunate to still have a lively contest of issues, ideas and personalities.

Poll: Clinton in lead, but Lazio pushing

By Kathy Kiely
USA TODAY

A poll taken this weekend shows first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton with a 14-point lead over her new Republican opponent in the New York Senate race, but Rep. Rick Lazio, R-N.Y., was moving quickly Sunday to close the gap.

The previously little-known lawmaker became the favorite for his party's nomination over the weekend after New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani quit the race amid health and marital problems.

One immediate benefit from taking on Clinton, 52, in the USA's most-watched Senate race: The Long Island lawmaker was the featured guest on five national television news shows.

A Zogby International poll of 506 likely New York voters taken Friday and Saturday showed Clinton ahead of Lazio, 46% to 32%. The poll has a margin of error of +/- 4.5 percentage points.

But despite Clinton's 10-month head start campaigning and \$6.6 million in the bank, Lazio, 42, has his own assets. He has one of the largest war chests of any House member: \$3.5 million. His campaign spokesman Dan McLagan said contributions were "pouring in" over the weekend.

Giuliani said on NBC's *Meet the Press* that he has not decided whether he will donate his \$9 million war chest to the GOP, where it could be used to help Lazio.

The campaign resumed Sunday with the tone Giuliani and Clinton had set: Lazio portrayed Clinton as a left-wing extremist and questioned her credentials as a New Yorker; she accused him of "hurling insults."



By Richard Drew, AP

Lazio: Has \$3.5 million war chest.

► Hoping to make up for lost time, 6A

Politics/Washington

GOP has faith in sudden Senate candidate Lazio

N.Y., national leaders proclaim Long Islander can beat Clinton

By Kathy Kiely
USA TODAY

When Rick Lazio launched his national career, he was a little-known Republican in an uphill battle against a big-name Democrat with five times as much money.

"Nobody expected him to win," recalls Phil Boyle, a New York assemblyman who managed Lazio's 1992 campaign to unseat 18-year veteran Rep. Tom Downey. "Rick, his mother and me, I think, were the only three."

Since that upset victory, Lazio has made believers of others. On Sunday, a series of prominent Republicans went on national television to predict that the 42-year-old father of two can defeat first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, despite the 10-month head start she has in campaigning and fundraising for the New York Senate race.

"Rick has the experience, and he has the vision and the record in the House to win," Gov. George Pataki declared on CNN's *Late Edition*.

After a wild three weeks in which New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani announced that he has prostate cancer, a "very good" female friend and serious marital problems, then dropped out of the race, some New York Republicans think their party is better off with the mild-mannered Long Islander.

"He is a moderate Republican

who is happily married and, from what I hear, goes to church regularly," state Sen. George Maziarsz said.

Lazio's record is already a matter of debate. Members of the Clinton camp paint him as a loyal follower of the conservative Republicans who run the House, and in fact, his voting record has veered to the right in recent years. In 1994, he voted with President Clinton 72% of the time, according to the non-partisan *Congressional Quarterly*. By last year, he was voting with the president 39% of the time.

But compared with Giuliani, a tough-talking former prosecutor critics loved to caricature as a political Darth Vader, Lazio comes across as a Republican Alan Alda: an earnest, eager-to-please lawmaker who has managed to maintain good relations with committed conservatives while championing affordable housing, the environment and breast-cancer research.

He supports abortion rights but opposes a method of ending late-term pregnancies that opponents call "partial-birth abortion." He has supported gun-control measures such as the Brady Law, which required a five-day waiting period on gun sales, and a ban on the sale of assault weapons.

"Rick is a moderate on some issues and conservative on others. He's the perfect person to bridge the gap in our party," says Rep. Rob



By David Duprey, AP

Two-day, nine-city tour: Rep. Rick Lazio, GOP Senate candidate, waves to supporters Sunday at Buffalo-Niagara Falls International Airport.

Portman, R-Ohio. "He has respect in both camps."

Lazio represents a constituency analysts see as key to winning the race: the politically independent bedroom communities surrounding New York City. His Italian-American surname is widely seen as another asset in a state where politics still tends to be tribal.

He has proven he can appeal to Democrats and independents by scoring four decisive victories in a swing congressional district. In 1996, when President Clinton carried the district with 55% of the vote, Lazio won it with 64%.

Moreover, Conservative Party Chairman Mike Long said Sunday that "the door is still open" for Lazio to pick up the party's endorse-

ment, which has been key to many GOP victories in New York. The Conservative Party was unwilling to back Giuliani.

Though he reluctantly put his Senate hopes on hold last year in favor of Giuliani, Lazio never stopped traveling through the state or raising money. That persistence is paying off in the wake of a decision that took even his closest supporters by surprise.

Erie County Republican Chairman Bob Davis is left with several hundred dollars worth of "Western New York Loves Rudy" banners that he ordered after Giuliani aides, who were in Buffalo last week to plan for the GOP Senate nominating convention May 30, assured him the mayor would run.

Dems eye chance for key seat

WASHINGTON — Could Republican Rep. Rick Lazio help make Democratic Rep. Dick Gephardt the next speaker of the House? Democrats say Lazio's decision to run for the Senate against Hillary Rodham Clinton gives them a golden opportunity to pick up a key House seat.

Lazio has won his past two elections by 2-to-1 margins, but that might be more a reflection of his personal popularity than the political leanings of his district on Long Island, N.Y. President Clinton won the district by 20 percentage points in 1996.

Democrats could take control of the House by gaining six seats. The GOP has more than three times as many open seats to de-

fend. Lazio is the 24th House Republican to announce plans to leave after this session, compared with seven Democrats.

"The (GOP's) open seat headache just became a migraine," Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee spokesman John Del Cecato crowed.

Three local Democratic elected officials are considering a run for the seat Lazio holds. Republicans don't yet have a candidate, but National Republican Congressional Committee spokeswoman Marit Babin says the party is confident it can hold on to Lazio's congressional seat.

By Kathy Kiely and William M. Welch

Lazio was so sure Giuliani would stay in the race that until the night before the mayor's announcement Friday, he was asking friends not to return calls from reporters seeking information for profiles.

On Sunday, as he embarked on a two-day, nine-city upstate campaign swing, Lazio's boyish face remained split by an ear-to-ear grin. He hopped his way through five appearances on national morning news shows.

Although the Senate race is no longer the clash of political titans it was when Giuliani was in the race, it is shaping up as a contest be-

tween two of the most cutthroat consultants in the business; Democrat Harold Ickes, one of the first lady's chief advisers, and Mike Murphy, a former John McCain adviser whom Lazio has hired.

► Lazio hits campaign trail, 1A

MONDAY, MAY 22, 2006

The Washington Times

Enter Rick Lazio

You can tell from my accent that I am a life-long New Yorker. I don't have to fake it. . . . I've never needed an exploratory committee to help me figure out where I wanted to live." Last week, New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani might have been the one saying that, firing a verbal broadside against the state's Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate, Hillary Clinton. But those were the words of New York Republican Rep. Rick Lazio as he stepped into the breach that Mr. Giuliani, a political casualty of prostate cancer, left open when he dropped out of the Senate race Friday.

It's not the matchup for which the press, political junkies and many New Yorkers were just counting down the days to start. But it's clear from Mr. Lazio's not-so-subtle opening remarks that he isn't running to lose. Republicans view Mrs. Clinton's political parachute jump into New York from out of state as one weak spot in her campaign. It's not something one can cover up with a New York Yankees baseball cap. Mr. Giuliani believed that, and obviously Mr. Lazio does too.

But Mr. Lazio also carries none of Mr. Giuliani's political baggage into this race. Democrats, and the media for that matter, had made much of the mayor's faltering relations with minorities in New York City in connection with cases of police brutality in the city, alleged and otherwise. (Ironically, minorities and low-income city dwellers were some of the biggest beneficiaries of declining violent crime rates there.) There was, too, the matter of the mayor's collapsing marriage and possible infidelity, which might have helped him pick up the adultery vote from Clinton Democrats but hurt him among his more conservative base. None of that applies to Mr. Lazio.

He is by no means a conservative Republican.

He favors what proponents call "abortion rights" (although he opposes partial-birth abortion), backs much of the gun-control agenda and boasts of his environmental record. On the other hand, he supports tax cuts (including possibly the one proposed by presumed Republican presidential candidate George W. Bush), plans to give Social Security recipients themselves a chance to invest a small portion of their payroll taxes, and the opportunity for poor children trapped in lousy government schools to escape to the private sector. On the whole, no one would confuse his agenda with that of the Republican presidential platform, but by the standards of the New York electorate, it's moderately conservative.

After he announced his bid for the Republican Senate nomination — and received assurances of getting it from party higher-ups — Democrats fanned out among the media to portray Mr. Lazio as a disciple of former House Speaker Newt Gingrich who had, brace yourself, voted for the "Contract with America." That's the legislative blueprint Republicans implemented after winning the House of Representatives in 1994. Questioned about it on "Meet the Press," Mr. Lazio answered, "On the Contract with America, which they're quick to raise, which one of those things is [Mrs. Clinton] against? A balanced budget? Welfare reform? Strong national security? Truth in sentencing? She's against all those things, I presume, by their attack. I'm for those things. I'm proudly for those things. Those are the things that helped turn America around."

Mr. Lazio starts his Senate run far behind Mrs. Clinton, but with the help of Mayor Giuliani and New York Gov. George Pataki, Mr. Lazio may make a race of it about the same time the real New York Yankees are making one of their own.

Lazio tied to former speaker

Foes cite votes with Gingrich

By Joyce Howard Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Supporters of New York Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday sought to link Rep. Rick A. Lazio to former House Speaker Newt Gingrich and the "Contract With America," but her new opponent called the strategy "laughable."

"I think people on both sides of the ideological spectrum will find it laughable as well. The last thing, I think, that Hillary Clinton's supporters want to do is to talk about my record, because, I think, it scares the bejabbers out of them," the New York Republican said on "Fox News Sunday."

Mr. Lazio — who appeared on all five Sunday morning political talk shows in his first full day as a Senate candidate — did not shrink from the comparison.

"On the 'Contract With America,' which they're quick to raise, which one of those things is she against? A balanced budget? Welfare reform? Strong national security? Truth in sentencing?"

"She's against all those things, I presume, by their attack. I'm for those things. I'm proudly for those things. Those are the things that helped turn America around," he said on NBC's "Meet the Press."

On CBS' "Face the Nation," Mr. Lazio said: "If that's what they're against and I'm for, I'm comfortable fighting on those grounds."

Linking Mr. Lazio, who entered the House in 1992, with Mr. Gingrich is an easy task: An analysis in Congressional Quarterly showed the New York Republican voted with the speaker 83 percent of the time in 1995. On the other hand, the centrist Republican — who supports some abortion rights and some aspects of gun control — voted with President Clinton 72 percent of the time in 1994 and 59 percent the previous year, according to voting records.

In virtually every television appearance he made, Mr. Lazio faced a coordinated assault by supporters of Mrs. Clinton, including campaign adviser Harold Ickes, campaign manager Bill de Blasio and spokesman Howard Wolfson.

"Beyond the fact that Lazio was a key lieutenant of Gingrich and someone who was very proud of having helped build the Gingrich revolution and supporter of the 'Contract with America,' the core point here is that the issue contrast [between him and Mrs. Clinton] is profound," Mr. de Blasio said.

Said Mr. Ickes: "Rick Lazio is just out of step with the mainstream of New York."

Rep. David E. Bonior, Michigan Democrat and House minority whip who has been an ardent defender of President Clinton, also criticized Mr. Lazio's connection.

"Clearly, when Rick Lazio was in the United States House of Representatives during Gingrich's first term, he went down the line with the 'Contract With America.' You just check out his votes," he said on CNN's "Late Edition."

"And not only that, check his comments, check his quotes in the paper with respect to Newt Gingrich over that period of time. He was very supportive of Speaker Gingrich."

But Rep. David Dreier, a California Republican who appeared on CNN, noted that "most of the Contract With America was signed by President Clinton: balanced budgets, unfunded mandates, national security" and welfare reform.

Mr. Lazio, who starts the campaign almost a year after the first lady began testing the waters, said he understands his greatest task — and his greatest danger.

"My challenge is to make sure that people know the real Rick Lazio before the other side gets out and tries to fool the New York people about who I am," he said on CNN's "Late Edition."

House Majority Whip Tom DeLay interviewed yesterday on "Fox News Sunday," said he finds it "amazing" that supporters of Mrs. Clinton are "already trying to demonize" her new Republican opponent.

But host Tony Snow countered that such analogies can only constitute demonizing "if you assume that Newt Gingrich is a demon." He asked Mr. DeLay — the House's third-in-command — if that was his assumption.

The Texas Republican responded carefully. "Well, the left has tried to demonize Newt Gingrich all this time, and, in some cases, were successful," he said.

But Mr. DeLay went on to say it is "so hollow to try to tie Rick Lazio to Newt Gingrich," he feels "sure New Yorkers are just going to laugh about that one."

A New York Post/Zogby poll released yesterday showed 46 percent of New York voters supporting Mrs. Clinton, compared with 32 percent in favor of Mr. Lazio. Sen. Mitch McConnell, chairman of the National Republican Senatorial Committee, pointed out on Fox that "her numbers are not that much different than they were before [New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani] left the race."

The poll also found two-thirds of

likely voters don't know enough about Mr. Lazio to have an opinion of him, either favorable or unfavorable. Seventeen percent said they were undecided about whom to support, up from 11 percent a week ago when the Republican candidate was Mr. Giuliani.

So Mr. Lazio spent the day trying to define himself before the other side did it for him. Before giving a commencement address at a Long Island college and flying to four upstate cities, Mr. Lazio said he is "just a plain old New Yorker" — native of Long Island, son of an auto-parts dealer, married with two small children who attend public school.

Asked by "Fox News Sunday" if there were any skeletons in his closet like drug or health problems, he said: "I'm clean as a whistle."

Meanwhile, Mrs. Clinton, who spent Sunday in Albany and Troy, scolded Mr. Lazio for using his campaign announcement a day earlier to attack her as a liberal carpetbagger with political ambitions beyond the Senate.

"I was a little disappointed yesterday that my latest opponent has already started hurling insults instead of offering ideas about what we can do to improve the lives of New Yorkers," Mrs. Clinton said.

Another issue widely discussed on talk shows yesterday was whether Mr. Lazio will benefit from any of Mr. Giuliani's \$20 million campaign war chest and, if so, how much. Mr. Lazio starts the race with \$3.5 million; Mrs. Clinton has raised \$12 million.

Mr. McConnell said he expects Mr. Lazio will receive about two-thirds of Mr. Giuliani's contributions. He stressed that Mr. Giuliani "could not [legally] transfer" the funds "directly" to Mr. Lazio. But he could transfer them to the National Republican Senatorial Committee, Mr. McConnell said.

MONDAY, MAY 22, 2000

The Washington Times

The Real Rick Lazio

THE Clinton campaign appears to be unnerved at the prospect of running against Rick Lazio.

Top aide Harold Ickes wasted no time attacking Lazio as an extremist Newt Gingrich clone. When a campaign resorts to tactics that were in style five years ago something is wrong. Moreover, it's blatantly dishonest since Lazio has compiled a congressional voting record that paints him as a classic moderate.

Lazio's lifetime American Conservative Union rating is 65 percent. He is pro-choice on the abortion issue and supports President Clinton's Americorps program that pays "volunteers" to work.

Lazio has voted for the Brady bill, bans on assault weapons and striker replacement, an increase in the minimum wage and family and medical leave. He even voted against a small cut in funding for the National Endowment for the Arts.

The issue that consumes Rick Lazio is public housing, which is not a traditional red meat conservative issue. It is certainly unconventional for a Republican to devote his career to an outgrowth of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society instead of spending cuts, tax cuts and other limited government issues.

In 1998, Lazio was one of only 29 Republicans to join 195 Democrats in voting against ending a federal Affirmative Action program that required 10 percent of transportation contracts to be rewarded to minorities and women.

That same year, he described how he "staved off attempts by the Clinton Administration to cut funding in the 1998 federal budget for the Community Services

CHRISTOPHER CHICHESTER

Block Grant program — maintaining federal dollars for this important anti-poverty program at this year's level."

So here we have a Republican bragging about his efforts to force Bill Clinton to spend more of our tax dollars on a welfare program, and supporting an egregious racial and gender quota program.

This is the record of a Newt Gingrich-type extremist? How ludicrous. Many southern Democrats are more conservative than Lazio, which is exactly what scares Hillary Clinton. She knows her cam-

Many southern Democrats are more conservative than Lazio, which is exactly what scares Hillary Clinton.

paign has to resort to demagoguery in order to demonize the Lazio record.

Lazio's congressional career is devoid of any controversy that can become a major issue during the campaign. Rarely has he advocated an unpopular position out of conviction, which is precisely how his mentor Pataki operates.

In fact, Lazio strives to present himself as a non-polarizing nice guy. He's the quintessential anti-Giuliani. If he insists on sticking to his nice-guy style, the ruthless Clinton crowd — as already dem-

onstrated by Ickes — will roll right over him with attacks from now until Election Day.

Since appearances matter greatly in politics, the 42-year-old boyish-looking congressman has to convince voters that he has the maturity and experience to be New York's next senator. His personal demeanor needs some work. "He comes off as a goofball," one longtime observer of state politics told me.

The goofball factor was on display when Lazio announced his official candidacy last Saturday. He awkwardly delivered a speech with almost no substance. To the extent that he did mention issues, he emphasized liberal favorites.

The most amusing part of the speech was the bizarre way it began. Lazio congratulated his staff "for making me look good" as well as family and friends who have supported him. Notwithstanding the fact that he has almost six months left to campaign, Lazio seemed content just to be the leading candidate for the GOP nomination.

Lazio is clearly the underdog. But he has a stranglehold on the moderate label always coveted by Republicans running statewide. He can appeal to women, independents and Democrats while keeping Republicans united.

If he runs a focused and disciplined campaign, Lazio can win an upset and put a stake through the heart of Hillary Clinton's political career. How sweet it would be.

Christopher Chichester is the founder of empirepage.com, a Web site devoted to New York politics and government.

Clinton knife-man just blunting his blade against Rick

HAROLD ICKES, once the sharpest knife-man in the political kitchen of the Clinton mob, is sadly starting to disappoint me.

Here was a guy who once could make dust out of concrete with a single bite, a guy who loved the smell of napalm in the morning.

Here was a guy who once finagled a front-page story in The New York Times revealing the shocking fact that former Sen. Al D'Amato would play poker with his friends, smoke a cigar and order take-out Chinese.

Lock up your innocents.

But as Hillary's senior political adviser, Ickes seems to have lost his lust for blood.

His first mission was to derail Rick Lazio's Long Island Express, and what did he come up with? That

Lazio was once a foot soldier for Newt Gingrich.

Newt Gingrich? Yeah, he was the former speaker of the House who launched the "Contract with America." I mean, a pretty big guy once and a very decent guy to this day.

But frankly, as far as voters are concerned, Newt who? If that's the best Harold the Hit Man can do to smear someone, he might as well enter a giraffe in a limbo contest.

Oh, I can see it now, in Hillary's words: "A vast right-wing conspiracy out there."

Harold was once to the Clinton gang what Beria was to Stalin. But either his gun has jammed or the bull's eye has disappeared.

Yesterday on "Meet the Press," Ickes seemed to think he had invented water when he told Tim Russert with stunning pride: "She [Hillary] has been to all 62 counties in New York state." Jeepers creepers, I know bikers from the Hells Angels who have been to all 62 counties.

And then: "... he [Lazio] is out of step with mainstream New Yorkers."

Yeah? In a pig's eye. Lazio was born here. His wife was born here. His two daughters were born here. He went to public school here. His wife went to public school here. And

so do their two daughters.

Hillary? Well, she will tell us one day where she went to school, when she takes the silver spoon out of her mouth, that very lucky lady from Illinois.

"It's amazing how they are already trying to demonize" Lazio, said Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Texas). Lazio's "such a New Yorker, he even talks funny."

Back to the criticism. Lazio out of step with mainstream New Yorkers?

Yeah, Lazio is dead-set against partial-birth abortion. Hillary supports it. Seventy-nine percent of the public is against it. The great former mayor Ed Koch calls it "purely and simply murder."

Hillary bought a house here recently, but for eight years Rick Lazio has been in a bigger house representing New Yorkers — the House of Representatives.

But you see we never get a chance, reporters or smarter people like the

average Joe or Jane, to find out why Hillary is so much mainstream New York.

As Wolf Blitzer said on CNN yesterday: "Rick Lazio did something today that Hillary Clinton has never done ... appeared on all five Sunday morning [political] talk shows."

You want a piece of Lazio? Come and get it.

Gov. Pataki said: "Mrs. Clinton hides behind hired spokespeople."

Mike Murphy, Lazio's golden guru, told me: "In the past 24 hours, Rick has faced more reporters and questioning than Mrs. Clinton has done in six months. She seems to be terrified of facing questioning. Day 1 goes to Rick."

So here's the thing, Harold the Hit Man, unless you take your guns to town, son, Hillary is going to have to call in your heir-apparent as chief assassin, James Carville.

Now I don't want to see you out of work, but let Rick Lazio have some real opposition.

Newt is a beaut. But the "smear" is moot. There was a time when you would have made this a mud-wrestling contest, but now you've made it Trivial Pursuit.

STEVE DUNLEAVY



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



HER JANE HANCOCK: Hillary Clinton signs a poster for fan Dennis Hollenbeck in Albany yesterday after gaining the endorsement of the union of machinists and aerospace workers.

Hill rips quick Rick's mud-slinging

By KEN LOVETT in Albany
and FREDRIC DICKER in Troy

Hillary Clinton said in upstate swings yesterday she was "disappointed" that her new Republican opponent, Long Island Rep. Rick Lazio, "has already started hurling insults." "Every candidate has to make a decision about what kind of campaign he or she will run," Clinton said. "Will it be a campaign of ideas and issues, or will it be a campaign of insults and attacks?"

While vowing to focus on the issues during her Senate campaign, the first lady said, "I'm sorry my opponent couldn't even get through his

announcement [Saturday] without going on the attack."

Clinton made her comments during a campaign stop yesterday afternoon in Albany to pick up the endorsement of the New York State Council of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. It was her third labor-union endorsement of the week.

As she did when she first began her contest against Mayor Giuliani, Clinton did not mention Lazio by name during her remarks.

Lazio on Saturday accused Clinton of being a left-wing Democrat and not the "New Democrat" as she has been portraying herself.

Clinton would not address the

charge yesterday.

"Beyond all the bluster and the attacks, I really hope we can keep this campaign focused on the real, genuine and meaningful differences between us and our parties," she said. "I look forward to that campaign."

Clinton later ducked a question of what she thought of Lazio's record in Congress and if she agreed with her aides that he is a "Gingrich Republican."

"There will be plenty of time to talk about that later," she said.

The first lady did manage to draw a few laughs during her talk when

See HILLARY on Page 24

HILLARY from Page 4

she pointed out a Giuliani look-alike in the crowd of machinists.

"We're delighted to have him with us and we know you are going to be working hand-in-hand with us," she said.

In expressing support for strong labor rights, Clinton backed the effort of unions to or-

ganize and "protect" New York City livery drivers.

She repeated her disappointment that Lazio "has already started hurling insults instead of offering ideas or talking about this issues" during a 25-minute speech to about 100 Rensselaer County Democrats in the economically hard-pressed city of

Troy, although she avoided mentioning his name.

Local Democrats said they thought Clinton had been strengthened by Giuliani's Friday withdrawal from the Senate race, but they said the contest would still likely be close.

"I'm not saying he won't be a tough opponent but Lazio is behind on name-recognition, money and time on the campaign trail," said Troy Mayor Mark Pattison.

"I think he's an attractive candidate but he doesn't offer quite the same choice as Mayor Giuliani did. On balance, I think having Lazio in the race is better for Mrs. Clinton."

Clinton, at least publicly, wasn't gloating about Giuliani's departure, telling supporters, "This will be a tough election and we will have to work hard for every single vote."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Why the GOP Will Win

IN the few days since Mayor Giuliani's emotional withdrawal from the Senate race, many political pundits and my friends in the press have already crowned Hillary Clinton as our next senator. Rick Lazio is about to prove them wrong.

Back in 1994, these same people said the Republicans could never field a candidate who could defeat the liberal icon Mario Cuomo. We emerged from our convention that year with a little known state senator, who went on to defeat Cuomo and then lead us in turning New York state around: our great governor, George Pataki.

New York Republicans are ready for another tough fight this year.

Since starting her campaign over a year ago, Mrs. Clinton has abdicated all her responsibilities as first lady, yet kept all the perks of office. She's traveled the state on the taxpayer dime — repeatedly refusing to pay us back. She's called upon old Clinton friends, like Harold Ickes and James Carville, to launch numerous attacks on our leaders and our way of life, while she professes to be running a positive campaign. We should expect more of the same in the weeks and months ahead.

¶ Mrs. Clinton has done nothing for the people of New York. ¶

Mrs. Clinton has acted as if she's entitled to our U.S. Senate seat, but serving our families in Washington is a privilege that has to be earned. Moving into New York 10 months before Election day does not make you a New Yorker. Nor does going to the supermarket as a publicity stunt, or having your Hollywood friends reinvent you for the public.

The families of New York have never embraced Mrs. Clinton because we've always doubted her sincerity. We all know she's only attempting to use our state as a steppingstone to get back to the White House.

By contrast, Rick Lazio was raised in our state, has worked in our state as an assistant DA, paid taxes in our state, and made the decision a long ago to live and raise his family here. As our congressman, he has a proven record of working hard for the people of New York. That record gives us clues as to what he will do and the tough decisions he will make when confronted with the important issues facing our families: He will serve as our voice in Washington, while Mrs. Clinton's ambitions won't allow her to do that.

WILLIAM D. POWERS



Rick Lazio will also serve in the majority in the U.S. Senate. He will be in a better position to help us bring back nearly \$15 billion in taxes that we send down to Washington, but don't get back.

Mrs. Clinton continues to show that she is not one of us. She's become a Yankee fan, although she's never been to a game. She's bought a house, but that's temporary — until she can call the White House home again. She's raised a lot of money for her campaign, but a large amount of that money is being funneled in from her Hollywood friends. She says she's studied our issues, but she hasn't lived here long enough to understand our needs.

Somehow, none of the nearly 5 million registered Democrats in New York were qualified enough to run for our U.S. Senate seat. Instead the Democrats, lead by my counter part, Chairwoman Judith Hope (who, oddly enough, comes from Arkansas), chose to anoint Mrs. Clinton, which leaves it up to Republicans to ensure we have a real New Yorker representing our needs in Washington.

If this campaign is about issues, then we will easily defeat Mrs. Clinton. She has done nothing for the people of New York. Her abysmal record of accomplishments is well known. She presided with an iron fist over her failed health care debacle. And she also claims to have reformed an education system in Arkansas that was one of the worst performing systems in the nation when she left there. That might be reform in Arkansas, but in New York we call that child abuse.

The eyes of the country have fallen upon New York state. We are in the unique position of truly ending the Clinton-Gore Era in Washington. Soon our party will nominate Rick Lazio as our U.S. Senate candidate. He's the right choice for the families of New York because he's one of us and his motives are clear — he truly wants the opportunity to represent our families in the U.S. Senate.

The battle has just begun and Republicans are prepared for the campaign ahead. The country knows that we need to stop Mrs. Clinton here and now — or it could soon be President Clinton once again. Rick Lazio is the Republican choice and on Election Day he will be New York's choice for U.S. Senator.

William D. Powers is the Chairman of the New York Republican State Committee.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST

America's oldest continuously published daily newspaper

The Challenge Facing Rick Lazio

You may have heard that we [have] acquired a new opponent," chirped Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday, royally.

Indeed she has.

And hasn't Rick Lazio hit the ground running as Phase Two of the campaign to replace Daniel Patrick Moynihan in the U.S. Senate gets under way in earnest?

Lazio, a four-term Republican member of Congress from Long Island, yesterday appeared on six TV talk shows, delivered a college commencement address — and then undertook an airborne whistle-stop tour that took him to four upstate cities.

Well, this much is clear: Those who were dubious of Mayor Giuliani's appetite for electoral combat will have no complaints in that regard about the new presumptive standard-bearer of the Republican Party.

Now the question is this:

Who is Rick Lazio?

It is *not*: What is Hillary Clinton?

Lazio, we would argue, got things backwards Saturday and Sunday — when potential voters, their curiosity piqued by the bizarre chain of events that conspired to knock Giuliani out of the race, were taking a look at the newcomer, ready to listen as he defined himself.

What they heard was Lazio attacking Mrs. Clinton as a "proud liberal," and a member of the "far left."

Those who recognize in such words echoes of the final campaign of Alfonse D'Amato — a former holder of high office now in the private practice of law — aren't wrong.

Time and time again during the 1998 campaign, D'Amato had an opportunity to speak well of himself — and of his not-inconsiderable record — and instead he attacked.

It didn't work then.

It probably won't work now — and, in any event, it is far too early in this campaign to let slip the attack dogs.

Far better for Lazio to put forth the facts — and let them speak for themselves, particularly in these areas:

Campaign rationale: Mrs. Clinton *has* no rationale. New Yorkers should vote for her simply because she wants the job? Nonsense. Lazio has served four terms in the House — and a Senate candidacy is a logical progression.

Record: In terms of actual accomplishment, Mrs. Clinton offers nothing (though past proposals and associations could hurt her badly.) Lazio is a moderate on issues of importance to most New Yorkers — and if the partial-birth abortion lobby thinks Lazio is vulnerable in this regard they need only recall Pat Moynihan's words on the subject.

Base: Lazio stands to benefit hugely from the anti-Hillary battalions — but the Long Island congressman isn't going to get juices stirring like Giuliani would have. Indeed, it's fair to guess that the mayor's withdrawal will cause African-American voters, and others with complaints about Giuliani, to sit down in large numbers.

This is not to say that Mrs. Clinton doesn't bring real strengths into this race.

There are institutional forces — particularly those represented by United Federation of Teachers President Randi Weingarten and health-care-union boss Dennis Rivera — which are very much in the first lady's corner.

This is so for two reasons.

First, it is in their interests to elect another Democrat to the Senate — the better to transfer tax dollars to their members.

Second, a win by Hillary Clinton this year will help organize — and energize — the forces needed to help elect sympathetic candidates for mayor and governor in 2001 and 2002.

In this respect, it is almost more important for Rick Lazio to present a well-reasoned case for his party than it is for him to promote himself.

Happily, one objective need not be at odds with the other.

The future of New York state lies in its ability to reform public education, reduce its disproportionately high tax burden and encourage private-sector investment — and to maintain a hospitable climate for those industries that now generate much of the state's wealth.

At its best, that's what the Republican Party stands for.

Rick Lazio will forget this at his peril.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Bitter

Who Knocked Out Rudy?

WHEN a politician lies on the canvas, out for the count, victimized by an anonymous news leak about an affair — at the precise moment that he is reeling from news of newly diagnosed prostate cancer — it is a legitimate question to ask: Who threw the knockout punch?

How did it happen that Rudy's relationship with Judith Nathan, apparently not a state secret, was publicly exposed only a few weeks before his nomination for the Senate would have become irrevocable at the Republican State Convention?

Any good politician knows that an affair, on its own, is not enough to defeat a Senate candidate in a state like New York. But such a savvy operative would also realize that this revelation would cause a moralist like Giuliani unimaginable personal pain. When his diagnosis with prostate cancer left him personally vulnerable, it did not take a genius to realize that marital problems might force this strong but weakened man from the race.

So who did it?

I have no confirmed information on this subject. But I do have speculation informed by the flow of events which led up to the publication of the Rudy-Judith relationship and by my ongoing knowledge of how my



DICK MORRIS

former clients operate. They go for the jugular — the knock-out. And they do it secretly, clandestinely, all the while publicly acting above such revolting behavior.

It has been reported that The New York Post got a tip that Giuliani and Nathan ate regularly at a Manhattan restaurant at a certain time on a certain day. The Post photographed the pair leaving the restaurant but held the story for more than a week while the disclosure of Rudy's prostate

to be sitting on it, could he then have tipped the Daily News to ensure that the story got out and to pressure The Post to print it?

Remember that Giuliani lives in a fishbowl. The press corps dogs his every footstep. Had the press wanted to run the story of his affair, they could have done so months ago. This timely leak likely came from an enemy of recent vintage.

If Hillary and her hitmen were not investigating Giuliani's private life, it would be the first time that the Clintons did not try to collect dirt to smear their political opponents. In almost all their campaigns and scandals, the Clintons hire investigators (in 1992, they even paid for them with federal campaign funds) to find am-

If Hillary and her hitmen were not investigating Giuliani's private life, it would be the first time that the Clintons did not try to collect dirt to smear their political opponents.

cancer dominated the headlines. Then The Post went with the story to be followed by the Daily News one day later.

Now for the speculation: Could an operative who worked, directly or indirectly for Hillary or her campaign, have been following Rudy and have dug up the information about the Nathan relationship? Could he then have given the story to The Post? When the paper seemed

munition to use their adversaries' private lives against them.

It was Hillary Clinton herself, in the 1992 campaign, who pushed the story of President Bush's alleged sexual affair with a federal employee. This revelation forced the Bush campaign to tone down its criticism of Bill Clinton's morality in the wake of Gennifer Flowers.

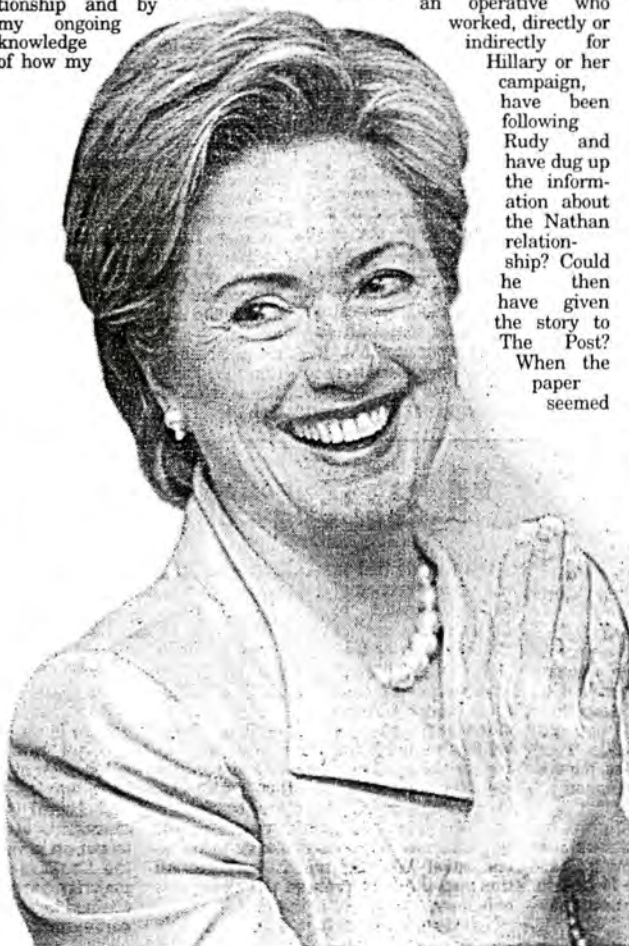
The Clintons would never be so crass as to leave their fingerprints on this dirty trick. They would do it through one of their operatives, lawyers, donors, consultants, staffers or henchmen. Just like they always have.

Woman after woman has been demonized by their secret police — usually on orders from Hillary — and have had their past dragged through the mud and leaked to the press to discredit their accounts of the president's sexually predatory practices. Did Rudy Giuliani fall victim to the same detectives who preyed on Kathleen Willey, Gennifer Flowers, Paula Jones, Juanita Broadrick, Dolly Kyle Browning, Elizabeth Ward Grayson?

Did the Clintons' penchant for the politics of personal destruction ruin Giuliani's Senate bid just as it was once trained on the likes of Bob Livingston, Henry Hyde and Bob Barr?

Journalistic ethics bar The Post from revealing who tipped them off, but reporters need to ask tough questions of other sources to try to learn who outed Rudy.

Smearing with scandal is the Clintons' MO. When a politician running against a Clinton conveniently falls down so close to a nominating convention, we are entitled to probe who leaked the information that led to the knock-out punch.





KEEPS ON TRUCKIN': Hillary Clinton yesterday accepts the Teamsters' endorsement. N.Y. Post: Michael Norcia

New ad portrays kinder, gentler Hill

By GREGG BIRNBAUM
and CHRIS FRANCESCANI

Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday jumped back on the Senate campaign trail, unveiling a new "warm and fuzzy" TV ad — and avoiding any mention of potential GOP rival Mayor Giuliani.

Clinton grabbed her second union endorsement of the week, talked to high school students at a community center on the Upper East Side, and was the star attraction at a Queens Democratic dinner.

Clinton, who won the support of the Building and Construction Trades Council on Monday, added the backing of the 24,000-member Teamsters Local 237, which represents city workers.

A top union leader who spoke before the first lady made the only reference to Giuliani, although not by name.

"All we get is a deaf ear," fumed Teamsters treasurer Nick Mancuso, who chided the "administration" for not recognizing the hard work of city employees.

In her remarks to about 200 union members at the Hilton Hotel in Manhattan, Clinton praised state and city workers and said their contribution to improving life in New York is an "un-

told story."

Clinton did not take questions from reporters, but campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson said the uncertainty over Giuliani's candidacy was having no effect on Clinton.

"We're continuing to do what we've done every day since the beginning of this process, which is get up

every day and work hard and try to earn the trust and support of New Yorkers," Wolfson said.

The campaign's new 30-second ad hit the airwaves upstate.

The spot features Dr. Betty Lowe, a past president of the

American Academy of Pediatrics, gushing about Clinton's work on behalf of women and children.

At the Lenox Hill Community Center on the Upper East Side, Clinton fielded question from high school students on gun control, campaign finance reform and education.

The kids repeatedly returned to the subject of domestic violence among teen couples and expressed frustration with the lack of respect they show for each other.

Clinton urged the students to go back to their schools and jump-start "honest conversations" about the problem.

TITLE: "Dr. Betty Lowe"

RUNNING TIME: 30 seconds

WHERE SHOWN: Upstate only

PRODUCED BY: Mandy Grunwald, chief media consultant for "Team Hillary"

TEXT: Dr. Lowe (past president, American Academy of Pediatrics): "I have seen her go through the hospital and talk to children. The next thing you knew, all the kids would come sit by her. If you're a sincere, caring person, children will respond to you. If you're not, they won't." Announcer: "Thirty years fighting for children and families... All the proceeds from her book nearly a million dollars — donated to help children... As New York's senator, she'll fight for better health coverage, modern schools, higher standards... Hillary, put her to work for all of us."

VISUALS: Opens with picture of Clinton looking over a child's shoulder (all

ADWATCH

images of her are black and white); footage of Dr. Lowe (in color) speaking; more images, mostly still

shots, of Clinton interacting with kids of different racial and ethnic backgrounds; ends with signature shot of Clinton smiling and waving.

ANALYSIS: The ad is more about personal qualities — sincerity and caring — than issues. It conveys those positive attributes not through Clinton herself — she doesn't speak and is shown moving only once, briefly — but through a doctor's "expert testimony." To further prove the point, the spot risks shameless self-flattery by touting the proceeds Clinton donated to charity from sales of "It Takes a Village" — something she never mentions on the campaign trail.

GIULIANI RESPONSE: "The new ad uses an Arkansas doctor, who backed Mrs. Clinton's failed health-care plan, to claim a 30-year record of accomplishment where none exists." — Giuliani media advisor Adam Goodman





SETBACK: Hillary, with the president Tuesday in Albany, faces new woes over alleged misuse of FBI files. AP

Hillary ordered to cough up her phone logs

Hillary Rodham Clinton took a day off from campaigning but got slammed by a federal judge's ruling that she must turn over her phone records in a lawsuit over alleged misuse of FBI files.

Eight former White House officials — including Clinton ex-chief of staff, Maggie Williams — were also told to hand over their phone logs by U.S. District Court Judge Royce Lamberth.

"It's huge," said Larry Klayman,

By Brian Blomquist in
Washington and Gregg
Birnbau in New York

head of a conservative group, Judicial Watch, which is suing the White House and Clinton for collecting FBI files on hundreds of prominent Republicans.

The judge's order came as Clinton spent the day in the city filming campaign commercials, sources said.

A day after receiving the Democratic Party's Senate nomination, Clinton made no public appearances and plans to resume campaigning today, at a Teamsters union event and a Queens Democratic meeting.

Battling the lawsuit, the White House argued that Klayman's request for the phone logs was irrelevant and burdensome, requiring aides to sort through 52 boxes of phone logs, including 15 from the first lady's office.

But Lamberth said in his ruling that the court "finds that such information ... is relevant to the pending action" and ordered the White House to deliver the records in 20 days.

Lamberth's order appears to apply only to Clinton's official phone, although it doesn't establish a time period.

"A lot of people have been claiming they didn't have contact with each other, and this could provide evidence that they did," Klayman said.

"Telephone records and billing records don't lie."

White House spokesman Jim Kennedy responded, "This will involve a Kafkaesque waste of taxpayer money by Republicans intent on using the courts for political purposes."

Independent Counsel Robert Ray in March cleared Clinton of any wrongdoing in the 1993 "Filegate" scandal and found she had no role in the hiring of ex-White House aide Craig Livingstone, who had been accused of having a central role in the affair.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Politics/Washington

N.Y. Democrats make Clinton their nominee

First lady's foe in Senate race undetermined

By Kathy Kiely
USA TODAY

ALBANY, N.Y. — Hillary Rodham Clinton became the New York Democratic Party's official Senate nominee here Tuesday night amid continuing uncertainty over who will be her Republican opponent.

Less than five months after she registered to vote in New York, Clinton accepted the Senate endorsement from an audience of enthusiastic Democrats.

"Hillary didn't pick New York; New York picked Hillary Clinton," said Rep. Charles Rangel, a Harlem lawmaker who seconded the first lady's nomination.

The endorsement came on a day of speculation that the campaign of her Republican rival, New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani, is collapsing along with his marriage.

The first lady, meanwhile, arrived in New York with a surprise guest: her husband. As a crowd that Democratic officials estimated at 11,500 erupted into pandemonium, President Clinton accompanied his wife into the spotlight, then stepped aside as she pronounced herself "deeply honored and humbled to accept the nomination of the New York Democratic Party for the United States Senate."

The president, who has been careful not to overshadow his wife on the campaign trail, did not speak. But the first lady, whose relations with her husband grew visibly icy after his admission of an affair with White House intern Monica Lewinsky, threw him a verbal bouquet. "I would



By Kevin Lamarque, Reuters

Nominee 'deeply honored': The president and Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton enjoy the applause Tuesday at the New York Democratic convention in Albany.

not be standing here tonight were it not for Bill," she said. Her beaming husband acknowledged the thunderous applause with a wave and a thumbs-up.

The president returned the favor later when he introduced his wife at a reception

hosted by New York Democratic Chairwoman Judith Hope. "She will be one of the great senators this country has ever produced," he said.

Onstage, the two Clintons made for a smiling tableau of togetherness that was

bound to contrast with Giuliani's situation. Giuliani continues to weigh whether to stay in the Senate race amid a publicly debilitating marriage and possibly debilitating treatments for prostate cancer. He could decide this week.

Giuliani has political advantages that include a well-known name, a reputation for cleaning up New York City and the nearly \$20 million he had raised as of March 31 for his Senate campaign. However, the mayor is a controversial figure whose abrasive style as mayor has alienated many voters, particularly in New York's large minority community.

If Giuliani drops his Senate campaign, Clinton will be left with "a harder race, a much harder race" because she won't have as inviting a target, predicted Mitchell Moss, director of New York University's urban studies program.

Dirk Van Dongen, who heads "Team Rudy," a group of Washington business leaders who have each pledged to raise \$25,000 for the mayor, said many Giuliani backers would be just as enthusiastic for a substitute. "This is as much about keeping Mrs. Clinton out of the Senate as it is about electing Rudy," Dongen said in an interview this week.

The mayor's campaign staffers continued to tout his prospects Tuesday. They hailed a new Quinnipiac College Poll that showed Giuliani remaining in a statistical tie with Clinton even after he disclosed his cancer and his wife, Donna Hanover, accused him of infidelity.

Giuliani has denied his wife's charge that he had an affair with a former press aide, but he acknowledged that his current female companion, Judith Nathan, is "a very good friend." The mayor announced last week that he is separating from Hanover; the two have long had independent lives.

The Quinnipiac Poll, taken Wednesday through Monday, gave Clinton a scant 44%-

43% edge over Giuliani. The poll of 788 registered voters had a margin of error of +/- 3.5 percentage points.

Democrats here already were beginning to take aim at Rep. Rick Lazio. If Giuliani drops out, Lazio, a Long Island Republican, appears to be the front-runner for the nomination at the state Republican convention May 30 in Buffalo.

"Lazio has a voting record which is a problem," said Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew Cuomo, a possible gubernatorial candidate in 2002. "He followed (House Speaker Newt) Gingrich's marching orders, which doesn't play in New York."

Though the latest Quinnipiac Poll showed Clinton leading Lazio 50%-31%, most observers believe that the publicity the telegenic congressman would get if he became Clinton's opponent would help him make up ground.

"It is definitely not a cakewalk for her," said Mario Cuomo, the HUD secretary's father and former New York governor.

Clinton's nomination Tuesday does not prevent another Democrat from filing to run for the Senate seat, but it does mean she will have the backing of the Democratic organization in the New York primary Sept. 12.

White House deputy press secretary Jim Kennedy said the first lady's campaign will be billed for part of the expenses of the president's trip here.

Both the president and the first lady, who uses Air Force jets for security reasons, are required to repay the White House for a portion of their political travel. New York Republicans, however, have argued that the formula is so skewed that it leaves the taxpayers subsidizing the first lady's campaign.

Contributing: Yancey Roy of Gannett News Service.



By Kevin Lamarque, Reuters
Democrats' choice: Hillary Clinton is named the N.Y. Democratic Party's official Senate nominee Tuesday. Attending are, from left, Sens. Charles Schumer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan and President Clinton, 10A.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

'TO STRENGTHEN OUR FAMILIES'

Setting priorities: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton outlines her goals as she accepts the Democratic nomination to run for the Senate from New York. She is the only first lady ever to seek an elective office.

Democrats nominate Hillary for a Senate run in New York

By Steve Miller
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

ALBANY, N.Y. — Hillary Rodham Clinton was officially nominated for the Senate yesterday at the state Democratic Party's convention as speculation grew that New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani would remain in the country's most-watched Senate race.

"This election is not about me or any Republican opponent. It's about the people of New York and our common mission: To strengthen our families and protect our

children," Mrs. Clinton said to the cheers of 11,000 party supporters.

"Despite the strides and progress we've made, there are still too many forgotten New Yorkers. I've met them. I've met the millions of children, the statistics, the faces we put on those statistics that demonstrate what it's like to be caught up in poverty and despair. ... I know we can do better and New York should not settle for less."

Meanwhile, Mr. Giuliani suggested to supporters at a campaign fund-raiser that he is leaning toward staying in the race.

"I'm very much inclined to do this. I would like to do it. I'm trying to figure out if it's the right thing to do," he said at a campaign fund-raiser late Monday night.

Also yesterday, a new poll showed the first lady and mayor locked in a virtual tie, despite recent announcements by Mr. Giuliani that he has prostate cancer and is separating from his wife.

The Quinnipiac College Polling Institute survey, with a margin of error of 3.5 percent, showed Mrs.

see HILLARY, page A13

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

HILLARY

From page A1

Clinton favored by 44 percent of voters, while 43 percent said they backed Mr. Giuliani. The numbers are statistically unchanged from a Quinnipiac poll out May 1 that had Mrs. Clinton at 46 percent and Mr. Giuliani at 44 percent.

The poll found that 78 percent of respondents said the Republican mayor's difficulties would not influence their November vote in the race to fill a Senate seat being vacated by Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is retiring.

Mr. Giuliani actually has gained since his two announcements. A New York Times poll published April 7 showed Mrs. Clinton ahead 49 percent to 41 percent.

The first lady's nomination last night ratified what most Democrats have thought all along — Mrs. Clinton's star power and faithful adherence to party ideology make her a dream candidate.

President Clinton rearranged his schedule to attend last night's festivities at the Pepsi Arena for his wife, the only active first lady to run for office.

"I just decided I ought to be there," Mr. Clinton said before leaving Washington. "It's a big deal for her, a big night for her and I want to be there with her. I just want to be there to support her."

In her 38-minute address that ended with the triumphant theme from the movie "Chariots of Fire," Mrs. Clinton boasted the same platform that got her to that stage in the first place: government-funded health care for all, environmental care, improved public education and child care for everyone.

Mr. and Mrs. Clinton took the darkened stage hand in hand, both waving to a relentlessly cheering crowd. The couple's entrance — with the noise, the orchestral music and the flashbulbs — was akin to a highly charged rock band hitting the stage.

Mrs. Clinton wore a lemon yellow outfit, a string of pearls and a smile of appreciation.

After a few waves and without a word, the president stepped back as Mrs. Clinton moved to the microphone and lavished praise on her husband while accepting the unanimous nomination from the 352 delegates to the state Democratic Party convention.

"I am delighted the president is here this evening, and I am so grateful for his support. I would not be standing here tonight if it were not for Bill and all he has

done for me."

He mouthed a silent "thank you" to his wife and bowed his head.

It was easily the largest party convention ever, said party spokesman Peter Kaufmann. Almost all the attendees brought an enthusiastic love of the candidate with them. It didn't matter that, unlike past conventions, there was no close, contentious race.

"This is Hillary; she's dynamic, smart — I'm in awe," said delegate Nancy Polech of Syracuse. Her sentiments were shared by almost everyone. Most attendees wore Hillary stickers on their lapels and arrived three hours early.

Carmen Pascarella from Rochester wore a badge that read, "Carmen Pascarella supports Hillary."

Like his peers, he cited his love for the candidate as he stood outside: "I met Hillary in Geneva, New York. She was vivacious, overpowering. That was it for me." He toted with him a photo of Mrs. Clinton and himself at a diner.

The party is not expected to run a primary. Two hopeful nominees, retired police Lt. Peter Ruane and Manhattan surgeon Mark McMahon, 39, failed to present the required 15 signatures for their consideration, Mr. Kaufmann said.

Mr. McMahon, though, stood outside the arena before the doors opened, talking with Hillary fans to gain support for his challenge.

"As I travel around, I find tremendous resentment" of Hillary, he said. The key difference between himself and the first lady? "I'm a New Yorker."

With no competition, Mrs. Clinton was feted by a list of state and federal dignitaries.

In his speech nominating Mrs. Clinton, Sen. Charles E. Schumer called the first lady a "healer, a uniter" who could help both New York City and the upstate.

"She has the backbone to stand up to anyone who would try to split New York City and New York state apart," Mr. Schumer said.

"If this race is decided over who can touch the hearts and minds of New York families, Hillary will win."

U.S. Rep. Charles B. Rangel, in his deep, strangled voice, said Mrs. Clinton did not pick New York for her campaign, "New York picked Hillary."

U.S. Rep. Nita Lowey said "This is a great day, because to the list of great men who have served this state . . . we will add, for the very first time, the name of an outstanding and inspiring woman." The emphasis she put on the last word ebbed in a deluge of applause.

NEW YORK POST

America's oldest continuously published daily newspaper

Hillary for the Democrats

So now it's Hillary Rodham Clinton, designee of the Democratic Party, for the seat in the United States Senate now held by Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Who would have thunk it, those many months ago — when Rep. Charles Rangel of Manhattan first floated her name, and the wise guys snickered.

She's not a real New Yorker, they said. And, of course, they were right. She's out of Illinois by way of Little Rock and Washington, D.C. And if the Empire State is meant only to be a whistle-stop on the road to another tour of duty in the nation's capital — well, since when is ambition a crime in New York?

It is ironic, given all the chortling in Albany last night over the discombobulation in New York's Republican Party, that the Democrats couldn't field homegrown talent to replace Moynihan — to the extent, of course, that he's replaceable in the first place.

Few New Yorkers, for that matter, could bring to the Senate what Pat Moynihan brought nearly a quarter-century ago. He was a counselor to presidents, an esteemed academic, an accomplished diplomat and — most remarkable of all — a product of Hell's Kitchen well before it became, oddly enough, Clinton.

In comparison, the first lady's resume is singularly barren (and not *only* compared to the senior senator's).

But she's promised to work hard on behalf of New York. And hasn't she already visited, as promised, each of the Empire State's 62 counties?

While so doing, Mrs. Clinton has correctly noted that upstate New York lags economically — not only in comparison to New York City, but also relative to demographically comparable neighboring states.

And, again correctly, she points to exorbitantly high taxes, oppressive regulation and near-extortionate energy costs as the reasons for upstate's woes.

Of course, what you *won't* hear from Mrs. Clinton is any notion of what to *do* about these — and other — problems.

Certainly you won't hear from her anything remotely resembling an original thought — nothing that would, in any way, upset the power-brokers in the Democratic Party. Or the bosses of the many unions that are so enthusiastically backing her candidacy.

Is there a problem with public education — particularly *urban* education?

Yes.

Mrs. Clinton's prescription, to the extent that she has articulated one, is simple: Spend more money.

Is it hard to recruit new teachers?

Yes, again.

But while California Gov. Gray Davis, a fellow Democrat, talks about targeted tax breaks for rookie teachers, Mrs. Clinton stands mute.

There is, significantly, no evidence suggesting that the first lady has lost her faith in ever-bigger government as a panacea for America's ills.

The woman who sought to turn over one-seventh of the national economy to what amounted to a national ministry of health was in high profile at the Million Mom March on Sunday — cynically urging more federal laws to solve a problem that countless existing federal statutes haven't made a dent in.

Whether New York will buy her act remains to be seen; indeed, it's not even clear who her GOP opponent will be.

But it's a testimony to the wariness with which New Yorkers approach the first lady that all of Mayor Giuliani's recent woes seem to have had no positive influence on her candidacy.

It is indeed a long, long time from May to November. Now the Democrats have designated a candidate, while the Republicans are stumbling in the dark.

We'd be kidding if we didn't note that we hope that this is as good as it gets for Mrs. Clinton.

But we wish her well. A strong Republican opponent wouldn't hurt, either.

By GREGG BIRNBAUM
and KENNETH LOVETT
Post Correspondents

ALBANY — Hillary Rodham Clinton wasted no time in predicting a Senate win in November at the state Democratic convention last night.

"We have a united Democratic Party," Mrs. Clinton said as the party prepared to officially nominate her as its candidate in the 5,000-person state party convention at the Pepsi Arena.

"We're going to work hard in this campaign," she told reporters. "We're going to be victorious in November."

Mayor Giuliani drew virtually no mention at the gathering — Democrats didn't want to appear heartless by attacking someone with cancer — and it was still unclear whether he will be Mrs. Clinton's Republican opponent.

"The best thing we have going for us at this convention is a simple thing — we have a candidate," quipped state Democratic Party Chairwoman Judith Hope.

"It's like they've got a big party and everybody's dressed up — and no date for the prom," she said in a reference to the GOP.

Hope didn't mention Giuliani by name in her speech to the convention and she gave orders that other speakers also were to avoid the mayor, while GOP presidential hopeful George W. Bush came in for a drubbing.

Former Sullivan County Sheriff Joseph Wasser, who has long been active in Democratic politics, said, "I feel sorry for Giuliani."

"I love the guy, but she [Hillary] would have beaten him anyway. He's out of it now."

President Clinton, who Mrs. Clinton's aides said on Monday night would not be attending the convention, had a last-minute change of heart and planned to show up for his wife's nomination.

"I just decided I ought to be there," Clinton said in Washington before he was to fly to Albany.

"It's a big deal for her, a big night for her, and I want to be there with her. I just want to be there to support her."

The president was not scheduled to speak during

the three-hour convention program, but was instead planning to make remarks later at a reception at a nearby hotel.

The president also said he intended to switch his voter registration to New York from Arkansas by Election Day, in time to vote for his wife.

The president had a non-speaking role at the convention because Mrs. Clinton's advisers are sensitive that she could be upstaged by her husband and much of her campaign is geared toward establishing an independent identity for herself.

At Mrs. Clinton's formal campaign kickoff in February, the president sat by silently on the stage and did not utter a word publicly the entire day.

Before receiving the party's nomination, Mrs. Clinton made the rounds at a host of private meetings and receptions with the Democratic faithful.

"Every day in Washington, Republicans are introducing legislation to turn back the clock," she told the Professional Firefighters Association gathering at a downtown restaurant.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



WALKING THE WALK: Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton strides into the state Democratic convention in Albany last night flanked by party chair Judith Hope and Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver (right).

Alan Solomon

First Lady luck in Albany

CINDY from Page 5

The absolutely only topic?

Is he going to run?

Hillary was in everyone's eye.

Rudy was on everyone's mind.

The feeling among people who

know such things is that Mayor Rudy certainly wants to be Senator Rudy and will take the plunge and make his run, run, run.

They see his invitation to GOP chairmen from Westchester, Rockland, Orange and Ulster counties to come to his long-planned 92nd Street Y appearance tomorrow night as yet another sign that he is going to run, run, run.

Were there a second subject in the arena, it was the president. Some were thrilled, ecstatic he was there. Some mumbled they thought he stole the limelight. The president, upon arrival, was hidden. Shuttled off to a holding room.

It was your typical convention crowd. Schmooze and BS. And talking to the same people whose phone calls you usually duck.

It was guise with spangly red white and blue pointy hats and "McCall" buttons.

It was a fellow with a ponytail and a green "Give 'em Hell, Hillary" button.

It was blue suits, white shirts, red ties, ladies on low heels and cell phones eating off paper plates and wearing T's that read, "I'm a proud Bronx Democrat."

As I bumped into Ken Sunshine again, Isaac Weinberger, a Hasidic rabbi, was asking him, "So listen, Kenny, maybe you have tickets to Andrew Cuomo's party?"

First Lady luck smiles on conventioners

ALBANY.

BACKSTAGE at The Coronation at the Pepsi Arena, the big cocktail event was Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver's intimate little gathering of 1,500 faithful.

The ambiance of the area?

Early Basement.

At 6:15 the room tilted and, direct from the airport, came The Star.

Hillary herself.

Yellow silk pant suit. Perfect for Albany.

Gone was the New York City black job. Pearl necklace — fake. Pearl and diamond earrings — fake. And a big smile. Not fake.

"I had no time to myself to do anything for good luck," she told me.

CINDY ADAMS



"I'd forgotten I'd promised to do a congressional women's event. I told them, 'Oh, no, I can't. It's the convention today.'"

"But they said, 'Oh, yes. You promised. We're all expecting you.'"

"So I went there for lunch. There was nothing else I could do. And it's the eighth year in a row I've done it."

So you did nothing for luck?

"No time. Why, you think I need it?"

The faces around included Assemblyman Denny Farrell in a neon blue shirt, Hazel Dukes in a red knit, teachers union chief Randi Weingarten in a brown pant suit.

Silver told me he'd made a speech in the morning about how President Clinton wasn't coming. The instant he finished, he learned the president was coming.

Democratic state chairwoman Judith Hope told me the president's arrival, long known to her "because we're both from Arkansas, you know," had been kept deliberately quiet for security reasons.

City Council Speaker Peter Vallone said: "Please write that everyone here supports me for mayor. Also happens that they're

all people I've taken out to dinner ... and paid. But you don't really have to write that."

Right.

The pocket of Ken Sunshine, PR man for Streisand and DiCaprio, rang. Judy Collins on his cell phone saying, "Say hello to the president for me." Judy then invited him to a party Monday for Joni Mitchell.

Sid Zion was around bitching — "I'm drinking water on the rocks. First Democratic convention I ever went to where there's no booze. They're either puritans or cheap."

Federal Housing Secretary Andrew Cuomo and the missus, Kerry Kennedy, political pros, were working the side room. I saw them at Bronx County chairman Roberto Ramirez's do.

Andrew said how proud he is to see people from his hometown after years of living in Washington. He got applause.

Ramirez's picked-over buffet must've once been cheese and crackers. It now resembled a Bosnian minefield.

Next stop for the Cuomos, the Indo-American Society. The audience was in turbans. Andrew told them how proud he is that our country welcomes everyone regardless of race or creed. He got applause.

They were serving what looked like it might earlier have been sandwiches.

And the buzz. The only buzz.

See CINDY on Page 12

Excerpts From Text of Mrs. Clinton's Acceptance Speech at Convention

Following are excerpts from Hillary Rodham Clinton's remarks to the New York State Democratic Convention last night in Albany:

Tonight I'm deeply honored and humbled to accept the nomination of the New York Democratic Party for the United States Senate. . . .

And I pledge to you that I will work my heart out every day in this campaign to become your next senator. And I will work every day in the Senate to keep faith with you, with the values and the ideals of the Democratic Party of New York.

Because make no mistake about it: This election is not about me or about any Republican opponent. It's about the people of New

York, and the mission that we are pledged to. What is that mission? I think it is to strengthen our families and to protect our children, to improve our schools and to extend health care to every New Yorker. To free our families and our communities from the terror of gun violence. Strengthen Social Security and modernize Medicare. Ensure America's continued leadership in the world.

It was, after all, New York Democrats who led the way in building the great American middle class. In giving rise to the labor union, to civil rights, to women's rights, to gay rights.

We can continue leading this by building on the progress of the last seven years. Twenty-one million new jobs, balanced budgets, lowered crime, stronger schools, better

child care, a cleaner environment, a safer and more inclusive American community. And our thanks must go to Vice President Al Gore and President Bill Clinton.

New York has made tremendous strides in the last seven years. But there are still too many forgotten New Yorkers. Millions of children without the families, health care or education they need to prepare them for the future. Millions of mothers and fathers working full time but still stressed with too little money or too little time. An upstate economy that isn't generating enough jobs to keep our young people here.

We have some of the greatest institutions of higher learning in the nation. Yet too many of our students still can't afford a college education.

We have some of the best public schools around. Yet far too many of our students are crammed into overcrowded, dilapidated school buildings more suited to the 19th century than the 21st.

We have the finest hospitals in the world. Yet more than half a million children in New York do not have health insurance, and two million older New Yorkers cannot afford their prescription drugs.

We have the most beautiful scenery — from the Finger Lakes to the Adirondacks to Long Island's beaches. Yet we face environmental challenges to our air, our water and our health.

I know we can do better and New York should not settle for less.

We owe it to ourselves and to our children.

With Opponent for Senate Uncertain, Democrats Nominate

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

ALBANY, May 16 — Hillary Rodham Clinton tonight accepted the nomination of the New York State Democratic Party for United States senator, plunging into a race shrouded in confusion with a speech that reflected her uncertain political reality: she still did not know if her opponent this fall would be Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

The result was a political transposition. The Democratic convention was based here in the state capital, but the attention of the 11,500 Democrats who assembled in the Pepsi Arena, among them the president of the United States, was firmly focused on New York's City Hall. Right through this evening, Democrats were still trading rumors that Mr.

to protect our children, improve our schools and to extend health care to every New Yorker."

The sole official task at hand for this gathering of 352 delegates, joined in the bleachers by an audience of thousands, Democratic office-holders, advocates and lobbyists, was to nominate Mrs. Clinton. They did that with a single shout of "Aye!" at 9:13 tonight, and then Judith Hope, the chairwoman of the state Democratic Party, went to the microphone and announced: "Ladies and gentlemen, please welcome the next senator of the United States, Hillary Clinton, and the president of the United States."

The enthusiastic and confident tone of the session suggested how far Mrs. Clinton had come since she began traveling the state last summer, a reflection both of what Democrats tonight described as the evolution of Mrs. Clinton's political skills and of the recent difficulties that have confronted Mr. Giuliani.

She was the unanimous choice of delegates here tonight. No other Democrat even managed to gather the 15 signatures needed to have his or her name entered into nomination.

"We have a united Democratic Party," Mrs. Clinton told a crush of reporters and state legislators who turned out to see her at a prenomination reception sponsored by the Assembly speaker, Sheldon Silver, a Manhattan Democrat. "We're going to work in this campaign; we're going to be victorious in November."

If the events here were largely predictable, the Democratic Party took pains to take note of what transpired here in Albany tonight: a first lady was chosen for the first time to run for public office. The words "History in the Making" were affixed to the front of the lectern, and this city buzzed as the news spread that President Clinton would accompany his wife to the event.

Even on what should have been the most orderly of days, there were touches of disorder throughout the evening, in keeping with the history of both the Democratic Party of New York and the nation's first family. With jockeying among elected officials for a high-profile spot at this unusually high-profile convention, the party was unable to produce a copy of its program until just 45 minutes before the convention was gavelled to order, and the convention was running behind schedule within the hour.

Mr. Clinton's decision to attend



Associated Press

Hillary Rodham Clinton enters the convention with Judith Hope, head of the state Democratic Party, and Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver.

was a last-minute change of course, the outcome of a debate in Mrs. Clinton's camp over whether his appearance would overshadow the first lady on her day, or whether it would seem odd for a candidate's spouse not to be by her side at this event.

The first lady and her aides were tinkering with her speech until the last moment, just as her husband frequently does with his.

Mr. Giuliani's campaign, which has pushed ahead full throttle even in the midst of uncertainty about the candidate himself, had a response to

Mrs. Clinton's speech out more than two hours before she was scheduled to speak.

"No matter how hard Mrs. Clinton tries to reinvent herself," said Julianne Glover Weiss, a spokeswoman for Mr. Giuliani's campaign, "there is still only one candidate in this race with the record of success and follow-through that has improved the lives of New York families."

It was, in some senses, a tricky political day for Mrs. Clinton's campaign, as it sought to balance com-

Meeting in Albany, but focusing on New York City Hall.

Giuliani was about to seize Mrs. Clinton's spotlight by finally announcing whether his diagnosis of prostate cancer and the public unraveling of his marriage would lead to his leaving the race.

In this extraordinarily unsettled atmosphere, Mrs. Clinton — indeed, all the Democrats who spoke during the nearly five-hour session — offered none of the kind of sharp partisan attacks on Mr. Giuliani that would be customary at this kind of political gathering. Mrs. Clinton's acceptance speech presented her election as a contest between political philosophies, an attack not on any candidate but on Republican policies that the first lady's aides said would stand whether her opponent ended up being Mr. Giuliani or another Republican.

"Make no mistake about it: this election is not about me or about any Republican opponent," Mrs. Clinton said. "It's about the people of New York, and the mission that we are pledged to. What is that mission? I think it is to strengthen our families and to protect our children, to improve our schools and to extend health care to every New Yorker. To free our families and our communities from the terror of gun violence."

She went on to describe the mission as "to strengthen our families,



Ozler Muhammad/The

New York Democrats Nominate Mrs. Clinton

Hillary Rodham Clinton was nominated for the Senate at the State Democratic Party convention. She celebrated with her husband and Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is retiring. Page 1

peting forces — taking advantage of what should be a stellar moment in the campaign, without seeming to be overly harsh toward Mr. Giuliani at a time of personal difficulty for the mayor.

Mrs. Clinton did not mention Mr. Giuliani's name in a speech that went on for 39 minutes. Her speech was, in fact, notably unadventurous, as she endorsed a number of Democratic positions on issues that her aides hope will be key in the campaign. Among them were gun control, increasing the minimum wage, providing affordable health care to all, and opposing broad-based Republican tax cuts in Congress.

In some ways, in terms of the length of her remarks as well as the laundry-list presentation, her speech was reminiscent of the State of the Union addresses that were given for eight years by the man who sat silently behind her on the stage tonight.

President Clinton smiled and clapped throughout the evening, particularly when his wife firmly attached herself to his record and offered an effusive tribute to her husband.

"I am delighted that the president is here this evening," Mrs. Clinton said, making no mention of the debate among her and her aides as to whether he should attend.

"And I am so grateful for his support," she continued as the hall fell silent. "I would not be standing here tonight were it not for Bill and were it not for all he has done for me, and I could not be prouder as an American and as a New Yorker to have a president who has meant so much to our country. We are a better country than we were in 1992."

The audience rose in an ovation to the president.

Although Mrs. Clinton seemed to be taking pains tonight not to be too partisan, Senator Charles E. Schumer, the Democrat elected in 1998, offered in his nomination speech for Mrs. Clinton a hint of the line of attack that he has counseled her to use in the fall.

"With Hillary's victory," Mr. Schumer said, "we're going to tell Trent Lott that he's no longer running the United States Senate. We're going to tell Trent Lott that his dream of a Supreme Court that overturns *Roe v. Wade* and an N.R.A. that writes all gun legislation is dead, buried, gone with Hillary Rodham Clinton's victory."

Mrs. Clinton's Moment

In her first outing as a candidate for elective office, Hillary Rodham Clinton has demonstrated a firm grasp of a basic rule of politics. That is the one about never interfering when your opponent is being engulfed with bad news. Indeed, Mrs. Clinton has campaigned with such quiet decorum during Mayor Rudolph Giuliani's travails that the public may be tempted to overlook the accomplishment represented by her formal nomination yesterday.

In the six months since she entered the Senate race, Mrs. Clinton has molded herself into a formidable candidate, matching Mr. Giuliani in the polls even before a combination of health and marital problems put his candidacy in doubt. To do that, she survived a blizzard of rookie mistakes and learned, by her own admission, that being a candidate is much harder than coaching a spouse on how to run. She seems more willing to campaign outside the moving cocoon provided by her White House connection. She has managed to contain, if not totally defuse, the carpetbagger issue. While she will never be a spellbinding orator, she sticks with discipline to a message designed to rally core Democrats.

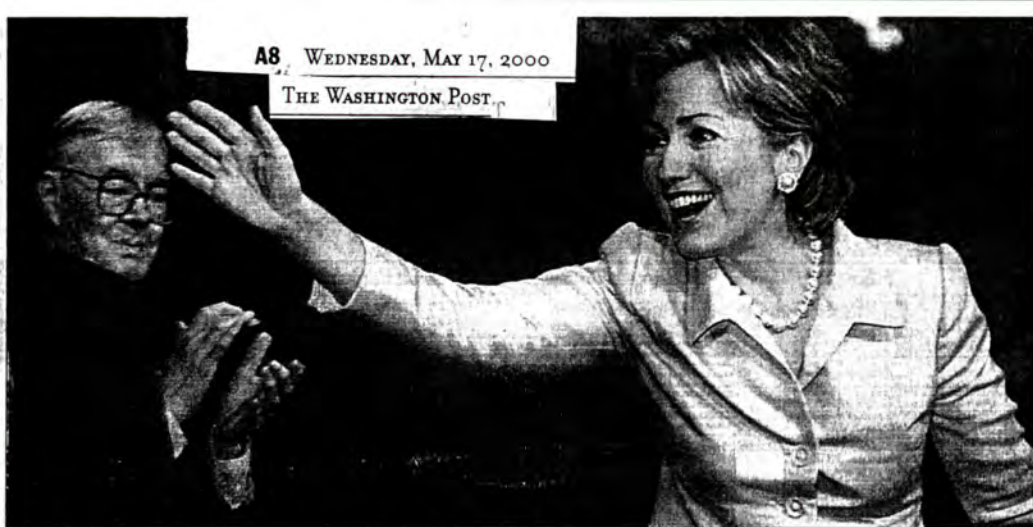
Even though Mrs. Clinton began with the advantages of fame, connections and money, her candidacy also carried a risk of self-destruction through bad performance. Neither President Clinton nor her advisers could shield her from that. To have emerged as at least an even bet for victory this fall is an accomplishment that no one should begrudge her.

It may seem odd, then, that her moment of adulation by 11,000 Democrats at the state convention should be overshadowed by suspense over Mr. Giuliani's future. But this is a novelistic campaign, even by New York standards. The story turns for the moment on a question that may lie beyond political calculation, and that is whether Mr. Giuliani's prostate cancer is susceptible to a treatment

that will leave him the time and energy to run. Depending on how that is settled, other issues may come into play. For example, by admitting to a relationship outside his marriage, Mr. Giuliani may have pushed American or, at least, New York politics toward a new rule book on the political impact of private behavior. Or he may have moved some members of blocs he will need in a tight election — suburban Republican wives, for example — toward his opponent. Another theory is that a hubristic and perhaps self-destructive mayor will seem humanized by illness and romantic conflict. He might then, according to this reasoning, actually run better against a first lady who, for all her success inside the Democratic Party, is still a divisive figure for many voters.

And what if the Republicans have to turn elsewhere for a candidate? There is no shortage of eager congressmen, led by Rick Lazio and Peter King. Gov. George Pataki would clearly be the G.O.P.'s strongest runner, but that would mean risking his national aspirations on a late-starting effort. Republican leaders have gone forward cautiously with such speculations, properly reluctant to be seen as pressuring Mr. Giuliani about a difficult and upsetting medical dilemma. Similarly, the Democrats at Albany last night were put on notice by party leaders to avoid gloating or overconfidence.

But it is beyond human nature to suspend curiosity and even amazement about one of the most riveting Senate races in decades. No one could have foreseen both the political impact of fate and his personal choices on Mayor Giuliani's campaign. Similarly, no one could have guaranteed that Mrs. Clinton would move with such relative ease from untested newcomer to nomination by acclamation, as she did last night.



BY PABLO MARTINEZ MONSIVIS—ASSOCIATED PRESS

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton waves to the crowd at the New York Democratic convention in Albany just before accepting the nomination for Senate. At left is the man she hopes to replace, Sen. Daniel

Patrick Moynihan (D). The president, who decided to attend the formal nomination at the last minute, will be changing his registration from Arkansas to New York. Story, Page A8.

First Lady Rallies Party

Clinton Talks Up Democrats' Issues in Gaining Senate Nomination

By JOHN F. HARRIS
Washington Post Staff Writer

ALBANY, N.Y., May 16—Cheered on by her husband and 5,000 New York Democrats, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton accepted her party's nomination for the Senate tonight with a rally-style partisan speech in which she said New York "can do better and we should not settle for less."

In a voice often raised to a shout, Clinton avoided mention of the extraordinary political and personal story that has her running in a state to which she moved only last fall, and instead gave delegates a rapid-fire recitation of Democratic policy proposals.

And the candidate, whose race here has been viewed by skeptics as a way of separating herself from her husband and asserting her own identity, began her speech with a tribute to President Clinton.

"I would not be standing here tonight if it were not for Bill," she said, adding, "We are a better country than we were in 1992." Afterward, they plunged into the crowd together, shaking hands along a rope line inside the Pepsi Arena for 30 minutes.

Eighteen months after the idea of Hillary Clinton's candidacy got its start—as nothing more than the sort of far-fetched, "what-if" scenario political insiders chatter about to pass the time—it was a sign of how many odd turns this race has taken that her formal nomination seemed downright routine.

This night, marked by roars of applause and shouts of "Hillary!" from the assembled Democrats, was in fact the first time in weeks that New York's political spotlight was focused on the sitting first lady who has moved out of the White House to launch her own political career, rather than on the volatile mayor of New York, Rudolph W. Giuliani, who is still deciding whether he will be her opponent.

In her acceptance speech, Clinton lavished praise on the giant political figure she hopes to replace, retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D), and stated anew the cautious Democratic message that she has made her signature. She hit all the policy notes that most congressional Democrats are running on this year: gun

control, subsidizing school construction and regulating HMOs. She mentioned New York's higher-than-average poverty rate but also talked of targeted tax cuts and debt reduction, as she continued an effort to reassure New York voters that she is not the determined liberal ideologue painted by her many conservative foes.

Clinton said she was "standing for a new Democratic Party" that is "meeting the challenges of today, dedicated to the values of community, opportunity, responsibility"—a mantra that President Clinton popularized beginning in the 1992 campaign. She also borrowed one of the president's speechwriting techniques; she scribbled revisions to the text until just minutes before the speech, aides said.

She touted her skills as a unifier but also issued some clear shots at Republicans, saying Democrats stand for "solving problems, not just playing politics," and called for an end to the "mean-spirited politics of revenge and retribution that puts partisanship before progress."

The president flew here this afternoon, reversing what he said were his own plans when he decided this morning that he wanted to be in attendance to witness his wife's nomination. He told reporters in Washington today that he would register in New York—albeit with mixed feelings about losing his vote in Arkansas—to vote for her in November.

"It's hard, you know, on a personal basis," he said. "But this is a commitment that we made together."

Polls suggest she'll need every vote she can get. A Quinnipiac College Polling Institute poll released today showed the race remains neck-and-neck, with the first lady winning 44 percent of the vote to Giuliani's 43. Significantly, there has been no statistically significant change in the match-up since a poll at the first of the month—before Giuliani's personal life exploded onto the front of the tabloids.

Last week, the mayor announced that he is seeking a legal separation—though his estranged wife, Donna Hanover, said he didn't bother to tell her first—and has been squiring "very good friend" Judi Nathan to public events.

Giuliani, for his part, was still de-

ciding whether treatment for his recently diagnosed prostate cancer will allow him to make the race. He told supporters at a fundraiser Monday night that he is inclined to run but is trying to figure out if it is "the right thing to do."

Quinnipiac pollster Douglas C. Schwartz said voters seem to be making a familiar distinction between whether they approve of personal behavior and official competence. "It's very similar to what happened with President Clinton and the Monica Lewinsky scandal—people's opinion of Clinton didn't change," he said.

But the focus on the Giuliani soap opera does seem to diminish the audience for the soap opera that was atop the ratings when the year got underway—the one starring Hillary Clinton and the president. At the start, majorities of people said they were concerned about her carpetbagger status, but people registering that concern now are in the minority.

The focus on Giuliani, combined with the first lady's relentless campaigning here, has helped curb speculation about her motives—whether she is running as part of a de facto separation from the president, or as a way of rebuilding her ego in the wake of the Lewinsky scandal—and has made her seem generally a less exotic figure, according to political analysts and voter interviews.

"She's gone from being a carpetbagger to 'being here,'" said Rosalind Alexander, a Bronx information consultant in attendance here.

Clinton's strategists assert that she has succeeded in reframing the debate in ways more favorable to her. The slogan for this convention is "History in the Making." But the goal of her campaign, advisers say, is to put the accent less on history and the unlikely nature of a first lady moving out of the White House to pursue her own ambitions, and more on the conventional issues—education, health care, abortion rights—that polls show favor her in a state where there are 5 million registered Democrats to 3 million Republicans.

President Clinton was not scheduled to speak to the convention, though aides said he was planning to speak at a reception afterward.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

What happens after Million Mom March?

The point made in the USA TODAY Cover Story to the effect that the follow-up to a march such as the one that took place in Washington, D.C., on Sunday is more important than the march itself is certainly true ("Do marches make a difference?" News, Friday).

The real effectiveness of marches is to sensitize people to critical social problems. We all know that serious social problems result from impulsive reactions to stress, particularly by young people.

Whether someone is for or against gun control, we all have to be aware that the indiscriminate availability of guns to young children can lead to disastrous consequences.

The central message for all parents is that they have to listen to their children and help them deal with their emotions with words rather than via impulsive destructive actions.

While children are learning to master these emotions, they have to be protected from themselves. Thus, if guns are part of a household, efforts have to be made to be sure that the parents control access to the guns.

Following up after the Million Mom March is crucial. It is important for all parents to be able to help their children, including their teenagers, become more sensitive to the way they handle stress.

It is through the use of words and talking that children learn to master their emotions, particularly stressful ones.

As Sigmund Freud said many years ago, "The person who first hurled angry words rather than a stone was the creator of civilization."

Our job is to help our children learn how to use words more effectively rather than use violent action.

Leon Hoffman, M.D.

Co-director, Parent Child Center
New York Psychoanalytic Society
New York, N.Y.

Political ploy exploits moms

As I see it, the Million Mom March was a farce, dreamed up by a friend of Bill Clinton, Donna Dees-Thomas, fi-



By Shawn Thew, AFP

On the move: First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, right, leads mothers, grandmothers and others during the Million Mom March against gun violence in Washington on Sunday.

nanced by Democrats and sponsored by the Clinton administration ("Marchers tell Congress: Mind your mothers," News, Monday).

The march is very suspect, since guns have been available to children for centuries. Only in the past decade have there been so many incidents involving children and guns.

Why have so many moms let themselves be duped into taking part in this exercise? Why aren't they marching against the movies, TV shows and media articles that highlight and glamorize guns? Why aren't they at home shaping the characters of their children? Teaching them the difference between right and wrong and to be responsible for their actions?

Mother's Day is a day to honor mothers, not to aid and abet a political move to push for a legacy.

Hazel O. Edwards
Houston, Texas

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



The Sunday school for Republicans

Making nice is nice enough, but Leo Durocher got it right. Nice guys, whether in the National League or in politics, finish in the cellar.

Nevertheless, a group of clergymen has come up with something called the Interfaith Alliance Framework for Civility, which is more than a mouthful in behalf of a plea for politicians to "reject personal attacks, innuendo or stereotyping in describing or referring to your opponent."

What kind of fun would that be?

Hillary Rodham Clinton, the queen of the meanest attack machine since Patton's Third Army raced across France, signed up. Of course she would. So has George W., who learned from Lee Atwater (or at least the Republicans hope he did). So has Al Gore, demonstrating that even a cigar-store Native American can have a little fire in his belly and not turn to ashes. Yet. And so did Bill Bradley and Orrin Hatch. Look where it got them, though Orrin, reminding everyone of what a buddy he is of Teddy Kennedy, still dreams of a seat on the Supreme Court. (Why does Teddy never boast of his palship with Orrin?)

In fact, John McCain took the pledge, though it is not clear whether he signed up before or after he trashed Jerry Falwell as being no better than Louis Farrakhan or Al Sharpton.

The civility clerics, representing Catholics, Protestants, Muslims and Jews whether Catholics, Protestants, Muslims and Jews like it or not, want the pols of autumn to promise not to say mean things about each other, like the accurate stuff everybody was saying during President Clinton's impeachment trial.

"The nation was disturbed by all the charges during the impeachment proceedings and by the really heavy, nasty rhetoric from both sides of the aisle," says the Rev. C. Welton Gaddy, the executive director of the alliance. (Why are we not surprised that the executive director of these godly worthies parts his name on the left?)

Mr. Gaddy says there's a groundswell out there in Peoria and Boise and Springfield for the idea of making nice. "We started to get calls from our members nationwide asking if we would address the issue of civility. The rhetoric was dividing communities and making it difficult for people to cooperate together."

The civility warriors hired halls and asked religious leaders and laymen nearly everywhere to tell them how to get pols to act more, well, nice.



Hillary Clinton

They met in the U.S. Senate Caucus Room and in other places in Nashville; Manchester, N.H.; Des Moines; Cambridge, Mass.; Los Angeles; and San Francisco. Everyone there was just as nice as nice could be.

"We were asked after the shootings at Columbine to go to Denver to have a meeting, and that was one of our most moving summits," Mr.

Gaddy says. "In that group we had the pastor of one of the boys who did the shooting."

They passed around petitions asking — politely — candidates to show integrity in pitching woo to voters, to be fair and never to dis anybody.

"We have actively pursued senatorial candidates and some of the congressional candidates, and we worked very hard on all of the presidential candidates," Mr. Gaddy said. George W., in his original compassionate conservative mode, wrote in December that he agreed that a leader sets the tone for the campaign, "and, therefore, I have the primary responsibility for conducting my campaign in a respectful and decent way."

Well, it's true. But these civility campaigns always turn out to be Democratic campaigns. The Democrats urge, piously, for moral rearmament, and in the event, their opponents arrive moral and the Democrats show up re-armed.

Donna Brazile, who almost lost her job as Gore campaign manager when she got caught making racist remarks about whites, assured the preachers that Al and "his staff" can't wait to abide by the principles of goodness, just as soon as Al gets his rabies shots. "The entire Gore 2000 campaign staff... are aware that the vice president demands they conduct themselves and the campaign in keeping with these principles and that they will be responsible to me for any failure to do so."

Naturally Hillary Rodham Clinton thinks civility is a good idea. She and her husband have perfected the take-no-prisoners strategy that has strewn bodies (figuratively, of course) from Little Rock to Brooklyn, via Washington. Anyone who has resisted the Clinton lies over the past eight years has felt the suffocating ooze of the Clinton smear. You might think that the civility preachers would have demanded more than a mere signature from the first lady.

Politics, as Mr. Dooley famously observed, ain't beanbag. This is the secret the Democrats have kept from the Republicans for what seems like forever. The last thing we need on the scam now is a little holy water.

Wesley Pruden is editor in chief of the *The Times*.

Court refuses probe of Hillary for ethics

By Jerry Seper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Arkansas Supreme Court has refused to investigate accusations that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton engaged in fraud in a Whitewater-related land deal — an inquiry that could have led to the loss of her law license.

In a letter to Landmark Legal Foundation, a Washington public-interest law firm that sought the probe, the Arkansas Supreme Court's Committee of Professional Conduct said there were insufficient grounds to justify the pursuit of a formal complaint.

"The review panel determined that your complaint did not present a sufficient basis for initiating a formal disciplinary complaint against the attorney," wrote James A. Neal, the committee's executive director in a Wednesday letter that Landmark released yesterday.

Landmark had sought in 1996 the investigation into Mrs. Clinton's legal representation of a failed Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan Association real-estate venture, which the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. called a "sham."

Mr. Neal ordered a new probe last month after saying the original request had been lost.

"The Arkansas Committee of Professional Conduct never had any intention of investigating Hillary Clinton for her legal work in the Castle Grande land fraud, which cost American taxpayers \$4 million," said Landmark President Mark A. Levin. "And they provide no information justifying or explaining their latest decision for failing to investigate."

Mr. Neal wrote that while the original request for an investigation could not be found, he now remembered an inquiry was ordered at the time and that request was denied.

He said the fact there was no record of it or response to Landmark was due to what he described as a "mix-up or miscommunication."

He said a new review was conducted over the past month by a disciplinary committee, which also rejected the request.

The committee currently is considering whether to revoke President Clinton's law license over his testimony before a grand jury and a pending lawsuit in which he denied having a sexual relationship with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky.

The Landmark complaint against Mrs. Clinton was based on concerns outlined by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp., which said in a September 1996 report that she and a law partner, Webster L. Hubbell, who pleaded guilty to fraud in the Whitewater investigation, drafted legal papers Madison used to deceive bank examiners and divert \$300,000 to Mr. Hubbell's father-in-law.

The FDIC said the papers "facilitated the payment of substantial commissions to Seth Ward, who acted as a straw buyer" in the Castle Grande venture. An option agreement drafted by Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Hubbell while they were at Little Rock's Rose Law Firm guaranteed Mr. Ward a payoff and negated his liability in the project.

A straw buyer is one who owns property in name only, having never put up any money or assumed any risk.

The FDIC said the Ward payment violated federal regulations, but did not accuse Mrs. Clinton or Mr. Hubbell of criminal wrongdoing. But the report raised serious questions about their involvement in a real-estate deal that ultimately cost taxpayers \$3.8 million when Castle Grande failed.

The first lady, in a sworn statement to the FDIC, said she did not recall working on the option, although Rose Law Firm billing records mysteriously discovered in the White House living quarters show the word-processing code used by the Rose firm for legal documents prepared by Mrs. Clinton is on four pages of the option.

The billing records show Mrs. Clinton spoke with Madison officials about Castle Grande on 14 occasions, billed Madison for a "conference call with Seth Ward," and listed charges for "telephone conference with Seth Ward regarding option."

The May 1986 option was designed to facilitate the transfer of a 22.5-acre parcel to Mr. Ward from the Castle Grande project, a 1,050-acre development near Little Rock. Though the option was never exercised, it disguised the reason for the \$300,000 payment and created a paper trail to justify the outlay.

Mrs. Clinton's attorney, David Kendall, has said the option was never exercised "so it did not facilitate the payment of a single penny of commissions to Mr. Ward."

Hill: I'll take on all comers

By GREGG BIRNBAUM

Hillary Rodham Clinton campaigned at full speed across Manhattan yesterday, saying she doesn't care if she ends up running against Mayor Giuliani — or “whoever the Republicans put up.”

Collecting a union endorsement, urging more federal funding at a breast cancer luncheon, and winding up the day at a Greek awards dinner, Clinton said she had no idea what Giuliani was up to — and wasn't giving it a second thought.

“Whatever is happening on the other side is not affecting my efforts,” Clinton told reporters after winning the backing of the 200,000-member Building Trades Council.

Reporters bombarded the

first lady with questions about Giuliani and his still-uncertain candidacy at a press conference at a West Side construction site.

“I have no control over what the Republicans do,” Clinton said when asked if she would be disappointed if Giuliani bailed out.

“I'm just not thinking about that. That's something other people will decide, not me and not my campaign.”

Clinton said she would continue to campaign on bread-and-butter issues like education, health care and the economy, regardless of who runs against her.

“In effect, I'm doing a job interview [with the voters] and whoever the Republicans put up is going to be doing a job interview,” she said.

Clinton aides said it would be a huge advantage if Giuliani withdraws, since recent polls have shown the first lady topping all other potential GOP rivals except Gov. Pataki, who has said he won't run.

It would be difficult for any Republican newcomer to quickly assemble a campaign organization and fill a war chest to take on Clinton, who has raised more than \$12 million and has a 10-month head start on the campaign trail.

Speaking of possible Giuliani substitute Rick Lazio, the Suffolk County congressman, one Clinton adviser said his inexperience as a statewide candidate could be deadly.

“He's going to make mistakes,” the adviser said.



NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, MAY 16, 2000

BUILDING SUPPORT: Hillary Rodham Clinton, receiving the union endorsement of the Building Trades Council yesterday, says she's concentrating on voter issues rather than Mayor Giuliani's indecision in the Senate race.

N.Y. Post Francis Specker

Giuliani Stays Undecided, Heightening GOP Anxieties

Clinton Strategists Consider Scenarios, Many Favorable

By JOHN F. HARRIS
and MICHAEL POWELL
Washington Post Staff Writers

NEW YORK, May 15—While this year's most dramatic Senate race remained in a bizarre state of limbo, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani (R) today continued to confound his impatient party by saying he has still not decided whether to continue his candidacy. That left first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton (D), who aides say is eager not to be seen enjoying the chaos on the GOP side, searching for still new ways to say she has no comment on the Giuliani melodrama.

"You know I have no control over what the Republicans do," she told reporters at a brief news conference today, adding, "I'm just not thinking about that."

In fact, her campaign has been thinking about it plenty, gaming out different scenarios of what strategists believe is certain to be a newly contoured contest—even if Giuliani ultimately decides to make the race. The mayor said today he plans to devote this week, and possibly longer, to decide which treatment makes the most sense for his recently diagnosed prostate cancer, and knocked down speculation that he has all but decided to leave the race.

And as anxiety grew among Empire State Republicans—about who their candidate would be and whether that person would suffer grievous liabilities in the general election contest—a variety of aides and outside advisers to Clinton said that most of the plausible outcomes to the GOP disarray would be good news for her.

One exception, according to several Democratic sources, would be if Giuliani exits the race and Gov. George E. Pataki is persuaded—against his every inclination, aides say—to make the race.

The more likely scenarios, according to Clinton advisers, would give her an advantage that she never could have envisioned when her campaign was trailing significantly in the polls a few months ago. She pulled even before the recent GOP meltdown.



Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani says he will devote week to making decisions on cancer treatment, Senate race.

If Giuliani does run after all, Clinton advisers believe, it will be as a considerably weakened candidate. The public collapse of his marriage to Donna Hanover—particularly her contention that he announced he was considering a legal separation before consulting her—has erased what might have been a wave of sympathy for the mayor because of his recent diagnosis of cancer.

If the mayor drops out, the man many Republicans and several Clinton advisers believe is the most likely GOP nominee, Rep. Rick Lazio, would prompt a shift in message and strategy for Clinton. Although Lazio supports abortion rights, the Long Island politician is in most ways a conservative. Clinton, aides said, would switch from a campaign criticizing the moderate Giuliani as too combative to be a good senator to a more traditional Democratic campaign attacking Lazio as a tool of the ideological right.

"He's a lieutenant in the Gingrich army, with a series of votes that will be hung around his neck," said one Clinton adviser.

Lazio also would start with little money and little profile. "They're sending in a pitch hitter," said one Democratic source close to Clinton's campaign.

Other Clinton aides were a shade more guarded. Lazio, they said, might do well among suburban Catholics, a major voting bloc in New York. He also might be able to unite his party more than the divisive Giuliani could and excite more enthusiasm from rank-and-file Republicans.

Mostly, however, either Lazio or some other candidate would test what many analysts once regarded as the central reality of New York this year: Both Giuliani and Clinton are so controversial that neither would have little chance except in a race against the other. "The reality is we don't know," said one Clinton adviser. "This is a total shuffle of the deck."

Should Giuliani decide to remain in the race, his problems run deep—beyond even his health and marital travails. Conversations with labor and political analysts of various ideological stripes say the mayor faces electoral challenges that, while not insurmountable, belie polling numbers that show him in a neck-and-neck race with Clinton.

His problems fall into four broad areas. Labor unions are arrayed as a monolith against him. The leaders of the small but influential Conservative Party personally dislike Giuliani and plan to nominate a candidate who may cut into his vote. Clinton has pulled slightly ahead of Giuliani in upstate New York, where Republicans typically outpoll Democrats.

And, notwithstanding that a Republican controls the statehouse, New York voters tilt strongly Democratic in national elections. "New York voted 10 percent more Democratic than the nation in 1996," said Jim Chapin, a Democratic analyst, giving Charles Schumer an 11 percent victory over Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato in 1998. "People consistently underestimate how Democratic New York state has become."

Giuliani faced a similar partisan disadvantage in New York City and succeeded by picking off traditional Democratic constituencies. He persuaded labor leaders to accept wage concessions without launching a frontal attack on them. In return, the public-sector labor leaders sat out the last mayoral election and private-sector unions endorsed the mayor.

That won't happen in this race. Most labor unions are solidly pro-Clinton. Today, the more conservative New York State Building and Construction Trades Council broke with Giuliani, a longstanding ally, and endorsed the first lady. "We are the Reagan Democrats," Edward

Malloy, the council president, said. "We are here to let New Yorkers know that we share Hillary Rodham Clinton's centrist views." Malloy's endorsement packed a wallop, as he is a close ally of Pataki.

The first lady has virtually camped out upstate during the past year while Giuliani often has seemed reluctant to venture north of Westchester County. "She's worked very hard up here and filled a vacuum," said an influential New York Republican and advisor to Pataki. "Giuliani has taken it for granted that he could get votes up here without coming here and people kind of said: 'Well, no.'"

There is, finally, the Conservative Party, a boutique party that is a peculiarly New York institution. Run by a few hundred bosses who most often co-endorse GOP candidates who oppose abortion, gun control and higher taxes, the Conservative Party runs candidates who often draw more than 200,000 votes statewide. That can swing a close election.

"The mayor has nothing that gives him a ticket to our dance," said Michael Long, who rules the Conservative Party. "He's pro-choice, pro-gun control... if he served with Hillary, he'd be no different on the big issues."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hidden Assets

Flood of Secret Money Erodes Election Limits

By RUTH MARCUS
Washington Post Staff Writer

The 2000 election is shaping up as a campaign marked by secret money and six-figure checks.

Large sums of cash, much of it from unknown sources, are pouring into politics through a variety of groups and individuals trying to influence the election but who say they are not required to publicly report their activities, sources of income or, in some cases, even their existence.

The groups run television ads, send mailings or make telephone calls to voters that mention candidates by name and promote an agenda clearly tied to a particular aspirant. But the groups say they are not subject to federal election law because they do not explicitly call

CAMPAIGN

2000

for the candidates' election or defeat.

When Congress rewrote the election law a quarter-century ago, it had two main goals: to ensure full, prompt disclosure of donations and to reduce the influence of big givers by putting strict dollar limits on the size of contributions. Both of those aims have been eroded over time, but the 2000 race represents a marked acceleration of that trend, so much so that legal experts in both parties acknowledge the system of disclosures and limits has been seriously undermined and the nature of political money fundamentally altered.

The federal election law "is in serious

The power of secret money can be seen in places such as Montana, where Democratic Senate candidate Brian Schweitzer, who is seeking to unseat Republican Conrad Burns, has made lowering prescription drug costs the centerpiece of his campaign.

A 527 group calling itself Citizens for Better Medicare is running television ads that accuse Schweitzer of pushing for "government price controls." What viewers of the commercials have no way of knowing is that the group receives the bulk of its funding from pharmaceutical companies.

For some candidates, the involvement of outside groups that do not reveal their donors has itself become a campaign issue. In Washington state, U.S. Term Limits has for a year now been attacking Republican Rep. George R. Nethercutt for reneging on his pledge to limit himself to three terms. Nethercutt this month responded with an ad telling voters not to be influenced by "an out-of-state group who refuses to disclose their donors."

The emergence of this secret money comes at the same time as a parallel explosion in the amount of large contributions to political parties known as "soft money"—donations made by corporations, labor unions or individuals that are constrained only by the size of the donor's checkbook.

Since the amounts are unlimited, soft money is supposed to be used for general "party-building activities" such as voter turnout, not on individual races. But since 1996 it has become an essential component of campaigns because it is used to pay for "issue advertising" that—like the activities of the outside groups—stops just short of looking like outright campaign ads.

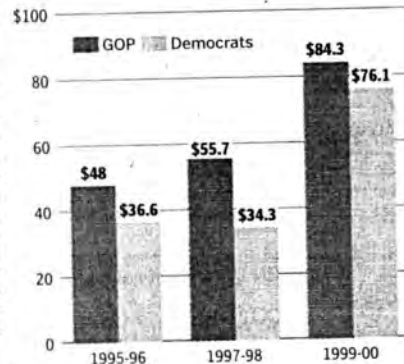
While the growing influence of soft money has been well-publicized, it is increasingly being put to novel purposes. Its use in House and Senate races has dramatically increased this election cycle, allowing candidates in effect to raise donations far larger than the limit for individual contributions of \$1,000 per election. At the same time, more and more individual lawmakers are setting up their own soft money political action committees, often without any effective disclosure of who's doing the giving, and sometimes without any disclosure.

The combination of those developments creates a situation in which, as candidates continue their traditional campaign activity, much of the action is taking place "offshore," as one election lawyer put it, outside the carefully regulated system.

A 'Soft Money' Record

The national party committees raised a record \$160 million in "soft money" contributions through the first 15 months of the 1999-2000 election cycle.

"Soft money" contributions to national party committees
In millions (January 1999 to March 2000 and comparable periods)



Simultaneously with the proliferation of undisclosed money and soft money, restrictions on how the money can be spent are growing far looser as activists on both sides successfully push to make their ads more pointed without incurring disciplinary action from federal regulators.

"I do think people are more aggressive," said Mark Braden, a GOP election lawyer who has been a pioneer in advising outside groups. "It's the herd instinct: If they can run ads like that, I can run ads like that. Because more people do it, people are more comfortable being more aggressive."

Soft Money's New Power

The changing role of soft money appears most visibly in the New York Senate campaign of Hillary Rodham Clinton and her presumed Republican rival, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani. Both have openly gathered large soft money checks aimed at supplementing their own campaigns, which by law can raise only \$1,000 per election from individuals.

Clinton's joint fund-raising committee—the entity that raises the soft money in conjunction with the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee—collected about \$700,000 in soft money last year, and Senate Democrats will send another \$550,000 in soft money donations to the committee this week.

The "Giuliani Victory Committee" has raised close to \$500,000, including \$100,000 in a single corporate check from the Renco Group Inc., a New York holding company whose Magnesium Corp. of America subsidiary was cited in a 1998 federal Environmental Protection Agency report as the nation's top dumper of toxic chemicals.

Although the money is under the control of the Democratic and Republican Senate campaign committees and not the candidates themselves, it can be used to pay for issue advertising to supplement the candidates' own television budgets. The New York State Democratic Committee, with money raised in the Clinton soft money account, has already run ads promoting her.

"It is the precise nexus of federal candidate and huge donor that all the federal campaign limits are designed to prevent," said Fred Wertheimer of Democracy 21, which filed a complaint with the FEC against both the Clinton and Giuliani campaigns.

jeopardy of losing all effectiveness," said Karl Sandstrom, a Democratic member of the Federal Election Commission.

Some of the groups are controlled by or have ties to members of Congress—meaning that elected officials are benefiting from huge donations, including money from those with important business before them, that the public has no way of discovering.

Voters often have little or no sense of who is trying to influence them because the groups have deliberately innocuous names that give little clue to their actual identity.

Trevor Potter, a GOP election lawyer and former FEC chairman, said the 1970s post-Watergate system is crumbling. "Essentially now there are no limits for supporting federal candidates," Potter said. "And there's no disclosure if you want to avoid it."

Increasingly, the outside groups are turning to a device called a Section 527 committee that not only does not have to report its activities but does not have to disclose anything about its existence or backers.

The 527s include such groups as Republicans for Clean Air, which suddenly surfaced and pumped \$2.5 million into television advertising attacking Arizona Sen. John McCain just before the New York and California primaries. The "group" turned out to be two Texas brothers, Charles and Sam Wyly, who have been major donors to Gov. George W. Bush.

"The 527 is rapidly becoming the political superweapon of choice in this year's elections," said Rep. Lloyd Doggett (D-Tex.), who introduced legislation to require such groups to register and reveal their donors. "Operating as a clandestine political committee, a 527 can secretly accept unlimited amounts of money from unidentified contributors to fill the airwaves with hate and the mailboxes with disinformation."

A few such groups even have ties to elected officials, who help out with raising the undisclosed money. House Majority Whip Tom DeLay (R-Tex.) has promoted a group called the Republican Majority Issues Committee, which works to keep the House under GOP control. Rep. J.C. Watts (R-Okl.) has helped launched another group, Securing America's Families Everyday, which plans an extensive Madison Avenue-type polling campaign to tell Republican leaders how Americans "view the brand" of the GOP.

A growing number of individual lawmakers have also set up soft money arms of their political action committees, a new kind of money-raising vehicle that allows them to take unlimited checks from any source—and often not disclose the source. The money can be spent by federal lawmakers to back state and local candidates and to defray the expenses of their federal-level PACs.

Some politicians report such donations in filings to state authorities—making them more difficult to monitor; others say they do not have to be disclosed at all. For example, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.), who says he wants to see a ban on soft money donations, has raised \$350,000 for his leadership PAC since 1998 from labor unions and individuals. But he will not name the donors.

"Senator Kennedy feels that the laws are inadequate and should be changed and when those laws are changed he will fully support and comply with the law," said his spokesman, Will Keyser. "The committee chooses to follow the letter of the law, period."

House Whip DeLay also has a soft money arm of his leadership PAC, known as ARMPAC, which once filed disclosure reports in Virginia but then stopped, concluding that it wasn't required by law. DeLay, who has promoted the importance of listing donors but said other campaign finance reforms are unnecessary, declined when asked to reveal his givers, saying, "I don't want to unilaterally disarm."

Senate Minority Leader Thomas A. Daschle (D-S.D.) is one of the few lawmakers who have set up a soft money PAC but adopted a self-imposed limit on the size of donations (\$10,000), and posted its receipts on the Internet.

The figures from some of the PACs whose reports were filed with state election authorities show the scope of the giving, which largely escapes public notice. According to filings with Virginia election officials, Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott's soft money PAC, the New Republican Majority Fund, received \$100,000 from AT&T last year. Lott also received \$50,000 each from Textron, Union Pacific and Federal Express, \$25,000 from International Paper, and \$10,000 each from pharmaceutical company Schering-Plough Corp., U.S. Tobacco Co. and Rite Aid—all companies with significant interests before Congress.

The Searchlight Leadership Fund set up by Sen. Harry M. Reid (D-Nev.) received \$50,000 from Don King Produc-

tions and \$25,000 from Metabolife International, a San Diego diet supplement maker that is battling with federal regulators, according to figures released by his office.

Louisiana Democratic Sen. John Breaux's Mainstream America PAC has collected \$20,000 from HealthSouth, \$12,500 from pharmaceutical maker Aventis Pasteur and almost \$8,000 from R.J. Reynolds Tobacco Co. House Speaker J. Dennis Hastert's newly created Illinois PAC, the KOMPAC state victory fund, has received \$50,000 each from United Airlines and Citibank, and Washington Republican Rep. Jennifer Dunn's Washington Fund took in \$468,000 in soft money contributions last year, including \$50,000 from Microsoft and \$30,000 from Aetna.

Jan Baran, a Republican election lawyer, said the proliferation of leadership PACs that take soft money should spur the FEC to require reports from such groups, much as it moved a decade ago to force political parties to list their soft money donations.

"You have organizations that admit being involved in federal elections that are simultaneously raising and spending corporate and union money that's not subject to federal disclosure," he said. "It seems incumbent upon the organizations to provide disclosure of all their financial activity."

Special Interest Groups

While outside groups have been major players in previous political cycles, their

role in this election is also taking a new, often more secretive, form. The 2000 race represents "a new world of election finance," said Brigham Young University political scientist David B. Magleby, who has tracked outside money in campaigns.

A March study by the Annenberg Public Policy Center estimated that 60 groups had already spent or announced plans to spend more than \$114 million on issue advocacy this election—compared with an estimated \$150 million spent by 27 groups for the entire 1996 campaign.

Both conservatives and liberals say donors to such groups should be able to maintain anonymity for fear of reprisal. "It's people who want to participate in the political process and who don't want the baggage that comes with that," said GOP election lawyer Cleta Mitchell.

Conservatives also argue that so much political action has moved to outside groups because the \$1,000 limit on direct contributions to candidates has not been changed since the election law was written. "There's a vacuum that's created because you have underfunded candidates," said GOP election lawyer Benjamin Ginsberg.

Whatever vacuum exists, groups are rushing to fill it.

NARAL (The National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League), Handgun Control Inc. and the Sierra Club have all been on the air with ads attacking the Republicans' presumed presidential nominee, Texas Gov. Bush, while the AFL-CIO has committed \$46 million to a grass-roots mobilization effort that targets 35 congressional districts in 15 states.

"George W. Bush said, 'I'll do everything in my power to restrict abortions,'" the NARAL ad warns. "It's your choice. Protect the right to choose."

The Sierra Club's political director, Daniel J. Weiss, said the group plans to spend about \$8 million on the congressional and presidential races but won't name its donors, although it supports changing the law to require public reporting. "We make it a policy just to comply with the law and not do anything more than that," Weiss said.

Conservatives are taking the same tack. Americans for Job Security, started in 1997 with funding from the American Insurance Association, expects to spend \$5 million to \$7 million this year on "issue advocacy ads," but also will not make public its donors. "People would just pick to death the messenger, instead of talking about the message," said AJS chief executive David M. Carney.

In California, a group called Shape the Debate and associated with former Republican governor Pete Wilson has run "Jeopardy"-style television ads in three states that ridicule the Democratic presidential candidate, Vice President Gore.

The ad, called "Hypocrisy," attacks Gore on campaign finance reform, smoking and Medicare. "Contestant #2: Political Hypocrites for 600. Announcer: He crusades against tobacco but he grew it and sold it from his very own farm. Contestant #3: Who is Al Gore?"

The group's Web site touts the benefits of contributing, noting that donations to it "can be given in any amount" and "are not a matter of public record."

The DeLay-related group, the Republican Majority Issues Committee (RMIC), plans to go into about 10 key House districts to combat union efforts. RMIC will place field organizers in the district, targeting conservative voters with a barrage of direct mail and telephone calls to get them to the polls. DeLay has helped raise money for the group, including a fund-raiser on the yacht of Amway President Dick DeVos and his wife Betsy, major GOP contribu-

"Democratic Party officials raise money for all kinds of liberal interest groups because they hope that liberal issues groups will help their party and their candidate," said RMIC director Karl Gallant. "We are tying conservative issues so tightly to candidates that it may well have an influence on elections."

House Democrats have filed a racketeering lawsuit, accusing DeLay of using his office to "extort" money for RMIC and other groups.

While many politicians and special interest groups claim they are eager to see the system revamped and loopholes tightened, there is little expectation of any immediate makeover.

At the FEC, Commissioner Sandstrom has proposed sharpening the agency's definition of what constitutes a political committee, requiring outside groups to file disclosure reports with the FEC if they engage in such activities as telling donors their money will be used to influence federal elections or testing their ads to see if they sway voters.

Republican Commissioner David Mason dismissed Sandstrom's proposal as "hopelessly overbroad" and destined to run afoul of court rulings that have found the First Amendment protected such groups from having to register with the FEC.

But Sandstrom said it had become necessary to avoid a "wholesale circumvention" of election rules. "Without any information on these groups," he said, "it becomes impossible for the public to make informed decisions about the real interests of these groups."

Staff writer Mike Allen and staff researcher Madonna Lebling contributed to this report.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Robert D. Novak

Big Apple Debacle

NEW YORK—Nothing in recent memory has so demoralized the Republican establishment as last week's apparent self-immolation of Rudy Giuliani. It's not affection for the mayor of New York, who is no pillar of GOP regularity. It's that now he has opened the door for Hillary Rodham Clinton to the Senate.

"I feel like I am condemned to live with Clintons all of my life," one high-ranking Republican politician told me. He and other conservatives had made a Faustian bargain. To keep Mrs. Clinton out of the Senate, they opted for Giuliani. In doing so, they abandoned their beliefs on abortion and cut a generation-long tie in New York between the Republican and Conservative parties. Now they blame the mayor for failing to fulfill his part of the bargain: to be a winner.

Although Gov. George Pataki as leader of the state party expressed hope last week that Giuliani would still be a candidate, I found no prominent New York Republican who privately said the mayor would—or should—stay in the race. Rather, they bitterly predicted that he would delay his withdrawal long enough to make it all the harder to find a suitable successor. None voiced curiosity about how it was that Giuliani's liaison with another woman had surfaced at a critical moment when prostate cancer threatened his candidacy.

This lack of support by Republicans from Washington to New York City who have spent the past year toasting Giuliani would drive an ordinary politician to the sidelines. But Giuliani seldom seeks advice (the source of many problems) and delights in confounding the conventional wisdom. Nobody can be certain that he will not run, perhaps intensifying the anger of the party regulars.

Why did Pataki lead the state GOP into embracing Giuliani, who in 1994 had endorsed Democratic Gov. Mario Cuomo against him? Fear of Hillary, who, though lacking a New York background and basic candidate skills, terrified Republicans by running well ahead in the early polls.

Republican State Chairman William Powers once hoped to talk Conservative State Chairman Mike Long

into accepting Giuliani for the Senate. Long laid down two seemingly easy conditions for Giuliani. First, he must forgo the nomination of the Liberal Party. Second, he must support a ban on partial birth abortion. The mayor never even sat down with Long, much less accept his conditions.

At that point, the state GOP abandoned a generation of partnership with the Conservatives that had produced remarkable success for New York's post-Nelson Rockefeller Republican Party. Long complained that Pataki and Powers had boarded a new train, with the Conservatives on the siding watching it go by. In Washington, Senate Republican leaders gave unconditional support to Giuliani.

So, Republicans were exasperated with the mayor when he lost hundreds of thousands of voters by releasing the rap sheet of a black man accidentally killed by police. Republicans have learned that Giuliani makes his own decisions without consultation. The calamitous revelations of the last two weeks were climaxed when Hanover, unaware that her husband was to make public their impending separation, implied that her marriage had been ruined by the mayor's relationship with a female staffer.

The scorned wife's complaint, surely sincere but delivered by a professional actress, drove Republican leaders to search for a substitute. Pataki would rather stay in Albany, but his high poll ratings against Mrs. Clinton derived mainly from high name identification. Investment banker and philanthropist Theodore Forstmann would be a self-financed conservative but deficient in communications skills. Rep. Rick Lazio has lusted after the Senate seat but did not please Pataki and the establishment when he failed to line up for Giuliani.

That raises the possibility of Rep. Jack Quinn, an attractive but little known 49-year-old congressman from Buffalo who is pro-labor and pro-life. Quinn starts low in the polls but has the legion of Mrs. Clinton's enemies to draw from. He might well ponder Rudy Giuliani's present condition and the truth that bad things often happen to enemies of the Clintons.

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PHOTOCOPY
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New York GOP Awaits Giuliani's Decision

As Convention Looms, Senate Race Understudies Are Reaching Out for Support

By MIKE ALLEN
Washington Post Staff Writer

Although Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani continued to keep his own counsel, Republican officials and would-be candidates operated yesterday on the assumption that there was little chance he would remain in the New York Senate race.

Several Republican officials said they expect him to announce this week that he is withdrawing to concentrate on treating his prostate cancer. But they were careful to allow for the possibility that a

cornered Giuliani would stay in the race out of spite, if nothing else.

Should Giuliani withdraw, his successor could face a harrowing summer of catch-up ball. A new candidate would have to build an organization and raise money during a potential television barrage by the well-funded Democrat, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, who used her statewide travels this spring to soften her image.

Newsweek reported yesterday that Giuliani had settled on what the magazine called the most extensive and time-consuming course

of treatment—surgery followed by radiation therapy, which could require treatment and convalescence of three months or more. A campaign official, however, said that as of 4 p.m. yesterday, Giuliani had not made a decision about the race or his treatment.

With Giuliani continuing to discuss his medical and political future with longtime advisers such as Peter Powers this weekend, two understudies decided it was safe to begin clearing their throats.

Rep. Rick Lazio, a Long Island moderate who had considered running against Giuliani for the nomination, made calls last week to county Republican chairmen throughout the state. Anxious to give the mayor space, he declined invitations to appear on at least a

dozen talk shows this weekend.

Instead, his weekend stops included Home Depot.

Republican leaders seemed to bless Lazio's candidacy by appointing him to give the party's response to President Clinton's radio address on Saturday. Lazio's message for Mother's Day weekend concerned funding for breast-cancer treatment for poor women.

Rep. Peter T. King, a Long Island conservative who in the past had declared he would seriously consider a run if Giuliani backed out, shed his coyness yesterday on NBC's "Meet the Press."

"If he drops out of the race, I certainly intend to pursue the nomination," King said.

In a telephone interview, King said he had been contacted in the past few days by officials from police, fire and construction unions, asking him to run and offering support.

"It's the Democratic equivalent of running against Newt Gingrich," King said. "Money would come in, no matter who was on the line."

Much of the unspent \$9 million Giuliani's campaign has on hand would remain his to use for a future race, perhaps for governor in 2002, or he could refund it or donate it to charity. He could contribute only \$2,000 to his successor or any other federal candidate. However, the portion of the money that had been raised for use in a primary, perhaps \$3 million, could be given to the National Republican Senatorial Committee.

"We'd certainly have some distance that we'd need to make up," said Steven Law, the NRSC's executive director. "But I don't think it's at all insurmountable. Hillary has tremendous problems in terms of getting over 50 percent. I think almost anyone who jumped in, if they weren't obviously defective, would quickly pull within 10 points of her, and therefore be credible and therefore be able to raise whatever money they needed."

Law said the NRSC has had "a relationship of trust" with Giuliani, and said campaign officials had continued to assure him that "it's all systems go."

Nevertheless, signs piled up that Giuliani's mind was far from a grueling race: He went golfing Saturday when he was scheduled to be traveling upstate for a GOP fundraising dinner, and he irked some influential Republicans by promenadeing around Manhattan's Upper

East Side on Friday night with the divorcee the tabloids call his "gal pal," Judith Nathan.

That created a fresh spectacle for the city's news media. The Daily News ran "Joyce Jillson's Advice for Rudy and His Ladies," which gave astrological forecasts for Giuliani (a Gemini), Nathan (a Sagittarian) and his estranged wife, Donna Hanover (an Aquarian).

Republicans hope to unite behind a nominee at a state convention in Buffalo on May 30. Other potential candidates include Rep. Jack Quinn of Buffalo and Theodore J. Forstmann, a Wall Street financier who is a multimillionaire.

None is well-known statewide. That could put pressure on Gov. George E. Pataki to enter the race, but his aides implored national party officials to tamp down such speculation, saying he does not want the Senate job.

A poll taken Friday and Saturday by Zogby International found that 58 percent of those surveyed felt Giuliani had kept his stature de-

spite his extramarital relationship, while 37 percent thought he was diminished. Clinton led Giuliani by 2.7 percentage points in the poll of 505 likely voters, which had a margin of error of plus or minus 4.5 percentage points.

Most weekend pundits declared Giuliani out of the race, although George Stephanopoulos pointed out on ABC's "This Week," "He probably doesn't know it yet."

Susan Molinari, the former New York congresswoman, said Giuliani "may be spurred on by all that pressure and challenge." Asked if she would consider running, she said, "No, not at this point."

The highest-decibel dissenter from the Rudy-is-history view was John McLaughlin, host of "The McLaughlin Group," who asserted that on a scale of 1 to 10, with 10 meaning a metaphysical certainty, the chance of Giuliani remaining in the race is . . . a 10.

Staff writer John F. Harris contributed to this report.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

HILLARY'S STARS

More than 100 Hollywood celebrities and studio executives have contributed maximum amounts to first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's New York Senate campaign. A list of some of the givers:

Jane Alexander, actress, Carmel, N.Y.	\$1,000
Lynda Altman, actress, Washington	\$1,000
Sophie B. Altman, TV producer, Washington	\$5,000
Norma K. Asnes, Ketay Asnes Productions, New York	\$22,000
Candice Bergen, actress, Beverly Hills, Calif.	\$1,000
Karen Bergreen, actress, New York	\$2,000
Lisa Caputo, Disney Publishing Co., New York	\$2,000
Glenn Close, actress, Bedford Hills, N.Y.	\$1,000
Tom Cruise, actor, Los Angeles	\$5,000
Ted Danson, actor, Los Angeles	\$5,000
Michael Douglas, actor, Los Angeles	\$1,000
David Geffen, partner, DreamWorks SKG, Los Angeles	\$9,000
Rita W. Hanks, actress, Los Angeles	\$2,500
Tom Hanks, actor, Los Angeles	\$2,500
Wendy Vanden Heuvel, actress, New York	\$1,000
Suzan Hughes, actress, Beverly Hills, Calif.	\$5,000
Jeffrey Katzenberg, producer, DreamWorks SKG, Los Angeles	\$9,000
Diane Keaton, actress, Sherman Oaks, Calif.	\$2,000
Harvey Keitel, actor, New York	\$1,000
Nicole Kidman, actress, Los Angeles	\$5,000
Michael King, King World Productions, Los Angeles	\$13,000
Norman Lear, TV producer, Los Angeles	\$3,000
Kyle MacLachlan, actor, Los Angeles	\$1,000
Ronald Meyer, Universal Studios, Malibu, Calif.	\$5,000
Miramax Films employees, Los Angeles and New York	\$43,750
Paul Newman, actor, Santa Monica, Calif.	\$1,000
Blythe Danner Paltrow, actress, Los Angeles	\$1,000
Rob Reiner, film director, Castle Rock Entertainment, Beverly Hills, Calif.	\$7,000
Michele Singer Reiner, photographer, Castle Rock Entertainment, Beverly Hills, Calif.	\$7,000
Denise Rich, songwriter, New York	\$7,000
Martin Short, actor, Los Angeles	\$1,000
Kate Capshaw Spielberg, actress, Sherman Oaks, Calif.	\$13,000
Steven Spielberg, director, DreamWorks SKG, Los Angeles	\$9,000
Mary Steenburgen, actress, Los Angeles	\$5,000
Heather Thomas, actress, Sherman Oaks, Calif.	\$1,000
Marlo Thomas, actress, New York	\$1,000
Howard A. Tullman, JAM TV Corp. and Tunes.com, Chicago	\$7,000
Anita Wolkowitz, actress, New York	\$1,000
Joanne Woodward, actress, Santa Monica, Calif.	\$1,000
Cynthia Yorkin, actress, Los Angeles	\$12,000

Note: Contributions are normally limited to \$1,000 per giver — or \$2,000 for both primary and general elections combined. But by setting up two "soft-money" committees that funnel unrestricted cash for her race to the Democratic National Committee, President and Mrs. Clinton have been able to solicit larger campaign contributions from the wealthy Hollywood and New York entertainment elite.

Sources: Federal Election Commission, Center for Responsive Politics, FECInfo

The Washington Times

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Marches Across U.S. Demand Strict Laws

By ROBIN TONER

WASHINGTON, May 14 — With a rallying cry of "enough is enough," hundreds of thousands of mothers and other gun control advocates marched on the nation's capital and in several cities around the country today, demanding "sensible gun laws," mourning the loss of children to gun violence and vowing to transform the politics of gun control.

Under a clear spring sky, the Million Mom March crowded the grassy expanse of the National Mall, cheering one speaker after another who assailed the National Rifle Association and its power over Congress. Many of the demonstrators wept at the stories of mothers who had lost their children, listening transfixed to the families shattered by shootings from Columbine High School, in Littleton, Colo., where 15 died last year, to the Michigan elementary school where a 6-year-old girl was killed by a classmate on Feb. 29.

"I come to you today, two days after what would have been her seventh birthday," said Veronica McQueen, the Michigan girl's mother. "I am a mom with a terrible tragedy, and I hope it never, ever happens again."

It was a Mother's Day of high emotion and powerful imagery, both here and in more than 60 other demonstrations scheduled around the country this weekend. Many in the crowd on the Mall today wore T-shirts with the photographs of family members killed by guns. Judi Ellis of Toledo, Ohio, carried a placard that declared, "I march today to save a child tomorrow," with a picture of her son, who was killed in 1995, just before he left for college. "You're not supposed to bury your son," she said.

Much of the crowd seemed to be the quintessential suburban mothers who are so intensely pursued in politics today, not touched by the issue of

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gun violence themselves but outraged at its toll and fearful of its spread. They came in sensible shoes and straw hats, with extra water and strollers for their children, and when the children's performer Raffi took the stage, they happily sang along with "This Little Light of Mine."

Longtime advocates for gun control urged them to make themselves felt on Election Day. "You are the future now," said Sarah Brady of Handgun Control Inc., who became an activist on gun control after her husband, James S. Brady, a former White House press secretary, was seriously injured in the assassination attempt on President Ronald Reagan. "We must either change the minds of lawmakers on these issues or, for God's sake, this November let's change the lawmakers."

President Clinton, greeting some of the marchers at the White House this morning, also urged them to keep fighting. "Don't be deterred by the intimidation, don't be deterred by

Gun control advocates say, 'Enough is enough.'

the screaming, don't be deterred by the political mountain you have to climb," he said. "You just remember this: there are more people who think like you in America."

Hillary Rodham Clinton, a candidate for the Senate in New York, joined the march. Earlier, at the White House, she struck a theme that was heard again and again from the speakers: "I think it sometimes takes women to stand up and say, enough is enough. Enough is enough. We have had enough bloodshed, enough violence. When children are afraid to walk down their own blocks, or walk into their own schools, or when parents are afraid to let children even visit neighbors, it is time to say, enough."

Rosie O'Donnell, the mistress of ceremonies today, who touted the rally on her TV talk show and was greeted like a rock star, voiced the organizers' hopes when she declared, "The rally is over, the movement has just begun."

The Million Mom March was the brainchild of Donna Dees-Thomases, a part-time publicist for CBS, the sister-in-law of Susan Thomases, a close friend of Mrs. Clinton, and a New Jersey mother who said her maternal instincts kicked in after the shooting last August at a Jewish

community center in Los Angeles. The march supported an array of gun legislation, notably registration for all handguns and licensing of all handgun owners.

The National Rifle Association and its allies denounced the march's agenda today, asserting that "registration and licensing schemes" were in fact "a controlled burn of the Second Amendment, and setting fire to freedom should never be the answer," in the words of Wayne LaPierre, executive vice president of the group. Speaking on the NBC program "Meet the Press," Mr. LaPierre said the Million Mom March agenda was "out of step with moms, and I think it's out of step with the American public," and suggested that its organizers were allied with the Democrats. The criticism was dismissed by Ms. Dees-Thomases.

Whatever its lasting impact, the Million Mom March clearly pushed the gun issue onto the national agenda in recent days. And it highlighted what the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll found about women: that they tend to be stronger supporters of new restrictions on guns.

Seventy-eight percent of the women in the new poll said laws covering the sale of handguns should be made stricter, compared with 62 percent of the men. The poll has an overall margin of sampling error of plus or minus three percentage points.

Still, there was a small demonstration in Washington today sponsored by women who oppose new gun laws, a group known as Second Amendment Sisters. "This is our response to the Million Mom March," said Juli Bednarzyk, a co-founder of the group. "They said they were speaking for all women and we thought, 'Well, they don't speak for us. There are women who feel differently.'"

An N.R.A. member and gun owner, Ms. Bednarzyk said she had no ill will toward the people on the other end of the Mall. "We have the same goal as those women — safe children," she said, adding that they just had different ways of getting to that goal. On the stage, speakers denounced "liberal judges," "predator criminals" and "the million misinformed moms."

Organizers of the Million Mom March said their crowd numbered 750,000 in Washington; the number could not be independently confirmed as the federal Park Police no longer gives crowd estimates after years of controversy over how many people attend events like these. It appeared to be one of the largest gatherings on the Mall in recent years, and it clearly was a showing that gladdened the hearts of longtime gun control organizers.

According to The Associated Press, the Washington area subway system had carried 252,246 riders by

Gun Sales Resume After Software Repair

WASHINGTON, May 14 (AP) — The F.B.I. has fixed an internal software problem that halted gun sales nationwide for more than two days, an official said today.

The repairs allowed the resumption of firearms sales that depend on the bureau's criminal history database for instant background checks of prospective buyers. The system began operating again at 7:30 a.m. today, said Steve Fisher, a spokesman for the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The database, the Interstate Identification Index, which contains criminal histories of 36 mil-

lion people, stopped working on Thursday afternoon.

The computer failure at the F.B.I. Criminal Information Center in Clarksburg, W.Va., halted most gun sales because it prevented the completion of background checks that are required by the 1993 Brady law.

Without such checks, gun dealers were forced to tell customers to wait for their guns until the system came back up. The background check can take seconds when the system is functioning properly.

5 p.m. On a typical Sunday, it carries about 170,000 riders.

Around the country, in cities from Birmingham, Ala., to Los Angeles, thousands attended other mothers' rallies. In Denver, the police estimated the crowd at 3,000. The main speaker was Tom Mauser, whose son was killed at Columbine High School.

"You may have heard that Colorado is ground zero in the gun debate," Mr. Mauser declared. "You bet it is. And we're going to show the rest of the nation how you respond to it."

In Los Angeles, politicians read the names of children killed by guns in Los Angeles County in 1999. Ann Rice Lane, chairwoman of Women against Gun Violence, which was the program's host, said: "Today is an event. Tomorrow the work begins."

And in Chicago, amid protests from counterdemonstrators shouting "Ban the gangs, not the guns," women gathered at Grant Park. Obrellia Smith, 50, said, "I hope we will send a message to the legislators that they have to do something about this gun epidemic or they will lose their seats. We're losing too many babies."

Democrats clearly hoped that the rallies would mark a sea change in the politics of gun control and an end to the truism that the gun lobby can turn out its vote, while the forces of gun control cannot. Celinda Lake, a Democratic pollster who attended today's march in Washington, said, in a reference to Gov. George W. Bush of Texas, the presumptive Republican presidential nominee: "Bush ought to be terrified. Look out there — that is the face of the soccer mom."

But polls have shown that women are almost evenly divided in their views of how the two presidential candidates handle the gun issue. The latest New York Times/CBS News Poll asked, "Regardless of which candidate you prefer for president, who do you agree with more on the issue of gun control — Al Gore or George W. Bush?" Thirty-five per-

cent of the women said they agreed more with Mr. Gore, while 30 percent said they agreed more with Mr. Bush. Among mothers, 33 percent said they agree more with Mr. Bush, 24 percent with Mr. Gore.

That bipartisan note was struck today by one of the speakers, Dr. Antonia C. Novello, the New York State health commissioner, who declared, "Protecting the rights of children is not Democrat or Republican, it is simply the right thing to do."

In the end, for all the political maneuvering, there was a nonpartisan tone to much of the day. Many of the women came to the march through their churches or syna-

The gun lobby remains an obstacle to stricter controls.

gogues, or heard about the march on television or on the Internet. The organizers said there were five million hits on the Million Mom March Web site in the last six days.

At a "Tapestry" display in the middle of the Mall, where marchers could post messages, most were anything but political:

"In memory of Steve Smith. We won't forget."

"For Mrs. Willis's son. Killed over a pen."

"Christopher, We love you and miss you. Mommy is here and Daddy and Justin, in your memory."

"Enough is enough."

Around that display, and throughout much of the rally, the mood was one of simple grief. "We're hurting," said Vicky Lindsey, a founder of Justice for Murdered Children, whose 19-year-old son was killed five years ago. "We are truly hurting."



Photographs by Paul Hosefros/The New York Times

Hillary Rodham Clinton, above center, wearing a hat, flanked by Representatives Nita M. Lowey, left, and Carolyn McCarthy of New York, joined thousands of people in the Million Mom March yesterday

in Washington. Below, about 1,000 people heard President Clinton speak at the White House, including Novella Greene, who wiped away tears. She held a photo of her son Bruce, who was killed by gunfire.

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



Hillary's surrogate for telling tall tales

A lot of rubes and hayseeds, smarting for years at the sneering dismissal by New Yorkers of everywhere else, can't believe their fortune: New York is finally getting the Senate race it deserves.

In this corner, here's the guy as hard as a railroad spike, the man who usually opens his speeches with impersonations of a godfather ("youse guys better listen up"), the district attorney who seizes property without waiting for due process from those who are merely suspected of evil doing. And now the mayor who kicked blasphemous artists off the public teat may be done in — he has already been brought close to public tears — by the suffering wife who yearns to talk dirty on stage in adolescent porn.

And over here, in the other corner, here's the wife from Whitewater, everyone's nominee for Shrew of the Year, a lady so tough that her husband, trying to take a little stress out of his life, boasts that he's settled for sleeping with his dog — and likes it. But she can't enjoy Rudy Giuliani's griefs and troubles for worrying about district-attorney troubles that may lie ahead for her.

In fact, the big question hanging over the Senate race in New York is whether the Giuliani marriage will fall apart before Hillary Rodham Clinton is indicted for crooked dealing in Little Rock. Who can blame her for not wanting to return to Arkansas? By Labor Day her photograph on a wanted poster could be plastered in every post office between Memphis and Texarkana. If she's elected, and given the perversity of New Yorkers all things are possible, the delicious irony of New York's senator going to jail for bilking the hayseeds in Dogpatch would make the day of hayseeds everywhere. The Arkansas Supreme Court, now considering whether to disbar the president for lying to a federal court, might want to wait to consider his-and-her disbarments.

Hillary has been acting lately as if she barely remembers the man she's married to (turnabout is only fair, a wife might say), and daring anyone to remember where she came from or what she left behind. New Yorkers who can't get enough of her could take assurance yesterday that the famous Clinton sales pitch of '92 — "buy one, get one free" — is still in force.

Tact, insofar as the word applies to the Clintons, suggests that Hillary should be careful about saying anything about anyone else's marriage, for obvious reasons. But cautions against telling outrageous whoppers clearly don't apply to the president, who writes new definitions of



Rudy Giuliani

chutzpah every day. Hillary has to take her *Schadenfreude* — the German word for enjoying the misfortune of others — vicariously.

The Adulterer-in-Chief, who says he's looking forward to living with his mother-in-law in Little Rock, dropped in on a softball interviewer at National Public Radio yesterday with his very own recipe for making a marriage a happy one. He took careful aim at the mayor. The White House, the president said with no hint of shame or mortification, can be spousal serendipity for a presidential pair.

"Oh, I think it's been good for ours, because I got to live above the store," he said, trying not to sound wistful for the dear, departed days when nobody in Little Rock seemed to care very much about whatever the state troopers fetched to the Governor's Mansion when Hillary was asleep or out of town. "We actually probably had more time together than we did previously."

Naturally he didn't mention the troubles the Giuliani's are having, the legal separation the mayor announced yesterday, and the pointed remarks the missus made on Wednesday about a Gennifer Flowers in His Honor's past. He knew he didn't have to. He reflected on lazy Sunday afternoons whiled away on the Truman Balcony, and reading and talking by the swimming pool. No other couple has his-and-her depositions to read aloud to each other; most families have only a pastor, priest or rabbi to call when the going gets tough, but the Clintons have his-and-her batteries of expensive criminal lawyers. Life is beautiful when love, respect and fidelity are in the air.

"I mean, you can get busy and drift apart, I guess, in any circumstances," the president said. "But for us, we worked hard before we got here, and we had a lot of things to do, and we've probably had more time together in our time here than at any point in our marriage."

The mayor, despite going 3 for 3 this week with a separation, bad news from his doctor and a girlfriend exposed to daylight, nevertheless tried to dampen speculation that he's about to quit: "I very much would like the opportunity to carry on my public service, yes. Rumors of my demise are greatly exaggerated."

The rest of us can only hope so. We've earned this fight. We bought our tickets early. New York deserves it, and by gum so do we.

Wesley Pruden is editor in chief of *The Times*.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Democrats get producing credit for march

By Bill Sammon
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Sunday's Million Mom March, billed as a grass-roots gathering of soccer moms devoid of partisan politics, is being denounced by critics as a slickly produced media event bankrolled by Democrats and organized by Dan Rather's ex-publicist.

March founder Donna Dees-Thomases is on temporary leave from CBS News and is the sister-in-law of Susan Thomases — a

Founder is sister-in-law of Hillary friend

close friend and political adviser to first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

The group's Web site gives President Clinton the "Mom's Apple Pie Award" and depicts House Majority Whip Tom DeLay in a dunce cap in the "Time Out Chair."

"Is this march simply an instrument of the elite or does it reflect genuine grass-roots support?" said Jonathan Baron, spokesman for the Texas Republican. "I'll leave it

to others to assess the grass-roots nature of the event.

"I mean, from our point of view, this organization gave President Clinton their apple pie award, so we can only take this kind of thing so seriously," he added.

The march, expected to draw hundreds of thousands and closing off two streets that run parallel to the Mall, has prompted controversy since it first emerged.

Mrs. Dees-Thomases, who did not return telephone calls to The Washington Times, is the publicist who persuaded Mrs. Clinton to appear on CBS' "Late Show With David Letterman," where the first lady was given an advance peek at answers to a "pop quiz" she ached on the air. Mrs. Dees-Thomases later met again with Mrs. Clinton to thank her for the appearance.

Mrs. Dees-Thomases met Monday with Mr. Clinton at the White House. *see MARCH, page A16*

MARCH

From page A1

House to plot strategy for the march. But White House Press Secretary Joe Lockhart downplayed the administration's role.

"This came out of some mothers and groups that wanted to find a way to make a statement on Mother's Day," Mr. Lockhart said. "We have worked with them some this week, finding an appropriate way for the president to participate in the effort."

"But as far as political advice, I don't think they've come looking for that here," he added.

The first lady plans to march, along with Vice President Al Gore's wife Tipper and daughter Karenna Gore Schiff, Attorney General Janet Reno and TV talk show host Rosie O'Donnell.

The group's Web site asserts that guns kill an average of 12 children per day in the United States. But the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention said the real number is only half that.

The discrepancy is rooted in the fact that the march organizers count adults, aged 18 and 19, as children, which are legally defined as people 17 and younger.

Critics say most of these adult gun deaths are gang- or drug-related and should not be counted as gun deaths among children.

The Million Mom March listed itself with the Internal Revenue Service as a 501(c)(3) organization, which has preferential tax status. But IRS documents state that "501(c)(3) organizations may not engage in political activity, including endorsing candidates."

Although march organizers openly lobby for specific gun control laws — primarily the licensing and registration of all handguns — some issue lobbying is allowed under IRS rules, explained agency spokesman Don Roberts.

Mrs. Dees-Thomases has sought to portray the march as a groundswell of ordinary, nonpolitical moms from across the country who are demanding "common sense gun safety laws."

But while the group has openly promoted Democrats who advocate gun control, it has shunned safety advocates affiliated with the firearms industry.

For example, march organizers fired their Colorado state organizer for encouraging Shari LeGate to pass out child safety locks at a booth during the march. The dismissal came after march orga-

nizers learned Mrs. LeGate had ties to a gun trade group.

Letting Mrs. LeGate in would have been akin to having Seagrams speak at a rally of Mothers Against Drunk Driving, said the new state coordinator, Amy Sodnicar.

But while march organizers are banning Mrs. LeGate, a proponent of gun safety locks, they are welcoming Tamarla Owens, whose 6-year-old boy is accused of using a stolen handgun he found in a crackhouse to kill a 6-year-old girl in Michigan in February. Her son reportedly had been left unattended when he found the gun.

Mike Beard, a member of the steering committee for the march, said he was unaware of Mrs. Owens' plan to march. He called the ban on Mrs. LeGate one of those "internal doctrinal disputes and personnel problems" that always occur "in marches like this."

"There is nothing wrong with gun safety locks, but we had decided the goals of the march would be licensing and registration," Mr. Beard said.

Wayne LaPierre, executive vice president of the National Rifle Association, doesn't buy claims of a nonpartisan, grass-roots event.

"This isn't moms, it's the tentacles of the Clinton-Gore operation playing politics," Mr. LaPierre told The Washington Times. "It all looks to me like a soft money expenditure for the Clinton-Gore operation, to tell you the truth."

But Mr. Beard, who is also president of the Coalition to Stop Gun Violence, insisted ordinary mothers provided the impetus for the Washington march and 66 other marches around the country that will also be staged Sunday.

"Talk to a Hispanic mother in New Mexico who's organizing the march there and you realize she's not doing this because somebody who knows Bill Clinton in Washington asked her to do it," Mr. Beard said.

Mr. Beard said the largest march donation was probably the \$200,000 that came from billionaire George Soros.

According to Federal Election Commission records, Mr. Soros last year gave \$2,000 to two separate campaign funds for Mr. Gore, and has also given campaign cash to Sen. Charles E. Schumer, New York Democrat, a relentless advocate of gun control.

As the widespread media coverage of the march has neared, congressional Democrats have pushed for sweeping new gun controls that have virtually no chance of passing the Republican-led Congress.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

New York Post Friday, May 12, 2000

How dare he leave us with Sen. You-Know-Who!

SORRY if this sounds selfish, what with Gracie Mansion now resembling an intensive-care unit for physically and emotionally damaged adults.

But what about us? A woman from Queens was on the phone, spitting with anger. Having a romance, she insisted, is far from the worst outrage that Rudy Giuliani has inflicted upon the people of this city.

Now, she complained, he's left us with the real possibility of Senator Hillary.

"How could he do this to me?" The Queens woman's voice started quaking like Donna Hanover at a microphone.

"Senator Hillary! Now I'm gonna have to throw up every time I open the newspaper!"

Well, what about us?

We New Yorkers have been spoiled. For the last seven years, we've gotten used to having the mayor all to ourselves.

ANDREA PEYSER



He was there at all hours, 24/7, whether or not we wanted to see his face.

Not a cop got shot, not a bridge collapsed, a water main broke, a lunatic attacked, a mosquito bit, or a Senate candidate made an ass of herself without Rudy Giuliani making the scene.

Even if some didn't like what he said, it was a comfort just having the guy around. Watching him work made us feel safer.

Watching him work made us tired.

Yeah, there were rumors about

women. But most of us figured he didn't have the time or temperament for a life. Depending on how you viewed him, he was the tough uncle — or the maiden aunt. The fearless prosecutor. Or the village scold.

But there was no question that the man was in charge.

We never expected nor asked for this constant attention, but we quickly got used to it. And then we wanted more. Anyone who's spent time with a toddler knows what happens when suddenly, you stop watching.

The kid whines.

Millions of New Yorkers are whining, too.

What a roller coaster we've ridden these last couple of weeks! So many unfamiliar facts to absorb. So many unpleasant truths to digest.

The indestructible Rudy is sick. The impenetrable Rudy's in love.

The mayor is mortal. The mayor has needs.

Rudy Giuliani may surprise us and remain in the running for Senate. At least, now we know without doubt that a heart beats under that bulletproof facade.

Yet it doesn't seem likely.

How could any man — particularly one who so recently did not betray a single earthly desire — be capable of operating a city, tending to his children, going through a divorce, courting a lady, beating cancer and running for the Senate?

Well, maybe for the sake of his well-being, Rudy shouldn't.

So we get Hillary by default.

Yesterday morning, Hillary appeared on a "Today" show town-hall meeting, chatting with the small people about small concerns. Her calm, smiling presence was surreal — unnerving — so soon after the public outpouring of twisted emotion emanat-

ing from the four corners of this city.

Her marital hell a distant memory, Hillary was serene, otherworldly. Above it all.

Forget Rick Lazio or Ted Forstmann or Pete King. Forget Joe Holland.

Defeating a celebrity like Hillary requires a candidate with wattage to spare.

Jeanine Pirro's got it — the Westchester district attorney is smart, shrewd, beautiful and correct on the issues. But unfortunately, the furtherance of her political career will have to wait until the conclusion of her husband's legal problems.

So, there's Hillary.

"How could he do this?" the Queens woman railed.

Rudy's got a life, after all.

Darn the luck.

HILLARY: LEAVE 'EM ALONE

By GREGG BIRNBAUM

Hillary Rodham Clinton — whose own marriage has been endlessly dissected in public — urged yesterday that Senate opponent Mayor Giuliani and wife Donna Hanover "be left alone."

During an hourlong live appearance on NBC's "Today Show," co-host Katie Couric asked Clinton if — as someone who has been living for years under a microscope — she had any advice for the

mayor and his wife.

"Out of respect for them, we should just leave them alone and let them do what is best for them," Clinton said, drawing applause from the in-studio audience of about 60 people.

When the first lady followed up by saying that she would have nothing to say about Giuliani's private life for the duration of the campaign, the audience of Democrats, Republicans and independents invited by NBC broke into applause again.

In the nationally televised "town hall" meeting, Couric opened the show by asking, "Do you expect Mayor Giuliani to pull out of the race?"

Clinton responded, "Oh, Katie, I don't have any idea. Obviously, that has to be his decision, whatever he thinks is best for him."

Couric tried a follow-up, on a more personal level.

She asked, "Clearly, it was a very difficult day for the mayor and his wife . . . Did you feel for them as a couple having to life this out in the public eye?"

"I just don't think that any of us should be commenting on what they're going through, and I'm going to, out of respect for him and his family, just have nothing to say about this," Clinton said.

Sticking to the campaign's "avoid Rudy" strategy since the mayor's prostate-cancer diagnosis, Clinton low-keyed it even when talking about differences on the issues with Giuliani — and she declined to blame him for police problems, as she has in the past.

Takes high ground in Rudy-Donna soap opera

"Do you hold Mayor Giuliani responsible for creating that atmosphere of mistrust [between the NYPD and the community]?" Clinton was asked.

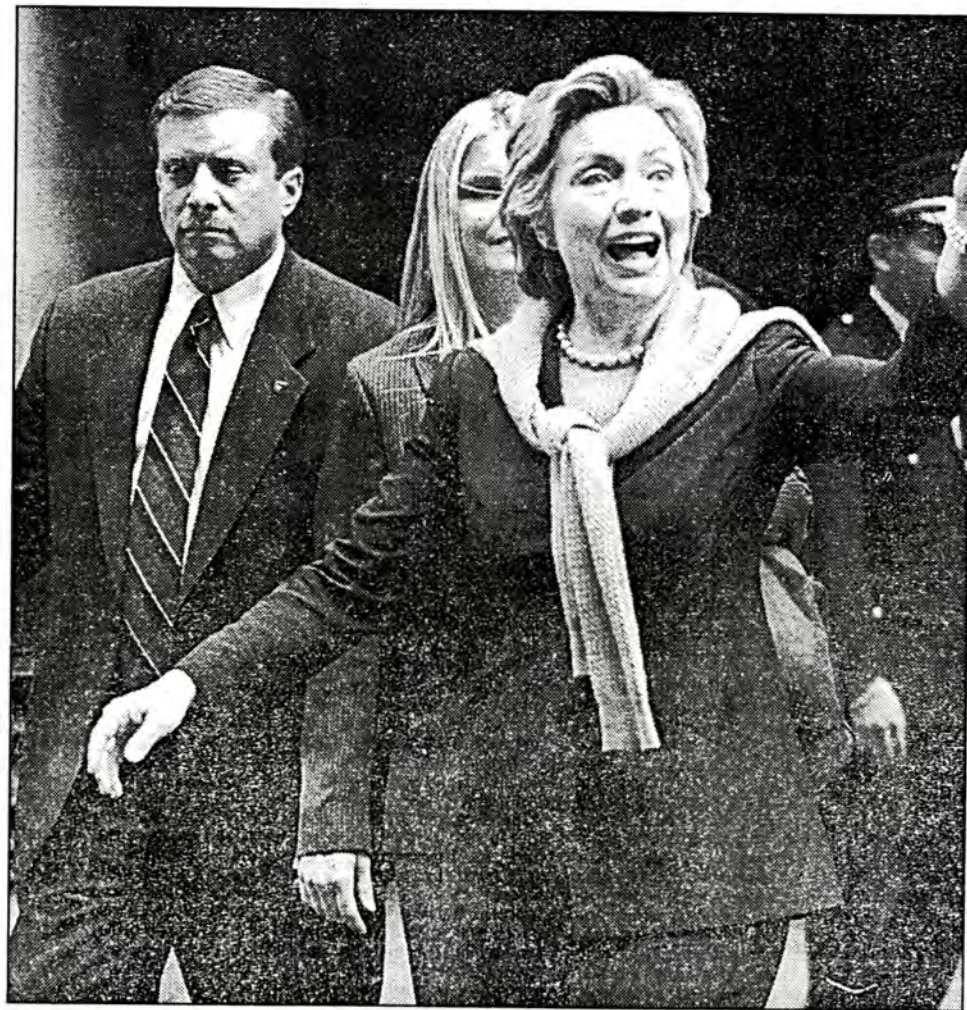
"I don't know that it's useful for us to point fingers at any one person," answered Clinton, who earlier this year directly accused Giuliani of igniting the tensions.

The first lady also didn't answer directly when asked if her campaign had discussed the possibility she might be facing another opponent.

In Washington, the president expressed sympathy for Giuliani.

"I wish him and his wife and their children well," he told reporters. "We should want the best for their children and we should want some space for all of them, out of the glare of publicity, to work their family issues out."

Meanwhile, the state Democratic Committee announced that Sen. Chuck Schumer will officially nominate Hillary Clinton at the party convention on Tuesday — something that retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan had been expected to do.



SPRING IN HER STEP: With the political future of her chief opponent, Rudy Giuliani, in doubt, invigorated Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton steps into the beautiful springtime air yesterday in Rockefeller Plaza after appearing on the "Today" show.

N.Y. Post: Luiz C. Ribeiro

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, MAY 12, 2000

RUDY'S BIG DECISION

Exit Stage Right, Rudy

By PEGGY NOONAN

Rudolph Giuliani loves opera—big, lush, over-the-top opera, with sobbing clowns and jubilant courtesans. And this makes sense because Mr. Giuliani is a very emotional man. He thinks about the city, about the Yankees and the subways and the people and parades, in an emotional way.

He doesn't just fight crime, he acts a whole drama out for you. When he thinks some downtown guys broke the law he doesn't call them in, he handcuffs them on the trading floor and hauls them away in shackles. When the police do something wrong he defends them stoutly, hotly, because they put their lives on the line for us every day. His critics aren't just wrong, they're people who better go home and take their medicine and get over it. When reporters get on his nerves he bickers with them and calls their editors and yells. He has so many big fights because everything is important and life is a battle and everything is so, so emotional.

This makes Rudy a pretty good fit for New York. Ed Koch was emotional too, and he was also a big success for a long time. Still, it is ironic that in the ongoing Senate campaign the man painted as cold and dry has proved himself once again this week to be anything but.

Being Opera

Sometimes you become what you love. And I was thinking this week, after the mayor's announcement that he and his wife would separate, which was followed by her pained aria, all of which came to a head after the death of their friend, Cardinal John O'Connor, and all of it reported with the real life-and-death issue of the mayor's cancer looming in the background as starkly as that stately old set, Gracie Mansion—I was thinking that the mayor now not only loves opera, he is opera.

But at least not the kind we've all grown used to. Wednesday's dramatic statements that Mr. Giuliani was separating from his wife, Donna Hanover—and Ms. Hanover's pained reaction—weren't coolly planned and calculated. They were unscripted, more like blurts than announcements, and all involved seemed nothing if not forthcoming. There was no finger wagging, no calling this lady a stalker and that one a liar, no perjury, no sending out a wife and appointees and aides to divide and conquer. It was all more ragged and human than that.

Much of it springs, no doubt, from the fact that the mayor whose father died of prostate cancer is now suffering from the same disease, which would be challenging for anyone under the best of circumstances. In the midst of all the roiling, a friend tells me, the mayor hasn't even had a chance to choose what kind of therapy, radiation or operation or chemotherapy or a combination, to undergo for his illness.

He is in a crisis in his life. But it is a political crisis, too.

Sometimes things reach a tipping

point, a moment of negative critical mass. Rudy Giuliani's Senate campaign has reached the moment at which a viable candidacy becomes wounded beyond repair. It's not the lady, or the wife. It's not the cancer, or "The Vagina Monologues" (in which Ms. Hanover was planning to star), or the other lady, or the history of intemperate statements, or the pugilistic personality. It is all of these things rolled up in one big snow-

ball and roll-

date for rescuer would be New York Gov. George Pataki. Ol' sleepy George is smart and smooth and intelligent. He would make a formidable candidate against Hillary Clinton, and would probably beat her. Unlike her, and the mayor, the governor actually has a legislative personality. He would do well in the Senate. And as a big, tall, moderate New York Republican who saved us from Hillary, he'd be on the Republican leadership's list of people to please. Moreover George Bush, who may be the next president, likes him a lot. They went to Yale together.

Mr. Pataki would be an important senator just by showing up and filling the Moynihan seat.

Mrs. Clinton meanwhile—has anyone noticed this?—is moving forward each day, making progress, pushing through and claiming new ground like a tough little tank, as if she were Hillary Rommel Clinton. In the past few days she got free airtime for a full hour on Rosie O'Donnell, a full hour on the "Today" show, and a full hour on Joan Hamburg's radio show—all successful and supportive appearances in which Mrs. Clinton was friendly, funny and down home.

She has changed her accent—she's lost the mild Arkansas twang she adopted in 1982, when her husband ran for re-election—and now sounds more clipped, with a slightly higher and more youthful pitch, like a Westchester mom. She has a new voice now to go with her new look and her new approach, intense one-on-ones with supportive interviewers and small groups of women. The men aren't noticing, but her numbers among white women will be up next time there's a new poll, maybe dramatically. Slowly but surely she's winning.

Jump In, George

There's only one candidate who can probably beat Mrs. Clinton at this point, and that is Gov. Pataki. The problem, though, is that he is happy as governor. He likes the job. He doesn't aspire to the Senate. He's just the perfect candidate for it. Unlike Long Island Rep. Rick Lazio, he will not have to be introduced throughout the state. Unlike wealthy businessman Ted Forstmann, he has held office, and successfully. I wrote a speech with him once, a few years ago, and, though I could not call myself a friend, I did see him enough to know that he is intelligent and serious. These are good things in a candidate.

Gov. Pataki would give Mrs. Clinton a real challenger, a tough one, and help bring down the numbers of the Democratic ticket, which is topped by Al Gore.

This could actually make New York competitive on the presidential level. Gov. Bush is a friend of Gov. Pataki's, and has his home number. One hopes he also has an itchy dialing finger.

Ms. Noonan, a Journal contributing editor, is author of "The Case Against Hillary Clinton" (Regan Books, 2000).



David Smith

Mr. Giuliani's life has become too operatic for him to stay in the Senate race. Meanwhile, Hillary Clinton keeps getting stronger. Only one man can save the Republicans now.

ing inexorably down the hill. Its speed will increase, not slow, with time.

This candidacy isn't going to work. And one senses Mr. Giuliani knows it, and those around him do, too. He's in the kind of mess that needs time and space and a quiet area in which to play itself out.

One hopes the mayor will step up like a gent and step down. He should get out now, while others can still get in. He should stay on as mayor, and keep pushing the levers he's always loved pushing. It really is the job he was born to do. And in this way his municipal achievements will not be slowly and quietly undone by his would-be successor, Democrat Mark Green, the city's No. 2 elected official.

A Giuliani departure, of course, would leave the Republican Party in the lurch, and in need of rescue. And the best candi-

FRIDAY, MAY 12, 2000

THE WASHINGTON POST

Marjorie Williams

Please, Spare Us the Details

Everything we didn't need to know about the Giuliani marriage.

You knew that the Giuliani marriage, when it blew, was going to make a mighty big bang. As soon as the subdued New York mayor announced, on Wednesday, that he and wife Donna Hanover were working out a separation agreement, a tearful Hanover summoned reporters to Gracie Mansion to help her pour gasoline on the fire.

Her statement managed to put the blame

to drop out of the Senate race. His campaign might well have survived a simple separation or divorce; a recent poll found that New York voters, by a margin of 77 to 12 percent, said that last week's stories about Giuliani's new lady friend, one Judith Nathan, has no impact on how they view his candidacy. And for Giuliani and Hanover to call it quits might even have struck some voters as a refreshing change from the Clintons' unfathomable partnership. But as soon as Hanover made clear that she was going to the mattresses, he faced the prospect of defending himself from constant fire.

But he will still be mayor of New York, and he and Hanover still stand poised to write a rich new chapter in our evolving struggle over politicians and their private lives. So far, by falling prey to the universal human impulse to spin the split, they're writing an ugly one.

Don't you just hate it when, one day, politicians are admonishing us that their personal lives fall within the precious "zone of privacy," and then the next day they're telling us all about their sex lives? The mayor used to respond to inquiries about his strange marriage with huffy indignation: "I think when people see two separate careers, they assume the marriage must be in trouble. People will gossip about almost anything," said the mayor who, according to his wife, has had two affairs—including one with a city employee—while running New York. Now he wants us to sympathize with his new love. "I rely on [Nathan], and she helps me a great deal," he said Wednesday. "And I'm going to need her more now than maybe I did before."

As for Hanover, she has always maintained that her marriage was no one's business but her own. Now she's telling us more than we want to know about recent connubial relations in Gracie Mansion. If they keep this up, New Yorkers will come to feel like the children of spitting parents, who each insist on helping them to form a bad opinion of the other.

Perhaps we should be inured to this kind of thing after years of watching the Clintons alternately cry foul at any attention to their private life and then unsheath the details of their marital woes when it is convenient, a ploy that reached its crowning cynicism when they sent forth friends and aides to describe Hillary's supposed shock and pain when the president finally confessed the details of his dalliance with Monica Lewinsky. But I don't have an opinion about

whether Rudy or "Donner," as he always called her, is the party most at fault here. I don't even want to have an opinion, or feel entitled to one.

For all the talk about the New York media's ferocity, there is another choice here. If the Giulianis were to proceed straight to a dignified separation, refraining from further comment, there's every chance they'd get a measure of privacy. Up until now, even as the Giulianis' mar-



ASSOCIATED PRESS



AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE

squarely on Hizzoner's shoulders ("I had hoped to keep this marriage together"); to suggest that the long, publicly apparent cooling of their marriage was entirely a function of his earlier rumored affair with a close aide ("For several years it was difficult to participate in Rudy's public life because of his relationship with one of his staff members"); and firmly to close the door on any whispering campaign, from the mayor's side, to the effect that his wife had shut him out ("Beginning last May, I made a major effort to bring us back together. Rudy and I reestablished some of our personal intimacy through the fall. At that point he chose another path.")

To which we can only say: Yuck and double-yuck! Tell us no more!

The smart money says that Giuliani will have

riage crumbled in plain sight—she called reporters to insist they drop the "Giuliani" from her name; he stopped wearing his wedding ring; she disappeared, like a banished apparatchik, from his Christmas card—City Hall reporters treated the mystery largely with respectful (read: frightened) silence. If you go back and read the clips, coverage of the marriage mostly strikes you as deferential.

But if they continue to air their anger in public, the press will gleefully oblige. Here's hoping that Giuliani and Hanover look into the abyss before talking further. Every divorce is a sadness, especially when it comes to a family, like the Giulianis', that includes two children. The most that any of us outside a marriage is entitled to say is: Rest in peace.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Never having to say you're sorry

■ As Hillary Clinton was on her way to Little Rock for an Arkansas fund-raiser for her U.S. Senate race in New York, the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette was able to chase down a virulent Arkansas critic of the first lady to quote on its front page about the peril to the republic that the woman presented.

It could not have been a hard search to find him. The paper's letters columns are filled with diatribes against the first lady, which are only a little less refined and careful about the facts and judgments than the columns and editorials that appear with dreary regularity and that give ammunition and succor to those who hate the Clintons with such passionate intensity.

The fear and loathing of Hillary Clinton by the popular commentators approaches that of her husband. No, it may exceed it. And it is not merely the right-wing Republican columnists like Jeff Jacoby, Tony Snow, George Will, William Safire and the Democrat-Gazette's local stable. She is a favorite target of the New York Times' Maureen Dowd. The writers usually are as careless as Rush Limbaugh about their facts.

Only on rare occasions, such as the first



■ ERNEST DUMAS

lady's advocacy of clemency for the imprisoned Puerto Rican terrorists, do the screeds have anything to do with her views about an issue. She is simply a malevolent woman whose past and philosophy bode danger for the country.

Curious journalism standards apply when the subject is Hillary Clinton. You would think she might some time be given the benefit of the doubt when it is her word against a rumor that cannot be traced or that she receive a public exoneration when it turns out that she was right.

It has now been two months since the special prosecutor, Robert Ray, concluding years of relentless digging by Kenneth Starr,

said that the first lady had absolutely nothing to do with the mishandling of FBI files early in Clinton's first term. Neither she nor the president ordered the files, neither of them directed that the files be used against their enemies, the files indeed were not used that way, and Hillary Clinton had absolutely nothing to do with hiring the low-level White House functionary who ordered the files. All of those were charges thrown around in Clinton's first term and that became the subject of one of Starr's most intense investigations.

Columns and editorials have often simply stated them as facts, not rumors or even suspicions.

The New York Times' Safire, who has regularly predicted that criminal charges against the Clintons were imminent, wrote flatly that the subordinate who ordered the FBI files was a political dirty trickster hired at Hillary Clinton's behest and that the first couple intended to use the files to bludgeon their political enemies — an abuse of government power that matched the darkest days of the Soviet Union, he wrote.

None of it was true, the Whitewater special prosecutor said. Not even Safire would say that Kenneth Starr and Robert Ray were covering up for the Clintons.

(Safire also wrote that the Whitewater Development Corp., the failed 1978 Ozark land investment that started the probes, was a clear case of "graft" by Hillary and Bill Clinton although the Clintons lost money on the purely private deal and the special prosecutor has never found any instance of wrongdoing by the Clintons in the transactions.)

By now, you would think Safire might have acknowledged that he was wrong about "Filegate." He hasn't. Neither have the Wall Street Journal editorialists, whose allegations were even darker than Safire's.

Or Peggy Noonan, the George Bush speechwriter who has written a book characterizing Hillary Clinton as a deceitful and corrupt woman. Noonan wrote in the book and elsewhere that a former barroom

bouncer who Hillary hired for such purposes illegally obtained the FBI files. True, Ray's report refuting that idea was not released until about the time that Noonan's book hit the tables, but you would think that in the round of TV appearances to promote the book since then she would have had the fairness to acknowledge it if not the grace to say she was sorry.

It's nearly impossible to libel a public figure, so if it is Hillary Clinton why even bother correcting the record?

Curious journalism standards apply when the subject is Hillary Clinton.

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Style

FRIDAY, MAY 12, 2000

See Rudy Run. See Rudy Fall?

Scandal May Catch Up
With Giuliani in N.Y. Race

By MICHAEL POWELL
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK—Say this for Rudolph William Giuliani, this city's mayor-cum-padrone. He's bested the hoodlums, slugged the Democratic Machine and now... the impossible:

He's successfully established that his family life is as certifiably and indisputably dysfunctional as that of Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Cancer in an early stage, girlfriends past and present, "The Vagina Monologues" and romantic Southampton rendezvous with his new squeeze. . . . Even by the refined standards of New York City political life, Giuliani is dishing up soap opera of the highest order.

And still—*yes!*—Giuliani remains in the race for the U.S. Senate.

"Rumors of my demise are greatly exaggerated," the mayor said yesterday, even as he endeavors to extract a political stake from his back.

A soupçon of irony: Infidelity is proving quite the tonic for Democratic Senate candidate Hillary Clinton (or as she now prefers, the surnameless "Hillary!"). Her equanimity when faced with her husband's intern lust earned her much praise and drew the attention of New

See RUDY, C4, Col. 1



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Racy New York Senate Race

RUDY, From C1

York Democrats. Now Giuliani's runaway id threatens to swell her narrow advantage in recent polls.

"His infidelity could get her elected," says Mitchell Moss of the Taub Urban Research Center at New York University. "Rudy is now competing with Rudy; his personal life is competing with his record. In an issueless campaign, Hillary just has to keep standing."

It's Rudy's opera now. Hizzoner's dominated the city stage all year. But the temple-throbbing impression is of a man shouting rather than singing.

It has been Giuliani's political genius to sheathe his more abrasive impulses at election time. Not this year. When city undercover police officers shot and killed an off-duty and unarmed security guard in March after he refused to sell them crack, calls came for Giuliani to offer some words of sympathy to the dead man's family.

Instead he ordered his police department to release the dead man's meager misdemeanor record. Even some friends of the mayor wailed that this was indecent, and perhaps illegal. The mayor would have none of it. "You cannot libel a dead man," he said.

Nor, in truth, did the mayor seem much interested in tramping through the wilds of Upstate New York in pursuit of his senatorial ambitions. A bred-in-the-bone city guy, a partisan of asphalt and clangor, he is yet another New York mayor who conveys the sense that he'd rather do Bensonhurst than Oswego.

So 400 Republicans wait at an Upstate fundraising luncheon for the mayor; Giuliani decides to catch opening day at Yankee Stadium. A week later, he's supposed to do a speaking tour; he does Pavarotti in Manhattan instead.

George W. Bush and the national Republicans talk about Giuliani every chance they get. They can taste his fangs sinking into Hillary's flank. But some doubt is creeping in.

"I think he's playing us for fools," says Michael Long, the Brooklyn-born baron of New York's Conservative Party, which is not much enamored of Giuliani's abortion-rights, pro-gun-control ways. "I don't think he ever wanted to run."

And all the while his poll ratings slowly dwindle. He still does spectacularly well in the suburbs, but his favorability rating in New York City sits under 30 percent.

Then, two weeks ago, the mayor announces he has

prostate cancer, the same disease that felled his father. He is forthright and brave in his announcement and a surge of sympathy envelops city hall. The press, tabloid and broadsheet, is never more cloyingly romantic than at such moments. His poll ratings stir again.

And the mayor's handlers and spinners and publicists intone: This is *good*. Proves the guy's *human*. To which one might rejoin that if a politician needs a cancer diagnosis to prove his humanity, he perhaps has some issues that need addressing.

Five days later, the curtain flies up: Act 2, in which Don Giuliani Takes a Lover. The New York Post prints surveillance photos of the mayor dining tete-a-tete with a 46-year-old divorcee, Judi Nathan. His "Gal Pal," in tabloid speak. It's full alert: The press braces for gale force winds from Hizzoner.

But the mayor surprises. This man of Savonarolan temperament doesn't rage and mock. Rather he sounds a bit like a lovesick Don Juan. He stands before the City Hall jackals and acknowledges, rather proudly, that Nathan is "a good friend, very good friend."

Then Nathan holds an impromptu news conference while walking her very small dog on the Upper East Side. She talks of her mayor as heartthrob.

This isn't the mayor's first marital crash-and-burn. His first marriage, to Regina Peruggi, foundered after 14 years. Peruggi and Giuliani obtained a church annulment after they said they discovered that they were second cousins.

By this Monday, it's almost *paparazzi* as usual. The New York Post is running full-page takeouts on Nathan's home town in Pennsylvania coal country ("Coal Mine to Big Time"), and the Daily News is devoting two pages to a critique of Nathan's hair, clothes and accessories ("Judi's style-o-meter... the word seems to be: safe—not chic"). Even that dowager arbiter of things proper, the New York Times, is hopping on the story.

(The mayor—in the interest of full fashion disclosure—tends to favor bulky pinstripe suits, shapeless black shoes, hunched shoulders and a most impressive comb-over.)

Some mayoral hangers-on even wax pugnacious, whispering that Donna Hanover, the mayor's estranged wife, had this coming. A sometime actress, she had taken a role in "The Vagina Monologues," a controversial but well-reviewed play, which earned her an angry editorial

tongue-lashing from that pinnacle of probity, the New York Post editorial page.

And Post columnist Dick Morris warned on Tuesday: "If [Hanover] does object to Rudy's behavior in public, she may overstay her welcome in our hearts."

So far, in other words, so good.

Then came Wednesday's powl and pow! Giuliani, gaunt and with eyes more cavernous than usual, announces suddenly that he's seeking a legal separation. He's in pain and stumbles over his words and his staffers whisper that reporters must give the mayor points for honesty. More proof he's human!

Alas, three hours later Hanover steps before the microphones at Gracie Mansion and talks. About Rudy and her earlier attempts to rekindle passion with him. About her humiliations and their children and... the mayor's earlier "relationship" with his press secretary.

"For several years," Hanover said, "it was difficult to participate in Rudy's public life because of his relationship with one staff member."

That staff member would be Cristyne F. Lategano, who was the mayor's combative communications chief and confidante until last May. The mayor has always publicly denied rumors of an affair—"No, I'm not, and it's outrageous of you to ask," he told a reporter last year.

When Giuliani and Hanover briefly reconciled last year, the mayor eased Lategano into a six-figure job as chief of the city's Tourist Bureau, a job for which she had few obvious qualifications. Lategano has since wed a golf writer named Nicholas V. Nicholas.

"The Lategano thing, that was when his wife put the knife right in," says Hank Sheinkopf, a Democratic Party political consultant. He's a New Yorker; his voice carries a trace of admiration. "That was her endgame."

Even the mayor's friends aren't assaying a particularly vigorous defense of his behavior and electoral prospects.



BY MITCH JACOBSON—ASSOCIATED PRESS



BY BERTO MATTHEWS—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Last year Giuliani denied rumors of an affair with then-staffer Cristyne Lategano, above. At left, Judi Nathan, Giuliani's current "very good friend."

A longtime political ally recaps the story to date:

"Donna was a woman scorned and she still attempted to reconcile with him. Then he does it again? I'm amazed he's survived this far without becoming a falsetto."

All of which has led some overeager fans of the New York political scene to proclaim this opera over, our tragic hero impaled on his own sword. To which the wisest response is... perhaps.

Hillary Clinton has now visited every one of the state's 62 counties. She could be heard speaking this week of the remarkable fact that Wyoming County—a hitherto undiscovered county that apparently lies somewhere north-of the Bronx and west of Yonkers—has more cows than people. And she has taken to addressing her audiences as "my fellow New Yorkers."

But Clinton's partisans aren't about to start thumping the drum of family values. Marriage remains a no-fly zone in this race. The first lady remains a taste that, if polls are to be believed, many New Yorkers have not yet acquired. And her comments on L'Affaire Giuliani are studiously and painfully bland.

Asked this morning about the possibility of Giuliani's departure, Clinton, in a town hall appearance on NBC's "Today" show, said: "That's something I have absolutely no control over. Whoever runs against me, I will just keep doing what I'm doing."

So we have that least edifying and most interesting of phenomena, a New York political race. In which both candidates find themselves lighting far greater bonfires in the hearts of their enemies than in the breasts of their friends. Ah, love.

New York's Mayor Undecided on Plan For Senate Contest

By JOHN HARWOOD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani said he hasn't decided whether to abandon his U.S. Senate race, amid speculation over the Republicans' fallback strategy against first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Rocked by setbacks involving his health and failing marriage, Mr. Giuliani said he hasn't determined "whether I have the energy and the capacity to run" in the most closely-watched 2000 campaign aside from the presidential race. He dismissed "false rumors" that he has already decided to bow out, though some of his own advisers believe that is likely.

When he announced two weeks ago that he was suffering from prostate cancer, the second-term mayor said he wouldn't decide whether to continue his campaign until deciding on a course of treatment. But Republicans have become increasingly concerned about having to find an alternative candidate since Mr. Giuliani's disclosure this week that he was seeking a separation from his wife, Donna Hanover. Ms. Hanover, in turn, accused the mayor of having been romantically involved with a former staff member.

No other candidate has entered the race, but senior GOP officials were considering their options in a series of hastily arranged meetings. The state convention, when the party's candidate formally will be nominated, is May 30. Gov. George Pataki, the strongest alternative, has publicly disavowed interest, but hasn't ruled out the possibility.

Long Island Rep. Rick Lazio flirted with the campaign even before Mr. Giuliani's recent difficulties, yet remains little known outside his Suffolk County home base. He also has just \$3 million in his campaign bank account, a fraction of the amount that Mr. Giuliani and Mrs. Clinton have raised.

If Republicans conclude that fund-raising would represent a serious obstacle in Mr. Giuliani's absence, they may have an alternative in Wall Street entrepreneur Ted Forstmann, who could finance his own campaign and is currently exploring his options. Other potential candidates include Reps. Peter King of Long Island, Jack Quinn of Buffalo and Sue Kelly of the Hudson Valley.

Former Sen. Alfonse D'Amato, who after Mr. Pataki would likely have the best chance of raising campaign cash quickly, is "intrigued" by the possibility of a comeback bid, according to a close ally.

Mrs. Clinton said little about Mr. Giuliani's possible departure from the race. "That's something I have no control over," she told NBC's "Today" show. Her strategists, with little to gain by injecting themselves into Mr. Giuliani's public difficulties, also maintained a low profile.

But other Democratic officials weren't as bashful. Though some polls have suggested that personal disclosures aren't damaging his standing, "The mayor's just about done" as a viable Senate candidate, said Jim Jordan, political director of the Democratic Senate campaign committee.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clintons talked of Willey letters

First lady claims 'spousal privilege'

By Jerry Seper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The White House yesterday said first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton spoke with President Clinton before the release of confidential letters from former White House aide Kathleen Willey, but claimed spousal privilege and refused to divulge the content of those conversations.

Associate White House Counsel Karl Racine, in written responses to questions in a \$90 million lawsuit by Judicial Watch, a conservative public interest law firm, acknowledged that Mrs. Clinton "discussed the matter" with her husband prior to the March 1998 release of the letters.

Mr. Racine said other White House staff members were advised after the decision was made to make the letters public — a day after Mrs. Willey said on "60 Minutes" that Mr. Clinton kissed her, cupped her breast and put her hand on his groin during a November 1993 meeting.

But, he said, attorneys for the Clintons said "the substance of the discussions between the president and the first lady would be protected by the spousal privilege."

The White House released 15 friendly letters from Mrs. Willey to Mr. Clinton to rebut her accusations of sexual misconduct. She had gone to meet with the president to seek a job because of financial problems caused by her husband, who committed suicide the same day she claims Mr. Clinton assaulted her.

Judicial Watch, in its suit in the Filegate matter, sought the identity of those who recommended or helped make the decision to release the letters.

The firm says in its 4-year-old suit that the privacy rights of former Bush and Reagan administration officials were violated when the FBI gave the White House more than 900 confidential background files.

The Willey letters have been ruled by a federal judge as material to the Filegate suit.

Tom Fitton, president of Judicial Watch, yesterday described the White House response as "bogus."

Meanwhile, Mrs. Clinton was ordered yesterday by a federal judge to conduct a new search for personal and White House records concerning her suspected involvement in the Filegate investigation and, if any are found, to turn them over in the pending suit.

U.S. District Judge Royce C. Lamberth, in a 17-page ruling, ordered that any records not already produced be turned over within the next 20 days.

In October 1998, Judicial Watch asked Mrs. Clinton to search for documents it considered relevant in the case, but described her eventual hunt as "legally insufficient." The firm had telephone records, reports, letters, computer tapes and other documents.

Mrs. Clinton responded in February 1999, saying the request was "overly broad, irrelevant, unduly burdensome and redundant." She argued the request sought White House records or other official documents not in her possession.

Judge Lamberth said that while Mrs. Clinton said she would produce only those documents in her possession, she did not "include in her response any document she does not currently possess, but that she has the legal right to obtain." He said Mrs. Clinton did not say whether records "not in her possession, but still within her control" were ever searched.

"Therefore, because both Mrs. Clinton and her defense counsel fail to represent that all responsive documents within Mrs. Clinton's control have been produced... the court will order that Mrs. Clinton, within 20 days of the entry of this order, submit a supplemental response," the judge said.

"In this response, Mrs. Clinton shall explain in detail the search that was performed, including the locations searched. She shall also clearly assert whether all documents, including those not in her possession, but still within her control, have been produced," he said.

The judge also ordered the first lady to "describe the parameters of the search performed" and include a statement that all documents within her control have been produced.

He also said some Judicial Watch requests were related to other inquiries, but they could be reviewed because they touched on the misuse of the FBI files.

Those include the Willey letters and information on former White House travel office supervisor Billy Dale and Pentagon employee Linda R. Tripp.

Dorothy Rodham's roost looks like Bill's home

By Jennifer Harper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Where to hang his hat? In a post-White House world, President Clinton might opt for a swank roost above urban lights or a nifty manse by a manicured fairway.

There's always Chappaqua.

But wait. During a quiet moment aboard Air Force One recently, Mr. Clinton revealed exactly where he would go come January.

He intends to live with his mother-in-law, Dorothy Rodham, down in Little Rock, once all is said and done. It is a subtle moment of truth.

In theory, Mr. Clinton could fuss over his \$152 million library during the week, then fly up to his wife's pretty colonial home in New York's Westchester County when the spirit moves him.

That's the plan, anyway, despite persistent rumors that a jaunty Mr. Clinton might head for Hollywood or Manhattan.

But Little Rock it is — at least for now.

Clinton says he and mother-in-law 'really get along'

Besides, Dorothy Rodham is a favorite. She is a spirited octogenarian who has been a steadfast presence in Mr. Clinton's life these past few years.

"I really like her," Mr. Clinton said. "We really get along."

Mom Rodham offers a refuge and some blessed silence from the caterwaul of press and the final months of a controversial presidency. Things are normal there.

There is always an easy chair for Mr. Clinton, or perhaps an order of barbecue from Shug's, a favorite eatery. Here, he can watch the Arkansas Razorbacks on TV, or admire the greenery.

It's not Graceland, or the Watergate.

This refuge is a comfortable condominium, tucked away in the cliffs near the Arkansas River, in a part of town called Hillcrest Heights.

Two golf courses are nearby; the streets have genteel names like Rivermist Court and Lilac Lane.

Mrs. Rodham moved to Little Rock from Illinois in 1989, and has lived alone since the death of her husband, Hugh, six years ago.

She has also been an intensely private person. There have been no blabby articles in women's magazines, no on-camera tell-alls.

She has given only two major interviews since Mr. Clinton took office, revealing that Hillary is savvy and sensitive, but her emotions are in check. She liked Bill Clinton, she said, and thought he was good for her daughter.

Even with such limited press, Mrs. Rodham emerged as a wise woman. She did not butt into her daughter's business, or dole out excruciating motherly advice. The pair, as Mrs. Rodham gently put it, don't discuss "deeply personal things."

Such a trait might prove salubrious to a president on the cusp of reinvention. But Mrs. Rodham and Mr. Clinton have another thing in common.

Mom Rodham offers a refuge and some blessed silence for Mr. Clinton from the caterwaul of press.

Both had less than perfect childhoods.

Though Mrs. Rodham was often painted as a consummate 1950s mother in many press reports, she struggled as a youngster. At 8, she was abandoned by her divorced parents and sent to live with grandparents. She went to work at 14.

"She had terrible obstacles, but she vowed she would break the pattern of abandonment in her family. And she did," Mrs. Clinton said of her mother last year during an interview with reporters about

family dysfunction.

Mrs. Rodham has traveled the world with the first family. They have been to China, Korea, India, Australia. She is close with granddaughter Chelsea and is quick to remind the Clintons that despite everything, there are blood ties here.

Chelsea, she has said, reminds her of Hillary.

In the world's most publicized moving day last summer, Mrs. Rodham lent a note of normalcy to the proceedings, unpacking boxes and easing her daughter's transition from first lady to candidate for U.S. senator.

Now it is Mr. Clinton's turn to switch careers. And Mrs. Rodham is there.

Life, she has said in the past, is a matter of maintaining one's equilibrium.

"Imagine having a carpenter's level inside you. You try to keep that bubble in the center," she told a reporter, brandishing one of the slender tools. "Sometimes, it will go way up here and you have to bring it back."

What to buy the Newt-lyweds

By RITA DELFINER

Newt's on the 'Net preparing for his nuptials.

Former House Speaker Newt Gingrich and Callista Bisek, who will tie the knot in August, have registered at Macy's and Williams-Sonoma for more than \$14,000 worth of items they'd love as wedding gifts, The Washington Post reported yesterday.

You can log on to the bridal registries at macys.com and williams-sonoma.com for a peek at the sweethearts' wish list, which ranges from a \$298 Waterford decanter — their most expensive choice — to a \$2.50 French cook's wooden spoon.

Gingrich's divorce from Marianne, his wife of 18 years, became final last month. During the divorce proceedings, Gingrich, 56, admitted to a six-year

affair with Bisek, 34, a congressional aide.

The couple, who the newspaper said are getting ready to close on a \$1 million house in Virginia, need basics ranging from Ralph Lauren sheets and tub mats to frying pans, kitchen towels, a nonstick garlic press and spaghetti tongs.

Gingrich spokesman Mike Shields declined comment when asked about the wish lists.

Hill claims 'privilege' on Willey's letters

By BRIAN BLOMQUIST
Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Hillary Rodham Clinton is claiming "spousal privilege" to stonewall questions about whether she urged husband Bill to release the Kathleen Willey letters.

Those are the letters that President Clinton released the day after Willey went on CBS's "60 Minutes" and alleged that he groped her near the Oval Office.

The letters were meant to destroy Willey's credibility by showing that she was friendly toward the president even after the alleged incident — but federal Judge Royce Lamberth recently found that Bill Clinton violated the federal Privacy Act by releasing them.

Also yesterday, Lamberth issued a toughly worded order for Mrs. Clinton to go back and search again for any documents related

to Willey — suggesting that she hasn't done enough to search for evidence on that issue and two others.

The White House has previously acknowledged that Mrs. Clinton and White House adviser Sidney Blumenthal talked about releasing the Willey letters the day before they were made available to reporters.

The latest White House response says "the president discussed the matter with the first lady" but refuses to say whether Hillary urged Bill to push the Willey letters on reporters.

"The president's and first lady's personal attorneys advise us that the substance of discussions be-

tween the president and the first lady would be protected by the spousal privilege," the White House said.

Spousal privilege prevents a husband and wife from having to testify against each other, but Tom Fitton, spokesman for the conservative group Judicial Watch, called the Clintons' claim "bogus in this context" and vowed to challenge it in court.

Judicial Watch is suing the White House for collecting FBI files on hundreds of prominent Republicans and has added Willey and Linda Tripp to the suit by claiming the two women were smeared when they blew the whistle on Clinton's sexcapades.

Mrs. Clinton Backs New Gun-Control Measures

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

Hillary Rodham Clinton endorsed a series of stringent gun-control measures yesterday, calling for the licensing of all new gun owners and the registration of new guns. Mrs. Clinton, the Democratic candidate for United States Senate, also warmly praised Gov. George E. Pataki, a Republican, for proposing a "ballistic fingerprint" database to help police investigators track down guns used in crimes.

In a speech to the Newspaper Association of America in Manhattan, Mrs. Clinton offered her support for the licensing and registration measure in advance of the Million Mom March in Washington on Sunday, a demonstration that is being staged in favor of what its organizers call "common-sense gun control."

"The moms who are marching in Washington this Sunday have it right: we have to license and register all handguns," said the first lady, who plans to participate in the march.

She added: "Many will argue that we don't need sensible gun control, and that these measures undermine the rights of gun owners. And of course, we all know the slogan that guns don't kill, only people do. We have to do more to stand up to those who refuse to believe the reality that guns do kill, and that common-sense gun measures can make a difference."

Mrs. Clinton stopped short of saying that all guns should be registered, describing that proposal as unrealistic. The measures have been introduced, in various forms, in Congress, but they have faced strong Republican opposition.

Gun control is a frequent point of division between Democratic and Republican candidates in Congressional races, and it has proved to be a particularly strong issue in New York races. Charles E. Schumer, a Brooklyn Democrat, repeatedly at-



Don Hogan Charles/The New York Times

In a speech to newspaper executives, Hillary Clinton supported gun licensing and registration.

tacked Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato for opposing gun-control measures when he defeated Mr. D'Amato, the Republican incumbent, in 1998.

But the contrast is not as sharp in Mrs. Clinton's expected contest with Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani. The mayor and the first lady hold almost identical views on gun control, which could complicate any effort by Mrs. Clinton to draw a contrast. Mr. Giuliani's campaign manager, Bruce J. Teitelbaum, responded to Mrs. Clinton's speech by noting Mr. Giuliani's effort to rid the streets of New York of guns.

"As a senator, New Yorkers will know exactly what Mayor Giuliani will do because he doesn't just talk about gun control, he actually has a record of taking an historic number of guns off the streets," Mr. Teitelbaum said.

Mrs. Clinton went out of her way to praise a proposal by Mr. Pataki that would require new guns to be fired before they are sold to make a record of their ballistic fingerprint, or the marks left on a bullet that are unique to each weapon. Mrs. Clinton's praise was notable because the governor has been mentioned as a potential candidate for Senate if Mr. Giuliani, who has prostate cancer, decides to skip the race.

"I applaud Governor Pataki here in this state, who showed real leadership in proposing a state-based ballistics program, and I think it's something that needs to be done on a national level," Mrs. Clinton said.

Under the other proposals supported by Mrs. Clinton, prospective gun buyers would have to obtain a photo license, which would be issued only after they had undergone a criminal record check and passed a gun safety examination. In addition, all sales of new guns, or transfers of guns, would be recorded in a national registry.

THE MAYORAL LOVE TRIANGLE

BRUNO TO RUDY: DEAL WITH IT!

By Fredric U. Dicker in
Albany and Gregg
Birnbau in New York

Concerns for Senate campaign

State Senate Majority Leader Joseph Bruno — one of the state's top Republicans — said yesterday he is "concerned" that revelations about Mayor Giuliani's gal pal could hurt his U.S. Senate campaign.

And Bruno (R-Rensselaer) urged the married mayor — whose relationship with Judi Nathan has made headlines for a week — to work things out with his wife, actress-news-woman Donna Hanover.

"I'm hoping they can reconcile their differences and do whatever it is they think is in their best interest and their families' be-

cause it certainly isn't conversations that we want to keep having publicly," Bruno said on Albany radio station WROW.

"The important thing really is that decisions are made . . . I think if there's any mistakes it's just keeping things out there without being decisive.

"I'm concerned for him, I'm concerned for the public, I'm concerned because I'm afraid it will detract really from the real issues as to who is the most capable individual to represent

New York state in Washington."

Bruno is the most powerful Republican to publicly express fears about the potential impact that Nathan — whom Giuliani calls his "very good friend" — could have on the November election.

Bruno, who has a key role in helping the mayor plot his campaign strategy in largely conservative upstate, also said he was surprised Giuliani and Hanover did not deal with their marital situation in private.

But "when you're a public figure . . . your life is public," Bruno said, "and you wish you could handle things privately, and I'm sure he wished he could but you just can't."

Giuliani campaign spokeswoman Juleanna Glover Weiss had no com-

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

"I'm hoping they can reconcile their differences."

RUDY'S GOP ALLY
JOE BRUNO



SOUNDING THE ALARM: State Senate Majority Leader Joseph Bruno, here in Albany yesterday, said the mayor may be hurting his Senate campaign. Alan Solomon

ment on Bruno's remarks. Such a candid assessment of Giuliani's personal life from an ally like Bruno is all the more surprising because even the mayor's staunchest critics haven't had much to say publicly.

Democratic Party boss Judith Hope and Conservative Party leader Mike Long — two Giuliani antagonists from opposite ends of the political spectrum — had no comment.

"It's not relevant," Hope said.

Meanwhile, Hillary Rodham Clinton ducked a question about what she thought of the intense media coverage of her White House years.

At a gathering of several hundred newspapers executives, Clinton was asked to give her assessment of the press, taking into light her own experience in Washington.

The first lady ignored the personal side of the audience member's question, saying the media generally does a good job but urging that it pay more attention to science and international issues.

State's Dem chief: Attack Giuliani 'over my dead body'

By GREGG BIRNBAUM

Democratic state Chairwoman Judith Hope said yesterday she has ordered speakers at next week's party convention to "leave Mayor Giuliani alone."

Hope, who is putting the final touches on plans for the daylong gathering on Tuesday to nominate Hillary Rodham Clinton for Senate, told The Post that "over my dead body" would the event focus on attacking Giuliani.

"I'm urging everyone to stick to a very positive message ... and leave Mayor Giuliani alone, basically," Hope said.

"This will not be a Giuliani-bashing festival — over my dead body will that happen. I feel very strongly."

Two weeks after the mayor's prostate-cancer di-

**NEW YORK POST
EXCLUSIVE**

agnosis, Hope — who has been one of Giuliani's fiercest critics — said the convention will be geared toward celebrating Clinton, not ripping Giuliani.

As many as 5,000 of the Democratic faithful from around New York are expected in Albany for what will likely be the biggest party meeting in years, Hope said.

Virtually every important party official, including Sens. Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Charles Schumer, will be in attendance. President Clinton may be there, too.

One highlight will be a tribute to Moynihan, who

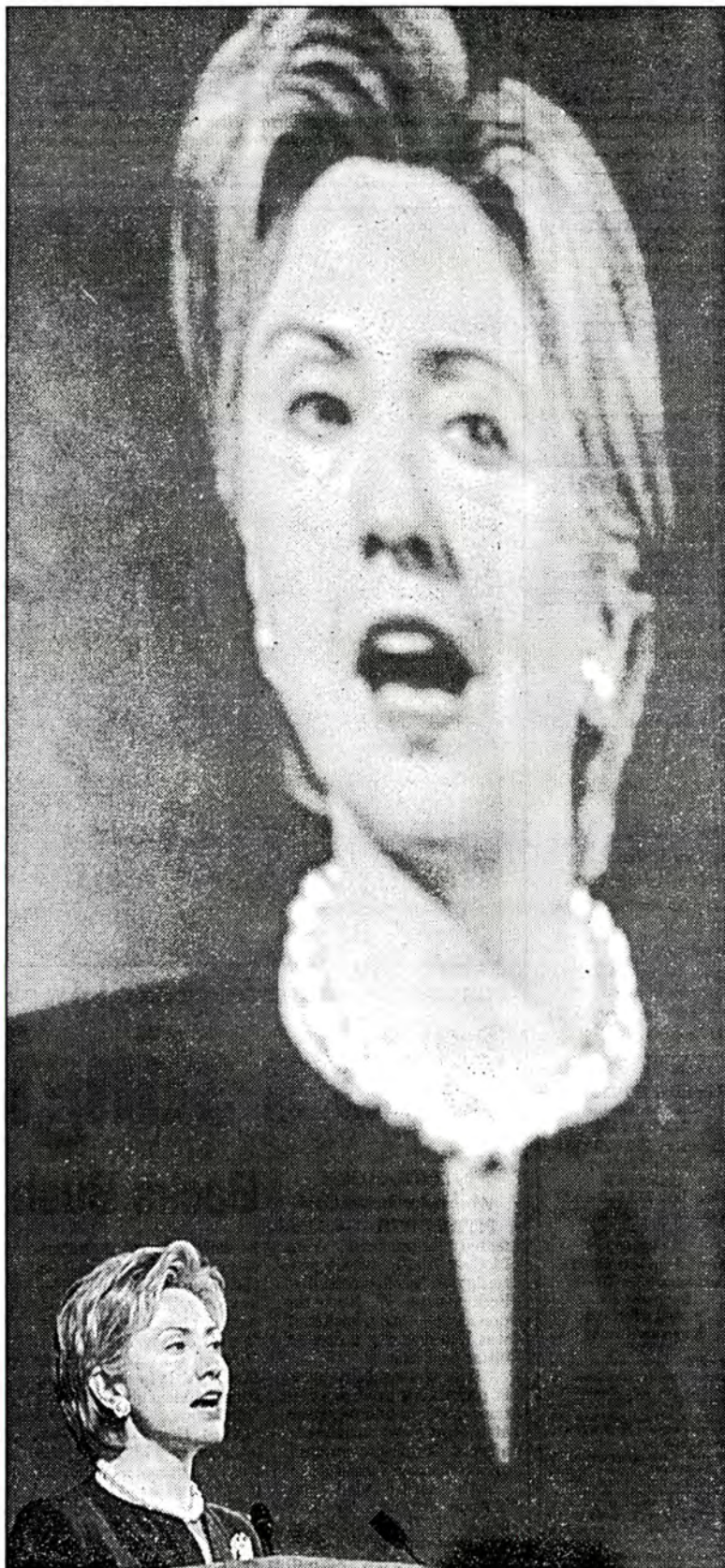
is leaving the Senate after 24 years. Moynihan may formally put Clinton's name into nomination as his replacement, but plans haven't been announced.

Hope said her instructions to "keep it clean" have come directly from Mrs. Clinton.

"She is insisting that it be a very positive experience," Hope said, adding, "That's not to say that we won't point out differences in policy positions [with Giuliani] where appropriate."

The Post reported last week that because of Giuliani's cancer, influential Democrats were urging convention planners to tone down or eliminate the usual partisan — and sometimes personal — blasts at the opposition candidate because it would appear unseemly.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



LARGER THAN LIFE: Hillary Clinton, addressing the Newspaper Association yesterday at the Waldorf, has told state Democratic Chairwoman Judith Hope she wants Mayor Giuliani treated with kid gloves at next week's convention.

N.Y. Post: David Rentas

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

New York Post Tuesday, May 9, 2000

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

It has something to do with the pot not being able to call the kettle black, but Rudy's understandable "friendship" with Judith Nathan won't hurt his Senate race one bit. Of all people in the universe, Hillary Clinton cannot say "boo" about it. Hillary will, very gratefully — and we hope gracefully — say that a candidate's personal life and his or her spousal relationship is not fair game in the Senate campaign.

Indeed, the developments of the past few weeks — cancer and love — seem to be part of a process of "coming out" for Rudy the human being. Suddenly, the tin man appears to be made of flesh, after all. And may have a heart to boot!

More to the point, in the Senate battle, is the opening of the advertising war — the real war — between Rudy and Hillary. It appears that Rudy Giuliani is willing to do something his opponent is not — admit to having a last name. The first lady's ads, which say she is "more than a first lady," refer to her only as Hillary, a rebranding which reminds one of Kentucky Fried Chicken becoming KFC. So acute is her desire to distance herself from her husband that she forgot her last name. Having started in public life as Hillary Rodham and become Hillary Clinton after her husband lost the governorship in 1980, she now is just Hillary.

Her first commercial seeks to answer the question: What has Hillary done aside from getting married? Her answer is underwhelming. She cites her good

The Coming Out of Giuliani

work at the Children's Defense Fund and her designation as one of America's top lawyers. Suspiciously, she leaves out the major work of her public career — the health-care reform debacle — and similarly omits the major element of her legal career — the scandals at the Rose Law Firm.

Can Hillary really paint a portrait of her background that leaves out health-care reform and the controversy over the Rose Law Firm? Can she truly hope that we forgot her maiden — and sole — foray onto the national stage on her own? Are we to be blind to the obvious pitfalls in her judgment that the health-care story indicates?

What of her demand for secrecy in developing the health-care proposals? What about her desire to centralize control in the government? How about her cavalier treatment of the patient's right to choose a doctor? What does her willingness to raise taxes to pay for her scheme say about her likely performance in the Senate?

By contrast, Rudy's ad has quite a

story to tell. It piles up a list of his impressive accomplishments as mayor — 341,000 jobs created, \$2.4 billion in taxes cut, 510,000 welfare recipients off the rolls, and crime still dropping. The contrast between Rudy's achievements and Hillary's blank slate could not be more dramatic.

Politicians undoubtedly wonder and worry what will happen if Donna begins to bristle in public over the mayor's conduct. If she does object to Rudy's behavior in public, she may overstay her welcome in our hearts. New Yorkers never really liked Donna Hanover much to begin with. She seemed too eager to trade on

her husband's job and fame in her own career. When she refused to say whether she voted for Rudy for mayor, we all squirmed a bit in our seats.

Indeed, if Donna begins to object in public to her husband's relationships, she may even become a metaphor for Hillary, herself. The public will easily recognize where else it has seen a wife withdraw from her husband's company while she trades on his name and his

power. We will remember another instance in which a woman played the scorned wife to perfection to amass public sympathy. We'll recall how that other woman used that outpouring of concern as a springboard to advance her career.

Donna and Hillary have too much in common for the first lady of the city to make an issue of her husband's friendships.

For Rudy, the problem has always been different. Giuliani has always seemed too perfect, too self-satisfied, too aloof, too Rudy. Now his body and his heart seem vulnerable, open, human. His personal and medical difficulties catalyze our empathy in a way his competence and aggression never did. He seems to need us now, and we feel it. His pain, uncertainty, doubt, and even his loneliness strike resonant chords in our hearts and souls.

Politicians grow from adversity just like other people do. FDR's polio, JFK's Addison's Disease, LBJ's heart attack, Reagan's almost assassination — all made us reach out to men who were otherwise high and mighty. Their public record reflects that their reactions to adversity were seminal in their growth and maturity as political leaders and as men. So it will be with Rudy.

If, in his illness, pain and worry, he finds an empty Gracie Mansion too difficult to come home to, especially when the Yankees aren't playing, we will all understand. Perhaps Donna will, too.



DICK MORRIS

Why Rudy Is in the Clear

Bill's behavior makes Hizzoner's look chaste



**JOHN
PODHORETZ**

RUDY Giuliani has a "very good friend" to whom he is not married. And nobody seems to care, except as a subject of prurient speculation.

The irony here is that the mayor is benefiting from the trail blazed by the husband of his Senate rival, who has so succeeded in defining political deviancy down these past eight years that the public no longer has the energy or the hunger to express moral disapproval when it comes to politicians and the way they live.

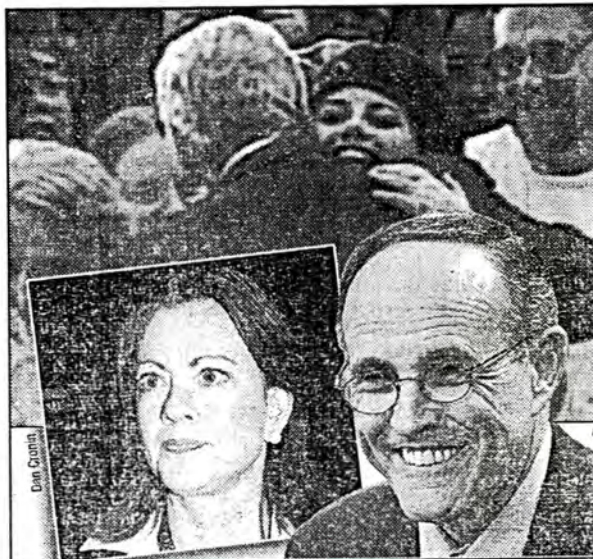
A Daily News/NY1 poll finds that 77 percent of New Yorkers think "this is a private matter and has no effect on how I view Giuliani as a Senate candidate." Only 12 percent of those polled said the whole business was "a relevant matter and makes me think more negatively of Giuliani as a Senate candidate."

It appears that even those of us on the Right who have long considered Bill Clinton's extramarital conduct an outrage aren't at all alarmed by the public revelation of Giuliani's relationship with Judi Nathan.

So what's going on? Are right-wingers being hypocrites? Some of us, maybe (more on that later). But Giuliani himself is not, and that's the important thing.

Throughout the Lewinsky ordeal, the mayor expressed the view that president's private life was nobody's business and that he should not be impeached as the result of a peccadillo. "There area lot of serious issues about the president's conduct, but I don't think it rises to removing the president from office," the mayor said in 1998.

Had he said or done anything else, the revelation of his relationship with Judi Nathan would have caused irreparable damage to his Senate campaign, no matter how sympathetic people in the state are feeling toward him because of his illness. In liberal circles — and New York is a socially liberal state — it's far worse to be a hypocrite than it is to be a sinner. More important is the fact that Donna Hanover has never sought to trade on her husband's political success. Quite the opposite; she has always seemed to consider it an obstacle. And while she is a public figure in her own right, she has never sought anything but privacy when it comes to



questions about her marriage.

That's never been true of the Clintons. When Bill gets himself into trouble because of his sexual misconduct, Hillary is his first line of defense. She sat beside him on "60 Minutes" in 1992 after the Gennifer Flowers story came out, saying she wasn't the Tammy Wynette type always ready and willing to "stand by her man."

In 1998, only days after Monica Lewinsky became a household name, she appeared on the "Today Show" to claim the whole business was a "vast right-wing conspiracy."

While the conservative obsession with Bill Clinton's sex life

is not free of ordinary human titillation, there has always been a serious issue at the core of the obsession. Monica Lewinsky was an intern in the White House. Kathleen Willey was in the Oval Office trying to get a government job when Clinton groped her. Several Arkansas state troopers told David Brock of the American Spectator magazine that Clinton used them to procure women (including Paula Jones). Paula Jones was a paid employee of the Arkansas state government. When taxpayer money and resources are involved, peccadilloes cease being a subject fit only for the bedroom. Instead, they raise

the very real possibility a public trust is being violated to make room for a private tryst.

The anti-Rudy attack machine on the Left knows this, so it's already trying out a patently ridiculous version of David Brock's Arkansas state trooper story. Jim Dwyer of the Daily News was the first to surface the argument: "When three or four New York City Police detectives have the job of chauffeuring the mayor to liaisons in the Hamptons with his friend, the public life meets the private around the Douglaston exits of the Long Island Expressway."

Dwyer is referring to the fact that Giuliani is accompanied at all times by security guards who drive him around in a big van. This is really spurious.

Does Dwyer doubt that the mayor has a 24-hour security detail because there is reason to believe his life is at risk from terrorists, assassins or Mafiosi he put away? Does the fact that the mayor has a 24-hour security detail mean he cannot go where he wishes to go? Now, if the security detail were driving Judi Nathan around Southampton to get her hair cut or to go grocery shopping, that would be a scandal. If the security detail were collecting divorcees in their 40s and bringing them to the mayor for perusal, that would be a scandal. But since there's no reason to believe that Rudy Giuliani's relationship with Judi Nathan involves the public unless we're given reason to believe otherwise, this really is nothing but a private matter made embarrassingly public.

E-mail: podhoretz@nypost.com

Unmanageable a Trois: Rudy and Hillary and Donna

By Leah Garchik

Hillary Clinton biographer Gail Sheehy deconstructs the New York senatorial sweepstakes in the June issue of *Vanity Fair*. Sheehy finds that the two candidates are eerily alike, with Clinton casting herself as "the good Mother Goose" and Giuliani playing the role of the "old-fashioned Italian father." Neither candidate would be interviewed for the story, but Sheehy observes:

They both wear "a mask of arrogance over their insecurities"; they "see the world in terms of black and white, good and evil." They were raised by strict fathers; they were fiercely determined students who became aggressive lawyers; they expect blind loyalty; she is a Republican turned Democrat, he is a Democrat turned Republican. "There is probably not more than six degrees of separation between the politics of the two candidates," writes Sheehy. And they both have had certain marital problems.

Giuliani admitted last week -- probably because he feared, erroneously, that he'd be outed in Sheehy's story -- that he has been involved with "good friend" Judith Nathan, a New York woman with a 15-year-old daughter, for more than a year.

And on Saturday, Giuliani's sort-of-wife, Donna Hanover, gave a news conference at St. Patrick's Cathedral, where crowds were gathered to pay their last respects to Cardinal O'Connor, to say how "this marriage and this man have been very precious to me." Sheehy sees Hanover's conference as a calculated move to embarrass her estranged husband in response to his announcement of his friendship.

"What we're seeing now is a war of the Giulianis," says Sheehy. "She'd just like to hurt him. In Machiavelli, if you strike at a ruler, you must kill him. She's trying to kill his chances."

P.S. California Lawyer reports that lawyers have donated more to Hillary Clinton's New York Senate campaign than any other professional group. As of March, Southern California lawyers had donated \$42,475 to the first lady's campaign; Northern California lawyers had coughed up a mere \$8,475.

LOCAL WOMEN MAKE GOOD

-- In *Madison* magazine, William Stadiem describes the guests at a Hollywood premiere of Woody Allen's film "Sweet and Lowdown": Sean Penn, star of the movie, was there "with his wife, Robin Wright Penn, who is widely considered to be the most beautiful surgically unenhanced woman on screen today."

-- At the Marin Breast Cancer Watch awards dinner in Novato on Saturday night, former KTVU anchor Elaine Corral presented a \$10,000 check from the Friends of Faith (Fancher), the KTVU reporter who's been chronicling her battle with the disease. Corral, who has turned from the news to the movies, was only slightly wistful that her scene as a reporter was cut from "American Beauty"; she plays an anchorwoman in the forthcoming "Nurse Betty."

-- Roll Call says that former Secretary of State Warren Christopher, who Al Gore has put in charge of vice presidential possibilities, was overheard asking directions to Dianne Feinstein's office in a visit to a Senate office building last week. Questioned about the visit, Feinstein's spokesman Howard Gantman gave *Personals* the same response that Roll Call had reported: "No comment."

FLASH

-- The following bulletin has been received from Stars restaurant: "The attorneys for the Hearst Corporation, in town for

Clint Reilly's antitrust lawsuit, have a standing lunch reservation at Stars for the duration of the trial." One question remains: Where are they getting their hair done?

-- Martin Sheen was late to receive a Ploughshares Fund award in a ceremony May 1 in New York because a scheduled meeting at the White House with President Clinton went on much longer than expected, says the nuclear disarmament group. There was no word on whether the extended conversation delayed anything on the president's schedule.

WHO SAID WHAT

"Almighty and eternal God, who has created us in Thy image and bade us to seek after all that is good, true, and beautiful, grant, we beseech Thee, that, through the intercession of Saint Isidore, bishop and doctor, during our journeys through the Internet we will direct our hands and eyes only to that which is pleasing to Thee . . ."

-- From "Prayer Before Logging Onto the Internet," posted in the Saints Index of Catholic Online, as reported in Harper's magazine. St. Isidore has been proposed as the Net's patron saint.

You can read Leah Garchik on SF Gate at sfgate.com or e-mail her at leahg@sfgate.com.

END

THE SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE
MAY 9, 2000

Editorial

Washington Must Act To Fight AIDS in Africa

TEN DAYS AGO, Sen. Dianne Feinstein, D-Calif., got up on the Senate floor and excoriated drug companies for trying to "squeeze every last drop of profit from the suffering of millions of HIV/AIDS victims in Africa."

An incensed Feinstein was reacting to the prospect that a House-Senate conference committee would remove an amendment to the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act she and Sen. Russell Feingold, D-Wis., had sponsored, essentially allowing developing countries to bypass the prices set by drug companies on anti-AIDS drugs and produce them at a much cheaper rate.

Feinstein was particularly incensed by one drug, fluconazole, marketed by Pfizer as Diflucan in the United States, where it is used to fight yeast infections. In developing countries, it is used to fight cryptococcal meningitis, an opportunistic infection associated with AIDS. The drug can be bought for \$1.20 per daily dose in Thailand, where Pfizer has no patent on the drug. In South Africa and Kenya, however, the drug cost \$17.84, a price Feinstein described as "unconscionable."

Regrettably, the trade bill is likely to be approved by Congress this week without the Feinstein-Feingold amendment.

The setback is especially unfortunate because it comes only months after a welcome change in U.S. policy. Last December, Vice President Al Gore announced that henceforth, the United States will show more "flexibility" in enforcing U.S. patent rights in countries that can demonstrate a genuine medical emergency. Under the policy, foreign governments can force U.S. drug companies to grant licenses to companies in their countries which can produce the drugs more cheaply.

Trying to salvage something from her setback in Congress, Feinstein has called on President Clinton to issue an executive order to formalize the administration's new policy. It will not have the same force as an actual law -- a future president could easily overturn it with another executive order -- but it is a necessary first step.

A Clinton administration official told The Chronicle it is considering Feinstein's request. But the time for extended deliberation is long past. This is a crisis.

With an estimated 5,500 people dying in Africa daily, any action that can slow the destructive path of AIDS must be taken without an more delay.

END

Hillary, Giuliani court N.Y.'s alternative parties

By Steve Miller
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Support could decide tight race

Michael Long is holding a hot political hand these days.

The chairman of New York's Conservative Party is taking calls from New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, who is asking for the party's support.

And Mr. Long, with his New York-accented cool, can tell him "no."

"Not unless he changes his tune about the Liberal Party's support and his stance on partial-birth abortions," Mr. Long intones, knowing that his party can muster the votes that could make the Republican a winner in his U.S. Senate bid against first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Mrs. Clinton, meanwhile, gave a brief speech to a Liberal Party committee Saturday in hopes of luring that party's support away from Mr. Giuliani, whom it has backed in two mayoral elections.

The two candidates are figuring out quickly that support from one or more of the state's six alternative parties can add up to votes in a race that has them deadlocked in the polls.

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NEW YORK'S PARTIES

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Republican	3,089,345	2,223,264
Independence	172,471	364,056
Conservative	171,496	348,727
Liberal	92,074	77,915
Right-to-Life	51,392	56,683
Working Families	4,611	51,325
Green	3,611	52,533

Source: New York State Board of Elections

The Washington Times

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A quirky state law allows candidates in general elections to be listed on up to three party lines at the polls, giving them a better shot at voters who adamantly oppose one of the mainstream parties' platforms.

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For this November's state election, the Liberal Party, the Independence Party, and even the Right-to-Life Party could spell the difference between victory and de-

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Just ask Gov. George E. Pataki, who defeated then-Democratic incumbent Gov. Mario Cuomo in 1994 with the help of 330,000 votes delivered by the Conservative Party.

"It was a very important line to us, not only in terms of votes, but because of what the party means," said the governor's spokesman, Michael McKeon. "We sought it actively."

The Election Day influence of these parties depends on the candidates and the issues. While some races have a clearly defined favor-

ite candidate or issue, others, such as the Giuliani-Clinton race, are a breeding ground of alternative parties scrambling between candidates.

Raymond B. Harding, vice chairman of the Liberal Party, is firmly convinced that his group has vastly influenced the state's politics.

"It's been my life," he said of his 56-year-old party. Mr. Harding joined the party in 1958. "I like to say that the Liberal Party is the most enduring third party in the history of the nation."

The GOP and the Democratic Party account for around 80 percent of enrolled voters. But in close races, faithfulness to the party line goes out the window, falling prey to emotion or intuition.

"The Right-to-Life party draws much better than its enrollment," said Ralph Mohr, elections commissioner in Erie County, "because people are voting on principle rather than party."

Securing the Republican, Conservative and Working Families parties' ballot lines, for example, can help a candidate court sentiment among a voting bloc.

"The best thing is if you can create a successful fusion candidate," Mr. Harding said. "For example, the coming together of the Republican and the Liberal parties has overcome the hegemony of the Democrats three times."

The last time Mr. Harding managed that, in 1997, brought a second term for Mr. Giuliani, who hopes it will work again.

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In 1998, Sen. Charles E. Schumer, New York Democrat, unseated then-Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato, a Republican who also had the Conservative and Right-to-Life ballot lines, with the help of 109,000 votes from the Independence Party.

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"We're pleased with both [Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Giuliani]," said Independence Party Chairman Jack R. Essenberg, whose title is being contested by other party factions. "Right now, I could see a primary between Rudy and Hillary. You're talking about a party that has run 3,000 candidates in the past 3½ years."

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★ MONDAY, MAY 8, 2000

The Washington Times

Hillary, Giuliani court N.Y.'s alternative parties

By Steve Miller
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Michael Long is holding a hot political hand these days.

The chairman of New York's Conservative Party is taking calls from New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, who is asking for the party's support.

And Mr. Long, with his New York-accented cool, can tell him "no."

"Not unless he changes his tune about the Liberal Party's support and his stance on partial-birth abortions," Mr. Long intones, knowing that his party can muster the votes that could make the Republican a winner in his U.S. Senate bid against first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Commentary

BRUCE BARTLETT

One of Bill Clinton's strongest political skills has always been his willingness to pander shamelessly to whomever he happens to be talking to. Who can forget his utterly insincere statement to some rich businessmen in 1995? "Probably there are people in this room still mad at me... because you think I raised your taxes too much," he said. "It might surprise you to know that I think I raised them too much, too."

Hillary Rodham Clinton, by contrast, has always been viewed as being an ideologue, constantly pressing for the most left-wing policies regardless of the political consequences. However, now that she is on the campaign trail, running for the U.S. Senate from New York, she seems to have discovered the virtues of pandering. On April 26, she told a group of farmers in Upstate New York that the estate tax needs to be cut. "You ought to be able to leave your land and the bulk of your fortune to your children and not to the government," Mrs. Clinton said.

Hillary has clearly learned at the feet of the master. Even Bill would have had a hard time saying that with a straight face. It is clear the true view of the Clinton administration regarding estate

A quick learner on estate taxes?

taxes was voiced by Treasury Secretary Larry Summers in 1997, when he said those favoring estate tax relief were motivated by nothing other than "selfishness." Having unwittingly told the truth, Mr. Summers sheepishly retracted the comment. Nevertheless, it stands as a rare moment of candor in an otherwise disingenuous administration.

No doubt, if Mrs. Clinton were

truly to have spoken her mind on estate taxes, she would have told the farmers they were just being selfish. But running for office tends to focus one's mind on the views of potential voters. And she has clearly learned that estate taxes are not popular, even among those who may not have to pay any. Last year, three national polls asked voters if they favored abolishing the estate tax. Between 62 percent and 77 percent said yes.

Leftists like Mrs. Clinton have long been puzzled why those with little wealth would favor getting rid of a tax paid only by the rich (insofar as "rich" means having more than \$675,000 in assets at death). The reason is twofold. First, it is deeply ingrained in the public consciousness that anyone can get rich in America. Alexis de Tocqueville was amazed at how widespread this belief was 160 years ago, and it is still largely true today. The latest Forbes 400 list of the richest Americans shows that 251 of them made it on their own, with only 149 inheriting some or all of their wealth.

Secondly, in recent years, private wealth has risen at an extraordinary rate, to \$42 trillion last year, according to the Federal Reserve. And true to de Tocqueville's observation, wealth is more evenly distributed in America than the rest of the world, according to the new World Wealth Report from Merrill Lynch. This means that more and more Americans are moving up into the estate tax net, or expect to before they die.

Mrs. Clinton may be insincere

in her comments about the estate tax, but she is right both substantively and politically. It will be interesting to see what she does if Congress sends her husband an estate tax repeal bill later this year.



Bruce Bartlett is a fellow with the National Center for Policy Analysis and a nationally syndicated columnist.

NET WEALTH OF HOUSEHOLDS



Source: Federal Reserve

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, MAY 5, 2000

The New York Times

Mrs. Clinton Attacks Bush On His Plans To Cut Taxes

By JULIAN E. BARNES

PLATTSBURGH, N.Y., May 4 — Hillary Rodham Clinton finished her tour through each of the state's 62 counties today with a sharp attack on George W. Bush's tax cut proposals, leaving her mostly Republican audience in silence.

The last 10 months of campaign swings and listening tours have taken Mrs. Clinton from the farm of Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the retiring senator, in Delaware County, to the shore of Lake Champlain in, of all places, Clinton County, which she chose as her last stop. In many towns, Mrs. Clinton has been treated more as a celebrity and less as a political candidate. Even Republicans who have no intention of voting for Mrs. Clinton have come to get a glimpse of her.

In outlining her opposition to Mr. Bush's call for a \$1.3 trillion tax cut over 10 years, Mrs. Clinton said his plan would hurt efforts to win more federal money for New York because such broad-based tax reductions would deplete the surplus.

"I cannot support Governor Bush's large across-the-board tax cut," Mrs. Clinton said. "I do not think that's right for New York or our country. The last thing we need right now before we can eliminate some of that deficit with Washington is a large across-the-board tax cut."

Mrs. Clinton's audience had been enthusiastically applauding her speech until she broached smaller tax cuts than those favored by Mr. Bush, the presumptive Republican presidential candidate. But many in the audience stopped practically in midclap, in apparent disagreement.

Charles Racette, a mortgage originator, said he counted no fewer than 10 spending plans hidden in her speech. "She said an across-the-board tax cut doesn't make any sense," he said. "Hopefully, we will beat her 54 to 36 in the fall."

Even though the upstate region of New York is predominantly Republican territory, it is considered potentially critical this year because the Senate race has been viewed as an extremely close contest.

Speaking at Clinton Community College, the first lady gave a localized version of her standard stump speech, pledging to try to improve the border crossing at Champlain, N.Y., and to try to win federal subsidies for natural gas distribution systems, proposals that were both greeted with sustained applause.

At a news conference after the speech, she said she recognized that her audience might not be receptive to her views on tax cuts. "I said I know there are a lot of Republicans in the audience," she said. "I am well aware a lot of Republicans are sorting out where they are on this issue, but I want people in the North Country to know I support targeted tax cuts."

She criticized her likely Republican opponent, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, for stating at a town hall meeting Wednesday that he would vote for Senator Jesse Helms to continue as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. She said Mr. Helms's opposition to the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty and to United Nations conventions on women's and children's rights had hurt American foreign policy.

"I am hoping that every New Yorker not only heard the mayor say he would vote for Senator Helms to continue as chairman of that critically important committee, but that is something I would not do," she said.

FRIDAY, MAY 5, 2000

The Washington Times

President out of picture in Hillary's latest spot

First lady looks to redefine self again

By Jennifer Harper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Though the media has irked first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton for years, it has provided a forum for her many deft and occasionally daft public characters.

Mrs. Clinton has played attack wife, wronged woman, diplomat, mommy, harried, orator, survivor, beauty and "feminista."

Now, she is soloist. With a brand new ad for her New York Senate campaign, Mrs. Clinton seems intent on shedding the shackles of the White House, and establishing yet another new persona.

"More than a first lady," a male voice croons in the 30-second commercial, which will be seen for two

weeks across New York via \$400,000 of newly purchased air time.

But the new spot comes in a familiar shade. It is a showcase for the type of much ballyhooed, heartfelt empathy that has served President Clinton so well in the past.

Mrs. Clinton is also out to feel a little of that public pain.

"First" is the theme throughout the soft-focus series of still photos that depict an earnest, polished woman who cuddles children and thumbs through thick books.

She was "first" a lawyer, her "first" cause was children, her "first" priority public schools. The

see HILLARY, page A10

FROM PAGE ONE

HILLARY

From page A1

five-letter word is burned into every frame.

President Clinton, however, is last here. He is not mentioned, depicted or alluded to. Nor is Mrs. Clinton's Arkansas past.

It was her intent to be Bill-less. "It never occurred to me," Mrs. Clinton told reporters yesterday when pressed about the president's absence. "I'm using this opportunity to introduce myself."

This is not the only time she has divorced her husband's image from her own. In an 18-minute biographical video released in February, Mr. Clinton appeared in only a single scene.

The Hillary Clinton of the new commercial seems a savvy and independent saint.

"For 30 years," the ad notes, "she has fought for children and families. As New York's senator, she'll fight for better schools and health care for children."

But no princess is she. "Hillary: Put her to work for all of us," the copy concludes.

So far, the ad is getting mixed reviews. It was parodied on late-night TV on Wednesday night, where they replaced the last line of the ad with "The first Clinton you can trust your daughter with."

USA Today called it "light on specifics," while the New York Post found the audio a little too "subdued" to be effective. The New York Times said the ad was typical fare, but was "a deliberate effort to counter the concern among women that she is simply a product of her husband."

The effort barely registered with Bruce Teitelbaum, campaign manager for New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, the first lady's opponent.

"The ad is obviously trying to



"This is Eleanor [Roosevelt]," U.S. Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton remarks while looking at a group portrait of past world leaders at an antique store in Tupper Lake, N.Y., earlier this week.

portray Mrs. Clinton as someone with a record of accomplishment," he said yesterday. "The fact is she doesn't have a record."

Mrs. Clinton has some experience in commercial effectiveness, however.

Back in 1996, she considered producing a few TV spots to clarify her role in Whitewater and "Travelgate" and make sure "that the truth gets out."

"In a political campaign," Mrs. Clinton said at the time, "unlike in the sort of daily back-and-forth of public service, you can focus people's attention, and if worst comes to worst, you can pay to advertise what the facts are."

As of today, the first lady has visited all 62 New York counties. The ad can be seen at her Web site (www.hillary2000.org).

D'Amato riles GOPers by helping Teddy's boy Pat

By DEBORAH ORIN
Bureau Chief

WASHINGTON — Republicans are buzzing over Al D'Amato's role in a fund-raiser for Rep. Patrick Kennedy (D-R.I.) — who heads efforts to defeat Republicans and put Democrats in control of Congress.

D'Amato, the former New York Republican senator who's now a lobbyist, didn't return calls yesterday. Neither did New York state GOP Chairman Bill Powers — but sources said Powers is livid.

James Gill, who arranged the fund-raiser with former Mayor Ed Koch, his law partner, said, "I asked Al to help me in this thing, to help get people to come to this thing."

Gill said he, Koch and D'Amato are pals, and that's why he asked D'Amato to help with the \$1,000-a-head cocktail reception, slated for the '21' Club yesterday. It was postponed due to John Cardinal O'Connor's death.

D'Amato "said that he was going to try to help," Gill told The Post. Gill insisted, though, that he didn't know how many donors D'Amato had lined up for Sen. Ted Kennedy's son.

D'Amato, through aide Lisa DeWald, said he knew Patrick Kennedy "socially" — but didn't respond to questions about how many donors he recruited for him,

or what role he played in the fund-raiser.

Patrick Kennedy heads the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, which raises money to help Democrats defeat their GOP foes, try to win control of the House and make Rep. Dick Gephardt speaker.

The DCCC confirmed that D'Amato had RSVP'd for the event.

The fund-raiser was for Patrick Kennedy's personal campaign coffers, but since he's a cinch for re-election, he can — and has — passed on a lot of his own campaign cash to other Democrats in tighter races.

Among the Democratic congressmen who got cash from the Kennedy stash is Rep. Mike Forbes (D-L.I.), an ex-Republican whom GOPers

see as a turncoat and list as their No. 1 New York target.

But one Republican, tipped off by donors who got the Kennedy invite, said the chief concern is whether Kathy Blaney, one of the state GOP's chief fund-raisers, played a role in raising cash for Patrick Kennedy.

Blaney, who was a chief fund-raiser for D'Amato, works out of offices at the New York Republican State Committee. She didn't return calls yesterday.



AL D'AMATO
Party favors?

INFLUENTIAL Democrats are urging planners for the upcoming Democratic State Convention to cool it on any Giuliani-bashing, because of the mayor's prostate cancer.

"People are all coming to hear about 'Adolf' Giuliani, but you can't talk like that when the guy is sick or in the hospital," said one Democrat.

The convention, set for May 16, will draw thousands to Albany for Hillary Rodham Clinton's formal nomination — including, possibly, President Clinton. But the format will be largely Rudy-free.

"You can't gang up on him. The wrong person saying the wrong thing could be a disaster," the Democrat said.

So that should just leave more time for glowing reviews of Hillary.

While Hillary has problems with a \$22,000 donation she received from a Cuban-American businesswoman, the Democratic National Committee doesn't share her qualms.

Clinton returned Vivian Mannerud Verble's "soft money" contribution last month after The Post unearthed charges that Mannerud encouraged a drug smuggler to donate to Vice President Al Gore and other Democrats in 1995.

At the time, Verble said she didn't know that Jorge Cabrera was involved in anything illegal. Just months after he attended a 1995 White House Christmas party with the Clintons, he was busted in a cocaine-filled cigar warehouse in Miami.

Cabrera had already been arrested two times on serious drug charges in the 1980s, and had pleaded guilty to non-drug felony charges, obstruction of justice in 1983 and filing a false tax return in 1988.

Cabrera has been in federal prison since pleading guilty to drug charges in 1996, while Mannerud and her charter-airline com-

pany continued to give money to various Democrats — including \$100,000 to the DNC over the past four years.

"Ms. Mannerud's contributions were vetted like every contribution we receive at the DNC, and they were determined to be appropriate and lawful," said Jenny Backus, a spokeswoman.

No sooner had Joseph DioGuardi's name surfaced this week as the odds-on favorite for the Conservative Party's Senate nomination than Mayor Giuliani's helpers were busy dishing dirt on the former two-term congressman from Westchester County.

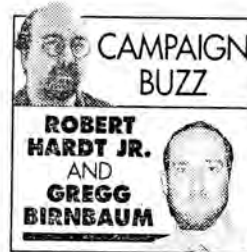
Over Campaign Buzz's transom — on paper with no identifiable markings — came two pages of less-than-flattering information about DioGuardi's record, including some allegations that date back more than 20 years.

According to the "tip sheet," the IRS ordered DioGuardi — an accountant — to pay back taxes because of questionable commodities trades; a campaign staffer was accused of funneling donations through a car dealership; and he had been charged with running his campaign from an office that housed his nonprofit foundation.

Perhaps most "damning" for a Conservative, the papers included past quotes from DioGuardi singing President Clinton's praises — albeit for using military force in Kosovo. Not much of a shocker, since DioGuardi is active in Albanian affairs.

DioGuardi was surprised when informed about the "opposition research" being circulated about him, and defended himself against past charges, saying there had been no wrongdoing.

"They are already running the wrong kind of campaign," DioGuardi said. "I'm not going to run a negative campaign."



Hillary slams Rudy for backing Helms

By Gregg Birnbaum in
Plattsburgh, N.Y., and Robert
Hardt Jr. and Neil Graves in
New York City

Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday took on Mayor Giuliani for saying he would vote to reappoint arch-conservative Jesse Helms as head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

"That's one of the big differences between me and the mayor," Clinton said while campaigning in up-state Plattsburgh, where she completed her 62-county tour of the state.

"I would not vote to make Jesse Helms chairman."

Clinton pointed out that in the past, Helms, a Republican from North Carolina, stymied important ambassadorial confirmations and refused to permit votes on international conventions for women and children.

Clinton said she hoped all "New Yorkers heard" what the mayor said about Helms at a town-hall meeting in Rochester on Wednesday night.

The mayor's campaign spokeswoman, Juleanna Glover Weiss, defended the mayor's remarks.

"The mayor believes in a big-tent Republican Party, and he believes that diversity and a range of views are important in Washington," Weiss said.

"Mrs. Clinton should talk to her husband's own secretary of state [Madeleine Albright], who has a strong working relationship with Sen. Helms."

The mayor's campaign team also unveiled a new, minute-long commercial that is going on the air across the state today.

Featuring an excerpt from a strong speech Giuliani delivered in Saratoga just a day after revealing his cancer diagnosis, the ad emphasizes the mayor's "authenticity."

"You won't have to guess what I'm going to do when I'm sitting in Washington," Giuliani tells the enthusiastic crowd.

Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson ridiculed the commercial, saying: "Sooner or later, Rudy Giuliani is going to have to tell New Yorkers what he would do in the Senate and how he would address the important issues across the state."

Also yesterday, Gov. Pataki laid to rest rumors that he would be interested in running for the Senate should the mayor drop out of the race because of his prostate cancer.

"I don't like to speculate, but if Mayor Giuliani — for whatever reason — chooses not to run, I will not run," Pataki said at a press conference in his Midtown offices.

"I believe he's earned the right to have the Republican Party's nomination."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Public Interests

GAIL COLLINS

The Rudy Chronicles

Today we will attempt to get up to speed on the New York Senate race. It seems like only yesterday that commentators were asking whether Rudy Giuliani's rant about federal "storm troopers" in Miami was a clever ploy to detract attention from his wife's upcoming role in "The Vagina Monologues." That was a great moment, definitely. But so much has happened since.

Mr. Giuliani won a lot of good will last week when he announced he was battling prostate cancer. Not the least important show of support came from his wife, Donna Hanover, who gave up her chance to talk about female body parts Off Broadway. That was about the most positive gesture Ms. Hanover has made in her husband's direction since she refused to reveal whom she voted for in the last mayoral election.

But that was days ago. Now attention has switched from the mayor's

Really, it already seems as if she's been here for decades.

The events: At a televised question-and-answer session upstate, Mr. Giuliani gave one hint that he may be thinking statewide at last, making a rare admission that he grew up in Long Island, not the streets of Brooklyn. In her own similar appearance, Mrs. Clinton practically had to be tied down before she'd stop talking about reducing energy costs in upstate New York.

The nominations: In New York, third parties solve the problem of attracting votes by simply cross-endorsing Democrats and Republicans. Once established, these organizations marinate in their own juices until they ripen into political extortion schemes, renting out their ballot line to the highest bidders.

The Liberals have a long and happy relationship with Mr. Giuliani, whose administration has been a veritable employment agency for relatives of party leaders. The Conservatives are a little less far along the evolutionary scale, and the mayor's supporters are terrified they might muddy the waters and nominate an actual conservative.

Both Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Giuliani met recently with the leaders of the Independence Party. If they can get out of court long enough to have a convention, these people seem intent on demonstrating their inclusiveness by nominating Pat Buchanan for president under the leadership of Lenora Fulani, a Marxist. Mrs. Clinton ruled out being on a Buchanan ticket. But Mr. Giuliani, who seems to be envisioning a ballot in which his name appears so often that voters are mesmerized, left the door open a crack.

The marriages: This campaign may do for married names what John Kennedy's election did to hats. Mrs. Clinton is running as just plain "HILLARY!" and Ms. Hanover has long since dropped the "Giuliani."

In the most-discussed political development of the week, we learned that the mayor's new very good friend is a Manhattan resident who met him at a parent-teacher gathering. (Have we mentioned the Giuliani education agenda?) She has been seen in his company at events ranging from New Year's Eve at Times Square to town hall meetings in the outer boroughs. The voters may be willing to leave Mr. Giuliani alone on this one, but if his companion is willing to sit through town halls, it sounds pretty serious. □

The Long Island Kid keeps busy.

prostate to the tabloids' fascination with identifying his current dinner companion, a woman whom he described as "a very good friend." This was pretty forthcoming for the mayor, who usually regards queries about his personal life as a trumpet call to arms.

And on the policy front, Mr. Giuliani continued his attacks on the retrieval of Elián González, which he said had been accomplished by officers wielding "machine guns."

Meanwhile, Hillary Clinton announced she had visited all 62 New York counties.

In this race, the Clintonesque candidate is Rudy Giuliani — up, down, good, bad — after a while you have to just admire the way he keeps chugging along. Let's examine some recent developments:

Timing: Mr. Giuliani's cancer prognosis is very favorable. If he wants to run, there's every reason to think he should be able to have his treatment, recover and get back on the trail before fall. If all goes well, most voters will have forgotten he was ever ill. On the other hand, they will also have gotten used to the idea that Mrs. Clinton is a New Yorker.

NATIONAL

New York Region

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Another comforting thought:

BRITISH AIRWAYS

May 22, 2000

THE 2000 CAMPAIGN: U.S. SENATE

New York

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

Hillary Rodham Clinton versus Rick A. Lazio?

It wasn't supposed to be this way, but then, nothing in the race for New York has turned out as expected.

Mrs. Clinton spent a year getting ready to run a race against Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, the tough-talking, tough-campaigning Republican mayor of New York.

But first Mr. Giuliani proved to be an at best uninspired campaigner, staying home at City Hall while Mrs. Clinton traveled relentless across New York, avoiding any discussion of what he might do in the Senate.

When he announced that he had been diagnosed with prostate cancer, many Republicans assumed that given his demeanor to date, he would use this as an excuse to go out of the race. When he announced he was seeking a separation from his wife of 16 years -- during a messy week in which he also acknowledged that he was seeing an upstate woman, and his wife charged that he had had a personal relationship with a staff member -- many Republicans began hoping that he **WOULD** get out of the race.

With Mr. Giuliani now gone, with a farewell news conference at City Hall on May 19, Mrs.

ELECTION CENTER

Candidates for U.S. Senate

Democrats

Republicans



Mrs. Hillary
Rodham
Clinton



Rick Lazio

Withdrawn: Mayor
Rudolph W. Giuliani (R)

- [New York Congressional Races](#)
- [Race Close-Up and Outlook](#) (Source: Roll Call)

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Clinton faces Mr. Lazio, 42, a four-term Representative from Suffolk County, Long Island. It is an entirely different race, of course, but it remains to be seen if this is a good development for Mrs. Clinton.

On the down side for Mr. Lazio, he is, obviously, no where near as well known as Mr. Giuliani. He is also starting a few feet behind the starting line, in no small part because of Mr. Giuliani's delay in making a decision. He is short on money, and faced with the daunting task of having to put together a staff and open a full-fledged office.

He also does not enjoy the base of support that Mr. Giuliani did in New York City, normally a Democratic stronghold, and may find that he is not as popular as Mr. Giuliani was in suburbs outside of Nassau.

Suburban commuters were among the biggest fans of Mr. Giuliani's success in New York. Mr. Lazio also has a long Congressional voting record, including casting a number of votes with the Republican majority that may not endear him in a statewide race.

That said, Mr. Lazio arrives to the race free of the baggage that Mr. Giuliani brought to the table.

Mrs. Clinton can no longer count on anti-Giuliani voters come November. Along those same lines, she may not be able to count on the large turn-out among black voters that her aides felt was likely with Mr. Giuliani on the ticket.

Mr. Lazio is also a fresh face, and, it would seem, immune to the temperamental attacks Mrs. Clinton waged on Mr. Giuliani. And while he cast a number of voters with the Republican majority, his positions on some issues -- such as the environment -- might complicate the effort by Mrs. Clinton's campaign to portray him as a "foot soldier for Newt Gingrich," as one of her aides put it.

Most of all, though, Mr. Lazio seems to be as hungry as Mr. Giuliani is not. He gave a formal announcement speech the day after Mr. Giuliani quit, reminding Republicans of what it was that the mayor never did. He took right off after Mrs. Clinton, attacking her variously as too liberal for New York, an opportunist, and a carpetbagger.

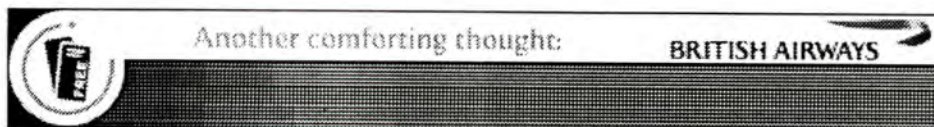
Related Sites

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- hillary2000.org
- lazio.com

"I think her ambition is the issue," Mr. Lazio said in an interview.

One thing seems certain: Mr. Giuliani may be gone, but Mrs. Clinton still has quite a race on her hands.



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Hill's pitch: 'More than a first lady'

Launching her initial statewide TV ad blitz

Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton today is launching her first statewide television ad — which is promoting her as “more than a first lady.”

By Robert Hardt Jr. in Rochester,
and Gregg Birnbaum in Fort
Edward, N.Y.

The 30-second spot, produced by the ad firm of DeVito/Verdi and two Clinton aides, emphasizes that “for 30 years” Clinton has “fought for children and families.”

The ads will be hitting the airwaves at the same time her opponent, Mayor Giuliani, is firing off a new round of statewide TV commercials today.

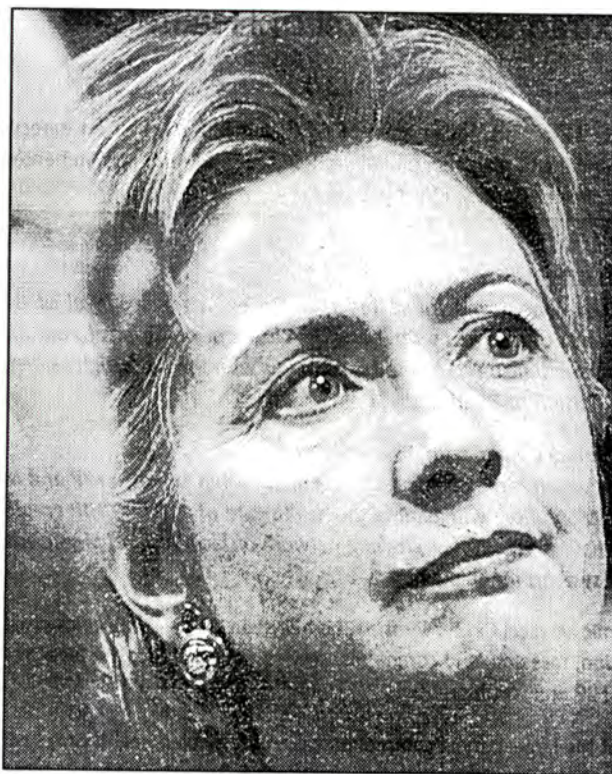
Sources in Giuliani's camp said the campaign will be spending “more than six figures” for his latest ad. Clinton aides would not disclose how large their two-week buy would be.

Also yesterday, Clinton indirectly challenged the mayor for the first time since he made public his prostate-cancer diagnosis.

Saying she won't run on the Independence Party line if the group nominates Pat Buchanan for president, Clinton said that “anyone who wants to represent all of New York and all New Yorkers” should share her position.

“Pat Buchanan has a history of making prejudiced and anti-Semitic and intolerant comments,” she said after visiting the town of Fort Edward, about 50 miles north of Albany.

While attacking Buchanan, Giuliani has not ruled out the



THE VIEW FROM UPSTATE: Hillary Rodham Clinton meets yesterday with local officials in upstate Fort Edwards. Her first statewide TV ad campaign is set to hit the airwaves today. AP

possibility of sharing the line with the arch-conservative.

“For many years the mayor has been consistent in his criticism of Pat Buchanan and what he stands for,” said Kim Serafin, a Giuliani campaign spokeswoman.

“Once again, Hillary Clinton is following Mayor Giuliani's lead.”

Asked about her first political commercial, Clinton said she was “hopeful that this will provide some more information to New Yorkers about who I am, what my record is, and what I would do in the Senate.”

The commercial — titled “First” — shows Clinton with kids in several photos, noting that she was a prominent lawyer and headed the non-profit Children's Defense Fund. It never mentions or shows her husband, the president.

Giuliani campaign manager

Bruce Teitelbaum was dismissive of the Clinton commercial.

“The ad is obviously trying to portray Mrs. Clinton as someone with a record of accomplishment. The fact is she doesn't have a record,” Teitelbaum said.

“The only thing you can point to legislatively is her failed health-care plan and it's curious that there's no mention of that in her commercial,” he said.

Clinton campaign manager Bill de Blasio said the mayor's bout with prostate cancer had no bearing on the decision to run a positive ad.

“Any way you slice it, we would do this strategy,” de Blasio said at a press conference at campaign headquarters in Midtown.

“It's not in reference to our opponent. It's in reference to the fact that this is what is working for us,” he said.

Thursday, May 4, 2000
Ny Post

ADWATCH

TITLE: "First," produced by DeVito/Verdi with Mandy Grunwald and Mark Penn

LENGTH: 30 seconds

SCRIPT: Announcer says: "First, she became a lawyer, named one of the top hundred in America. Her first cause was children, fighting abuse and chairing the board of the Children's Defense Fund. Her first priority was public schools, helping to establish teacher testing. More than a first lady. For 30 years, she has fought for children and families. As New York's senator, she'll fight for better schools and health care for children. Hillary. Put her to work for all of us."

VISUAL: Two scenes of Clinton in a law library. The word "first" appears on the screen at each mention of it, then fades into each sentence: "Her first cause was children." Picture of Clinton with a little girl on her lap is followed by a photo of her playing with another little girl. In the same manner as the first sentence, the words: "Her first priority was public schools"

appear on the screen. Another photo is displayed, this of Clinton and a boy playing with blocks. She is then shown in another shot being hugged by children in a classroom. "More than a first lady" is shown on the screen. The final shots are of Clinton speaking, talking to a reading group and waving her hand.

SUPPORTING EVIDENCE: The ad draws entirely on Clinton's biography and background, much of it before her husband entered the White House in 1993.

ANALYSIS: The ad tries to show Clinton as someone who has achieved much in her own right. The idea that she cares about children is promoted heavily by most of the photos shown in the spot. While the visuals and script portray Clinton as supportive and strong, the narrator's tone is far too subdued to effectively communicate this message.

RESPONSE: "It's amazing that after spending a year traveling around the state, Mrs. Clinton feels the need to introduce herself in a TV commercial." — Giuliani campaign manager Bruce Teitelbaum.

Robert Hardt Jr



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THURSDAY, MAY 4, 2000

The Washington Times

Hillary's travels

The chairman of the House Appropriations Committee and the head of the subcommittee that oversees White House spending suggested yesterday that they might cut off funding for White House travel if the administration is not more forthcoming by May 30 about Hillary Rodham Clinton's flights on military aircraft.

Republicans have complained for months that Mrs. Clinton's campaign for a U.S. Senate seat from New York is being subsidized by the federal government.

Spokesmen for Mrs. Clinton say she must travel aboard government-owned aircraft for security reasons, and that she pays the rate demanded by law, even though that is far less than the actual cost to taxpayers.

"Effective May 1, 2000, the committee directs the White House to submit monthly reports on first lady travel no later than the 15th of each month. Each report shall account for all travel taken by the first lady for the preceding month," Rep. C.W. Bill Young, Florida Republican and chairman of the Appropriations Committee, and Rep. Jim Kolbe, Arizona Republican and chairman of the subcommittee on the Treasury, Postal Service and general government, wrote to presidential aide Mark Lindsay.

The committee released a report in March saying the first lady made 26 New York trips in the last seven months of 1999 at a total cost of \$182,471.

The first lady's campaign was billed \$36,685 based on the standard cost of first-class air fares for those trips, leaving taxpayers \$145,786 short, the panel said. As of March 1, Mrs. Clinton had paid \$32,878 of the amount she owed.

Washington/Politics

First lady's ad stresses her work for kids

By Martha T. Moore
USA TODAY

The first campaign-backed TV ad of Hillary Rodham Clinton's Senate race emphasizes her history of working on children's issues before her arrival in the White House.

The ad, by longtime Clinton media consultant Mandy Grunwald and New York City advertising agency DeVito/Verdi, begins running today throughout New York state.

Ad watch The television commercial is the first the Clinton campaign has run.

A radio ad ran in February. A TV ad that featured Clinton ran last year, but the state Democratic Committee paid for it.

AD SCRIPT:

Backed by quiet piano music, the ad shows sepia-toned photographs of Clinton with children. Only one of these photos appears to have been taken during her Senate campaign. President Clinton and the White House are nowhere to be seen.

Narrator: "First, she became a lawyer, named one of the top 100 in America. Her first cause was children, fighting abuse and chairing the board of the Children's Defense Fund. Her first priority was public schools, helping to establish teacher testing.

"More than a first lady. For 30 years, she has fought for children and families. As New York's sena-

tor, she'll fight for better schools and health care for children. Hillary. Put her to work for all of us."

**ANALYSIS:**

Clinton's formal announcement in February featured an 18-minute video about her life; it contained only one scene with the president. She has been trying to establish that she has a record on issues and a career apart from that of political spouse. The ad opens with mention of her training as a lawyer, a profession not always held in high esteem. Like many introductory candidate ads, this one maintains a positive tone. It doesn't mention Clinton's Republican opponent, New York Mayor Rudy Giu-

liani, or Arkansas, the state where Clinton did much of her legal work.

While generally light on specifics, the ad does refer to the Children's Defense Fund, a non-profit children's advocacy group, for which Clinton was a staff lawyer in the 1970s and later a board member. It also notes that she supported teacher testing; in Arkansas, she chaired an education standards committee that held hearings and won legislation that included a competency test for teachers. Since she announced her Senate bid, Clinton has called for testing of new teachers — New York does so — but she no longer favors testing teachers on the job. The New York state teachers union, which supports Clinton, opposes such testing.



Hillary Rodham Clinton for U.S. Senate Committee via AP

Airing today: The first televised ad sponsored by Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign for Senate will be broadcast around New York state.

THURSDAY, MAY 4, 2000

The New York Times

Giuliani Says Helms Reflects Broad G.O.P.

But Would Not Run On Buchanan Ballot

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

ROCHESTER, May 3 — In his first town hall meeting upstate, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani said today that he would, if elected senator, support Jesse Helms as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and that he would not share a ballot with Patrick Buchanan.

Mr. Giuliani said his support of Mr. Helms reflected his belief that Republicans should broaden their party to different points of view. That would make it "much healthier than a party dominated by one part."

Mr. Giuliani is running as a moderate Republican, and Mr. Helms is ardently conservative, opposed to abortion and equal rights for gay people.

But Mr. Giuliani, who is seeking the endorsement of the state's fractious Independence Party in his campaign against Hillary Rodham Clinton for United States Senate, also said he would not accept the endorsement if the party put Mr. Buchanan on its ticket for president.

"I don't think I could do that, but I'm hoping they don't do that," Mr. Giuliani said.

The mayor was interviewed by Chris Matthews, the host of MSNBC's cable program, "Hardball," at the Rochester Institute of Technology here. More than 500 students attended the event, which was telecast live. Mr. Matthews and the students asked questions on topics as diverse as Elián González, police brutality and AIDS.

Mr. Giuliani and Mr. Matthews sat in straight-back chairs, surrounded by students as Mr. Giuliani's media consultant, Adam Goodman, recorded the scene on film.

One student asked the mayor if he thought he had a good chance of winning the Senate race, even if "you have a reputation of supporting police brutality." Mr. Giuliani, referring to the Amadou Diallo shooting, responded that: "It was a terrible thing that happened. It was a great tragedy." But he added that a racially mixed jury had found the police officers not guilty and that the police were more restrained in New York

Giuliani's 'Very Good Friend'

By ELISABETH BUMILLER

Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani said yesterday that a woman who has accompanied him on public occasions and has frequently dined with him is "a good friend, a very good friend."

Mr. Giuliani made his comments in response to numerous questions from reporters at his daily City Hall briefing. Photographs of the friend, Judith Nathan, were published in yesterday's New York Post.

The mayor was straightforward in replying to the questions about Ms. Nathan, but said he was "annoyed" by what he indicated was the invasion of Ms. Nathan's private life. "I am not annoyed for me because this is the job I have and the life I decided to have," he said. "I am annoyed that people would have invaded the privacy of people who are not in that life and who have not made that choice. But you know, you get used to it and you move on."

At one point yesterday, the mayor joked that he could understand journalists' pursuit of public officials. "You can pursue public officials all you want," he said. "But you should pursue just us. Maybe it comes from my reading of 'The Godfather.' You know, you leave civilians alone."

Asked if there was anything

more he could say about how the relationship might affect his public life, he said: "Nope. I have told you everything you need to know or have a right to know about how it affects my public life. I have told you about my health. That affects my public life. There is nothing else you need to know about my public life."

Mr. Giuliani and his wife, Donna Hanover, have led separate public lives since 1996, when Ms. Hanover began more actively pursuing a career in television and film. The two are almost never seen together in public, and he no longer wears his wedding ring.

But after Mr. Giuliani's announcement last week, Ms. Hanover issued a statement saying that she fully supported him and pleaded for his privacy. This week she announced that she was postponing her plans to star in the Off Broadway hit "The Vagina Monologues."

Ms. Nathan has been seen with Mr. Giuliani at restaurants around the city and at numerous public events, including the Inner Circle dinner, at which reporters perform skits poking fun at the mayor and other elected officials and the mayor returns the barbs.

Ms. Nathan is single, with a 15-year-old daughter who attends private school on the East Side.

than in other cities. "You just don't know that because the media doesn't cover that," the mayor said.

Mr. Giuliani appeared relaxed throughout the hourlong program even as Mr. Matthews and some other students sometimes questioned him aggressively. Afterward his campaign aides sought out reporters to impress on them their view of the mayor's steadiness under pressure.

"We think that Mrs. Clinton would never allow herself to get in this environment," said Juleanna Glover Weiss, the mayor's campaign press secretary. "It's free flowing, it's thoughtful, it's completely unpredictable."

The mayor said tonight that he "very much" wanted to run for the

Senate — "I'm looking forward to it," he said — despite his recent discovery that he has prostate cancer. He added, "My whole hope and intention is to do it. I'd be very disappointed if I didn't."

Mr. Matthews also presented the mayor with quotes from a now-well-known paper that Mr. Giuliani wrote as a student at Manhattan College, in which he said that objections to Robert F. Kennedy's running for Senate from New York as a carpetbagger were "truly ridiculous."

Mr. Giuliani laughed tonight, and responded by quoting Winston Churchill: "Any person who isn't a liberal at 20 has no heart. And any person who isn't a conservative by 40 has no brain."

Thursday, May 4, 2000
The New York Times



Associated Press

A Detour From Campaigning

In the Adirondacks for her United States Senate campaign, Hillary Rodham Clinton stopped at a craft shop yesterday. At a news conference, she called on Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani to reject the Independence Party nomination if the party nominates Patrick J. Buchanan for president. Mr. Giuliani made that promise yesterday.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary Does Right

Rudy should have zapped Fulani & Buchanan, too



**ERIC
FETSMANN**

It was Hillary Clinton, and not Rudy Giuliani, who did the right thing at last weekend's Independence Party forum.

It's hard to believe that Hillary's motive was anything other than political posturing. Just last week, she was still planning to skip the event. Nonetheless, it remains that the first lady launched a blistering attack on the party's likely presidential nominee, Pat Buchanan, and his newfound strategist and ally, Lenora Fulani.

"I cannot and will not, as the price for any endorsement, embrace or excuse those who use hateful rhetoric to separate and divide," she told about 100 party leaders in upstate Cheektowaga. "If this party allows itself to become defined by the anti-Semitism, extremist, prejudice and intolerance of a few shrill voices of both the right and the left, you will be doing yourselves and our state a great disservice."

And just in case anyone didn't understand to whom she was referring, Mrs. Clinton stated flatly that she would not run on a ticket headed by Buchanan and that "I know in the past that Dr. Fulani has engaged in that kind of rhetoric."

Giuliani, in sharp contrast, never mentioned Fulani and, while noting his past denunciations of Buchanan, glossed over their differences. Instead, he appealed to Independence leaders for their endorsement, saying, "If

you're looking for a candidate who can honestly be described as independent ... you're not going to find one who probably fits the bill better than I do. I think we're a natural fit."

Part of this can be chalked up to the new, image-friendly Rudy. It was his first campaign appearance since his cancer announcement, and for all his joking protestations that the illness won't produce a kinder, gentler Giuliani, something of the sort clearly has happened.

Perhaps the mayor's most astounding statement came in response to a direct question from Fulani on reaching out to the black community. "I haven't been able to communicate my message to the African-American community as well as I should," the mayor said. "Maybe it's my own inadequacies."

Rudy Giuliani admitting to his "own inadequacies"? Are we hearing right? But as welcome and refreshing a confession of fallibility as that was, why make it to — of all people — Lenora Fulani?

Hillary's sharp denunciation of Buchanan and Fulani — topped with the latter's over-the-top complaint, continued on Monday, of "slandorous personal attacks on me" — inevitably sparked comparisons to her husband's public censure of rap agitator Sister Souljah at a 1992 Rainbow Coalition event.

Bill Clinton suffered no lasting political damage for that "bold" move. (Indeed, why criticizing someone who had publicly called for killing white people was seen as courageous remains baffling.)

A Four-Way Race?

Besides Mayor Giuliani, the Senate fight now includes Hillary Clinton on his left, and, running to his right, Libertarian John Clifton (top) and ex-Rep. Joseph J. Dioguardi.



Rep. Charles Rangel, for example, charged at the time that the attack proved Clinton "doesn't deserve to be president," yet the president had no more loyal defender in Congress during the impeachment fight.

Similarly, attacking Fulani will likely bolster Mrs. Clinton's standing among Jewish voters and others fearful of Fulani's rapid slide into the political mainstream. And it also negates attacks on Hillary's willingness

to cater to political extremists.

But whether her motive was politics or principle, she said precisely what needed to be said: Whatever advantages the Independence ballot line may afford, no one seeking a Senate seat should voluntarily associate with a party whose leaders preach extremism and hatred.

So why was Rudy so accommodating? No doubt, there's political posturing going on there, too. Given his past denunciations of Buchanan and of people like Al Sharpton, he likely felt he doesn't need to prove his distaste for rabble-rousers.

He may also be counting on the anti-Fulani faction winning out in the bitter battle for control of the party. Just last week, a state judge reinstalled Fulani foe Jack Essenberg as Independence chairman. And if Rudy can force a primary battle, he can argue that he was chosen by the party's voters, not its leaders.

The Independence line is tempting: It's New York's third-largest party, in votes attracted and also, as of last week, in registered party members. In 1998, it drew 109,000 votes for Chuck Schumer in his successful bid to unseat Sen. Al D'Amato.

That's important for Giuliani, who faces an uphill battle as the Republican and (likely) Liberal candidate; both parties combined are still outnumbered by the Democrats.

But Rudy is running as the candidate not only of competence but of principle — a large part of his success as mayor lies in his willingness to battle those whom others are too fearful to engage. Which is why Giuliani should have been the one telling the Independence Party that he refuses to "embrace or excuse those who use hateful rhetoric."

The new warmer, more open Giuliani is a welcome change — it will make him a better mayor, a better candidate and a better person. But there are times when a touch of the old Rudy Giuliani is still called for. Last weekend was one of them.

E-mail: efetsmann@nypost.com

HILLARYNO.COM

Hillary
No!

U.S. Senate:
For Proven
Leaders,
Not a Proving
Ground.



5

5

GOP operatives Tom Hockaday and Becki Donatelli set up the HillaryNo.com site for New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani's Senate campaign.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 3, 2000

THE WASHINGTON POST

In N.Y. Race, Hillary Clinton Tackles Commission Tradition

In Hillary Rodham Clinton's New York Senate campaign, anxious political consultants fear they are seeing a glimpse of a commission-free future.

The first lady became a convert last September, deciding that she should find a way to pay her media team that wouldn't give them a financial stake in every ad that runs. Commission deals rewarding consultants with as much as 15 percent of a campaign's total television spending are common in the business of politics, but sources said Clinton personally directed her advisers to find another arrangement.

"She didn't want to worry that the ad-

vice she was getting from someone was based on the amount of money they could make," said Democratic lawyer Leslie J. Kerman, who spoke with the first lady last fall as she was organizing her campaign against New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani.

For the first time, Clinton was raising money for her own campaign, not just for someone else's coffers, and she told Kerman that she was shocked at the high prices in the political consulting business. "They all seemed unbelievably expensive to her," Kerman said.

The Clinton team spent months in

tough negotiations with several different media consultants, according to interviews with several sources, in the end driving a hard bargain in which her consultants would earn a flat fee rather than the standard commission. One source said the fee was based on 5 percent of the campaign's anticipated \$15 million television campaign, which would be \$750,000.

The flat fee is to be paid to Mandy Grunwald, the consultant who helped Clinton's husband win his first presidential bid in 1992 but later fell out of official favor at the White House, and DeVito/Verdi, a Madison Avenue firm best

known for running ads on the side of New York City buses for New York magazine, touting it as "possibly the only good thing in New York that Rudy hasn't taken credit for."

Pollster Mark Penn, who worked for President Clinton's 1996 reelection campaign but was dumped last year as chief survey taker for Vice President Gore's campaign, will also share in the takings.

Democratic media consultant David Doak, however, pulled out of the talks after being expected to take a lead role in the race. He expressed concern, said a source familiar with the talks, about his

other clients' reactions, worrying they would say, "You gave Hillary this deal. Why not me?" Another source familiar with Doak's account added, "He turned down the Clinton campaign. In conversations, he said that if people start taking the flat fee, we're all going to be working for a flat fee soon. It wasn't worth it, he felt."

And that is exactly what has consultants buzzing about the Hillary precedent. "It's only a matter of time," said Democrat Karl Struble, before flat fees become standard. "There's an inherent inequality for it to be based on commission."

—Susan B. Glasser

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden

**Good news for Rudy, bad news for Hillary**

An old hand at devising Democratic strategy showed up at the White House Correspondents Association dinner the other night with sad eyes, a long face and his chin on the floor.

"If Rudy doesn't die in a hurry," he said morosely, "Hillary will."

Harsh sentiments, but that's the way the pols in New York talk when they're sure nobody is taking notes or running a tape recorder.

Nevertheless, Rudy Giuliani isn't likely to die in a hurry, and that's bad news for Hillary Rodham Clinton and all her hangers-on in Gotham, who are hungry for one more crack at the White House feeding trough.

The really bad news for Hillary is that the bad news for Rudy includes the good news that if you have to get cancer, prostate cancer is certainly the one to order. Caught early, it's almost always curable, and — continuing the bad news for Hillary — almost everybody knows that. Besides, now there's Viagra.

The proof, or at least evidence that this is news to make Hillary weep, shows up in the first poll taken since His Honor announced last week that he has prostate cancer. The Quinnipiac College Polling Institute, which has a solid reputation for knowing what's on inquiring minds in New York, shows Miss Hillary leading with 46 percent to 44 percent. Her two-point lead is inconsequential because the poll has a 3 percent margin of error (of course if it's wrong the margin of error increases to 100 percent, but pollsters talk funny, too). The point not lost on Hillary is that the result is statistically unchanged from early last month, when she led by 46 percent to 43 percent. The mayor even gained a point.

Beyond that, of course, is the sympathy factor. Feeling a twinge of sympathy is only human, even if such twinges usually go away even without Tylenol. In our era of Carin' & Compassion (to steal an expression from Florence King), when we're all supposed to stand around sharin', healin', cryin' and consoln', the twinge of sympathy for the mayor is likely to last for a while.

The mayor's wife wants to be helpful. The missus, whose daytime job is hosting a cable-TV program about cooking and sewing, will sometime soon star in an off-Broadway production of a pseudo-pornographic play called "the Vagina Monologues." (I am not making this up.) The play is about how society, which still includes men in a majority of the states, places no value on a certain female body part, which comes as news to at least half of the body politic. The feminists who object to all the male jokes complain now that



His Honor

men aren't paying attention. The solution, according to the playwright, is for women to celebrate their own body parts. Given the evidence accumulated since Eve was kicked out of the Garden with her not-very-bright consort tagging behind, women will rarely celebrate alone.

The monologues are based on interviews playwright Eve Ensler conducted "with women from the age of 6 to 75," and the mayor's wife, like the Hollywood actresses who have reprised the part, will merely read the lines when a date is worked out. Since Miss Ensler is a pal of Hillary's, we can be pretty sure that the Giuliani missus was set up to embarrass the old man. We can also be pretty sure that she did not need much persuading. So popular has this play become in certain feminist precincts, affording women the opportunity to talk dirty in public, that Hillary is likely to be cast in the role by Labor Day.

The Giulianis, unlike the Clintons, do not wash their bedsheets in public. So nobody knows for sure, but there's ample speculation that there's little more love lost in Gracie Mansion than in the White House. Given His Honor's talent for baiting Hillary to defend the "so-called art" that offends Roman Catholics and other Christians, Miss Ensler just couldn't help herself. She asked the Giuliani missus to talk about her own famous body part in hopes of embarrassing and thus wounding the mayor with ridicule.

It might not work that way. Most voters, even in New York, understand how husbands and wives fight. If every man who ever felt double-crossed by his wife, and if every woman who is offended by such female vulgarity in public, decides that this wifely caper hits below the belt (so to speak), there go a few more percentage points.

Hillary felt nervous enough at week's end to vow that if Al Gore loses, she would never cut short a six-year term in the Senate to run for president in '04. "New Yorkers," she said, "will expect me to finish my term." This is an uncanny reprise of a vow made by her husband to voters in Arkansas in 1990 that if they gave him one more four-year term as governor he would serve out the term. Hillary's promise surely ought to satisfy everyone, even Republicans. Isn't the word of two Clintons good enough for you?

Wesley Pruden is editor in chief of *The Times*.

Rudy eyes Conservative write-in

By Gregg Birnbaum and David Seifman in New York and Vince Morris in Washington, D.C.

Mayor Giuliani's campaign and supporters in the state Conservative Party are considering a write-in campaign to seize the party's Senate nomination, officials said yesterday.

Giuliani backers raised the possible back-door challenge after former congressman Joseph DioGuardi emerged as the top choice of Conservative Party boss Mike Long, who is feuding with Giuliani.

To block DioGuardi from landing the Conservative ballot line in No-

vember — and being a spoiler for the mayor in his race against Hillary Rodham Clinton — Giuliani may take on DioGuardi in the Sept. 12 primary by running as a long-shot write-in candidate.

"That's something we will explore," said Giuliani campaign manager Bruce Teitelbaum.

It would require a statewide petition drive starting next month to gather the signatures of five percent of the 172,000 enrolled Conservative Party members so a blank line would appear on the primary ballot — along with DioGuardi's name — where voters could write-in Giuliani.

"I'd be pretty confident that I'd win a Conservative Party pri-



mary," Giuliani said, although not specifically referring to a write-in campaign.

DioGuardi, an accountant who lives in Ossining and served in Congress from 1985 to 1989, said of a possible write-in challenge, "That's a fight he's going to lose."

Meanwhile, congressional investigators have shelved a probe into whether Clinton improperly used taxpayer-subsidized flights to save her campaign money, The Post has learned.

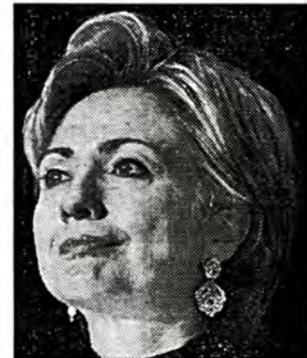
Rep. Jim Kolbe (R-Ariz.), who in

March criticized Clinton for taking \$182,000 worth of flights on a military plane at what critics charged is a bargain-basement price, decided he doesn't have time to press forward with the investigation because he is focusing on the federal budget.

"We're not going to pursue any more hearings on that," said a staffer at the House Appropriations Subcommittee, which Kolbe chairs. "There won't be a report."

A spokeswoman for the panel later called The Post to insist the investigation into "Air Hillary" was still active.

Clinton aides have said the first lady follows the law in reimbursing the feds for political trips on government planes.



HEAT'S OFF: A probe into Hillary Clinton's taxpayer-funded flights has been shelved. AP



KEN STARR
Probed Clinton.

Starr's colleagues give 32G to Hillary

By GREGG BIRNBAUM

Lawyers at former Sex-gate prosecutor Ken Starr's law firm are donating a bundle to their colleague's old nemesis — Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Clinton received \$32,250 from 34 lawyers and the firm's political action committee during the first three months of the year, according to a report by the

Journal News of Westchester/Rockland.

No one at the firm, Kirkland and Ellis, donated to Mayor Giuliani's campaign.

Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson had no comment on the contributions to the first lady.

But some suggested it was a clear statement of what Starr's colleagues thought of his probe as in-

dependent counsel into the Clintons — which lasted more than three years and cost more than \$40 million.

"The people in the firm needed to do something to show they weren't all like him," said Polly Rothstein, president of the Westchester Coalition for Legal Abortion.

"These donations are the strongest expression they

can make."

Kirkland and Ellis lawyer Lance Balk, who gave \$500 to Mrs. Clinton, was quoted as saying, "I think there are people with all sorts of political beliefs and views in this law firm."

The Chicago-based Kirkland and Ellis, which has offices in New York and Washington, D.C., is considering whether it wants

Starr, who has been on a leave of absence since 1998, to return as a partner.

Starr stepped down as independent counsel six months ago, turning over the investigation to Robert Ray, who is expected to issue two potentially politically explosive reports on Mrs. Clinton before Election Day.

Hillary just doesn't get the deficit

I apologize in advance. This is a column with a lot of numbers in it. If you can't handle figures this early on a Monday, you have my permission to move onto something else immediately.

But the numbers are essential because Hillary Clinton seems to have mis-predicted \$4 trillion.

Actually, I don't think it was an accident. The missing money is part of a series of lies spread not only by her but by almost all political candidates. Still, she's the one who put numbers to the lie, so here goes.

This column is about the Federal budget deficit. Yeah, deficit. The lies started out as tiny white ones when Washington pretended two years ago that there was a Federal budget surplus. I've tackled that one before. But with presidential and Senate elections coming closer, the candidates have now jacked up the level of lies. Now it's not just fibs about the budget surplus anymore. Now they are also pretending the U.S. can pay off its

huge national debt over the next dozen years.

Wouldn't that be nice?

Those damn debt clocks could finally be turned off. My family — as one debt clock says — wouldn't owe \$74,030 as our share of the national debt.

Both Hillary Clinton and Al Gore have said in recent weeks — the vice president just last week in New York — that they'd like to apply this make-believe "surplus" to paying off the national debt by the year 2013.

Let's look at the numbers.

In the first place, there is no surplus unless you turn a blind eye to some mighty creative bookkeeping. Right now the U.S. has a total national debt of \$5,711,905,000,000 compared with \$5,586,140,000,000 at this very same time last year. Let's make it easier — \$5.711 trillion on April 24, 2000, versus \$5.586 trillion on April 23 of '99.

For the last 12 months, the U.S. really had a budget deficit of \$125 billion. Just so you don't think I'm pulling a fast one, the na-



JOHN CRUDELE

tional debt rose \$130 billion in the fiscal year that ended last September from the debt level recorded at the end of fiscal '98.

So it really doesn't matter when you make these calculations — there is no budget surplus. There is still a big deficit. End of story.

But it isn't the end of the story because Hillary Clinton said a few weeks ago that if she is elected, her priority would be to use 40 percent of the federal budget surplus to wipe out the national debt by 2013. And Al Gore told supporters at the Hilton last week that his primary goal was also to wipe out the national debt by that year.

Let's play along with this charade for a while.

If the federal government steals the excess money being placed into the Social Security trust fund every

year, you can make a case that there is a budget surplus. Call it the Robin Hood scenario — take from the rich fund and give to the poor government.

That's like saying that you have a lot of money, but it is all in your Aunt Millie's bank account. You could mug the old lady, forge her name and make a withdrawal — but you probably won't get away with it for long.

But I'll let the government get away with stealing from Social Security for now. Do Al Gore's and Hillary Clinton's plans work then? Can they eliminate the federal debt by 2013?

Nope.

Here are the numbers that come directly from the Congressional Budget Office. Even after the money is stolen from Social Security, the projected budget "surpluses" are \$124 billion in '99; \$179 billion in 2000; \$177 billion in '01; \$209 billion in '02; \$227 billion in '03; \$246 billion in '04; \$268 billion in '05; \$325 billion in '06; \$368 billion in '07; \$399 billion in '08; \$444 billion in

'09 and \$489 billion in 2010.

The CBO doesn't project out to 2013. But the stolen-from-Social-Security surplus for those 10 years is a grand total of \$3.45 trillion. Without the stolen Social Security funds — which the government will have to start paying back toward the latter of these years, thus making the above surplus pure fiction — the projected budget surplus for the decade is well under some \$1 trillion. Remember, the federal debt right now is \$5.656 trillion. So unless Gore can come up with another \$2.2 trillion, stolen from Social Security or wherever, he doesn't have a chance of eliminating the national debt.

Hillary Clinton, as my kids would say, doesn't have a clue.

She would like to use 40 percent of the surplus — or just \$1.38 trillion of the \$3.45 trillion projected total — to pay off the national debt. Even if the debt weren't still growing, that would leave her about \$4.27 trillion short of her

goal of making the U.S. debt free into those 2010-2013 years.

Four trillion dollars short.

And even getting that close assumes a lot of things that aren't likely to happen. It assumes, for instance, that the stock market will continue to pump up the economy for another decade. And that the U.S. will be able to magically find money to repay the pilfered Social Security funds now being used to create the "surplus."

The Republicans shouldn't smirk at all this. They want to spend the fictional surplus — which is an even worse idea in theory than pretending to pay off the national debt.

An economist at the Congressional Budget Office put it all in perspective: "They are political people who want to do something good that'll earn them credit with the people."

They should give voters credit for having a brain and a calculator.

Please send your e-mail to jcrudele@nypost

What Does Hill Do Now?

She can't attack a man with cancer — but she doesn't know how *not* to attack



DICK MORRIS

MAYBE it took the prospect of losing Rudy Giuliani for New Yorkers to realize how much we value him.

It was Mayor Giuliani who transformed New York City from a crime-infested nightmare into the 152nd "most dangerous" city in America in 1999 (tied with Boise, Idaho). If anyone had told you in 1993 that Giuliani would solve the crime problem, you would have thought him as crazy as if he had said that Clinton would balance the budget and cut welfare in half. New York has never had a mayor as successful as Rudy. Now that he is ill, we all appreciate him the more.

If Rudy, cancer and all, stays in the Senate race, that counterfeit New Yorker, the pretender to our affections, is in deep trouble. How can Hillary attack a man undergoing chemotherapy and/or surgery?

Negative campaigning is the only weapon Hillary Clinton has. She can't enumerate the issue differences because there aren't any that work in her favor. She and the mayor both support choice, gay rights, immigration, gun control and all the liberal hot-button issues. Only on school vouchers and affirmative action is there any difference between them, and most voters side with Rudy on these.

It is only through a campaign of negative advertising and speechmaking that the increasingly shrill first lady can hope to

close the lead the mayor has enjoyed for virtually the entire campaign. She can attack Rudy as insensitive, divisive, and authoritarian ... when he is healthy. When he is fighting for his life, she can't attack him.

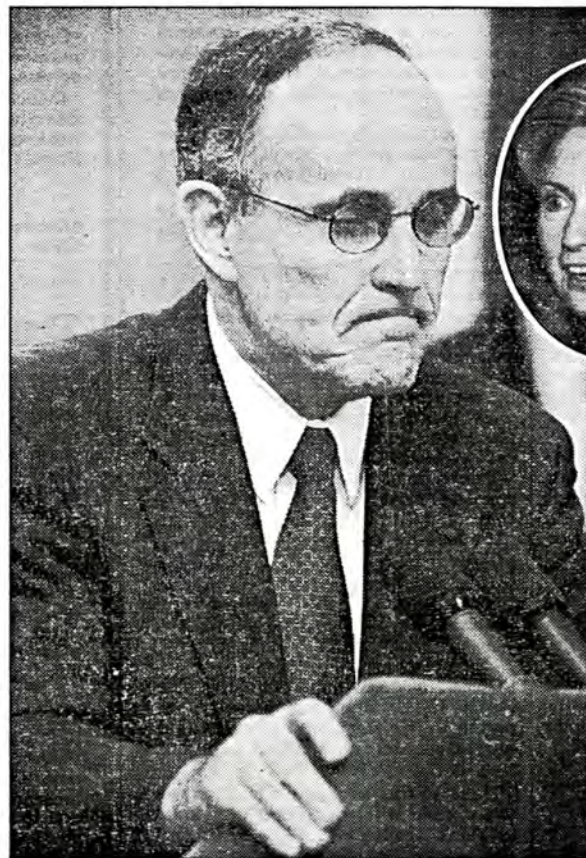
Could George Steinbrenner have fired Joe Torre if the Yankees had a losing streak last year while the New York manager was recuperating from cancer? No way. Even George would have had to honor the dictate not to kick a man when he is down.

Rudy should stay in the Senate race, no matter what. Even if the battle against his cancer is enervating and debilitating, his weakness will become his strength, his vulnerability his advantage. Money will pour in. Already the Giuliani campaign reports a tripling of on-line fund raising since the announcement of the mayor's disease. He needn't go to fund-raisers. He can raise all he needs even if he has to stay in bed.

He needn't run himself ragged campaigning all over the state. Everyone will understand when he turns down invitations. His enormous and growing financial advantage over Hillary will permit him to advertise in every market even if he can't go there personally.

Can he handle the job of mayor while running and fighting cancer? All New Yorkers (a category which excludes the would-be Sen. Clinton) will understand that the man's health comes first. No one will expect him to do what he cannot do.

Rudy carrying on, undaunted, will be a role model — a symbol of courage and persistence, putting his city and state first. His



fearlessness in the face of cancer will inspire us all. Giuliani has always appealed to our heads. Now, in his weakness amid his wounds, he will appeal to our hearts.

Never before has he needed us. He seemed never to need anything. His self-possession and confidence seemed to defy all vulnerability. He seemed solitary, independent, aloof and

alone.

Now, in his pain and fear, he is a *mensch*. (Translation for Hillary: that means a man). He is one of us. Needy. Afraid. Dependent on our love and warmth. His flawed body has let him down and now we have something important in common with him. In his power, we admired him but felt free to resent his strength. Now, in his illness, we empathize with him and see him as a kindred spirit.

For her part, Hillary will have no choice but to attack Giuliani. He will have the lead and she will find herself forced to play the role of the attacker regardless of the civilized norms.

Her psychological makeup will also force her to attack. Hillary's sense of identity comes from combat. She defines her ideology and herself by those she opposes, not by those she supports. Like a dolphin, she determines her position by bouncing sonar-like negatives off her adversaries. Unless she is in combat, she is confused, without objectives, and has no bearings.

Her attacks on an infirm opponent will backfire and cripple her candidacy. Rudy's illness will be a tableau before which we will see Hillary as she really is — cutthroat, ambitious, willing to do anything to win. Anything. The better he looks, the worse she will appear.

Once I suggested to Hillary that she appear more vulnerable, less sure of herself. "Find something you don't do well, like Eleanor Roosevelt didn't speak well in public. Everybody's heart went out to her in her shyness. Find a defect, something that is a failing and let people know about it. Let them love you," I urged.

"I can't think of anything" she replied.

Dems jostling for convention role with Hillary

STATE Democratic Chairwoman Judith Hope has a major problem on her hands preparing for the May 16 nominating convention at which Hillary Rodham Clinton will be designated her party's candidate for U.S. Senate.

Actually, Hope has about a dozen major problems: the egos of all the top Democrats who are demanding a convention role.

"She's attempting the biggest ego-balancing act in the world," joked one prominent state Democrat with firsthand knowledge of Hope's travail.

The convention, which is expected to draw some 4,000 people to the Pepsi Arena in Albany, has only one important event: Clinton's nomination. But those seeking Hope's permission to speak before the gathering are legion.

Democratic sources said they include: U.S. Sens. Daniel P. Moynihan and Charles Schumer, state Comptroller Carl McCall, Attorney General Eliot Spitzer, Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver, Senate Minority Leader Martin Connor, Albany Mayor Jerry Jennings, Albany County Executive Michael Breslin and several New York City Democratic leaders.

In addition, it's possible several presidential Cabinet members, and even President Clinton, may show up for the event, requiring even more stage time.

"Everybody who is anybody wants to speak with the first lady, and maybe the president, on the stage with them," said one Democrat involved in the production.

"Judith is very concerned how she is going to fit everybody into

FREDRIC U. DICKER

INSIDE ALBANY

EXCLUSIVE



the program," added another Democratic insider.

"You're going to have thousands of people, hundreds of media, and the only business is a nominating address for the first lady and two seconding speeches.

"Satisfying everybody's desire to be seen is not going to be easy."



JUDITH HOPE
"Very concerned."