

Newsweek

EXCLUSIVE
J.K. ROWLING SPEAKS:
HARRY POTTER'S BACK!



ABORTION
GAYS

The War Over the **Supreme Court**

How Bush or Gore Could Tip the Balance By Stuart Taylor Jr.

RELIGION
RACE

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

PERISCOPE®

HILLARY

Now She's Not Just Listening



At a New York campaign stop

TO MARK THE FIRST anniversary of the listening tour that launched her Senate campaign, Hillary Clinton will hit the trail again this week with another upstate New York campaign swing. But this time she won't be just listening. In recent weeks, she's gone on the attack against her new oppo-

nent, Rep. Rick Lazio. Though some advisers feared the offensive would raise her already high negative ratings, they now say the strategy is working. Hillary has warmed to the challenge, and her favorability ratings are holding steady. Even though she's taken some flak for her attacks on Lazio's record, aides say she is not like-

ly to scrap her scrappy new approach.

Some aides also worry that the campaign's intense focus on issues may be a mistake. Polls show voters like Hillary's stands on topics from education to gun control but still question her motives. Aides are urging her to loosen up, mingle with the public and meet with the media. This week's tour will feature more retail politics, but issues will remain front and center,

aides say. "It's not an either-or choice," says a top adviser.

Though she's now officially a New Yorker, Hillary (and Bill) hope to return to Martha's Vineyard for a few days of R&R in August. But they'll likely take a break in New York, too—perhaps near Skaneateles, the upstate town where they vacationed last summer.



Johnson's graveside service

MISSISSIPPI

A Dixie Mystery

WAS RAYNARD JOHNSON lynched? Or did he kill himself? Komo, Miss., locals, including many whites, doubt two autopsy reports—one independently verified—showing that the black 17-year-old honors student committed suicide June 16. Johnson's parents didn't recognize the belt used when he was found hanging from a tree in his yard, says the Rev. Jesse Jackson. Whites in the area had harassed Johnson for being too friendly with white girls from school. "He was having fun," said a former classmate. "A lot of people don't believe he killed himself." Now the FBI will see if it agrees.

CAMPAIGN 2000

Looking for The Loopholes

EVEN AS SEN. JOHN MCCain and other reformers hailed legislation requiring secretive tax-exempt political organizations to disclose their donors, the groups themselves were scheming to circumvent it. James Bopp Jr., a lawyer for one so-called 527 (named for the section of the tax code they organize under) formed by allies of House Majority Whip Tom DeLay, told NEWSWEEK a court challenge is



"likely." The law, he contends, will "chill" freedom of speech.

Drafters of the bill say they're confident they can defeat any legal challenges. Still, campaign-finance experts say the law's impact may be limited. Most 527s will reorganize under sections of the tax code that aren't covered—or refile as for-profits. One group plans to remove the 527 reference from its Web site and continue business as usual. Other groups note they don't have to disclose millions they've already raised. "This thing is full of loopholes," says a campaign-finance lawyer.

A win for McCain

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM

Special Surplus Cash Edition

It's "green rain" in Washington as the government doubles its surplus estimates to \$1.9 trillion, for this week anyway. Even nowadays, that's real money.

C.W.

Bush	▲	Still surging in polls, but hasn't had to defend "blasé" TX child-health, housing record yet.
Gore	↔	"Fighting Al" in populist garb zaps drug cos., Big Oil. But is it credible?
Keating	▲	Okla. gov. is latest fave for Bush's veep, even if he did call evolution "controversial."
Ellison	▼	Oracle CEO doesn't just talk trash about Bill Gates, his snoops hijack trash for Softie dirt.
Elián	↔	Goes back to Castro's clutches. Outside Miami, no one cares except cable anchors.
Hillary	↔	Media wild pitch! Wash. Post produces '92 clip showing she was a longtime Yanks fan.

USA TODAY
7-31-00

Lazio leads Hillary Clinton in Senate race

Rep. Rick Lazio, R-N.Y., has opened a 7-percentage-point lead in his race against Democrat Hillary Rodham Clinton for a Senate seat in New York, according to a Zogby Poll in the *New York Post*. It showed Lazio with 49.6% support and Clinton with 42%, a lead within the poll's margin of error of plus or minus 4 percentage points. Previous polls have shown the candidates running neck and neck since Lazio replaced New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani as the GOP candidate in May. "The race has really become all about her," pollster John Zogby said.



By Richard Drew, AP

Lazio: Grabs 7-point lead in race.

President Clinton was featured at a fundraiser Saturday in New York City that brought in an estimated \$250,000 to his wife's Senate campaign. The event was unusual in that it involved Asian-Americans, a group the president rarely has appealed to directly since the fundraising scandals of the Clinton-Gore campaign in 1996. Gore's attendance at a fundraiser at a California Buddhist temple in 1996 led to \$60,000 in illegal donations to Democrats.

Reform group seeks to dump Buchanan

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary has what it takes to be a 'Survivor'

Buchanan first politician to be voted off

By Audrey Hudson
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

PHILADELPHIA — Which politician would you like to vote off your island?

In a game fashioned after the CBS show "Survivor," 36 voters undecided about the presidential race are banishing, one by one, politicians from their lives.

"It is as if you will never have to hear from them again," pollster Frank Luntz told the group before the vote on the list.

First to go was Reform Party presidential contender Pat Buchanan.

The group will gather each night during the Republican National Convention to judge the evening's speakers and determine whether they will vote for Gov. George W. Bush or Vice President Al Gore in November.

The panel consists of a wildly diverse group of 12 Republicans, 12 independents and 12 Democrats.

One Republican voter cautious about Mr. Bush's candidacy said she wanted an all-liberal Supreme Court. A pro-life Democratic voter said he was concerned over Mr. Gore's pro-choice stance. But the most telling sign the group was made up of undecided voters, as Mr. Luntz stressed throughout the two-hour session, was their pick as the survivor on the political island.

Hillary Rodham Clinton.

"She's the true survivor," one participant said. "The mere fact she stayed in the White House and stood by her man."

The next politician voted off the island after Mr. Buchanan was Minnesota Gov. Jesse Ventura, followed by Jesse Jackson, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, Massachusetts Democrat, Attorney General Janet Reno, Green Party presidential candidate Ralph Nader, President Clinton, Mr. Bush and then Mr. Gore.

Only four respondents voted to kick Mr. Gore off the island in that voting round, compared with 11 votes to eliminate Mr. Bush. The showing appeared to get Mr. Bush's campaign off to a rocky start, with criticism from all three voting groups.

"This will be an interesting challenge for Bush; if he can take these people, he can take the election," Mr. Luntz said.



Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton addresses a New York church congregation yesterday.

"You are what the campaigns call gold," Mr. Luntz told the group. "They want to reach out to you; you are what matters in this campaign."

After being shown a series of television advertisements produced by the Gore and Bush campaigns, some members softened their views on Mr. Bush and shifted their criticism toward Mr. Gore.

One commercial of Mr. Gore in various family settings with a musical score contained no message or voice-over and scored poorly among all three groups.

"So what, he has a family, everyone has a family. Tell me what the issue is," said one independent voter.

Democrats described the ad as "hokey" and "boring."

Mr. Bush's ads fared better, drawing strong support among the Republicans, medium support from independents and neutrality among Democrats.

"Bush uses facts, and that's what we want to see," said a Democrat who later declared he now leaned toward the Republican candidate.

Lazio leads Hillary in New York race

NEW YORK (Reuters) — Republican Rep. Rick A. Lazio, relatively unknown until he joined the race for a Senate seat against Hillary Rodham Clinton two months ago, leads the first lady by more than seven percentage points, according to a poll published yesterday.

The Zogby International poll published in the New York Post showed Mr. Lazio had the support of 49.6 percent of voters against Mrs. Clinton's 42 percent, the Republican's best showing in the polls since entering the race May 20, when New York City Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani pulled out after being diagnosed with prostate cancer.

"The race has really become all about her," pollster John Zogby said. "When Giuliani was running, the vote was a little bit about him."

Previous polls had shown the four-term suburban Long Island congressman and the first lady tied in the race for the Senate seat of Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is retiring.

The latest poll of 605 registered voters taken Thursday and Friday had a margin of error of plus or minus four percentage points. The pollster said about 13 percent of voters surveyed said they were not familiar enough with Mr. Lazio to

have an opinion.

But the survey showed 38.2 percent had a "very unfavorable" opinion about Mrs. Clinton, the first wife of a president to run for public office.

The survey showed Mrs. Clinton's standing falling among Jews, a key voting bloc in any New York election with 14 percent of the electorate. Democratic candidates traditionally need 60 percent of the Jewish vote to win statewide.

But Mrs. Clinton had only 48 percent of Jewish voters on her side, compared with Mr. Lazio's 36 percent and 16 percent undecided, the pollster said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Helping Hillary

President Clinton stepped up efforts on Saturday to get his wife elected to the Senate, helping raise an estimated \$250,000 for her campaign and warning against voter apathy in the November election.

With Hillary Rodham Clinton locked in a bitter fight with Re-

publican opponent Rep. Rick Lazio for the Senate seat from New York, the president has increased his role in the campaign, helping the first lady raise funds and talking up her commitment to health care and education, Reuters reports.

"She will be the best advocate New York could possibly have," he told a group of Korean-Americans at a fund-raiser in New York City.

Dogged by accusation that she once made an anti-Semitic slur, the first lady told the group she would fight to "eliminate and stamp out" discrimination in all forms.

Eager to shore up relations with New York Jews, a key constituency, she also told WCBS radio she favored moving the U.S. Embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem before the end of this year, and criticized Palestinian President Yasser Arafat over the collapse of peace negotiations with Israel.

letters@nypost.com

Hillary's Erie Coincidence: Why *Not* Run From Pa.?

• Why is it assumed that Hillary Clinton confused Erie County, Pa., with Erie County, N.Y., when she recently appeared on a radio station in the former location? ("Erie coincidence leaves Hillary in a goof-y radio daze," July 26).

Didn't it ever occur to anyone that she's taken a good look at her poll numbers and is merely preparing herself for her next carpetbagging attempt in that state just in case she loses in New York?

Why not run in Pennsylvania? It's a big state from which she can launch her presidential campaign. **Gary Mottola**
Brooklyn

• Why do some people get uptight and accuse The Post of bashing Hillary Clinton?

You are just pointing out what she does and

has done. Why shoot the messenger?

The Post doesn't make her look bad. She has done that to herself and you just point it out.

Louise C. Albertson
West Coxsackie

• As a New Yorker living in England, I have had the interesting experience of following American politics from overseas.

The most difficult and absurd story is how Hillary Clinton has managed to garner any support from New York state residents as our prospective senator, much less actually have a real chance at winning this election.

A stranger to New York state with obscure left-leaning politics and

a dubious history could be our next representative in the Senate. Truly unbelievable.

Joseph Collins Jr.
Solihull, England

• So, it seems that Hillary Clinton can't tell the difference between Erie County, Pa., and Erie County, N.Y. Yes, Hillary the Brilliant sure loves her new state.

Had Dan Quayle done the same thing it would have been the lead story on every news show. Somebody should point out to her that if she, God help us, gets elected to the Senate, her office is in Washington, D.C., and not Washington state.

Jack Bradley
Hazlet, N.J.

THE ISSUE: Hillary Clinton's Senate run.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

WASHINGTON TIMES
7-28-2000-FRI
PJ AE

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Inside]



state with a Democratic governor, is suddenly getting some attention as a possible veep," the reporter said.

Chelsea's plans change

Chelsea Clinton plans to skip the start of school at Stanford University this fall in part to campaign for her mother, Hillary Rodham Clinton, a White House spokeswoman said yesterday.

Miss Clinton, 20, is due to begin her senior year at Stanford. She plans to return to the Palo Alto, Calif., campus at midyear, after her mother's race for the U.S. Senate seat from New York.

She also wants to spend more time with her father as his presidency ends, said Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman, Lissa Muscatine.

"Chelsea is taking off the fall quarter to experience and enjoy the final months of her father's presidency, and to support her mother and father in their various activities," Miss Muscatine told the Associated Press.

Miss Clinton has accumulated additional credits at Stanford to be able still to graduate on time in spring 2001, she said.

It is not clear whether Miss Clinton will stump apart from her mother, or whether she will speak formally at campaign events.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Washington Times



Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton fields questions in front of New York's City Hall after receiving endorsements yesterday for her commitment to homosexual issues. AP

Conservative group puts Hillary's record in book

Paperback going to 6 million New York voters

By Steve Miller
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

More than 6 million New York voters will receive copies of a 90-page book that calls Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton's record one of "scandal, corruption and radical politics."

The Virginia-based American Conservative Union (ACU) is mailing out copies of the paperback book.

Authored by the group's executive director Christian Josi, the book has been mailed so far to nearly 2 million people on the conservative union's nationwide mailing list.

It is part of a \$7 million effort to distribute the book to New York voters, an ACU spokesman said.

Titled "Hillary Rodham Clinton: What Every American Should Know," the book discusses the first lady's ill-fated health care plan, the Vince W. Foster Jr. suicide, the firing of White House travel office employees and Whitewater.

"The goal is to get this into the hands of every voter in New York," said Ian Walters, the conservative union's spokesman. "Liberal, conservative, Democrat, Republican."

Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson said the multimillion-dollar push to distribute the book is transparent.

"Unfortunately, there are conservative groups that are willing to spend millions of dollars spreading lies around the state," Mr. Wolfson said. "They can't rely on issues so they rely on insults. I think New Yorkers will see this for what it is."

Mr. Walters said the book was being readied when New York Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani was still the presumed Republican opponent of the first lady, "and I want to emphasize very much that we are not Giuliani fans," Mr. Walters said.

New York Rep. Rick Lazio, who replaced Mr. Giuliani as a candidate in April, has received only average ratings by the conservative union during his three full terms as a congressman.

"This is not done in behalf of any opponent [of the first lady]," Mr. Walters said.

A spokesman for the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee called the mailing a "\$7 million smear campaign."

"Theoretically, we could put together something to counter this," said committee spokesman David DiMartino. "But it is not something we would do. Most of the things that have been published accusing Hillary of things have been discredited."

The book mailing project is the largest ever for the 35-year-old group, which has aligned itself over the years with stalwart conservatives such as Ronald Reagan and Sen. Jesse Helms.

"I have received hundreds of phone calls and letters," Mr. Josi said. "They are pretty evenly split — some say I was too easy on her and on the other side, I get calls that say I'm the son of the devil."

He wrote the book with a single purpose: "Any one of these scandals would doom any candidacy in the country, yet she has tons of scandals and the media has been willing to give her a pass. So this is a voter education project."

Also enclosed in the mailing is a letter from former Rep. Gerald Solomon, New York Republican, who retired last year.

In the letter, Mr. Solomon, who now runs his own lobbying firm, tells voters: "Mrs. Clinton is intent upon seeking the power to tell the rest of us how to live our lives."

Mr. Solomon said in an interview yesterday that the media has fallen down in its coverage of Hillary-related controversy.

"The media just does not tell the whole story," said Mr. Solomon, who has been affiliated with the ACU for many years. Mrs. Clinton "really believes that big government knows best. I really think she would be a disaster for our state."

Polls have Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Lazio tied, with the first lady keeping an edge in New York City while Mr. Lazio continues to play well in the suburbs.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hill hammers Rick on AIDS

Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday pointed to Rick Lazio's support of a group that questions whether the HIV virus causes AIDS as evidence he is "out of the mainstream of New York."

"It is that kind of reckless advocacy that is so dangerous and damaging to our efforts to combat HIV/AIDS," Clinton said in front of City Hall, where she was endorsed by the state's largest gay political organization, the Empire State Pride Agenda.

The Democratic candidate for Senate referred to a Post report that Lazio has been aggressively lobbying the federal government since 1998 to fund the Group for the Scientific Reappraisal of HIV/AIDS.

The San-Francisco-based group, which has an affiliate here, contends AIDS isn't caused by HIV — despite overwhelming medical evidence to the contrary.

Dan McLagan, Lazio's spokesman, said the Long Island GOP congressman was merely trying to explore all avenues to help people with AIDS.

"Apparently, Mrs. Clinton believes AIDS victims should be ignored and suffer needlessly if their views are not politically correct, and that's cruel," he said.

"What Rick did in this instance was ask the NIH [National Institutes of Health] to talk to this group and address their concerns. They're constituents. He doesn't share their views on the cause of AIDS."

Nevertheless, the flap provided Clinton with another opportunity to portray her Republican Senate rival as a conservative extremist.

"This is a person who is out of the mainstream of New York," she charged.

Unexpectedly, Clinton also praised Mayor Giuliani — who dropped out of the Senate race in

By DAVID SEIFMAN
and ROBERT HARDT JR.

May — as someone who agreed with her on gun control, gay rights and abortion issues.

"Now I'm running against somebody who is far to the right of not only the mayor, but [also] of Al D'Amato, on a lot of issues that are important to New Yorkers," she said.

Clinton, who last month ducked a question about debating Lazio, yesterday suggested the two engage in a "lot of debates."

McLagan came back, saying: "This is the first time the word debate has escaped Mrs. Clinton's mouth to my knowledge. We are enthusiastically looking forward to holding debates."



GAY SUPPORT: Hillary Rodham Clinton accepts the endorsement of the gay-advocacy Empire State Pride Agenda outside City Hall yesterday while slamming Rick Lazio for his support of a group claiming that HIV doesn't cause AIDS.
N.Y. Post: Tamara Beckwith

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Former sex-bias club ho\$ted Lazio

RICK LAZIO attended a fund-raiser this week at a ritzy New Jersey country club that was part of a sexual-discrimination controversy in 1997.

Lazio and New Jersey GOP Senate candidate Bob Franks appeared at a joint fund-raiser for the Monmouth County Republican Committee at the Navesink Country Club.

The club had been one of about

30 in the state that placed restrictions on when female members could play golf. Until a state law was passed in 1997 that forbids the practice, female members at Navesink couldn't hit the links on the weekends until after 11:30 a.m.

"Rick obviously opposes discrimination in any form, but this club doesn't discriminate [now] so I fail to see the relevance," said Lazio spokesman Dan McLagan.

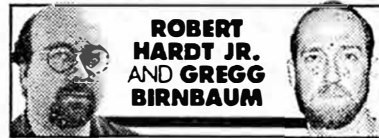
"Mrs. Clinton's state of Arkansas flies a flag with confederate flag elements in it. Does that make Mrs. Clinton pro-slavery?"

■
Hillary Rodham Clinton bet on Dictator Rudy yesterday — and lost.

The first lady campaigned at the racetrack in Saratoga Springs, as the state AFL-CIO was hosting its annual outing in this summer resort town.

Clinton was besieged by supporters, several of whom gave her their betting tickets. One was for Dictator Rudy — a long shot that finished dead last in the seventh race.

CAMPAIGN BUZZ



Clinton also hit the grandstand, where a spectator gave her tickets for all the horses in the eighth race.

"I've got a winner here somewhere," the first lady said, but she didn't cash any of her tickets.

■
It seemed odd at first that Lazio's chief Jewish adviser, Jonathan Greenspan, accompanied the Republican candidate to greet the lunchtime throng at the South Street Seaport this week.

Greenspan doesn't often join Lazio at public events and there was no obvious "Jewish angle" to the appearance.

But a busload of Syrian Jewish children suddenly materialized and Lazio quickly plunged into the sea of yarmulke-wearing kids.

Oy! What a photo op!

One of the kids' supervisors said he didn't know Lazio was going to be around, but could it really just be a coincidence?

Greenspan only smiled.

■
A remarkable videotape of an unguarded Sen. Chuck Schumer letting it all hang out with a small group of supporters recently at a private home on Long Island is chock full of stunning revelations.

On the tape made by cable TV host Zev Brenner, not only does the Brooklyn Democrat say Hillary would vote lock-step with him on Israel, he also:

■ Heaps praise on Mayor Giuliani as a great friend of the Jews and says he would "have a difficult time" if he had to make the case that Hillary would be better for Jews than Rudy.

■ Expresses fear that President Clinton may lean on Israel to grant peace concessions because the president is thinking about his post-White House legacy.

■ Predicts newly installed Syrian ruler Bashar Assad will be ousted within three months.

■ Discloses he cut a deal two decades ago to endorse Rep. Major Owens (D-Brooklyn) if Owens agreed to vote like Schumer on the Mideast. Schumer said Owens kept his side of the bargain.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

POLITICS

John F. Harris

Mrs. Clinton Takes Issue With Arafat

Hillary Rodham Clinton says that U.S. aid to the Palestinian Authority should be summarily cut off if Yasser Arafat follows through on his threat to unilaterally declare statehood on Sept. 13. The position puts distance between the first lady and the Clinton administration, and in an embrace with Republican opponent Rick Lazio in the New York Senate race.

Clinton released a statement Tuesday just hours after the Camp David peace talks fell apart warning that a unilateral declaration of statehood would be "entirely unacceptable and should be met with a cutoff of United States assistance."

Taking a tough stand against unilateral Palestinian actions is important, particularly to Jewish voters, who make up some 10 percent of the New York electorate. It's an issue where the first lady is vulnerable, because many New Yorkers opposed her 1998 declaration that a Palestinian state was "in the long-term interests of the Middle East."

Lazio, for his part, appeared at a bipartisan news conference on Capitol Hill yesterday with other New York legislators to emphasize that he has already co-sponsored legislation that would cut off aid in the event of a unilateral declaration. The Clinton administration has said it opposes a unilateral declaration, but for now is not supporting the legislation.

While Clinton was grappling with Middle East borders, she was also laboring to figure out the borders of her newly adopted Empire State. Lazio's campaign yesterday was crowing about a radio interview she conducted with WLKK in Erie, Pa., in which the first lady seemingly answered questions as though she were speaking to listeners in Erie County, N.Y. "How can she be expected to help western New York if she can't find it on a map," said Bill Dal Col, Lazio's campaign manger.

Clinton aides didn't make much of an effort to deny that a mistake had been made—apparently due to confusion by a Washington-based consultant who booked numerous radio interviews for her that day—but noted cheerfully that WLKK actually does reach a small sliver of voters living in Chautauqua, N.Y.

ADA's 10th Anniversary Marked With Initiatives

Clinton Directs Agencies To Hire More Disabled

By ELLEN NAKASHIMA
Washington Post Staff Writer

Marking the 10th anniversary of the Americans With Disabilities Act (ADA), President Clinton announced yesterday that he will issue an executive order calling on federal agencies to hire 100,000 people with disabilities over the next five years.

Clinton made his remarks at the granite memorial to Franklin D. Roosevelt, lending the event a powerful symbolism as he evoked the president who, despite needing to use a wheelchair after a crippling bout of polio, gave the country the New Deal.

"We are all a freer and better country because of the Americans With Disabilities Act and what you have done," said Clinton, speaking under a gray drizzly sky to about 800 people, young and old, many in wheelchairs or with seeing-eye dogs.

As Clinton spoke, he nodded at Marques Moore, a 28-year-old student at the University of Texas who suffered a spinal cord injury after a bull-riding accident, acknowledging his help in drafting the executive order. A White House aide held an umbrella over Moore, who was in a wheelchair on stage, because he could not move his hands.

The landmark legislation was signed a decade ago by President George Bush. Highlighting the bipartisan nature of the ADA, Sens. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah) and Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) also spoke at yesterday's event. In a moving gesture, Harkin, whose brother Frank was deaf and died a month ago, "signed" his opening remarks to the crowd.

"A lot of what the Americans With Disabilities Act is all about is making sure people can live like people, can do things that other folks take for granted," Clinton said. "The FDR Memorial is a pretty good place for us to be having this because, as all of you know, it is more than a monument to one of our nation's leaders; it's a symbol of who we are as a nation and what we can overcome."

Clinton noted that although the federal work force is the smallest in 40 years, he wants to ensure "that we're tapping the deepest pool of talent."

The percentage of people with disabilities hired by the federal executive branch has remained stable at about 7 percent over the past 20 years, according to the Office of Personnel Management. Today, out of a federal work force of 1.8 million, 122,000 people have disabilities. The figure does not count the



PHOTOS BY ROBERT A. REEDER—THE WASHINGTON POST

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton looks to Justin Dart Jr. as his role in the Americans With Disabilities Act is acknowledged. With them are Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) and Beth Gray, who sang the National Anthem.



President Clinton accepts "Spirit of ADA" torch from Dart during rainy event at the FDR Memorial.

U.S. Postal Service, Congress or the judicial branch.

Clinton accepted the "Spirit of ADA" torch from Justin Dart Jr., who is often called the "father of the ADA." Dart, an activist for five decades, also praised Clinton for supporting the sculpture of FDR in a wheelchair.

"Like Abraham Lincoln, Bill Clinton has fought to guarantee the rights of our citizens," said Dart,

sitting in a wheelchair and wearing his trademark cowboy hat and boots. But Dart also warned that "millions of us are unemployed and poor, in nursing institutions. . . . The ADA is under attack. Mr. Clinton, we need your continuing leadership."

Clinton appeared with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, who recounted how, in 1993, she had gone on a door-to-door canvass to find out why students were not in school. She learned that many children were kept out because they could not see or hear or had some other disability.

Beginning next year, she said, a new federal regulation will allow disabled students receiving Supplemental Security Income payments to exclude more earned income before their benefits are affected, from \$400 a month to \$1,290 a month.

"This is long overdue," she said. "Young people with disabilities should not have to pay the price for working."

The president announced other rule changes to encourage people receiving Social Security disability payments to work. Last year, the maximum limit on how much a person could earn without losing disability benefits was raised. Beginning next year, Clinton said, the earnings limit—currently \$700 a month—will be automatically adjusted each year based on the national average wage index.

The administration also is supporting bipartisan legislation to allow children with disabilities to continue their Medicaid coverage even after their parents have returned to work.

And Clinton announced a new Web site, www.disability.gov, as a one-stop electronic link for people with disabilities and their families on topics such as employment and civil rights protection.

NEW YORK POST

America's oldest continuously published daily newspaper

One Cheer for Hillary

Hillary Clinton just got one right on the Middle East. It's about time.

The first lady endorsed legislation being pushed by one of her most loyal supporters, Rep. Jerrold Nadler (D-Manhattan), that would deny U.S. aid to the Palestinian Authority if Yasser Arafat unilaterally declares a state on Sept. 13.

"It must be clear that any unilateral declaration of Palestinian statehood . . . should be met with a cutoff of United States assistance," Mrs. Clinton said in statement after the breakup of the Camp David summit.

She's right. Imagine if the United States were to fund a leader who touched off a new round of the intifada.

Yet it's difficult to understand how Mrs. Clinton squares her current position with her 1998 call for a Palestinian state.

Perhaps she's taking cues from Sen. Charles Schumer, who told supporters last month that Hillary "will vote exactly as I vote on Jewish issues. She will just look to me and see how she votes."

No problem there — Schumer is entirely dependable on Middle East issues from our point of view — though it

makes you wonder about the substance behind Hillary's candidacy.

Or perhaps Hillary finally understands that she can't get elected unless she represents the interests of the people she'll need to vote for her, many of whom wouldn't want to fund Arafat even if he *doesn't* declare Palestinian statehood.

Democracy's grand that way, isn't it?

On that note, the Nadler bill — which is being co-sponsored by Mrs. Clinton's opponent, Rep. Rick Lazio — raises a good point. More than \$100 million in U.S. aid goes to Arafat & Co. each year despite convincing evidence of rampant fiscal corruption and the PA's refusal to honor its obligations under the Oslo and Wye agreements.

The Clinton administration has deliberately ignored evidence of this corruption. But Arafat's intransigence at Camp David has opened a lot of eyes — and Congress must take the lead in sending the message that America's patience with Yasser Arafat is drawing to a close.

As for Hillary, she would do well to give her husband a private reading of her statement.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Erie coincidence leaves Hillary in a goof-y radio daze

By GREGG BIRNBAUM

Hillary Rodham Clinton appeared on a radio station in Erie County — Pennsylvania — when she thought she was on the air in New York, The Post learned yesterday.

The talk-show host who interviewed Clinton said he was stunned she came on his program — because the small AM station almost never hosts candidates from New York, and has a minuscule audience in the Empire State.

"She thought we were part of Erie County, N.Y., and I wasn't going to tell her no," said Jeff Johns, program director at WLKK in Erie, Pa.

"She had no idea," Johns told The Post. "We were all surprised about it. There had to be confusion on their part."

Some supporters said it was a bad move to have Clinton — who has been under attack, as a carpetbagger — appear on an out-of-state radio station, especially

when some New York stations haven't been able to get her for interviews.

Blame for the flub goes to a Strauss Radio Strategies, a Washington, D.C.-based media firm, which arranged for Clinton's on-air interview. Company owner Richard Strauss declined to comment.

One source defended Clinton's appearance, saying the broadcast did reach some New Yorkers in the sparsely populated southwestern corner of the state.

During the 10-minute taped interview, which was broadcast on Thursday, the first lady even told a baffled Johns, "Last week, I was up your way talking about my upstate economic agenda."

Clinton was apparently referring to a five-day bus tour that took her across upstate New York.

The 1,000-watt station in northwestern Pennsylvania is located about 20 miles from the New York border. The signal reaches about 20 miles and the station



HILLARY CLINTON
Pa. is her state of confusion.

has a "handful" of listeners in New York, Johns said.

Clinton spokeswoman Karen Finney had no comment.

Johns said he didn't bring up Clinton's apparent error during the interview because he didn't want to spoil his accidental journalistic coup — and have the first lady hang up.

Johns also said he was shocked Clinton would appear on his show, of all places, because he is a well-known political conservative and calls himself "a card-carrying member of the 'vast right-wing conspiracy.'"

Near the end of the interview, Johns demanded to know how it was that Clinton could quickly locate a 3-year-old letter from Paul Fray, the man who accused her of making an anti-Semitic comment, while the Rose Law Firm billing records could go missing for years.

"Wow! That's a big long question," a surprised Clinton exclaimed as she denied past accusations.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Washington Times

NATION

'Munster' could give Hillary a scare

'Grandpa' Lewis wants N.Y. voters to turn Green

By Liz Trotta
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

NEW YORK — It is delicious to imagine how Al Lewis — better known as "Grandpa Munster" of 1960s television fame — would behave as a member of the U.S. Senate.

Chomping on an unlit cigar, tufts of gray hair sprouting from his sideburns — would he swing his six-foot frame into a leather chair and play to the gallery? Might he wear the black Dracula cape and the white bow tie?

"I'm a maverick, an outlaw," says Mr. Lewis. "I love it and everybody knows it."

Grandpa Lewis, robust at age 90, is seeking the Green Party nomination in the Sept. 12 primary.

At first glance it may seem like show-biz shtick that a third-party candidate best known for starring in "The Munsters" and "Car 54, Where Are You?" is running for the Senate seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, New York Democrat.

But with the race between Democrat Hillary Clinton and Republican Rep. Rick Lazio expected to be close, every vote will count.

"We're going to hurt somebody," says Craig Seaman, chairman of the state Green Party, which has about 4,000 enrolled members.

Pollster John Zogby reports that Mr. Lewis is polling between 2.5 and 3 percent in a race that could come down to 40,000 votes, or a 1 percent difference.

"Lefty liberals who see her as a centrist may not vote for Hillary. Some are resentful of the carpet-bagging and others are just tired of the Clintons," said Mr. Zogby.

Mr. Lewis describes Mrs. Clinton as "a street hustler." In a letter to the first lady on his Web site, Mr. Lewis writes: "I happened to know Eleanor Roosevelt. . . Mrs. Clinton, you are no Eleanor Roosevelt."

Mr. Lewis' candidacy is threatening enough so that Democrats, who want him out of the race, and Republicans, who want him in it, have tried to make deals, according to Randy Credico, a Las Vegas comedian who is Grandpa's campaign manager.

Even money has been offered through third parties, he says, adding that the first lady's campaign manager, Bill de Blasio, asked Mr. Lewis' supporters what Mrs. Clinton would have to do on issues in order for Mr. Lewis to get out of the



Actor Al Lewis (left) talks with Randy Credico, his manager in the New York Senate campaign.

race — in effect, how could she compromise her positions?

Grandpa Lewis, a classic liberal-radical who speaks old-fashioned Brooklynese, is an alternative for turned-off voters.

"I try to orient my campaign to Joe and Jane Six-pack," he said recently, after making a classic stage entrance in one of Manhattan's usually quiet dining rooms.

Unlike his upstate opponent, Mark Dunau, an organic farmer who stresses environmental issues, Mr. Lewis' passion is social justice, particularly prison reform and repeal of strict drug laws.

On his weekly talk show over WBAI, the local Pacifica radio station, he invites listeners to become pen pals for inmates and inveighs against the "gulags" run by state corrections officials with whom he has a running battle. "It's racism," he says.

But he is no fan of such black leaders as the Rev. Al Sharpton and the Rev. Jesse Jackson. "The only time they turn up is when a black guy is about to die or has been dead — like buzzards," said Mr. Lewis.

"There are a lot of people who fancy themselves liberal and basically whine a lot," said Mr. Seaman. "Al doesn't take kindly to that type of person."

Green Party issues in this state range from pleading a case for the Ogoni people of Nigeria to opposing genetically altered food.

But there are cultural and geographical differences between Grandpa Lewis and other Greens.

GRANDPA



The Green Party candidate trades on his Munster character in a Senate campaign poster.

He is the only Jewish candidate in the Senate race and he lives in Manhattan.

"Sure, we'd like to see better working conditions for workers in Thailand, but what about the people here?" asks Mr. Credico.

In 1998, Grandpa Lewis pulled in 52,000 votes as the Green Party candidate for governor, winning the Greens a line on the ballot for the next four years.

There was little money for that campaign and there may be less for this one, about \$5,000, according to Grandpa Lewis, who is a millionaire many times over. The TV series are still running in more

"I'm a maverick, an outlaw. I love it, and everybody knows it."

— Al Lewis

than 40 countries and he has invested wisely in California real estate.

Al Lewis grew up in hard times. His father, a billboard painter, died in a fall from a scaffold when he was 9, and his mother, a political activist, worked as a superintendent in the Spanish Harlem tenement where they lived.

"If there was a [demonstration], I got dragged," he recalled. "May Day, Sacco and Vanzetti, the Scottsboro Boys. You name it, we were there."

Mr. Lewis has been a performer since 1923, shoveling elephant droppings in the circus, working in vaudeville, burlesque, 19 years of radio and even traveling the South with his own medicine show, selling a cure-all elixir he made in a bathtub the night before.

To attract attention he would start a bonfire in Main Street and stand on a ladder with an American flag, "shoving that elixir. You can't sell unless you have a crowd."

Glancing around at the sedate room, he adds, "I'm going to starve to death here."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Mrs. Clinton a Name to Beat Even in a New Jersey Race

By DAVID M. HALBFINGER

TRENTON, July 25 — As Representative Robert D. Franks gets his campaign for the United States Senate from New Jersey up to speed, the liberal Democrat he says he is running against is beginning to sound like someone named Hillary Rodham Corzine.

At a news conference here on Monday, Mr. Franks said Jon S. Corzine, the Democratic nominee, was trying to bring back Hillary Rodham Clinton's failed health care reform plan, and he attacked both Mr. Corzine and Mrs. Clinton as "celebrity candidates" trying to fool voters with fancy television commercials.

Today, Mr. Franks sent out 100,000 fund-raising letters citing Mrs. Clinton as one of the liberals "New Jersey can't afford." Tonight, he joined Mrs. Clinton's opponent, Representative Rick A. Lazio, at a New Jersey fund-raiser for both men.

After the June 6 primary, advisers to Mr. Corzine said he would attack Representative Franks by linking his most conservative votes to the former House speaker, Newt Gingrich. He has yet to do so, however, and the Gingrich name does not seem as potent with liberal voters as it used to be. But Mr. Franks has found his own Newt Gingrich, it seems, and she is just across the Hudson.

"I don't think voters know Jon Corzine as well as they know Hillary," said Candace L. Straight, Mr. Franks's finance chairwoman. "But we've had eight years of Hillary. She's a national figure, she has a record, and she has a very liberal agenda. And from what I can see and watch of Jon Corzine, he's to the left of Hillary."

Stephen Salmore, a Republican strategist and retired Rutgers professor, noted that although Mrs. Clinton had tried to link Mr. Lazio to Mr. Gingrich, she soon abandoned that approach. But turning that tactic against her could work for Mr. Franks, Mr. Salmore said.

"He's trying to define himself," Mr. Salmore said. "He can't say he's not Corzine, because nobody knows who Corzine is. So he's not Hillary. And unlike Newt Gingrich, Hillary not only hasn't lost her power as an icon, she's going to be in everyone's face."

Ms. Straight said tonight's joint event with Mr. Lazio, a house party in Red Bank, was merely a chance for the two men to tap into each

other's database of donors. "My mother's maxed out for Bob, so she's bringing her \$1,000 check for Rick," she said.

Still, raising Mrs. Clinton's name has become a surefire way to energize conservative donors across the country, as Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani found when he raised millions through direct-mail solicitations before quitting the Senate race in New York. And for Mr. Franks, whose opponent can tap into a personal fortune of more than \$400 million, every dollar will count.

The event with Mr. Lazio was expected to produce only about \$50,000 for each Republican candidate. A more important test will be on Thursday night, when Mr. Franks holds his first major fund-raiser, a dinner honoring Senator John McCain of Arizona that is expected to draw 500 contributors paying \$1,000.

In his letter to prospective contributors, Mr. Franks styled himself a David taking on a financial Goliath, and freely acknowledged that he has no hope of outspending Mr. Corzine, who spent more than \$35 million in the primary alone. "I don't have to match Jon Corzine's spending dollar-for-dollar," he wrote. "But I do need enough advertising to let voters compare my platform to Jon Corzine's ultraliberal agenda."

Mr. Salmore said Mr. Franks was wise to link Mr. Corzine's advertisements to Mrs. Clinton's, since most New Jersey residents will be bombarded with both.

"He's trying to get people to the point that when they see Corzine's ads, they go, 'Here's the ad again,'" he said. "Franks is saying, 'Here's a guy who doesn't know the value of a dollar. He's teamed up with Hillary, who wants to spend your money extravagantly. Just like Hillary, he's cosseted from the press, avoiding debates, and trying to introduce himself to the public solely through TV ads.' For someone who's going to lose the TV war, at least in volume, that's not a bad strategy."

Whether it will work with moderate Republicans, Democrats and the unaffiliated voters who make up nearly three-fifths of the New Jersey electorate, of course, remains to be seen.

"The 15 percent of the country that really hates Hillary Clinton thinks of her as just a rigid socialist," said one Corzine adviser. "You're just not going to sell that on Jon Corzine, the former C.E.O. of Goldman Sachs."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



HILLARY CLINTON
Quick to attack.

Hill says Dick and Rick are conservative peas in a pod

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.

Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday quickly ripped into GOP vice presidential pick Dick Cheney, saying he's too conservative and too close to her Senate rival, Rick Lazio.

"This is a U-turn back to the failed policies of the past and it's a precursor of the failed policies of the future if they were to be successful in this election," Clinton said in an interview with The Associated Press.

"Cheney's record is very conservative. He and Bush . . . are very much anti-choice, anti-gun-safety measures and against the kind of responsible fiscal policies that I think are important to New York and the country.

"Lazio is part of that team. I'm going to point that out."

Lazio spokesman Dan McLagan called Clinton's attack "kind of sad."

"Mrs. Clinton's camp is like that cartoon Tasmanian devil, always looking for someone to attack," he said.

Lazio praised Cheney, saying the former Wyoming congressman "is a man of tremendous character and integrity who Americans know they can trust.

"By accepting a spot on the ticket with George W. Bush, Dick Cheney has once again answered the call to serve our country," Lazio said.

Cheney's wife, Lynne, slammed Clinton earlier this year, ridiculing her relationship with the president.

"What really drives me crazy is when she acts like a happy wife," Mrs. Cheney said at a panel sponsored by the American Enterprise Institute in Washington.

Mrs. Cheney, the former chairwoman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, also said "it is just so distressing to me" when the Clintons hold hands.

Mayor Giuliani also praised Dick Cheney, saying he "is a very, very sensible man. He's a very balanced man."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

WINNERS & LOSERS



PETER MORGAN—REUTERS

STEVE JOBS

Thinking different pays off big time: Plenty of raves for new G4 Cube. Got a job for Gates?

RALPH NADER

Time for an air bag. Rising polls mean Gore, media ready to start firing big guns

O.J. SIMPSON

Online image rehab, starts AskOJ.com. Wow, you paused from search for "real" killer

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

Ethnic-slur charge is trivial pursuit, but (Oy!) it's another headache you didn't need

PAT BUCHANAN

Reform Party in chaos, polls are slipping. Time to try to slip back into the *Crossfire*?

TACO BELL CHIHUAHUA

Adios, amigo. Chain bags pooch pitchman. An opening for that Pets.com pup?



SUZANNE PLUNKETT—AP

TIME, JULY 31, 2000

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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Campaign★2000

Hillary ad puts new spin on health-care fiasco

By GREGG BIRNBAUM
and ROBERT HARDT Jr.

Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday took the wraps off a new ad designed to turn her most spectacular White House failure — the 1994 health-care debacle — into a positive for her Senate campaign.

"When her health-care plan was defeated, she kept on fighting, step by step, and made a difference," the 30-second spot says.

The commercial — which shows the first lady visiting bed-ridden hospital patients and talking to doctors — ends by asking who will be a stronger advocate for better health care.

"Hillary," the announcer answers. "Always has been. Always will be."

The ad, which begins airing today in the city, is the first time in a commercial that the Democratic candidate has raised the issue of her most well-known and unsuccessful stab at policy-making — a bull's-eye at which GOP opponent Rick Lazio has repeatedly fired.

"If New Yorkers can't trust that she was right then, how can they trust that she's right now?" asked Lazio spokesman Michael Marr.



JUST KIDDING: Rick Lazio woos future voters at the South Street Seaport yesterday.

N.Y. Post: Michael Norcia

Clinton campaign manager Bill de Blasio defended the spot, saying, "This ad makes it very clear that Hillary will continue her fight in the Senate, working step by step to pass a real Patients Bill of Rights, provide health-coverage tax credits, and ensure that every child has health insurance."

Meanwhile, the Republican Leadership Council kicked off a \$1 million ad blitz on Lazio's behalf. It features past footage of President Clinton

praising Lazio and Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Lazio and Hillary Clinton are vying to fill the retiring Moynihan's seat.

In the commercial, Bill Clinton is seen recognizing Lazio and Moynihan at a Washington ceremony last year, praising their work on a measure to protect health care for the disabled.

The RLC, an organization of moderate GOPers, said the 30-second ad would be aired on cable TV in the city and across upstate.

The commercial uses a split-screen effect to show Lazio and Moynihan side by side, making it appear almost as though they are working together — and obviously aiming to have some of Moynihan's popularity rub off on the Republican.

"Unlike others, Rick Lazio and Daniel Moynihan have a track record of successfully standing up for New Yorkers and fighting for issues that are important to New York state," said Mark Miller, executive director of the RLC.

Hillary Clinton is a liberated woman. Everybody knows that. But sometimes she needs a little traditional help. In defense of his wife over whether she called a long-ago aide a "[blankety-blank] Jew bastard," President Clinton offered an odd reassurance:

"She might have called him a bastard. She's never claimed that she was pure on profanity. But I've never heard her tell a joke with an ethnic connotation . . . She's so straight on this, she squeaks."

Parsing this president's pronunciamientos is always crucial, so when he tells us she's straight "on this," is he telling us to be wary of everything else? Hmmmmmm. And who said anything about an ethnic joke?

The presidential defense certainly dates Barbara Bush, for her description of Geraldine Ferraro as "something that rhymes with witch." But the

Suzanne Fields, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.

First anti-Semite?

First lady drives Jewish wagon into a ditch

president is right: Profanity is different from a racial and religious slur. So is it fair to accuse Hillary Clinton of anti-Semitism?

That may depend on what you mean by "anti-Semitism." One Jewish slur, if indeed she uttered it, does not an anti-Semite make. But no matter how you look at her, this reminds everyone that Hillary's spontaneous responses to issues that concern Jews contrast her sharply to Rick Lazio, her opponent for the U.S. Senate.

Not so long ago it was a cliché that Jews are yellow-dog Democrats who would cheerfully vote for a yellow dog if the mutt was a Democrat. FDR and his

New Deal and Harry Truman's fervent support of the Israeli state put Jewish immigrants like my parents and grandparents firmly in the Democratic Party. But that was a long time ago. Lots of Jewish intellectuals — the neoconservatives — left the Democratic Party to back Ronald Reagan, and the world didn't crash on them.

These Jews have become conservative on moral and political grounds. To them Hillary Clinton is the shiksa — the son pretty blonde Gentile — the son brings home to meet the folks. Even if she says she'll convert, take lessons from an orthodox rabbi, endure the ritual bath and promise to raise the kids Jewish,

the parents are suspicious. Maybe all she wants is a comfortable life of wealth and security. Something just doesn't seem kosher.

Hillary has a history of insensitivity to what the Jews care most about — conventional morality and the survival of Israel. If a conservative is a liberal who's been mugged (or a liberal with a daughter in junior high school), a Jewish conservative in New York circa 2000 is a liberal who has had it up to here with Clinton pretense and double-talk.

How ironic that it was the Middle East peace negotiations that Bill Clinton had to interrupt to call the New York Daily News to cross his heart and hope to die if his wife was really an anti-Semite.

You don't have to be an anti-

Semite to be chairperson of the New York chapter of the New World Foundation, as Hillary was in the late '80s, but you can't be a friend of Israel and the Jews if you preside without protest over an organization that contributed thousands of dollars to Palestinian terrorists making war on Jews in Israel. A friend with true grit would look closely at the fine print.

You don't have to be an anti-Semite to sit quietly by, with a beatific expression on your face, when Mrs. Yasser Arafat accuses Jews of systematically poisoning Arab children, as Hillary did, but if you're a friend of the Jews you won't leap up to embrace Mrs. Arafat at the conclusion of her remarks, as Hillary did.

The futility of making endless explanations for things she shouldn't have done is expressed in an old Yiddish folk tale that the first lady might put to profit:

A rabbi was asked to judge an intense, but rather enigmatic debate by two Jewish scholars over this puzzle: A wagon is stuck in the mud. How to get it out? The first scholar says he would put a wood timber under the

wheels, and if that didn't work he would use a wooden beam. The second scholar, thinking he had the argument clincher, retorted: "But what if you don't have either a timber or a beam?"

The rabbi, impatient with the argument, held up his hands: "A good driver doesn't let his horses pull the wagon into the mud in the first place."



Suzanne Fields



HILLARY CLINTON

\$tar power is helping fuel Hillary's run

Hillary Rodham Clinton's soft-money machine collected a whopping \$2.9 million in the last three months — fueled by megabucks from Hollywood's biggest stars, records released yesterday show.

Tinseltown donors to Clinton's Democratic campaign included Robin Williams (\$5,000), Tom Cruise and Nicole Kidman (\$10,000) and Robert De Niro (\$5,000).

TV personalities weren't left out either, with Jerry Springer contributing \$10,000, Rosie O'Donnell chipping in \$10,000, and

By Gregg Birnbaum, Robert Hardt Jr. and Maggie Haberman in New York, and Vincent Morris in Washington

Ted Danson giving \$5,000.

Other celebs who ponied up for the first lady were author Danielle Steel, film director Cameron Crowe, designer Oscar De la Renta, agent Michael Ovitz, actress Renee Russo, playwright Wendy Wasserstein and publisher Jann Wenner.

Also on the list: "Simpsons" creator Matt Groening, former Texas Gov. Ann Richards, and Jean Kennedy Smith.

The art world reached into its pockets for Clinton, as Cristo, Robert Rauschenberg and Frank Stella offered their creations for auction to bring in a total of \$54,000.



ROBERT De NIRO
Ponies up \$5,000.

Another non-soft money fund-raising report shows Clinton wasn't forgotten by her old home state of Arkansas. The mayor of Little Rock wrote a check for \$500 and a lawyer at the Rose Law Firm, where the first lady once worked, also donated \$500.

The soft-money committee, New York Senate 2000, is not subject to contribution limits, while donors to Clinton's regular campaign committee can give a maximum of \$2,000.

Clinton's GOP rival,



VOTING WITH THEIR WALLETS: Superstar acting couple Tom Cruise and Nicole Kidman chipped in \$10,000 in "soft money" donations to Hillary Clinton's Senate campaign.

Jim Trilylis

Rep. Rick Lazio, has not set up a soft-money committee, but he hasn't ruled it out in the future.

Lazio — who has mocked Clinton's Hollywood connections — has had virtually no movie-star contributors.

The Clinton campaign bought \$1.8 million worth of air time for TV ads, according to records from her regular campaign committee.

Clinton also spent



UNION WOMAN: Hillary Clinton speaks to the AFL-CIO in Albany yesterday after picking up the labor organization's endorsement.

Alan Solomon

\$758,000 on consulting fees from April 1 through June, including \$314,000 to her media guru, Mandy Grunwald, \$1.8 million for direct-mail fund-raising, and \$175,000 on polling.

Records show about \$50,000 in payments were made to the feds to reim-

burse taxpayers for what critics call "Air Hillary" — government aircraft that Clinton uses to campaign in New York.

The reimbursement has amounted so far to only a fraction of the nearly \$1 million total cost of the planes.

Meanwhile, Mayor Giuliani has refunded \$2.8 million to donors since dropping out of the Senate race in May, but records show he still has \$3.8 million in his campaign coffers.

Hillary thanks Rudy for his support in 'slur' flap / Page 20



1974



2000

The Slur Against Hillary Clinton

By David Brock

BY now, most people have heard the sensational charge that Hillary Clinton let loose an anti-Semitic slur against her husband's Congressional campaign manager 26 years ago. The accusation appears in "State of a Union," a book that purports to examine the Clintons' marriage and is yet another in a long line of books that delight in and profit from bashing the first couple.

In researching my political biography of Mrs. Clinton in 1995, I conducted several lengthy interviews with the sources of this story. Paul and Mary Lee Fray. While they did describe in colorful detail a shouting match between Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Fray in campaign headquarters, they never mentioned Mrs. Clinton's alleged — and, one has to think, unforgettable — use of an ugly anti-Semitic epithet against him. Apparently, in their dealings with Jerry Oppenheimer, a former National Enquirer reporter and author of the new book, the Frays' memory was somehow enhanced.

But this incident is about more than recovered memory; it's about authors anxious to make news in order to sell their books. The current flap reminds me of my own difficult experience. My

book, "The Seduction of Hillary Rodham," was widely anticipated on the political right as the October surprise that would swing the 1996 election to the Republicans. Having whetted the appetites of the Clinton-hating audience with a lurid article in The American Spectator about the president's alleged past sexual infidelities, an article I now regret having written, and working under the pressure of justify-

Bashing the first lady is a sure way to make money.

ing a huge advance, I struggled mightily with giving my readers what I knew they wanted: Hillary Clinton in leg irons.

I couldn't do it. The facts weren't there, nor was I willing any longer to use innuendo and unverified charges to spice up my material, which I had done in the past. After the book was published, I found myself picking up the pieces of a broken career as a right-wing muckraker, but I was proud of my book even though it had trouble in the marketplace.

All authors of big nonfiction books face the arduous task of generating headlines to spur book sales. Too often, authors succumb to market pressures by trafficking in rumor, us-

ing unreliable sources or embellishing their material, all in the service of hype and buzz. Publishing houses are notoriously lax about fact-checking. Books are rarely retracted or even corrected. Most authors caught short, and I speak from experience, are able to bluster their way through the controversies incited by their shaky work. Sad to say, the controversies themselves are good for business.

In writing about the Clintons, the phenomenon is magnified greatly. For one thing, it's incredibly hard to unearth new revelations about the first couple after a decade of examination by zealous prosecutors, Republican-led Congressional committees and a feverish press corps.

Serious, respected authors do try to present new material. In "The Choice," a book on the 1996 presidential campaign, Bob Woodward portrayed what Mrs. Clinton said were unremarkable brainstorming sessions with friends as loopy imaginary conversations with Eleanor Roosevelt.

In "Hillary's Choice," Gail Sheehy read immense psychological significance into Mrs. Clinton's father's absence from her Wellesley commencement speech. Oops. He was there, according to the first lady's aides.

Other authors have sought to exploit a truth about the market: Anti-Clinton books sell. Gary Aldrich, a former F.B.I. agent, was the first to tap into this vein with "Unlimited Access," a 1996 best seller filled with highly charged allegations that even the author conceded were "hypothetical." His publisher, Regnery, then churned

out a slew of anti-Clinton books, nothing more than conspiratorial tasy — and sold them mostly to right-wing book clubs.

Mainstream book publishers followed. In just the last year, authors — the biographer Joynton, the Republican speechwriter Noonan and Laura Ingraham, conservative pundit — jumped on the Hillary-bashing gravy train.

By now, the self-promotion game is elementary, and Mr. Oppenheimer seems to be playing it expertly. You have to admire the ingenuity. Until now, no one has close to Kenneth Starr's report to Congress for shocking Clinton news.

But one leak about the Oppenheimer book to the Drudge Report, a Clinton Web site, is all it took to vate the lucrative right-wing show machinery and the New tabloids. Then came the down-cable talk shows. Now, Mr. Oppenheimer's book is moving up the at Amazon. This is all depressingly predictable: The more implausible the charge, the more it runs counter to everything we know about the s the more news and sales it generates.

For eight years, Hillary Clinton been portrayed (by me, among less others) as a bleeding-heart liberal. Now, she's suddenly a big

I don't buy it. And I hope we've the last book bashing the Clinton

David Brock is writing a memoir about his time in the conservative movement.

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

JOYCE PURNICK/Metro Matters

Verbal Slips in New York? So What Else Is New?

THE temptation, watching the dust-up over an anti-Semitic slur that Hillary Rodham Clinton might or might not have hurled at a Baptist campaign worker 26 years ago in Arkansas (as reported in a book by a former reporter for The National Enquirer) is to say hey, what took so long?

We refer not to 26 years but to the passage of months before the eruption of something distracting, improbable and usually ethnically sensitive in a New York campaign.

Inevitable. Running for office in New York takes a good sense of the absurd. As Daniel Patrick Moynihan said when he first campaigned for the Senate in 1976, politics in New York is so complex it can cause "cognitive dissonance." He said that in Brooklyn, where candidates quickly learn many a cultural intricacy. For instance, it's inappropriate for a male candidate to shake the hand of a Hasidic woman, but insulting for him *not* to shake the hand of a less observant Jewish woman.

We digress.

Back to the point, which is that this brouhaha has precedents, if imprecise ones because they involve remarks candidates made for sure.

There was the Robert Abrams "fascist" remark in 1992 when he ran against the incumbent senator, Alfonse M. D'Amato. After D'Amato supporters noisily heckled Mr. Abrams, the state attorney general, he told some students in Binghamton that Mr. D'Amato was "a fascist."

The senator, so offended that he rushed to the television cameras, accused Mr. Abrams of insulting him with a slur. He demanded an apology (which took the annoyed Mr. Abrams several days to deliver), and even made a television ad featuring sepiatoned film of Benito Mussolini.

"Our polls collapsed," Mr. Abrams's campaign director, Ethan Geto, recalled. "We were significantly ahead of D'Amato and within 48 hours, Abrams tanked. He made lot of mistakes. I made a lot of mistakes. It was not the greatest campaign. But the D'Amato people had the same polling. It was the saving grace for them."

Six years later, Mr. D'Amato gave a similar gift of offensive gab to his next opponent by labeling him with a Yiddish vulgarism at a private meeting, and denying he ever uttered the word until a television tape turned up. Oops.

Senator Schumer said yesterday

that his polls were already showing him the victor, but he won by a larger margin than they predicted.

It's not always an ethnic thing. When he ran for governor in 1982, Mayor Edward I. Koch patronized upstaters in an interview, saying that they drive 20 miles in a pickup truck to buy gingham dresses and Sears, Roebuck suits. He never recovered.

A slip of the tongue tends to do the most damage if it reinforces the public's general impression of a candidate. Mr. D'Amato's Yiddish insult may have struck a chord because he had shown a crude streak before. "It hit home," Mr. Schumer said.

SO did the disparaging of upstate New York by a city mayor who used to say he got the bends beyond the five boroughs. And though Mr. Abrams, a lifelong liberal Democrat, was hardly anti-Italian, he could be self-righteous, a trait reinforced by his grudging apology.

Anti-Semitism does not fit Mrs. Clinton's history and so this episode will not hurt her, Mr. Schumer predicted. Then again it may fit for some Jewish voters, unnerved by her hug of Yasir Arafat's wife, Suha, and Mrs. Clinton's remark in 1998 that she would favor creation of a Palestinian state.

That position is in line with today's Israeli policies. But not with the politics of more conservative Jewish voters in New York, where a candidate has to be mindful about everything from upstate gingham to the foreign policy of Brooklyn.

"New York is just more intense," said Mr. Schumer. "When I walk through the Senate they are utterly amazed at New York politics. Every week when I come down on Tuesday, I go to a lunch with other senators and they say: 'Soooo, what's doing this week in New York? Tell us another one we can't believe.'"

Well, there's the one about a new book that accuses the first lady of sandwiching the word "Jewish" between two profanities in 1974 and lobbing them at a Baptist man who had a Jewish father (or maybe a great-grandmother) during a fight. And then when Mrs. Clinton was deep into the very tight race for United States Senate from New York, this guy with the Jewish father or maybe great-grandmother decided to unburden himself to a writer working on this new book about the "complex marriage of Bill and Hillary Clinton..."

Yes, indeed. Cognitive dissonance.

First Lady's Aide Asked Help Denying Anti-Semitism Claim

By RANDAL C. ARCHIBOLD

For the last several days, Hillary Rodham Clinton's Senate campaign staff and her surrogates have worked behind the scenes and in public to snuff out the controversy over an allegation that she made an anti-Semitic remark long ago, a charge she has denied.

And according to a campaign aide's memo leaked to the news media by a recipient of it yesterday, the efforts to rebut the allegation included enlisting Jewish supporters to call reporters at Jewish publications this week to defend Mrs. Clinton. A new book accuses her of unleashing a slur 26 years ago at the manager of Bill Clinton's losing congressional race in Arkansas. Mrs. Clinton has vehemently denied making the remark, though the target, Paul Fray, stood by the allegation in an interview broadcast yesterday on "Good Morning America" on ABC.

"I'd be glad to take a lie-detector exam," said Mr. Fray, who is a Baptist but says his paternal great-grandmother was Jewish. "That's the bottom line right there in a nutshell. And if that doesn't satisfy the question, then let me take a truth serum."

Mrs. Clinton's supporters have gone to great lengths this week to challenge Mr. Fray's credibility, and the Clinton campaign memo lists several talking points that do the same. Mr. Fray and his wife have acknowledged in a series of television and newspaper interviews that he lost his license to practice law

years ago for altering court records and had suffered a brain hemorrhage that led to some memory loss, but insist that he remembers the remark clearly. He acknowledged in yesterday's television interview that he had leveled false accusations at the Clintons in the past.

Mrs. Clinton, at a news conference in Albany, where she received the endorsement of the state A.F.L.-C.I.O., said: "I've said all I'm going to say about this. It wasn't true, it didn't happen and I'm not going to allow it to distract from the real issues of the campaign."

But just as Mrs. Clinton sought to move past the episode, her staff had to answer questions about the memo to Jewish supporters that disclosed how orchestrated their efforts were. In the memo, an adviser on Jewish affairs urges supporters to call reporters at two Jewish publications to defend Mrs. Clinton, and implores them not to reveal that the campaign had requested them to do so.

"I would appreciate it if you could call these people as concerned citizens," the memo, from Karen Adler, said. "The most important thing is to let them know that you know Hillary and you know that she would never make these kinds of Anti-Semitic or racist comments."

One of the reporters, Rachel Donadio, of The Forward, said she received two calls Monday evening from people she does not normally talk to offering their unsolicited, positive views of Mrs. Clinton. The other reporter, Adam Dickter of The Jewish Week, said he received seven



Stephen Crowley/The New York Times

Several Democratic legislators expressed support yesterday for Hillary Rodham Clinton. They included, from left, Senator Frank R. Lautenberg of New Jersey, Representative Eliot L. Engel of the Bronx, and Senators Joseph I. Lieberman of Connecticut, Charles E. Schumer of New York and Barbara Boxer of California.

calls — some from usual sources, some not — but he did not know if they were prompted by the memo.

Howard Wolfson, a spokesman for Mrs. Clinton, said the memo was written to assist people who had called the campaign office angry over the charge and wanting to offer their support. "They wanted to know how they could be most helpful," said Mr. Wolfson, who declined to address why they were told not to reveal the Clinton campaign's involvement in their calls.

The campaign staff of Mrs. Clinton's Republican opponent, Representative Rick A. Lazio, which had already questioned Mrs. Clinton's denial of the remark, seized on the memo.

"I think it is very sad that Mrs. Clinton would ask her supporters to lie for her," said Dan McLagan, a spokesman for Mr. Lazio, referring to the claim that recipients of the memo had been asked not to say that they were asked to call reporters. "The credibility of Mrs. Clinton and her camp suffered irreparable damage today, and increasingly New Yorkers have to wonder if they can trust her."

Some Jewish supporters, however, continued to rally behind Mrs. Clinton, including Senator Charles E. Schumer, who called a news conference in Washington yesterday with other Jewish lawmakers to express their support.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

First Lady Assails Lazio Over Stance on Home Loan Program

By CLIFFORD J. LEVY

Suggesting that her opponent cared more about wealthy campaign donors than about constituents, Hillary Rodham Clinton attacked Representative Rick A. Lazio yesterday for trying to kill legislation in 1998 to expand a federal program that helps first-time home buyers obtain mortgages.

Mrs. Clinton questioned why Mr. Lazio had objected to the legislation, since it was intended to benefit people in more expensive areas, including Mr. Lazio's district on Long Island, by raising the limit on the size of mortgages guaranteed by the federal government.

The program, run by the Federal Housing Administration, assists first-time home buyers or those with shaky credit, who might otherwise have difficulty in securing a mortgage.

Mr. Lazio had vigorously fought the legislation, saying at the time that it was an unacceptable intrusion by government into private industry. The program provides competition for private mortgage insurance companies, which charge fees to guarantee mortgages.

Mr. Lazio, one of the most influential Republicans on housing issues, and a few other senior Republicans were able to scale back the measure before it passed. Less than a month later, Mr. Lazio collected a total of \$23,500 in contributions from six of the largest private mortgage insur-

ance companies in the nation. The Lazio campaign said recently that the donations were not related to the fight over the loan limit.

In an interview, Mrs. Clinton maintained that Mr. Lazio had betrayed his constituents by opposing a higher loan limit, and said that she would have championed the proposal. "His opposition meant that if he had prevailed, fewer people in Long Island and in the rest of New York would have been able to afford a home," she said.

Asked about the donations to Mr. Lazio, which were reported yesterday in *The New York Times*, she said, "We are going to have to let New Yorkers reach their own conclusions about what that means."

Bryan Flood, a spokesman for the Lazio campaign, disparaged Mrs. Clinton's comments.

"No one has done more for affordable housing in New York than Rick Lazio as chairman of the subcommittee on housing," Mr. Flood said. "He authored and led the fight for a number of landmark public housing and affordable housing bills. He has an outstanding record. The real question is, where has Hillary Clinton been and what has she done for homeownership in New York?"

The jousting over Mr. Lazio's record came as both campaigns continued to feud over the contents of fund-raising solicitations.

A new letter signed by the chairman of the Republican State Committee, William Powers, says Mrs.

Another fund-raising letter's language prompts feuding.

Clinton is an "ambitious, ruthless, scheming, calculating, manipulating woman," and later refers to her as an "angry woman whose political views are so far to the left, she has left common sense behind."

"She's been at the front and center of every Clinton-Gore scandal and this has been the most seedy, shameless and corrupt administration in American history," says the letter, which was first disclosed yesterday by *The Associated Press*. Mr. Powers also refers to Mrs. Clinton's daughter, Chelsea, noting that Mrs. Clinton did not send Chelsea to school in New York.

It was the second strongly worded letter from the state party attacking Mrs. Clinton to surface this month.

Mrs. Clinton, who has long stirred passionate feelings across the country, has been a powerful lure in fund-raising letters, with Republicans across the nation invoking her name in an effort to generate money from people who dislike her. Before he withdrew from the Senate race, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, Mr. Lazio's predecessor as Senate candidate, set a fund-raising record in part by taping into this sentiment.

At a news conference in Albany, Mr. Powers said the language in the letter was not anti-woman, and was an accurate portrayal of Mrs. Clinton's character. He said he was not concerned that the letter would backfire.

"I've never seen a response to direct mail like we're getting from her," Mr. Powers said.

Mrs. Clinton's spokesman, Howard Wolfson, attacked the letter.

"While Rick Lazio smiles for the cameras in public, his Republican allies quietly send out insult-filled letters behind closed doors," Mr. Wolfson said in a statement. "It's time for the hypocrisy to stop. These negative letters signal that Rick Lazio and the G.O.P. have no intention of running a campaign on the issues."

After Mr. Giuliani withdrew from the Senate race in May, saying he needed to concentrate on treatment of his prostate cancer, he pledged to help Mr. Lazio. The Giuliani campaign now says it has returned about \$3 million to donors, with instructions to make it easy for them to send the money to Mr. Lazio. It is not clear how many have heeded the request.

Bruce J. Teitelbaum, a senior political adviser to Mr. Giuliani, said the campaign had \$3.8 million left and added that Giuliani advisers would be meeting with senior state Republicans in the coming weeks to determine how Mr. Giuliani could use his political operation to help Mr. Lazio and other Republicans.

State GOP boss rips Hill for her 'blind ambition'

By GREGG BIRNBAUM
and ROBERT HARDT Jr.

Republicans yesterday launched a stinging new attack on Hillary Rodham Clinton — charging she's driven by "blind political ambition" — while Clinton met privately with a leader of the city's livery drivers.

Fernando Mateo, head of the state Federation of Taxi Drivers, called on the Democratic Senate candidate to help secure federal funding to make it safer to drive a cab in the city.

"I asked her to ask the presi-

dent to please help this industry," Mateo told The Post after the closed-door session at union headquarters in Manhattan.

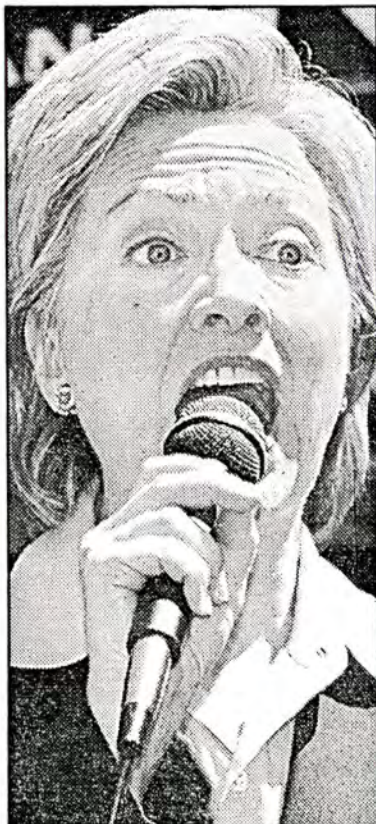
"She said she would try to help us in any way she can."

In the wake of violent attacks that have left nine livery cabdrivers dead this year, the federal bucks could be used to buy high-tech global positioning systems, to track taxis' movements, and other safety devices.

Mateo, who is looking to increase the livery union's political power, also hopes to meet with Rep. Rick Lazio before making any endorsement in the Senate race.

Meanwhile, state GOP head William Powers sent a new fundraising letter to potential donors, accusing Clinton of being "an angry woman" and urging them to help him "stop this ambitious, ruthless, scheming, calculating, manipulating woman."

Powers charged that the first lady has "been at the front and center of every Clinton-Gore scandal, and this has been the most seedy, shameless and corrupt administration in American history."



HILLARY CLINTON
Huddles with cabdrivers.

At a press conference in Albany, Powers — who had a bumper sticker on his desk reading, "Kiss my N.Y. ass, Hillary" — defended the harshly worded solicitation, saying it was highly effective.

"I've never seen a response to direct mail like we're getting from [this letter]," Powers said.

Clinton campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson said, "These negative letters signal that Rick Lazio and the GOP have no intention of running a campaign on the issues. We are confident that New Yorkers will reject Rick Lazio's campaign of insults and personal attacks."

Lazio did not campaign yesterday. He was in Washington, D.C., for votes in Congress, including one to eliminate the "marriage tax."

Lazio backed the tax-reducing measure, which President Clinton has threatened to veto.

**"[Help] stop this
ambitious,
ruthless,
scheming,
calculating,
manipulating
woman."**

STATE GOP CHIEF WILLIAM POWERS

R. EMMETT TYRRELL JR.

When the scandal pattern fits

Well here we go again with the Clintons. Once more one of them or both are braving a scandal over lurid charges that no first family ever braved before. This time it is Hillary and she is being charged with calling a former political aide a "... Jew bastard" 26 years ago. Somewhat surprisingly she remembers the altercation. She denies the slur. Do you remember any previous first lady in such a pickle?

Bill has weighed in too. He called the New York Daily News to say "she might have called him [the former aide] a bastard. I wouldn't rule that out. She's never claimed that she was pure on profanity." Yet she has and Bill has insisted on her purity too. Foul language and a bad temper have been consistently alleged against Mrs. Clinton. The White House has always insisted she was the perfect lady.

Though all this happened 26 years ago, both Clintons seem to remember quite a lot about the matter. The three witnesses are, one would think, very dim figures in the Clintons' faraway past, yet Bill in particular has been quick to recall them. One, a Neill McDonald who claimed to hear Hillary utter the profanity, is described by the president of the United States as a business failure who had to move from Arkansas and work with a brother because "no one else would hire him." The target of the slur, Paul Fray, and his wife are now described by the president as "losers." "I don't think I've known any other couple basically where their lives peaked in their 20s, and it's all downhill from there," he told the Daily News, calling in from Camp David.

Reflect, if you will. The Clintons are one of the busiest couples in the world. For three decades their lives have been hurly upon burly, two chaotic schedules maintained by government staffs in Arkansas and during the 1990s in Washington. Even this weekend when the slur

story broke Hillary was off in New York campaigning for the Senate. Bill was in Camp David juggling delicate diplomacy between ancient rivals, the Israelis and Palestinians. As president he doubtless had dozens of other distractions.

Yet when this story broke, both were quick with recollections of the historic event, of the Frays and of the unfortunate McDonald. The White House even rushed out with a letter from Paul Fray, which Hillary amazingly remembered receiving three years ago. Like the

letters Bill remembered receiving from the begroped Kathleen Willey, this was a letter of friendship. What does it tell you that this busy couple keeps letters from such remote acquaintances so fresh in memory's eye? I am reminded that when I was researching my biography, "Boy Clinton, the Political Biography," how astounded I was to see the Clinton White House instantly respond to charges leveled by figures from the Clintons' past. Each time they had instant smears. It was as though they had a special defamatory file on past acquaintances. It suggested to me they knew these people had tales of scandal on them that they had better be able to defend against.

The explanation for all these scandalous stories from the Clintons' past (and some from their present — remember Monica, Travelgate, campaign indelicacies?) is that throughout their lives they have hung out with a pretty rough crowd. Even in Washington they have not brought the finest flower of Democratic intellect and talent into the White House. When one hangs with such coarse characters and cuts the many corners the Clintons have so obviously cut, one of course accumulates scandal. Again, no other first family has matched them.

As to whether Hillary uttered this particular anti-Semitic slur, let me stand back from this imbroglio. For me, after chronicling so many of the famous couples' earlier misdeeds, this scandal comes long after the time when we should be placing the burden of proof on them, not on the accusers. The fact is that these two are rogues who have played on the credulity and partisanship of Democrats and journalists like

Historians are going to have a feast, and the double-talking Clinton defenders who have grown so fat eating their own words with every expose are going to look very stupid.

master snake-oil salesmen. Historians are going to have a feast, and the double-talking Clinton defenders who have grown so fat eating their own words with every expose are going to look very stupid.

I would point out to the editors of the New York Times and to others now pulling on their chins and weighing whether Hillary made a rude remark long ago that this remark is not an isolated case, as so many of them claim. Her longtime adviser Dick Morris, now sobered and repentant, reported on "Fox News Sunday" that "in my dealings with her, she's always had a consciousness that she's talking to somebody who's Jewish." And Mr. Morris went on to describe an episode of Hillary engaging in malign ethnic stereotyping that is not inconsistent with the Frays' claims.

Hillary is a very unlikely heir to the mantle of Eleanor Roosevelt or any pre-1990s liberal icon.

R. Emmett Tyrrell is editor in chief of the American Spectator.



INSIDE THE BELTWAY

By John McCaslin

Win either way

Democrats who find themselves sitting on the fence should take out their ballpoint pens and start writing.

Any Democrat who can write an essay of 1,000 words or less and make a convincing, persuasive and sincere argument as to why they would switch parties and vote for George W. Bush could win \$2,000 and an all-expenses-paid trip to Washington for the inauguration.

So pledges Steve Gooden, former honorary youth chairman of the Republican National Convention, the only black ever appointed to the post (1992 and 1996).

Mr. Gooden says the essay should center around one's own intention to vote for Mr. Bush, justification for doing so, and how they might persuade fellow Democrats to do the same.

The contest ends Aug. 31. A panel of teachers, ministers and political party representatives will review all entries. Three finalists will be selected, and Mr. Gooden will pick the winner.

Author of the "Presidential Pledge of Integrity," Mr. Gooden is founder of the Web site wewillpayit.com, a philanthropic company that pays bills and provides clothing, food, toys and medicine for the needy.

Essays should be sent to Steve Gooden, P.O. Box 5313, Orange, Calif., 92863, or e-mailed to sgooden@msn.com.

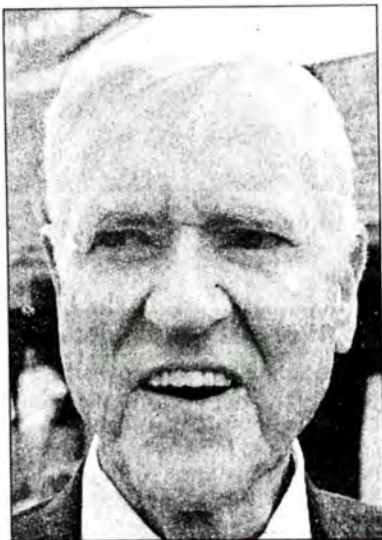
Inside the Beltway will announce the winner.

Decide for yourself

Coinciding with the government's newly released National Assessment on Climate Change, the nonpartisan Competitive Enterprise Institute has introduced a revolutionary new technology to bring global climate forecasting into the home.

By responding to subtle shifts in individual microclimates, the hand-held precision device — available for only \$8 — allows any person to quickly make his or her own assessment of global climate change. The device is said to detect global cooling, too.

The national assessment report



Sen. Ernest F. Hollings of South Carolina distributed boxes of peaches in Capitol offices.

is being attacked by the CEI for its "scientifically unfounded" forecasts. Dedicated to the principles of free enterprise and limited government, CEI is assailed that the assessment actually attempts to predict global warming impacts on nine different regions of the United States.

Peach harvest

Hundreds of boxes of peaches have been distributed to offices throughout the Senate and U.S. Capitol — the return address: Sen. Ernest F. Hollings, South Carolina Democrat.

Mr. Hollings says what better way to make the point that his relatively small state is second in the nation in peach production.

"What else curbs a sweet tooth, is delicious, nutritious and satisfying, but not fattening?" asks the senator, who expects to be shaking plenty of sticky hands in the coming days.

Quote of the week

"But I think the greatest condemnation of this once-working-families' party, the Democratic Party, is that, in the last 10 years, they have become very good at electing very bad Republicans."
— Ralph Nader, Green Party candidate for president, speaking this week at the National Press Club.

Chimps and chumps

Letters fill this week's mailbag. On the top is one by Ralph Bristol, of Spartanburg, S.C.:

"Rep. Rick Santorum's idea for a 'Stepmother's Day' is the single most harebrained idea I've seen emerge from the halls of Congress since the death tax. I have no biological children of my own, but I am the proud stepfather of three. [Stepchildren] honor us because we've done things to earn their love and respect. Mother's Day and Father's Day are just as much for stepmothers and stepfathers ... but to create an alternative day for us is condescending, offensive, and just plain stupid."

Peter A. Bookman of Washington writes: "I normally enjoy every item in your column, but I must take issue with the snide remarks about the statute to spend some money so that some abused animals can be humanely treated. The money proposed to be spent under the 'CHIMP' Act is a consequence of the far greater sums being spent to abuse and torture countless thousands of animals in unnecessary research by a number of federal agencies."

And finally, Bruce J. Conrad is angry enough to write: "I don't respond to newspaper articles, but your segment on the campaign videos struck a sour note with me. The response of the Bush Campaign official that the actions of the [Democratic Party] secretary were, in some way, unfortunate for the Gore Campaign, was uncalled for. The secretary had a package that did not belong to her organization, and she readily gave it to the rightful owner. What's wrong with that?"

"We Republicans are supposed to stand for family values, and one of those values is to not be in possession of something that is not yours. I commend the secretary for her honesty, and I condemn the Bush activist for his childish approach to the activities that are part of the democratic process. We have too much of this already, and we don't need any more of this 'winning is everything' attitude."

• John McCaslin can be reached at 202/636-3284 or by e-mail (mccasl@twtdmail.com).

Friday, July 21, 2000

NATION

The Washington Times

Hillary's accusers stand by story despite onslaught

Confirm anti-Semitic outburst reported in book

By Noel E. Oman
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT GAZETTE

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. — By day, Mary Lee Fray exemplifies the mild-mannered librarian that she is.

But for a few days this week the resident of Sherwood, a suburb of Little Rock, became an information-age warrior in a political battle fought 1,200 miles from here.

She and her husband, Paul Fray, are the sources of an accusation that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton made an anti-Semitic slur 26 years ago on the night that her husband-to-be suffered defeat at the conclusion of his first political race.

Mrs. Clinton, the Democratic nominee for the U.S. Senate in New York, says she never called Mr. Fray a "[expletive deleted] Jew bastard," as he says she did. Mr. Fray is a Baptist, but his family has Jewish roots.

The slur allegation comes from a book, "State of A Union: Inside the Complex Marriage of Bill and Hillary Clinton," by Jerry Oppenheimer, which was published this week.

Mr. Fray and his wife confirmed the book account in interviews with the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, among others.

The Frays are standing by their story, but they're retreating from unrelenting requests for interviews. "This is getting horrible," Mary Fray says.

Earlier in the week she fielded calls on her cellular telephone late into the night, coordinating television appearance requests, doing it in part, she says, to portray the Frays as not backing down in the face of the Clinton denials.

Mary Fray and her husband had three videotaped interviews one morning before she went to work. The Caller ID is logging its capacity of 99 calls daily, she says.

In an interview on ABC-TV, Mr. Fray offered to take a polygraph examination and truth serum to back up his claim. Mrs. Clinton says she would say no more about the subject. "He can do whatever

The Frays say the election-night slur was intentional but they knew of no other instance of her making such slurs or exhibiting anti-Semitism. Her intention was "to go under the belt, to get you in your gut and hurt you," Mrs. Fray says. "She wanted him to respond."

he wants to do. I have nothing to say about it."

Mrs. Fray is declining further interview requests, too, because she is disappointed by the way the Frays' lives have been portrayed. Mr. Fray's past includes a cerebral hemorrhage and the loss of his law license, which he has attributed to his medical condition.

President Clinton and Paul Fray's relationship goes back 34 years, when both worked in the unsuccessful gubernatorial campaign of state Supreme Court Justice Frank Holt.

At the time, Mr. Clinton was studying at Georgetown University and Mr. Fray was president of the Young Democrats at Ouachita Baptist University in Arkadelphia, Ark. Mr. Clinton was best man at Mr. Fray's wedding a year later.

By the time Mr. Fray joined the Clinton congressional campaign in 1974, he had been manager of a successful campaign for a lieutenant governor and had worked as a press aide for the state Welfare Department. Mr. Fray and Mr. Clinton became close friends, but Mr. Fray and Hillary Rodham did not.

The Frays say the election-night slur was intentional on Hillary's part, but they knew of no other instance of her making such slurs or exhibiting anti-Semitism.

Her intention was "to go under the belt, to get you in your gut and hurt you," Mrs. Fray says. "She wanted him to respond. Her personality back then was she came in, demanded, yelled and gave commands to do this, do this."

Another aide in that campaign, Drew Ponder, blames Mr. Fray for the discord and says Hillary did not "buy into" Mr. Fray's attempts to control the campaign.

"Paul was dissension personified," recalls Mr. Ponder, a retired record producer in Poke Bayou, Ark. "He has no credibility with me. This sounds pretty damn vindictive." Mr. Ponder had left the campaign by election night and was not present at the verbal altercation.

Mr. Fray suffered physical and legal problems after the episode, including a cerebral hemorrhage. He surrendered his law license voluntarily in 1980 after an investigation by the state Supreme Court Committee on Professional Conduct.

He was accused of changing a drunken driving conviction to a dismissal for a client when he sat as a special judge in a suburb of Little Rock. He applied for reinstatement of his license in 1985. The Board of Bar Examiners approved, but the Supreme Court did not.

The Frays moved to Texas and Mr. Fray obtained a master's degree at Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Fort Worth, and later became vice president of a Baptist college.

The Frays returned to Arkansas four years ago, in part to help care for his mother. He obtained a private investigator's license from the Arkansas State Police in 1995. He declines to say for whom he now works.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

OPINION

OFF THE RECORD

An Old Dog Needs New Tricks

RED-FACED senior campaign aides to **Hillary Clinton**, reeling from their embarrassing Memogate fiasco, tried to convince journalists that **Karen Adler**, author of that "call the press, but keep us out of it" advisory, is a young, low-ranking staffer who was acting all on her own.

Nice try, guys 'n' gals.

Adler faxed a memo to members of the campaign's "Jewish Advisory Group," urging them to phone reporters and defend Mrs. Clinton, but stressed that they should "not say that you are calling because the campaign asked you to."

When the stuff — predictably — hit the fan, campaign spin specialists tried to get clear by suggesting in background calls that Adler was a youngster who didn't know any better.

In fact, she's one of Hillary's closest political aides and confidantes — and has been for years.

Salon magazine reported in June 1999, that Adler, "a board member of the United Jewish Appeal Federation, is said to be lined up to solidify [Hillary] Clinton's ties to the huge Jewish community." And Adler was one of only two people to accompany Hillary to a closed meeting last December with officials of the influential Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations (Connecticut Sen. **Joseph Lieberman**, an Orthodox Jew, was the other).

Well-connected isn't necessarily synonymous with smart, of course. But Adler's been tight with campaign honcho — and key Clinton strategist — **Harold Ickes** for years. So you'd think she'd know better. Right?

"Hillary's people are very bright," said a well-connected Democrat yesterday. "But they think everybody else is stupid."

Stupid is as stupid does, says Off the Record.



Clinton

AP

Hill's Next Memo: Just Phone It In

NEW York media circles were awash in amazement on Wednesday as a memo by Hillary's chief liaison to the New York Jewish community flew around fax machines for which it was never intended.

The memo from Karen Adler to the campaign's "Jewish Advisory Group" asked the group's members to call two reporters "covering the Hillary story on the charges of anti-Semitism" and pose falsely "as concerned citizens" rather than as solicited campaign workers.

"It is important that you do not say that you calling [sic] because the campaign asked you to, but because you are outraged with what was said about her," the memo said in a parenthesis that is far more notable — and far more damaging — than the damage control it was intended to generate.

Adler's boneheaded memo is an indication that the Hillary campaign is regressing to the bad old days of 1999, when it seemed that every week Mrs. Clinton took a misstep, made a misstatement or mishandled a controversy — that is, when she wasn't missing in action altogether during her "listening tour."

Mrs. Clinton's effort to get herself elected senator had become far more professional and stable in the months following her official entry into the race. But Adler's self-described "Rapid Response to charges of Anti-Semitism" is more than simply poor staff work, though it certainly is that.

The "rapid response" method of responding to negative charges began in the 1980s, when the breakup of AT&T and the subsequent lowering of long-



**JOHN
PODHORETZ**

distance phone rates made the age-old thermofax machine (by which wire services had been distributing photographs to newspapers for a half-century) suddenly cost-effective.

All of a sudden, political campaigns had a means of distributing information far and wide at a moment's notice — not simply handing out documents to reporters physically present in their offices or at their events or laboriously making telephone call after telephone call. And

***When things go wrong,
it's almost always the
result of emanations from
the person at the top. In
this case, Hillary Clinton.***

the acceleration of the news cycle brought about by cable television made it imperative for campaigns to learn how to answer charges quickly. The failure by the 1988 Dukakis campaign to do so was one of the principal causes of the momentum shift to George Bush the Elder in the fall.

Bill Clinton's 1992 presidential bid set the standard for rapid-response efforts, but while it made powerful use of the fax, it did not stint on the old technology either. Aggressive and successful phone-calling by George Stephanopoulos (detailed in the documentary called "The War Room" and Stephanopoulos' memoir, "All Too

Human") quashing story after story unfavorable to his candidate.

The 1992 team even managed to turn a harsh but truthful Bush-campaign fax quoting Clinton intimate Betsey Wright on her efforts to contain "bimbo eruptions" into a disaster for the Bush campaign by rapid-responding it to death.

But rapid-response efforts are fraught with danger if they seem ginned up and false — and if they leave a paper trail the way Adler's has. I was supplied a copy of the memo by someone unfriendly to the Clinton campaign, which itself is proof that it never should have been circulated. Adler should have used the phone, as Stephanopoulos did.

The Adler memo gives New Yorkers a glimpse into the disarray into which Hillary's campaign has been understandably plunged by the "Jew bastard" flap. And they should pay heed, because a campaign in disarray — no matter what party they belong to, no matter what the questions of ideology and character that have caused the disarray are — strongly suggests that the candidate will make an incompetent official if elected.

Michael Dukakis once said of the Reagan-era scandals that "the fish rots from the head," and while he did not succeed in convincing Americans to blame George Bush for the purported sins of the Reagan administration, he inadvertently spoke a truth about American politics: When things go wrong, it's almost always the result of penumbras and emanations from the person at the top of a political organization.

In this case, Hillary Clinton.

E-mail: podhoretz@nypost.com

Mom of slain Jewish teenager: First lady is all talk, no action

A YEAR after Hillary Rodham Clinton helped spark a federal probe into the slaying of a Jewish teen, the dead boy's mother is charging the first lady has dropped the ball.

"I'm very disappointed in her because she needs to do something more than give me lip service," said Devorah Halberstam, the mother of Ari Halberstam, a 14-year-old who was shot to death by a Lebanese gunman on the Brooklyn Bridge in 1994.

While gunman Rashid Baz was convicted of murder and sentenced to 141 years in prison, Halberstam and some Jewish leaders believe a federal investigation would reveal the shooting was part of an organized terrorist conspiracy.

After Clinton made inquiries about the killing, the New York FBI director and U.S. Attorney Mary Jo White met with Halberstam last August and agreed to set up a task force on the case.

Halberstam was introduced to Clinton for the first time at a Jewish breakfast last month, where, Halberstam says, the first lady told her: "As a mother, I take this as a personal issue."

"Once she looked me in the eye and said that, she really raised the stakes in this case. I'm still waiting for her to help

us get something done," Halberstam told Campaign Buzz.

There's a hot new spy war raging between Clinton and opponent Rick Lazio.

After a hands-off policy during the first six weeks of the race, Lazio's aides are making life miserable for Democratic operatives who regularly show up at Lazio events to record him with video cameras and tape recorders.

Lazio's staff recently has been swarming all over Clinton's helpers — who are hoping to capture a Lazio gaffe on film — and blocking their cameras with large signs and disrupting their audio taping.

Meanwhile, perhaps the biggest espionage coup was pulled off by the Lazio camp, which sent one of its spies past Secret Service agents and into the heart of enemy territory — Clinton's front lawn in Chappaqua for her news conference denying an anti-Semitic remark.

The controversial new book about the Clintons — which quotes three people as saying she uttered an anti-Semitic epithet in 1974 — has been derided as "garbage" and "trash" by Hillary's campaign spokesman.

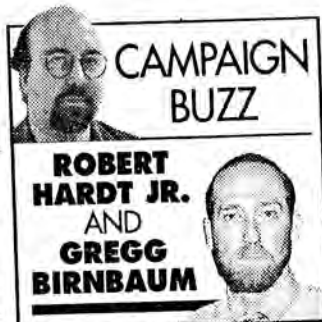
Then why did Hillary's brother, Tony Rodham, talk so much to "State of a Union" author Jerry Oppenheimer?

Rodham, who could not be reached for comment, is thanked in the book's acknowledgments and quoted at length talking about the Rodham family, Hillary, and the relationship between the president and the first lady.

Lazio is gearing up for another bus tour, but this time the wheels could be rolling through the five boroughs.

After dropping by the Republican National Convention later this month in Philadelphia, the GOP Senate wannabe is expected to immediately return to New York.

It will be Lazio's third bus tour and after possibly making the rounds across heavily Democratic New York City for several days, the bus likely will be heading upstate for a couple of days.





TITLE: "Economy"

RUNNING TIME: 30 seconds

WHERE SHOWN: Upstate

PRODUCED BY: "Team Hillary," which includes admaker Mandy Grunwald, pollster Mark Penn and ad firm DeVito/Verdi

TEXT: Clinton, addressing a crowd: "How many of you have known somebody who has had to leave because they had to go somewhere else for work? How many of you have known people like that?"

Male announcer: "She understands that families are struggling, because she's listened, person to person, in all 62 counties of New York. Now, Hillary's outlined a specific plan to bring new jobs to every corner of New York. So no one's left behind in the new economy. Read it and see."

"Hillary's fighting to make sure our children can build their futures here. She'll always put our families first."

ADWATCH

VISUALS: Clinton speaking, shots of admiring faces, followed by images of her touching people — holding a baby, hugging a woman, holding hands with supporters.

ANALYSIS: She came, she heard, she cared. That is the ad's central message, rather than the dry specifics of Clinton's job-creation plan, which are glossed over. The commercial shows the first lady addressing one of upstate's biggest gripes: the exodus of young people because they can't find good jobs.

RESPONSE: "Obviously, Mrs. Clinton has realized her million-dollar-plus negative ad campaign has backfired, and has decided to try another tact. We welcome her back from the dark side" — Lazio spokesman Dan McLagan.

— GREGG BIRNBAUM



Hill thanks Rudy for support in slur furor

Hillary Rodham Clinton said yesterday she was "very appreciative" of Mayor Giuliani for supporting her against charges she used an anti-Semitic slur — and that she has nothing more to say on the subject.

"I've said all I'm going to say about this. It wasn't true. It didn't happen, and I'm not going to allow it to distract from the real issues in this campaign," Clinton said at a press conference in Albany following her endorsement by the state AFL-CIO.

The first lady was responding to charges from a former campaign worker who claimed that she called him a "f---ing Jew bastard" in 1974.

Giuliani — Clinton's former rival in the Senate race — the presi-

By Robert Hardt Jr. in Albany
and Gregg Birnbaum in New
York City

dent, and many Jewish officials have come to Clinton's defense, saying that she would never utter such a slur.

"I was very appreciative of what the mayor said, and just glad that people are speaking out and being willing to repudiate this kind of action and statement," Clinton said.

Clinton's accuser, Paul Fray, appeared on ABC's "Good Morning America," where he offered to do whatever it takes to prove his claim, which surfaced in Jerry Oppenheimer's "State of a Union," a new book about the Clintons.

"The whole bottom line is that if I'm telling a lie, I'll be glad to take a lie-detector exam," Fray said.

"And if that doesn't satisfy the question, then let me take a truth serum."

Clinton said in response, "He can do whatever he wants to do. I mean, I have nothing to say about it or to him."

Meanwhile, an internal memo surfaced from Clinton's top Jewish adviser asking supporters to contact two reporters preparing stories about the alleged slur — but to deny the first lady's campaign had asked them to call the media.

"I would appreciate it if you would call these people as concerned citizens," said the memo written by aide Karen Adler, who provided the phone numbers for reporters from Forward and The Jewish Week.

"It is important that you do not say that you are calling because the campaign asked you to, but because you are outraged about what was said about her," added the memo, which was sent to the "Jewish Advisory Group."

It's the second recent embarrassing disclosure for Adler. The Post reported last week on another memo in which she complained that unfair media coverage was hurting Clinton's standing in the Jewish community.

Dan McLagan, spokesman for Republican challenger Rick Lazio, said, "It's outrageous Mrs. Clinton would ask her supporters to lie."

Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson had no comment on the Adler memo.

Also yesterday, Clinton released a new television ad that will air only upstate and focus on the region's economy.

"I was very appreciative of what the mayor said, and just glad that people are speaking out."

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

**Speaking up for Hillary /
Editorial: Page 28**

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hill's New Health-Care Crusade

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, JULY 20, 2000

This time, she's got some good ideas — and some very expensive bad ones

HERE we go again.

Hillary Clinton just can't learn from experience. Shortly after her husband became



**GREG
SCANDLEN**

president, he appointed her to reform American health care. She assembled a secret task force, wrote a 1,300-page bill, and tried to sell it as not just an idea to solve a problem, but as a moral crusade.

In her mind, there were only two sides — the good side and the bad side. Any one who disagreed with her approach was a demon and a villain. According to Haynes Johnson and David Broder, she called her opponents "mean-spirited," "hate-spewing," "unbalanced," and "alienated." She likened them to the Southern racists fighting against integration.

And here she is again. Releasing her new health-care policy, she didn't characterize it merely as a proposal to help some people who don't have insurance, but as a "great moral, economic and social challenge" that would "provide quality, affordable health care to every one of us."

Inflated rhetoric aside, what does she propose? She wants to expand the national "Children's Health Insurance Program" (CHIP), and give a 25 percent tax credit to people whose employers don't provide health insurance to help them pay for their own coverage.

Good or not so good, these ideas hardly rise to the level of a "great moral struggle." And, while the New York Times calls them "far removed from her notions of universal coverage in the early 1990s," she is still using the same old rhetoric and the same old attempts to divide Americans into good people (who

agree with her) and bad people (who don't).

In fact, there are things to like here, and things that are not so likeable. The

tax credit is a wonderful idea, with wide support in Congress.

People who get their coverage through their employers now get a huge tax break because the value of the benefits is "excluded" from their income — exempted from income and payroll taxes. According to the consulting firm Lewin & Associates, U.S. state and federal governments will lose \$140 billion in tax revenue in 2000 because of this

Mrs. Clinton is still using the same old rhetoric to divide Americans into good people (who agree with her) and bad (who don't).

exclusion — almost 40 percent of the value of the benefits provided by employers.

Meanwhile, people who have to buy their own coverage get no tax break at all, even though they are older, sicker, and poorer than people who get employer-sponsored coverage.

It would be an even better idea if Mrs. Clinton proposed a tax credit of 40 percent rather than 25 percent. That would level the playing field between individual and employer-sponsored coverage.

Mrs. Clinton's other idea is less appealing. She would expand the Children's Health Insurance Program to

people at 300 percent of the poverty level (up from the current 200 percent), include the kids' parents and allow people above 300 percent of poverty to buy into the program. She'd be better off giving the \$138 billion she wants to spend on these ideas directly to the families, so they can buy their own coverage on the private market.

The truth is that the CHIP program has been a failure. Very few of those eligible have enrolled. Programs around the country are advertising on pizza boxes to try to generate interest (they call it "outreach").

Why? People simply do not want to enroll in a government-run health-care system if they can help it. Usually, they won't enroll until something really bad happens and they've run out of other options.

Indeed, most of the increase in the numbers of uninsured in the past few years comes from people leaving or refusing to enroll in another "government medicine" program — Medicaid, which is seen as "welfare medicine."

Some Medicaid refugees choose to spend their own money to sign up for CHIP. Others decide to be uninsured, knowing that they can always get on Medicaid if they need services.

In either case, the solution is private, individually chosen health insurance. But to make that viable for young New York families, the Legislature would have to repeal some recent laws — mandates such as "community rating" and "open enrollment" that stop insurers from giving younger, healthier people a break on their coverage.

Open up the insurance market and use



Hillary's \$138 billion to help lower-income New Yorkers afford coverage, and then you will have a dynamic and competitive health-care system that responds to the needs of average New Yorkers.

It may not be a great moral crusade with good guys and bad guys, like Mrs. Clinton prefers, but it would be a practical solution to assuring all New Yorkers can get the coverage they need at a price they can afford.

Greg Scandlen is a senior fellow in health policy at the National Center for Policy Analysis.

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

Hillary's Hole Card

WHEN Suzanne, an Upper West Side real-estate broker, enters the polling booth this November, she will face what she calls her "moment of truth."

The lifelong Democrat, a grandmother in her early 60s who would seem to be part of Hillary Clinton's natural constituency, has "great difficulty" with the first lady, whom she alternately describes as "hypocritical," "self-serving" and "power mad." Yet in the end Suzanne will probably vote for her.

"It's going to be almost impossible for me to pull that lever for Lazio," admits Suzanne, who says that many of her female friends share her "disdain" for Clinton. "Hillary signifies so many negative feelings for me, but I can't imagine not voting for the Democratic candidate. She will probably get my vote — and that of a lot of other people who right now say she probably won't [get theirs]."

Suzanne represents the group of voters I've referred to in the past as the "damned if they do, damned if they don't" crew, those who were wildly dissatisfied with their original choice between Clinton and Rudy Giuliani.

Offended by what they saw as Clinton's intellectual arrogance and Giuliani's ar-

rogant governing style, these voters — many of them "Rudy Democrats" who twice supported Giuliani when he ran for mayor — at the time felt deeply conflicted about the race. And then Giuliani — whom they regarded as an independent candidate in Republican clothing — dropped out, giving Rick Lazio a chance to present himself as a palatable alternative.

Still nominally undecided, a number of these people now say that they'll likely give Clinton their votes by default. The emergence of Lazio, a Republican who more or less has followed his party's leadership, has reminded them that they are Democrats in the first place. And voters who are undecided now are likely to vote along partisan lines in the end.

"It's not just about personalities, it's about raw numbers, whether Republi-



**MEREDITH
BERKMAN**

cans or Democrats control the Senate," says a venture capitalist who expects he'll vote for Clinton. "Lazio is a card-carrying member of the Republican

Party, and that's not my party. So even though I'm not a huge Hillary fan, that's the choice I've been given."

While my evidence for this growing shift is anecdotal, research provided by the last two Quinnipiac Polls seems to support the argument that these few but crucial undecided voters could ultimately head Clinton's way. Poll director Doug Schwartz notes that there are "significantly more" Democrats than Republicans in the undecided category, which "would bode well for the Democrats." (That doesn't necessarily mean that Democrats are more undecided in this race, but that New York is a largely Democratic state.)

The key here is that — with the exception of hard-core Clinton bashers, who are sworn to vote against the first lady no matter who her opponent is — some of the self-described "Hillary haters" will ultimately force themselves to overlook her personality and vote on issues such as gun control, abortion and Supreme Court confirmations. It is what the first lady's campaign has been hoping for, even if it's not expressed in the most flattering way.

"It's irrelevant if I like her," offers a businessman in his 60s. "I'm very ambivalent, but that's all secondary to me. The bottom line is I want to see a Democratic senator in the next Congress. Period."

Says an environmental educator in his mid 30s: "Do I wish she weren't Hillary Clinton? Yes, I do. But I feel like I'm going to vote for her because in the end, she'll cast the votes in the Senate that I really care about, and that's what it boils down to."

Many voters seem to have taken a summer break from following or even thinking about the Senate campaign. But if you listen closely to the rumblings of the "Damned if they do..." crew, you get the impression that Hillary Clinton could be one of the most reviled figures to emerge triumphant on Election Day.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Her Real Jewish Problem

It's Hill's position on 'peace' today, not what she may have once said



ERIC FETSMANN

WHICH prominent Democratic politician repeatedly referred to New York as a "kike" town, complained that of its 8 million people "7,500,000 of 'em are of Israelish extraction," repeatedly referred to his business partner as "my Jew clerk" and once told the editor of The Post that "all the goddamn New York Jews" should "just shut their goddamn mouths"?

The answer, of course, is Harry Truman — who, as president, overruled his own secretary of state and pushed the cause of Zionism, officially recognizing the state of Israel just moments after it was proclaimed.

In the furor over the allegation that Hillary Clinton used anti-Jewish slur to berate a campaign aide in 1974, Truman's well-documented anti-Semitism is worth recalling. Even if she said it, which she heatedly denies, it doesn't necessarily prove that, as senator, she would be an enemy of Jews in general or the state of Israel in particular.

Actions speak louder than even the most vile words, which is why Truman is now revered among Jews and other friends of Israel. It's also why Richard Nixon — whose hate-filled rants against "left-wing Jews" stand in marked contrast to his strong support of Israel, especially during the Yom Kippur War — was the favorite president of the late Yitzhak Rabin.

There's no evidence Hillary has ever made other anti-Jewish remarks. But it's not impossible: Both she and her husband are emotionally volatile; when such people are angry and frustrated, as they surely were on that unsuccessful election night, they sometimes say things they later regret.

In any case, no politician holding statewide office in New York can be anything other than a strong advocate of Israel if she hopes to keep that job. And as has long been clear, Hillary — like her husband — is motivated by only one core value: political self-preservation.

Actions speak louder than even the most vile words.

No, it's the way she's handled this controversy and others like it that make Hillary suspect. For instance, she issued her denial in a voice broken with emotion — much like her husband's when he claimed he "did not have sexual relations with that woman, Miss Lewinsky."

In fact, the strong denial itself is eerily reminiscent of Bill Clinton's initial reaction to disclosing the Lewinsky affair: When Dick Morris told him that polls showed he couldn't survive politically if he admitted an Oval Office tryst, the president said, "We'll just have to tough it out, then."

So he and Hillary went on the offensive, demonizing their opponents and complaining about

a "vast right-wing conspiracy." Which is just what they're doing now.

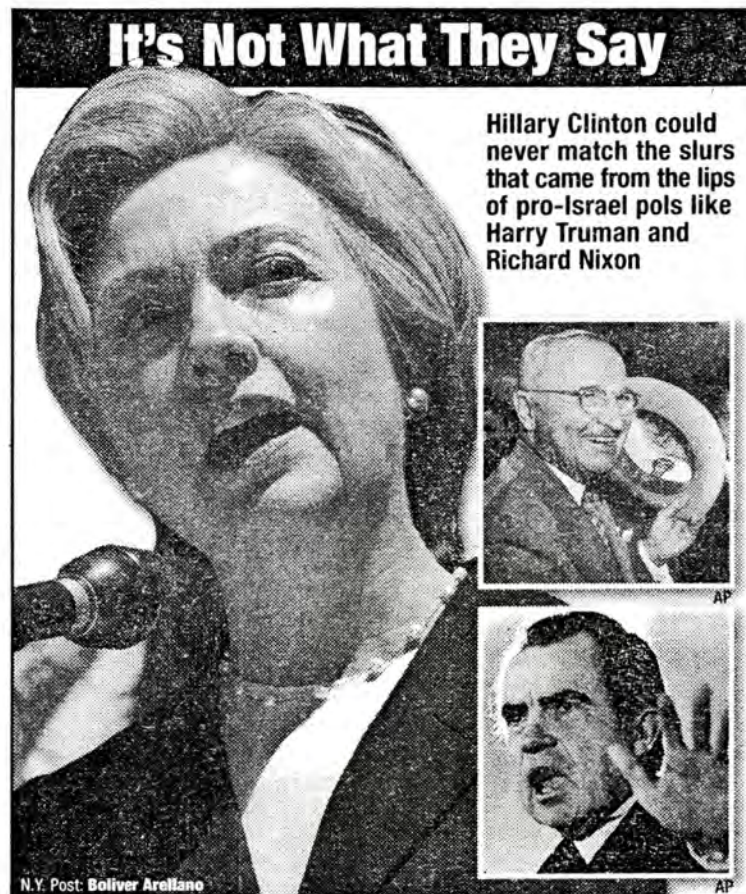
Even before the incident broke, recall, a memo was circulating in which her campaign aides blamed hostile Jewish newspapers for her relatively poor showing among Jewish voters.

Moreover, her denial has to be suspect, given the way she's handled earlier issues of Jewish concern. Her most recent version of the Suha Arafat incident is riddled with half-truths: Contrary to her current claims, she never explicitly criticized Mrs. Arafat's outrageous accusation that Israel was deliberately poisoning Arab women and children.

Hillary has also been disingenuous on other Israel-related matters: She has refused, for example, to take a position on who should control Jerusalem, saying it's better not to comment on so-called "final status" issues — yet was quick to proclaim the need for a Palestinian state, at a time when most Israeli leaders opposed it.

Actually, the real problem with Hillary is not the level of her support for Israel. I don't doubt for a moment that she remains committed to what she believes are Israel's best interests. But her frame of reference is purposely limited to those who share the unrealistically utopian view of the "peace process."

When it comes to Middle East issues, Hillary surrounds herself with those who are convinced that Yasser Arafat & Co. truly mean to live in peace with Israel, and that only by accommodating his demands can that



It's Not What They Say

Hillary Clinton could never match the slurs that came from the lips of pro-Israel pols like Harry Truman and Richard Nixon

N.Y. Post: Boliver Arellano

peace be achieved. They are people who consider themselves strong supporters of Israel — yet believe that a lasting peace can only be achieved by a maximum of Israeli concessions.

As with other political issues, Mrs. Clinton deliberately listens to only one side of the argument. Which means that her positions, no matter how well-intentioned, are skewed by blatantly partisan considerations.

Harry Truman may have railed about "kikes" in New York. But when push came to shove, he listened to those who urged him to ignore those in his own State Department who were convinced a Jewish state

would become a Soviet puppet.

Richard Nixon may have demanded a tally of all the Jews in his administration. But when push came to shove, he was convinced of the need for a strong Jewish state, so he sent \$3 billion in emergency aid when Israel's existence was threatened.

Hillary Clinton may never have used that anti-Jewish slur. But when push comes to shove, her notion of supporting Israel may be to turn a blind eye to political reality and listen to those who think that all you need are a lot of public smiles for everyone in the Middle East to live happily ever after.

E-mail: efetsmann@nypost.com

NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, JULY 19, 2000

POSTOPINION

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Campaign★2000

Rudy defends Hillary in Jewish-slur flap



MAYOR GIULI
Takes "her at her

Hillary Rodham Clinton's Senate campaign got a shot in the arm from the most unlikely place yesterday — one-time GOP foe Rudy Giuliani.

Giuliani said charges that the Democratic candidate Clinton slung an anti-Semitic slur 26 years ago are totally irrelevant, breaking ranks with prominent Republicans by saying he believes Clinton never said it.

"I'm willing to accept her at her word that she didn't and basically say it's irrelevant what she said and did 26 years ago," Giuliani declared.

"It seems to me that she has a long public career since 26 years ago that people can agree on, disagree on, and not what she said or didn't say 26 years ago."

The mayor's remarks came just days after a charge contained in a new book surfaced that Clinton, during a heated argument, lit into Bill Clinton's congressional campaign manager in 1974 by calling him a "f---ing Jew bastard."

The first lady and the president have vehemently denied she uttered the inflammatory words.

But the former campaign manager, Paul Fray, said yesterday he'd like to meet with Hillary and make peace. "This matter will go away," he told the Fox News Channel. "I don't want to adversely affect her race."

The olive branch offering came as it was revealed Fray surrendered his law license in 1980 after someone paid him to alter a court document. Court records show he suffered a cerebral hemorrhage that led to seizures, addiction to prescription pain killers, erratic behavior and memory loss.

But the mayor doesn't believe Fray's credibility will be a campaign issue.

"Ultimately ... I can't imagine that a single voter is going to care what she said or did 26 years ago, when she has a long record now of her relationships with the Jewish people, on a personal basis, which appear to be perfectly normal and fine," Giuliani said.

Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson said yesterday it was time to focus on current events.

"Even Rudy Giuliani

By FRANKIE EDOZIEN
and ROBERT HARDT Jr.

takes Hillary at her word," Wolfson said.

But Giuliani laced his comments with strong criticism of Hillary Clinton's positions on Israel and Palestinian statehood.

Giuliani also slammed her husband, and said the president was wrong to defend his wife by attacking her opponent, Republican Congressman Rick Lazio.

"I don't think the president should be blaming Rick Lazio for it," Giuliani said.

"Rick Lazio didn't put this out. It's in a book. It has to do with people who maybe have some anger at the president and Mrs. Clinton. I understand that perfectly well," added the mayor, who is the subject of two recent hard-hitting biographies.

The book in question, "State of a Union," by Jerry Oppenheimer, a former editor with the National Enquirer, hit stores yesterday.

Hillary's Jewish problem / Post Opinion: Page 35



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Mrs. Clinton Proposes a Health Plan That Expands a Current Law

WEDNESDAY, JULY 19, 2000

By JENNIFER STEINHAUER

Hillary Rodham Clinton presented her plan yesterday to extend health insurance to millions of Americans, including 1.1 million New Yorkers. Her plan, which hews closely to the one proposed by Vice President Al Gore, could not be further in details and scope from the ill-fated program she helped to mastermind in the early 1990's.

Mrs. Clinton outlined her initiative in a news conference at Columbia-Presbyterian Center in Manhattan. Among other things, it would expand an existing government program to insure children. "We will never be the kind of New York or America we should and can be if we do not figure out a way to provide quality affordable health care to every one of us," Mrs. Clinton said.

In New York, more than 19 percent of people under 65, or 3.1 million people, lack health insurance. A large part of them are the working poor who make too much money to qualify for Medicaid, but do not receive benefits from their employer or cannot afford to buy them. And despite a federal program that covers children, about 700,000 children in New York still lack insurance.

The expansion of insurance and health care to all Americans was Mrs. Clinton's goal in the early 90's. Her plan for universal coverage was flattened by Congress in 1994 after determined lobbying by opponents.

That plan put much of the burden of covering the uninsured on employers. But the plan presented yesterday by Mrs. Clinton, who is running for the Senate, returns much of the burden to the government and steers clear from visions of insuring the entire nation in one blow.

"You may remember that seven years ago I had a few ideas about this topic," said Mrs. Clinton, who has taken to joking about her earlier failed effort and stressing that she has learned to take small steps toward change in one of the most complex policy issues in the country.

Her opponent in the Senate race, Representative Rick A. Lazio, immediately criticized the plan, asserting



Angel Franco/The New York Times

As she was leaving Columbia-Presbyterian Center yesterday, Hillary Rodham Clinton shook hands with Sally Stern, who was being discharged from the hospital after recovering from brain surgery.

that she did not reveal where the money to pay for such expansions would come from. His camp added that the federal government has shortchanged New York by not providing a fair share of federal funds for existing programs, and asserted that Mrs. Clinton should have influenced her husband in this area.

Mrs. Clinton suggested that federal budget surpluses could be used to pay for her plan.

The core of her proposal relied heavily on the Children's Health Insurance Program, a 1997 federal-state effort. In this program, the

federal government gives states 65 percent of their costs to insure children from families whose income is no more than about \$31,000 a year, for a family of four, or about 200 percent of the federal poverty line.

Mrs. Clinton proposes expanding that program to children in families living at an income level from 250 to 300 percent of the poverty line, or about \$51,000 for a family of four. That would cost an additional \$10 billion over 10 years.

She would also like to see the program extended to parents of children living within this income bracket.

The New York State Legislature recently passed a similar plan, known as Family Health Plus.

Mrs. Clinton said she also would make sure that all states use their money under the federal program, or face losing the federal matching funds.

In addition, she proposes giving a 25 percent refundable tax credit to people who are not insured through their jobs and need to buy insurance as individuals, and giving families whose incomes are above 300 percent of the poverty line a chance to buy Children's Health Insurance

Program insurance at a rate cheaper than the market rates for individuals.

Mr. Gore has made similar proposals. His and Mrs. Clinton's plans differ mostly in their generosity. Her proposals for establishing eligibility are a bit more lenient.

Mrs. Clinton's plan is far removed from her notions of universal coverage in the early 1990's, which included a requirement that employers pick up 80 percent of the cost of any health care plan their workers chose.

Mr. Lazio has not yet released any specific proposal to deal with those who do not have health insurance. Mrs. Clinton's proposal came after Mr. Lazio's wife, Patricia, a nurse, began appearing in a television advertisement last week defending his record on health care issues in Congress. "He has not exactly been silent on these issues," said a campaign spokesman, Michael Marr.

Mr. Lazio's advisers insisted that President Clinton has yet to make sure that New York gets its fair share of federal money. New York is indeed in danger of spending large amounts of state money on the Children's Health Insurance Program next year. Under the law, New York is to have 65 percent of the costs for its health insurance program reimbursed by the federal government, up to \$256 million. The law sets a timetable, in the fall, for states either to use their allocations or to relinquish what they haven't used to other states.

Because New York has by far the largest such program in the country — 522,000 New York children are enrolled — it is well on its way to surpassing its cap. That means that New York might have to pick up the costs of additional enrollments.

But many members of Congress would like to see states that have failed to spend their money get another two years to work out their programs before losing any funds. Health care experts say it is unlikely that the Clinton administration could find a way to release more money to New York for this program until these issues are resolved.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



Sara Krulwich/The New York Times

Mrs. Clinton Expands on Explanation

During a visit to the Bell Park Jewish Center in Queens, Hillary Rodham Clinton gave her most detailed explanation yet of why she kissed Yasir

Arafat's wife after Mrs. Arafat made scathing remarks about Israel in November. Mrs. Clinton said that in the Middle East a kiss is a handshake.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Witnesses scoffing at her denials

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.

Paul and Mary Lee Fray laughed at the first lady's contention yesterday that she doesn't remember the fight they had with the Clintons on Election Night in 1974.

"Damn, that's good," Paul Fray chuckled from the couple's home in Sherwood, Ark.

The Frays — along with a third campaign worker — allege that Hillary Rodham Clinton called Paul a "f—ing Jew bastard" following Bill Clinton's unsuccessful run for Congress.

Mrs. Clinton denied the epithet yesterday, saying she didn't take part in any fight with the Frays and that that she didn't even remember the third accuser, college coordinator Neil McDonald.

"It's incredible that she says she doesn't know who Neil is, because he lived with Hugh and Tony [Hillary's brothers] right around the time of the election in Fayetteville," Fray told The Post.

Virtually every Clinton biography mentions the major dustup between the Clintons and the Frays after Clinton's narrow loss to GOP incumbent John Paul Hammer-schmidt.

But only Jerry Oppenheimer's "State of a Union" — to be released tomorrow — includes the Frays' and McDonald's charge that Mrs. Clinton made the anti-Semitic remark.

"First she's saying she didn't say that to me and now she's saying she can't even remember this fight?" Fray asked.

"What a lie!"

The Frays also addressed

See **WITNESSES** on Page 27

Witnesses: Hill is lying

WITNESSES from Page 4

a two-page handwritten letter that Paul sent Mrs. Clinton in 1997.

The letter, dated July 1, says: "At one time in my life, I would say things without thinking, without factual foundation and without rhyme or remedy unless it furthered my own agenda."

"I said a lot of things that were unfair about Hillary in connection with that race and her relationship with Bill."

"But what she called me was a fact."

Ron Addington, a senior staffer in Clinton's 1974 campaign, said he has no doubt that there was a major fight between the Clintons and the Frays — but can't believe that Hillary would have used a racial epithet.

"I wasn't there the night of the fight but it was common knowledge that there was a big showdown between them. She had a big fight with Paul at least one time before," Addington told The Post.

"Hillary said a lot of things — some of them not so nice to Paul — but I can't imagine her using an ethnic slur," Addington said.

Addington also said Hugh and Tony Rodham lived for a time in his apartment — not Neil McDonald's.

"It is very, very possible that Hillary doesn't remember Neil but he was in headquarters every day," Addington said.

"He was a hard-working college student but he wasn't a big player in the campaign."

McDonald couldn't be reached last night.

She must check facts if 'enquiring' about libel

BASTARD-GATE.

Hillary Clinton who has escaped through more "gates" than a runaway pooch, needs Houdini to get her out of this one.

Now, of course, as she faces ignominy over "Bastard-gate" she can quickly make us born-again believers.

If I were her right now, I'd be moving my tiny legs with great haste to get to a lawyer and immediately file suit for libel.

In that way, we will be convinced that Jerry Oppenheimer, Paul Fray, his wife Mary Lee Fray, former campaign worker Neil McDonald, and HarperCollins are "lying bastards."

Think of the money you would get out of this libel suit, Hillary. You would be able to underwrite Bill's legal fees for proven lying and — as we know because we believe everything you say — Bill is the only liar in the family.

The Clintonistas are making great hay out of the fact that Oppenheimer was a former National Enquirer reporter, which is supposed to be a code word for scandal-monger.

It's a case of nudge-nudge, wink-wink, the National Enquirer syn-

STEVE DUNLEAVY



drome — "They make up stories."

As Mr. Howard Wolfson, Hillary's attack pup, makes much of this, I give him fair and honest warning:

For the past two weeks I have done a lot of research on The Enquirer, and 27 years ago, because of the particular journalism I was involved in, I had a lot of reason to know how Enquirer reporters work:

(A) Then and now, their fact-checking department was the most Draconian organization since the old KGB. They would work overtime to catch out a reporter in the tiniest, most minuscule error.

(B) Their modus operandi taught to them by the late Gene Pope is to always keep something up your sleeve other than your arms.

Don't believe me? Ask one-time presidential candidate Gary Hart who had the misfortune to challenge

an Enquirer reporter about his wandering eye. Oh, shucks.

Mr. Wolfson, if Hillary didn't say anything to do with allegations of "Bastard-gate," legal action is an absolute must.

Of course, it is one thing not remembering where your missing legal billing files over Whitewater were for two years, it is one thing to emotionally and financially ravage Billy Ray Dale in Travelgate, but it is just something else to allegedly call someone "f---ing Jew bastard" when there are three impeccable witnesses.

Dick Morris, a former Clinton aide, someone who was born a Jew, recalls a time when the hairs of anger stood up on the back of his neck.

He was discussing with Mrs. Clinton consulting fees, fees which he'd earned working for the Clintons.

"She said: 'That's all you people care about is money,'" Morris told Tony Snow of Fox News yesterday.

Morris got more than a little drift of a perceived ethnic slur but he was gracious enough to give Hillary a "gate" to escape from.

"I presume you mean, when you mention 'you people,' you are talking

about political consultants," Morris recounted.

"Oh, yes, yes, yes," stuttered Hillary. Of course, in fairness, she may have been talking about political consultants. Dick Morris is not necessarily convinced.

Hillary could not get out of that pathetic moment when she was caught on camera embracing Suha Arafat after Yasser's wife had accused Israelis of poisoning Arab kids.

Now try to get out of this one.

Wayne Barrett's book on Rudy Giuliani revealed that he had "good-fellas" in his family tree (and so do I).

Rudy should not have even batted an eyelid. If he was embarrassed, the reason escapes me. He should have said: "Hey, you never asked me. I can tell you a lot more than that."

So today, we should give Hillary a second chance. Maybe you do remember that meeting after reflection.

Because I give you fair warning. Because Mr. Oppenheimer and the commandos from whom he has learned his craft have a little more up their sleeves than their arms.

Hill: Believe me, I never uttered vile Jewish slur

By GREGG BIRNBAUM

An angry Hillary Rodham Clinton lashed out yesterday at former political allies who accuse her of a nasty anti-Semitic outburst in 1974, saying they're trying to destroy her Senate campaign.

"I don't know the reason behind it. It did not happen. I've never said anything like that in my entire life," Clinton insisted.

But she suspects she knows why the allegation is surfacing: "cause I'm running for U.S. Senate."

Later, President Clinton rushed to his wife's defense, saying "this charge is simply not true."

In a remarkable quarter-hour news conference on the lawn of the first couple's nearly \$2 million home in Chappaqua, Mrs. Clinton said she decided to answer her accusers — but only after "a lot of difficult conversations" with her advisers.

In the end, she said, she felt she had to rebuff what amounted to an assault on some of her most deeply held convictions.

"It runs against my entire life ... to try to stand against bigotry and prejudice of any kind," she said.

Mrs. Clinton allegedly lobbed the slur at her husband's campaign manager, Paul Fray — calling him a "f---ing Jew bastard" — during an argument the night Bill Clinton lost his bid for Congress in Arkansas in 1974.

The diatribe is described in the upcoming book "State of a Union," by celebrity biographer and ex-National Enquirer reporter Jerry Oppenheimer.

"There's a history of these kinds of charges coming from the people in question," Hillary said of Fray and his wife, Mary Lee — as well as campaign worker Neil McDonald, who is quoted in the book confirming the incident.

Mrs. Fray stood by her charges in an interview with The Post last week.

Mrs. Clinton said she doesn't remember being in the room when the argument erupted — though the heated dust-up has been described in several Clinton biographies — and said she didn't know McDonald.

"I just find it really pathetic and very sad that this is the way people are attempting to influence politics, and I don't think we should stand for it," Mrs. Clinton said.

The president, in a statement issued by her campaign, notes that he was there the night in question.

"It's unfortunate that people would try to exploit false charges like this in an election rather than look at what she has done for her entire life," he stated.

Mrs. Clinton's news conference was seen as a gamble for the Democratic candidate, addressing several dozen members of the press about a story that had, until then, gotten limited media attention.

Campaigning in Rockland County, GOP opponent Rick Lazio refused to comment.

Mrs. Clinton said her husband was among those she consulted prior to the event, at which Westchester Rep. Nita Lowey, who is Jewish, stood beside Mrs. Clinton.

"I have in the past certainly, maybe, called somebody a name," she said. "But I have never used an ethnic, racial, anti-Semitic, bigoted, discriminatory or prejudiced accusation against anybody."

"I've never thought it."



SLANDERS AND LIES: First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton cites President Clinton as a character witness as she meets with reporters outside her Chappaqua home yesterday to deny ever saying a bad word against any ethnic group — particularly Jews. Helayne Seidman

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

First Lady Denies Using Antisemitic Slur in '74

*Ark. Campaign Worker's
Claim Quoted in Book*

By BETH J. HARPAZ
Associated Press

CHAPPAQUA, N.Y., July 16—Angry, exasperated and emotional, Hillary Rodham Clinton today firmly denied allegations from a forthcoming book that she used an antisemitic slur 26 years ago.

"I wanted to unequivocally state it never happened," the first lady said after taking the unusual step of inviting reporters to the garden of her Westchester home for a hastily scheduled news conference to discuss the controversy.

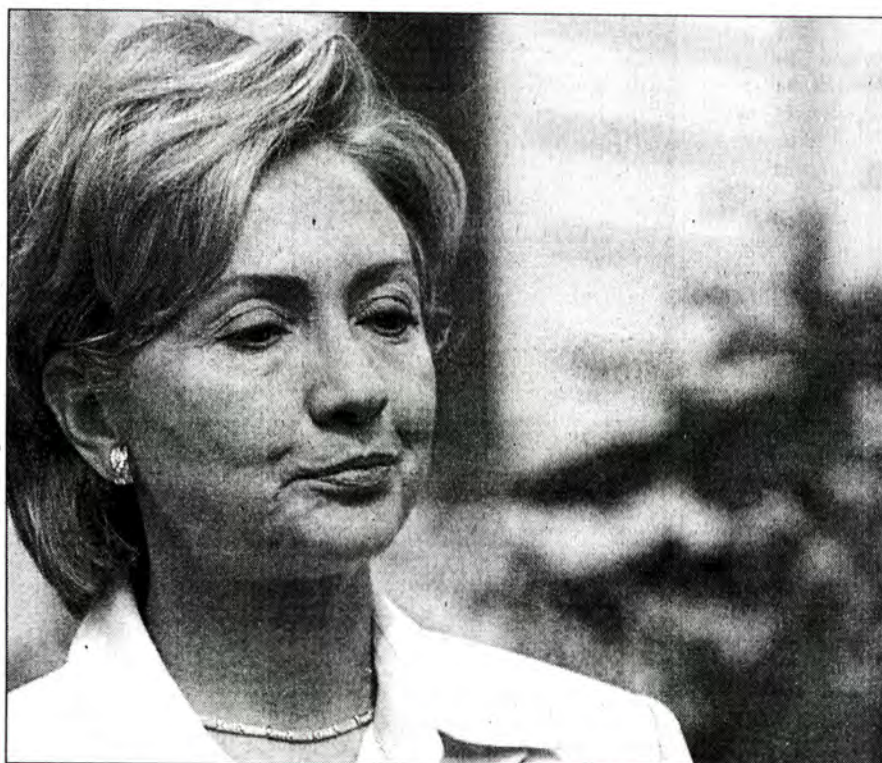
The allegation comes from a book due out this week, "State of a Union: Inside the Complex Marriage of Bill and Hillary Clinton," by former National Enquirer reporter Jerry Oppenheimer.

Oppenheimer quotes Paul Fray, who worked for Bill Clinton's unsuccessful congressional campaign in Arkansas in 1974, as claiming that Hillary Clinton called him a "Jew bastard" after Bill Clinton lost the election. Fray's wife said she witnessed the incident, and a third person, Neil McDonald, claimed to have heard the remark as he stood outside the room.

Today, the Clinton Senate campaign released copies of a handwritten letter from Paul Fray to Hillary Clinton, dated July 1, 1997, in which he states: "I have wronged you. I ask for your forgiveness because I did say things against you, and called you names, not only to your face—but behind your back . . . names that are unmentionable."

Fray adds: "At one time in my life, I would say things without thinking, without factual foundation . . . I beg your forgiveness."

Clinton said she was releasing the letter to show that "there's a history of these kinds of charges coming from the people in question. They've been false in the past. They're false now."



BY SUZANNE PLUNKETT—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton speaks at a news conference hastily called to address the allegation. "I wanted to unequivocally state it never happened," she said.

The Clinton campaign also released a statement from President Clinton in which he said: "I was there on election night in 1974 and this charge is simply not true. It did not happen. My wife has stood for social justice and tolerance and against racial and religious hatred and bigotry for as long as I have known her. It's unfortunate that people would try to exploit false charges like this in an election rather than look at what she has done for her entire life."

Hillary Clinton characterized the controversy as "a continuation of the politics of personal destruction that I think is so bad for our country."

Before her news conference, the allegation had not been widely reported outside weekend stories in the New York Post and the New York Daily News.

She indicated that her advisers had debated the best way to respond, saying: "We had a lot of difficult conversations about it, because my policy for the last eight years has largely been just to absorb whatever insult, whatever charge, whatever accusation anybody says, and not respond because they are so outrageous and so unfair."

But she decided to issue a full-force denial in this case to ensure that "anyone who tries to get someone else to believe this

will at least have to say, 'Well, she says it's not true.'"

Her voice filled with exhaustion and exasperation as she added: "You're darn right it's not true. It's absolutely false. I'm just sick and tired of this kind of politics."

A moment later, her voice broke with emotion, and she appeared to be swallowing a sob as she said: "I'm very angry. But you know, I learned a long time ago that the people who generate this kind of stuff are really hoping to divert attention from what's important in a campaign or what any of us are trying to do."

Rep. Nita M. Lowey (D-N.Y.), who is Jewish, stood next to Clinton during the news conference and told reporters she came to offer support because "there's no way Hillary could make a statement like that."

Clinton's Republican opponent in the New York Senate race, Rep. Rick Lazio, was repeatedly asked by reporters to speak about the controversy during two public appearances today.

"I think it's best if I don't comment on it," he told reporters in upstate Norwich.

Oppenheimer, the author, defended his claim, telling CNN that his research also showed that "Mrs. Clinton, who says she's never used such language, heard that kind of language while growing up."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Political Memo

A Charge Mrs. Clinton Can't Ignore

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

The answer to the question of whether Hillary Rodham Clinton ever made the anti-Semitic slur attributed to her by two long-time enemies from Arkansas politics may forever be lost to time and the conflicting accounts of what actually went on the night that Bill Clinton lost his first race for Congress in 1974.

But the fact that Mrs. Clinton felt compelled, at the near-unanimous urging of her senior advisers, to call reporters to her home on a Sunday afternoon to explicitly deny the charges, and that President Clinton took a break from Middle East negotiations to telephone a Daily News editor to back up his wife, reflects more than passing concern over the latest storm to pass over Mrs. Clinton's campaign. Their actions suggest what her advisers said yesterday was the need to address persistent doubts about this candidate among Jewish voters, and, more fundamentally, lingering doubts about her trustworthiness across the electoral spectrum.

For most public figures, a charge of the sort raised — that she made an obscenity-laden anti-Semitic remark to Mr. Clinton's campaign manager 26 years ago — might have sunk out of sight. It is an old anecdote coming out a little more than three months before an election. It is made by two people with a history of enmity toward President and Mrs. Clinton, and repeated by a third person who said he overheard the conversation from outside the room.

The book where the incident was first recounted, "State of A Union: Inside the Complex Marriage of Bill and Hillary Clinton," is written by a former reporter for The National

Enquirer, Jerry Oppenheimer, as Mrs. Clinton's aides have been quick to note in an attempt to question its credibility. The alleged recipient of the anti-Semitic slur is Baptist, though he says his paternal great-grandmother is Jewish.

But Mrs. Clinton and her campaign team found themselves answering questions about it for the fourth day yesterday, evidence that the charge was not being dismissed as implausible. And Representative Rick A. Lazio, her Republican opponent who had stepped back when the allegations first emerged, addressed the issue yesterday in what his aides said would be a continuing attempt to use it to raise questions about Mrs. Clinton's honesty.

"There have been three people that have made what I think is a serious allegation," Mr. Lazio said outside a school in Harlem. "Mrs. Clinton has denied that allegation. I don't know who to believe. I don't know if New Yorkers know who to believe. And therein lies a good deal of the problem."

Mr. Lazio's senior campaign consultant, Mike Murphy, said, "I have no doubt now that trust is becoming the major issue of the campaign."

Her advisers reacted quickly to this latest allegation precisely because her credibility has been challenged so regularly over the past eight years, and that she could not afford at this time in her campaign another episode that raised questions about her sincerity.

Mr. Clinton called an editor of The Daily News on his own accord on Sunday, according to the first lady's advisers, who suggested yesterday that presidential intervention might not have been called for. They would not speculate as to why Mr. Clinton made the call.

But when it came to the first lady, Mrs. Clinton and her advisers made a very deliberate calculation to rebut the story after determining that it had the potential to turn into a brushfire.

The decision came Sunday in a late-morning telephone conference call between Mrs. Clinton and her aides, after her aides watched as Trent Lott, the Senate majority leader, declared on "Fox News Sunday" that Representative Rick A. Lazio, Mrs. Clinton's Republican opponent, was getting substantial support from Jewish voters in New York, "and I think that's one of the reasons why Hillary is uttering these anti-Semitic comments, if in fact she is."

By that point on Sunday, the story had appeared on the Drudge Report on the Internet, in The New York Post and in The Daily News, but Mrs. Clinton's advisers figured that it was only a matter of time before it spilled over into other newspapers, the Associated Press and local television news. They agreed that Mrs. Clinton needed to personally rebut a charge that was already stirring concern among some of her Jewish supporters, and seemed not to be going away any time soon.

"The concept here is, let's not have any whispering campaigns," one of Mrs. Clinton's senior advisers said yesterday. "Let's get the truth out. Let's not allow false information promoted by a book to be used in a whispering campaign."

Some of Mrs. Clinton's associates had worried that such a quick and heated reaction would only draw additional attention to the story. And Mr. Murphy suggested last night that the mere fact of a president interrupting Middle East negotiations to call a newspaper editor gave new life to a story that might have been on



Vincent Laforet/The New York Times

Amid a publicized charge that she made an anti-Semitic slur in 1974, Hillary Clinton bowed at an event at the Port Authority Bus Terminal.

the decline.

What is more, for all their concern, reaction among Jewish leaders has been relatively mild. Assemblyman Dov Hikind, the Brooklyn Democrat who represents an Orthodox neighborhood, said yesterday that the incident raised "the whole issue of credibility in terms of things that Hillary Clinton says and does."

But Mr. Hikind, who has been wary of Mrs. Clinton's views on Israel, given her support for a Palestinian state, went out of his way to say he did not consider her anti-Semitic. A number of Jewish organizations, including the Anti-Defamation League and the American Jewish Committee, issued statements supporting Mrs. Clinton last night.

Mrs. Clinton said yesterday that

she was seeking to move beyond questions about what she had said to Paul Fray, Mr. Clinton's campaign manager from 1974. She looked momentarily startled when told what Mr. Lazio had said about her credibility, but then said: "I'm not going to respond to that. I said yesterday that it was untrue, it did not happen and I think it's regrettable that there is an accusation of that banality that is made."

But one of Mrs. Clinton's most long-term advisers, James Carville, said yesterday that given the Clintons' history in politics, and voters' fascination and polarized views of the two particular politicians, he did not believe this would go away any time soon. "My counsel to them is that this is only the beginning."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Mrs. Clinton's Credible Response

It is a sour coincidence that Hillary Rodham Clinton should be accused of using anti-Semitic language while negotiations are under way at Camp David that represent the best chance in decades for a comprehensive peace settlement in the Middle East. But in another sense, this juxtaposition of domestic politics and foreign policy provides an opportunity to examine a serious underlying principle. There is no doubt, in our view, that Mrs. Clinton, if elected to the Senate, would be a firm supporter of Israel's security, its aspirations for peace and its economic vitality. We say that without imputing any weakness on these issues to her Republican opponent, Representative Rick Lazio. Our intent is simply to say that this is one of those campaign moments when voters need to look at long-term policy prospects rather than the controversy of the moment.

To be sure, Mrs. Clinton's handling of matters important to New York's Jewish voters has been fraught with controversy since the start of her candidacy to succeed Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a fellow Democrat. But her early gaffes were not as shocking as depicted by detractors who want to see her lose part of a constituency that is essential to any Democrat in a tight statewide race. Mrs. Clinton's 1998 remark that she would favor creation of a Palestinian state is now not far afield from current Israeli and American policies. Both governments are open to establishment of such a state as part of the Camp David negotiations. Her appearance with Yasir Arafat's wife, Suha, last year, while awkward, was nonetheless handled in a way that did not disrupt sensitive negotiations between Israeli and Palestinian leaders. The Israeli prime minister, Ehud Barak, was among those defending Mrs. Clinton.

The current complication centers on the report in a new book about the Clintons' marriage, "State

of a Union," by Jerry Oppenheimer, that she used an anti-Semitic slur in an argument with the manager of her husband's losing Congressional campaign in 1974. Those not present can never be absolutely certain about what was said at the campaign headquarters that day. But the circumstantial evidence inclines us strongly toward believing Mrs. Clinton when she says she never used such language. The alleged remark took place only a few years after Mrs. Clinton's expansively humanistic commencement speech at Wellesley and soon after she had worked in a sophisticated legal environment for the impeachment of a president, Richard M. Nixon, who did use anti-Semitic language. Mrs. Clinton by her own admission has a volatile temper, but this kind of language seems out of keeping with her philosophy and a well-documented history of public remarks and private political conversations.

The latest Quinnipiac University poll shows Mrs. Clinton getting 54 percent of the Jewish vote to 34 percent for Mr. Lazio. In order to win, she probably has to come close to the 76 percent gained by Senator Charles Schumer in 1998. Her decision to abandon her usual no-comment mode in favor of a passionate, almost teary response to the allegation of anti-Semitic language was a sound one. President Clinton's decision to step into the fray, while understandable as husbandly concern, was probably less helpful to the political task confronting Mrs. Clinton. Her problem extends beyond any single constituency group.

This is going to be a grindingly brutal campaign. From now on, Mrs. Clinton will be under continuous pressure to assert her independence from her husband and to fight her own fights. She also has to explain her policies and reveal her personality to an electorate that does not know her well. In this instance, we think she made a convincing case that she did not use the language ascribed to her.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Confronting the Damage-Control Dilemma

Clintons Moved Quickly to Rebut Charge of Slur, but Did Strategy Work?

By JOHN F. HARRIS
Washington Post Staff Writer

One of the cardinal rules of modern politics is: Don't give tabloid tales the dignity of a response. Another rule is: Don't let damaging allegations fester without an answer.

The two rules rammed headlong against each other over the weekend, as a new book alleging that Hillary Rodham Clinton hurled an antisemitic slur 26 years ago sent her Senate campaign into a crisis of how to respond. It was a classic dilemma in an age of news media frenzies: Having the candidate rebut the charge ran the risk of amplifying it.

That is exactly what happened. Clinton's response, in a voice choked with emotion and anger, that the book was "so outrageous and so unfair" inevitably prompted news organizations in New York and nationally to cover a controversy they had been ignoring. That decision continued to echo yesterday, as advisers acknowledged it was too early to say whether their strategy toward the book by former National Enquirer reporter Jerry Oppenheimer had been the right one. Even the White House was thrown into turmoil: President Clinton called the New York Daily News on Sunday to defend his wife without telling his staff, aides said; Hillary Clinton's campaign also was caught off-guard by the president's impromptu intervention.

The controversy was a moment of unexpected drama in a Senate race that had fallen into a scripted slumber. As the political world assessed the Clintons' decision to speak out, a rough divide emerged: Observers in Washington thought they may have reacted too hastily, those in New York thought they had little choice.

"This is not politics 101; this is graduate school politics," said one adviser to Hillary Clinton, describing the anguished deliberations the campaign went through over the weekend.

While campaign aides agreed that Hillary Clinton's impassioned denial that she uttered the slur got far

more coverage than the allegation, they also noted that plenty of people were familiar with the charges in Oppenheimer's book.

That's because of an unsuccessful effort on Friday by Clinton's campaign to persuade the New York tabloids to take a pass on the story. Howard Wolfson, the campaign press secretary, used a combination of hectoring and high-minded appeals to fairness to the Daily News and New York Post, arguing that the allegations were scurrilous and deserved no coverage, according to people at the papers.

Oppenheimer quotes three people on the record saying that on election night in 1974, when a still-unmarried Bill Clinton lost a race for Congress, his girlfriend flew into a profanity-laced rage. Paul Fray, a campaign aide, and his wife said Hillary Rodham called him a "Jew bastard"; a third person, Neil McDonald, claimed to have heard the exchange from outside the room.

Clinton aides said none of the three sources has credibility. Hillary Clinton remembered that Paul Fray had written her three years ago asking for forgiveness for calling her "unmentionable" names, making accusations that were "without factual foundation." Staff aides exhumed the letter and released it Sunday. But Fray told reporters he stuck by this particular charge. The Daily News decision to publish was especially damaging, Clinton aides believed, because unlike the Post it does not have a reputation as a conservative organ. By Sunday, New York television stations were preparing stories.

Hillary Clinton hastily summoned reporters to her Westchester County home. "We wanted everyone who heard this charge to know that it was untrue and that Hillary unequivocally rejected it," said Wolfson. "We did not want anyone to wonder."

Dan Schnur, a veteran Republican operative living in New York, said it was wise to confront a story with huge potential for damage—especially in a state where almost 10 percent of the electorate is Jewish, and critics have questioned Hillary Clinton's support for Israel. "It was definitely the right thing to do," he

said. "It was a huge story here."

But Larry Sabato, a University of Virginia political scientist who wrote a book on the phenomenon of news media "feeding frenzies," said he found the campaign's decision "odd because it brought attention" to the allegations: "This really guarantees the book will sell well." He said the campaign may be anticipating more sensational disclosures and was perhaps "cutting off a megafrenzy with a minifrenzy now."

"It's only July. There's going to be a lot more of this," Hillary Clinton said yesterday at an appearance at Ellis Island. "I've been in public life for a long time. I've been accused of a lot of things. This one really cut to the core of who I am."

She said she would not pursue legal action against the publisher, HarperCollins, saying her highly public role would make it difficult to pursue a libel case and a lawsuit would not curb the "strong and intense feelings" toward her.

President Clinton first called Daily News Co-Publisher Mortimer B. Zuckerman in Europe, then called Managing Editor Michael Kramer. Frantic press aides called the paper for a transcript of what their boss had said. Clinton said he remembered an election-night row, and that his wife may have called Fray "a bastard," but that she has never uttered antisemitic remarks.

In a news conference held over a subway grate in front of Hillary Clinton's headquarters, a half-dozen ultra-Orthodox rabbis and Jewish political figures yesterday stressed that they could not say for sure if the first lady had uttered the anti-Jewish insult—and proceeded to excoriate her anyway.

Clinton's GOP opponent, Rep. Rick Lazio, earlier declined to comment on the controversy, but yesterday waded partly in. "It's a very disturbing comment," he said. "Three people saying Mrs. Clinton said one thing, Mrs. Clinton saying she did not say it. I don't know who to believe, quite frankly."

Staff writers Christine Haughney and Michael Powell in New York contributed to this report.



BY STAN HONDA—AGENCE FRANCE PRES

Hillary Rodham Clinton tours Ellis Island with Diane Dayson, superintendent of the landmark, and Sen. Frank R. Lautenberg (D-N.J.).

Tuesday, July 15, 2000

THE WASHINGTON POST

Richard Cohen

The Unknown Hillary Clinton

Is Hillary Clinton an antisemite?

That is the gist of an accusation that dates to 1974, when, furious about her future husband's loss in his first race for Congress, she allegedly excoriated Bill Clinton's campaign manager, Paul Fray, calling him a "Jew bastard." Fray is backed in his accusation by his wife, Mary Lee, and another campaign worker, Neil McDonald, who was standing outside the door and insists he heard everything. To paraphrase a certain Ms. Hood, what big ears this McDonald had.

As usual with a Clinton scandal, contradictions and loose ends abound. Fray, for instance, is not Jewish. His paternal great-grandmother was, but he himself is a Baptist. To use a Jewish slur on a Baptist is both inexplicable and a sheer waste of antisemitic invective. A report of the alleged slur is contained in yet another new book about the Clintons, this one written by Jerry Oppenheimer, a former reporter for the *National Enquirer*. It's called "State of the Union: Inside the Complex Marriage of Bill and Hillary Clinton"—a place no one in his right mind would want to be.

Fray has spoken numerous times to the usual pack of journalistic bloodhounds seeking anything—but anything!—on the Clintons and either never mentioned this alleged slur (Version 1), or (Version 2) he did and it was ignored by hacks looking for stuff on sex. This time, he told the *New York Daily News*, he related the purported remark because both Oppenheimer and his wife are Jewish. This, then, was a *landsmen* sort of thing. The brothers would understand.

Sticking to the script, the Clintons responded in a time-tested way—by attacking the messenger. So the president told the *Daily News* that Fray had displayed "irrational behavior" during the campaign and that McDonald had gone to work for his brother in Texas because "no one else would hire him." And then, as if on automatic pilot, the president accused Hillary Clinton's Senate opponent, Rick Lazio, of having a hand in the current flap.

"So, the only thing they have left is character assassination," Clinton said, having just assassinated the character of two of the three people who said Hillary made the slur. All that was missing was the phrase "vast right-wing conspiracy." Stay tuned.

If past is prologue, we will never know what really happened. Hillary twice broke precedent: She called a news conference to deny the charge and did so with tears in her eyes. "It did not happen," she said. "I have never said anything like that. Ever. Ever."

She also released a letter Fray wrote her in 1997 apologizing for some remarks he had earlier made about her. "I was wrong and I have wronged you," he wrote. "I ask for your forgiveness." Don't hold your breath, Paul.

Up to now, Hillary said at her news conference, her "policy for the last eight years has largely been just to absorb whatever insult, whatever charge, whatever accusation anybody says and not respond because they are so outrageous and unfair." This time she was breaking precedent and while she did not say so, her rea-

sons were obvious: New York has a large and politically active Jewish population. She's already in hot water for once calling for the establishment of a Palestinian state. In New York, one cannot be sensible about such things.

Still, even if her accusers are to be believed, what does it mean? Does such a remark reveal the dark heart of an antisemite or, instead, someone who has simply lost it and reached in anger for an epithet? If that's the case, it's the only known example of an ethnic slur to come out of her mouth. It is inconceivable that after more than 30 years in the limelight, when—literally—some of her closest friends are Jews, this is the first time we hear of such a thing. Even if it happened, it says nothing about her except that she has a hot temper. This is not news.

The accusation, though, may well resonate because in the deepest sense Hillary Clinton is unknowable. Here, after all, is a woman who jarringly praised her husband when she accepted the Senate nomination, ignoring what we all know and making me, for one, wonder what she could be thinking. Why make us a part of the great Clinton charade?

For all her manifest abilities, Hillary seems to lack a center, a story that makes sense—a humanity that we can sense is like our own. She is, like Winston Churchill's description of the Soviet Union, a "riddle wrapped in a mystery inside an enigma," and she often can be described only in negatives. She is not an antisemite, of that I'm sure. But what else she is, I am not sure at all.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

By GREGG BIRNBAUM
and ROBERT HARDT Jr.

Senate candidate Rick Lazio yesterday called charges that Hillary Rodham Clinton made an anti-Semitic slur "very disturbing" and blasted the president for trying to drag him into the flap.

"The Clintons are never to blame," Lazio scoffed outside a school he visited on West 113th Street, a day after President Clinton accused Lazio of character assassination and personally attacking the first lady.

"It's always someone else's fault whenever they've done something wrong."

Lazio's comments ended two days of silence on reports that Mrs. Clinton denounced her husband's congressional campaign manager as a "f--ing Jew bastard" in 1974.

"It's a very disturbing comment," Lazio, said.

Says Hillary's reported slur is 'disturbing'

Noting that Mrs. Clinton denied the slur and that three other people confirmed it, Lazio added, "I don't know who to believe, quite frankly. I think one of the things that's disappointing about this is that New Yorkers don't know who to believe."

Also yesterday, one of Mrs. Clinton's key backers in the Jewish community told The Post the campaign had bungled its response and was in danger of seeing its support plummet.

"They risk a meltdown," said Rockland County legislator Ryan Karben, a Democrat and Orthodox Jew.

"There's great uneasiness at the grass-roots about this," added Karben, who has advised the campaign on Jewish issues. "People are disturbed by it. People don't believe it — but they don't disbelieve it either."

While Mrs. Clinton scrambles to hold on to Jewish voters, Lazio's media adviser, Mike Mur-

phy, said Lazio would be making appearances before Jewish groups over the next two weeks.

A new book, "State of a Union" by Jerry Oppenheimer, quotes the former campaign manager, Paul Fray, his wife, Mary Lee, and a campaign aide, Neil McDonald, as saying Mrs. Clinton spewed the anti-Semitic remark at Fray during a heated argument.

The book is published by HarperCollins, which is owned by News Corp., as is The Post.

The Frays and McDonald have confirmed their statements in the book in recent interviews with New York reporters.

However, the Frays have been inconsistent on whether they had ever made the charge before — telling some reporters they had and others they hadn't.

Also, author Gail Sheehy has said McDonald told her several years ago he did not hear the slur. He now says he did — and denies he ever spoke to Sheehy about it.

During a press conference at her house in Chappaqua on Sunday, Mrs. Clinton angrily denied uttering the derogatory comment and said the people saying that were trying to derail her Senate campaign.

The first lady yesterday said she would not respond to Lazio, again denied using the slur, and predicted the controversy would not harm her campaign.

"I have a lot of confidence in the fundamental good judgment of New Yorkers to see through these kinds of charges," Mrs. Clinton during a press conference on Ellis Island.

She warned New Yorkers to brace for more Republican mud-throwing before Election Day.

"They have a whole warehouse of insults that they're going to be putting into motion for this campaign, so I don't think anybody should be surprised by the tactics," Mrs. Clinton said.

Meanwhile, Oppenheimer scoffed at Mrs. Clinton's claim that the anti-Semitic charges were being leveled to crush her political dreams. He said his interviews with the Frays and McDonald were done "long, long before anyone even considered that Hillary" would run for the Senate.

**The Clintons' old
tricks / Editorial:
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'JUDGMENT' CALL: Hillary Clinton, touring Ellis Island yesterday with Diane Dayson, superintendent of the Park Service, said: "I have a lot of confidence in the... good judgment of New Yorkers to see through these kinds of charges." N.Y. Post: Don Halasy

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

True or not, sickening story is all too easy to believe

DID Hillary Clinton really call a cowed campaign worker a "f---ing Jew bastard"?

It may not really matter.

Clinton and her newly obedient husband are whining that the story of a slur Hillary is alleged to have screamed in disgust some 26 years ago was planted by a fuzzy conspiracy of disgruntled ex-staffers, unfriendly media and political rivals.

Blaming others without proof, ruining reputations to pay for real or imagined Clinton sins is nothing new. But this time, use of the trademark Clinton tactic points to a deeper problem.

It may not matter to some Jews whether Hillary hurled the offensive phrase. Hillary's Jewish problem centers on the fact that the remark rings believable.

For the first time in Hillary Clinton's public life, she needs the support of Jews to get ahead.

But do they really need her?

Hardly.

Jews don't need to believe she

called anyone, Jewish or otherwise, a "f---ing bastard" to realize that the woman has long displayed indifference, bordering on hostility, to Jews.

Her horrendous record dates back at least to 1987 and '88, when Hillary Clinton served as chairwoman of the New York-based New World Foundation, which bankrolled left-wing causes.

As Evan Gahr, an adjunct fellow of the Hudson Institute, has written, the foundation awarded \$15,000 to an organization that openly funneled cash to two groups controlled by the Palestinian Liberation Organization — in the days before the PLO renounced violence toward Israel.

Hillary's tin ear on things Jewish surfaced again early in her Senate campaign. She voiced support for Palestinian statehood. Then, after the predictable outcry, she turned around and called Jerusalem the indivisible capital of Israel.

In January, she marched to the

ANDREA PEYSER



headquarters of the Rev. Al Sharpton, whose gentler euphemisms for Jews include "diamond merchants" and "white interlopers."

In her presence, the Rev. Floyd Norris saw fit to tell a story about his experiences being fired from jobs by "two Jews." Nice company she keeps.

Hillary has yet to offer a satisfactory explanation as to why it took her weeks to rebut Suha Arafat's reckless accusations, made in Hillary's nodding presence, that Israel was poisoning Arab children.

Hillary's Jewish problem is of her own making. But don't expect a Clinton to accept responsi-

bility. Last week, The Post's Gregg Birnbaum reported that a memo circulating within the Clinton camp blamed "inaccurate, misleading" press coverage for Hillary's failure to win the hearts of a sufficient number of Jews.

She just doesn't get it.

This weekend, Hillary unleashed an eager attack dog — her husband, Bill.

It's not surprising that the president chose to defend his wife to the fawning Daily News — whose owner, Mortimer Zuckerman, played Hillary's host last March at the Inner Circle charity dinner.

But the list of enemies Clinton singled out for slander was breathtaking in scope. Not to mention, chutzpah.

Without offering proof, the president seemed to blame Senate rival Rick Lazio for Hillary's "character assassination."

He trashed Jerry Oppenheimer — author of "State of a Union: Inside the Complex Marriage of

Bill and Hillary Clinton," which contains the "bastard" quote — for having worked for the National Enquirer. Never mind that Oppenheimer's sources were quoted on the record, in keeping with the strictest journalistic standards.

Clinton attacked Paul Fray, the ex-campaign worker who maintains Hillary called him a "Jew bastard." Fray, according to the president, had shown "irrational behavior."

Another man who says he heard the "bastard" remark, ex-campaign worker Neill McDonald — a Clinton supporter to this day — was bashed by the president as a failure who went to work for his brother because "no one else would hire him."

In defending Hillary against one "character assassination," the president has committed several more.

The president has handed New York Jews yet another reason to believe the "Jew bastard" remark could be real.

Nice work.

POSTOPINION

The Web of Lies Unravels



**JOHN
PODHORETZ**

HILLARY says she never called a campaign aide a "f-ing Jew bastard" on the eve of her soon-to-be-husband's defeat in a 1974 race for Congress, and her husband backs her up.

Case not closed, not by a long shot.

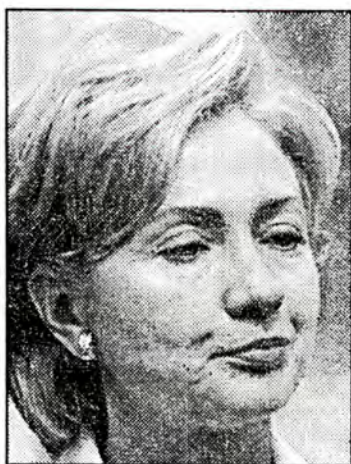
Hillary's key character witness on the incident is the most famous and comfortable liar in American political history, a man fined \$90,000 by an Arkansas judge for intentionally misleading the court in the Paula Jones case.

The "Jew bastard" incident may be the Big Bad Wolf moment of her campaign. Which is to say: Perhaps she's telling the truth, but there's no reason whatever to trust her veracity — not given her own history of lies. And as for Bill Clinton's insistence that "in 29 years, my wife has never, ever uttered an ethnic or racial slur against anybody, ever," maybe it all depends on what your definition of "never, ever" is.

Mrs. Clinton is not her husband's equal when it comes to dissemblance — who could be? — but she has an otherwise unparalleled record of speaking untruths.

In 1995, Mrs. Clinton instructed her lawyer to tell the General Accounting Office investigating the firing of seven White House Travel Office employees that "Mrs. Clinton does not know the origin of the decision" and that "she did not direct that any action be taken by anyone with regard to the travel office other than expressing an interest in receiving information about the review."

Oh? White House employee David Watkins claimed that she told him, "We need those



Hillary Clinton's history of deceit is coming to light. AP

people out and we need our people in" — and sent a memo to his boss saying that he understood there would be "hell to pay" if Hillary's instructions were ignored.

In later testimony before a House committee, Watkins took sole responsibility for the firings, but did not dispute that he had written the memorandum or revisit his previous remarks — thus committing a classic Clinton White House straddle, even for an employee like Watkins who had been dismissed two years earlier.

When it came to the complex Whitewater matter, Susan Schmidt of the Washington Post and Michael Weisskopf of Time magazine report in their book "Truth at Any Cost" that Kenneth Starr's office prepared an indictment of Hillary on the charge of perjury.

"Virtually everybody concluded that the first lady had lied, but that the evidence was not strong enough to convict her," Schmidt and Weisskopf write. Despite the low esteem in which Starr's office is held, the fact that it chose not to indict her makes the claim of perjury more credible — because it

behaved with restraint when it came to considering whether a jury could follow the twists and turns of this almost impossible-to-understand tale.

Hillary's lies don't just involve matters of law. They include matters of policy as well. On President Clinton's signing of the 1996 welfare reform bill, she has said: "I was a strong voice inside the White House and was a strong voice with many of the interest groups on the outside, who were not in favor of welfare reform."

Mickey Kaus, the journalist who knows more about this subject than any other, responded on his Web site (www.kausfiles.com) that while he is sure Hillary opposed the bill inside the White House, "Mrs. Clinton is almost certainly not telling the truth when she says she was a 'strong voice' with 'many' of the outside interest groups opposing the bill."

Kaus continues: "I've talked with key opponents of the bill, and none of them remembers anything like this. 'No way,' said one. 'She never did that. What she did,' my source remembered, 'was she avoided'" the activists who opposed the act. Those activists included close friends with whom she had worked on the Children's Defense Fund, among other organizations.

Those of us who stand in firm opposition to Mrs. Clinton's candidacy are not opposing her simply for ideological reasons, though that's certainly a major factor. What makes this race so vitally important is the opportunity it presents to bring an end to the Clinton era of shameless deceit.

It would be a horrible irony if Hillary's political ambitions were brought to an end at a moment when she has actually spoken the truth — horrible, but somehow fitting.

E-mail: podhoretz@nypost.com

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Bill's help could backfire on his wife's campaign

By DEBORAH ORIN
and RITA DELFINER

President Clinton's dash to his wife's defense over her alleged use of a Jewish slur had some analysts debating yesterday whether it is a boost — or will backfire.

It was the latest example of presidential remarks and administration actions that some have interpreted as a bid to help Hillary Clinton in her race for a New York Senate seat.

Clinton, in weekend phone calls to the Daily News, denied his wife called a campaign aide a

"f-----g Jew bastard" in 1974.

"I was there and (Hillary) never said it," the president declared.



CLINTON

Defending his wife.

One Democratic strategist, who requested anonymity, said it may remind voters of another denial — when Clinton said of Monica Lewinsky: "I did not have sex with that woman."

"To have someone who is known as a liar basically entangled makes no sense for (Hillary Clinton)," the strategist said. "It links it to the central problem of obfuscation and lying."

But Republican strategist Rich Galen said Clinton

See **BILL** on Page 20

Bill's help could prove a hindrance

BILL from Page 4

ton had to speak up.

"He couldn't stand aside," he said. "What if he were silent and didn't defend his wife? (White House spokesman) Joe Lockhart would have been besieged."

Here are some other examples of presidential words and actions some believe were a bid to help Hillary Clinton in her race against Mayor Rudy Giuliani and Rep. Rick Lazio.

■ Last August, the president granted conditional clemency to several members of the FALN. The move was popular with members of the Puerto Rican community, but backfired when it sparked heated opposition and the first lady said she opposed it.

■ In December, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Andrew Cuomo took control of \$60 million in federal grants earmarked for the city's homeless. Cuomo denied politics was involved in the takeover.

■ Earlier this month, the president ridiculed Lazio's claims that he supports the GOP version of the Patients' Bill of Rights.

"A patients' bill of rights?"

Clinton said, lifting his necktie at a union rally in Philadelphia. "This tie here, it's got a little red on it. That don't mean I'm wearing a red tie! 'They call me slick? ... You're going to need a shovel to deal with this between now and November.'"

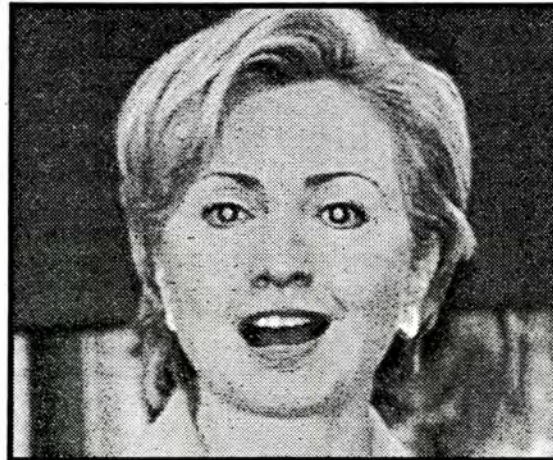
■ In June, Lazio accused the Clintons of siccing the Securities and Exchange Commission on him with a probe of a profitable 1997 stock options deal.

"He couldn't stand aside. What if he were silent and didn't defend his wife?"

RICH GALEN

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Anatomy of a scandal



THE PLAYERS

Five people claim they heard what was said after Bill Clinton lost his congressional bid in 1974:

Bill Clinton: Democratic nominee for an Arkansas congressional seat in 1974; future governor and president

Hillary Rodham: Bill's then-girlfriend; now first lady of the United

States and Democratic candidate for Senate from New York

Paul Fray: Manager of Clinton's '74 congressional campaign.

Mary Lee Fray: His wife and a campaign worker

Neil McDonald: Campaign aide, now a Dallas businessman

THEIR STORIES

Paul Fray

■ Claims in the book "State of a Union" that Hillary called him a "f---ing Jew bastard" during an election-night meeting at campaign headquarters.

■ Confirmed that account in recent interviews with other journalists.

■ In prior interviews for books and articles about the Clintons, he has been inconsistent. Sometimes he described Hillary using the slur during the meeting, sometimes not. In any event, the slur was never published before Jerry Oppenheimer's "State of a Union."

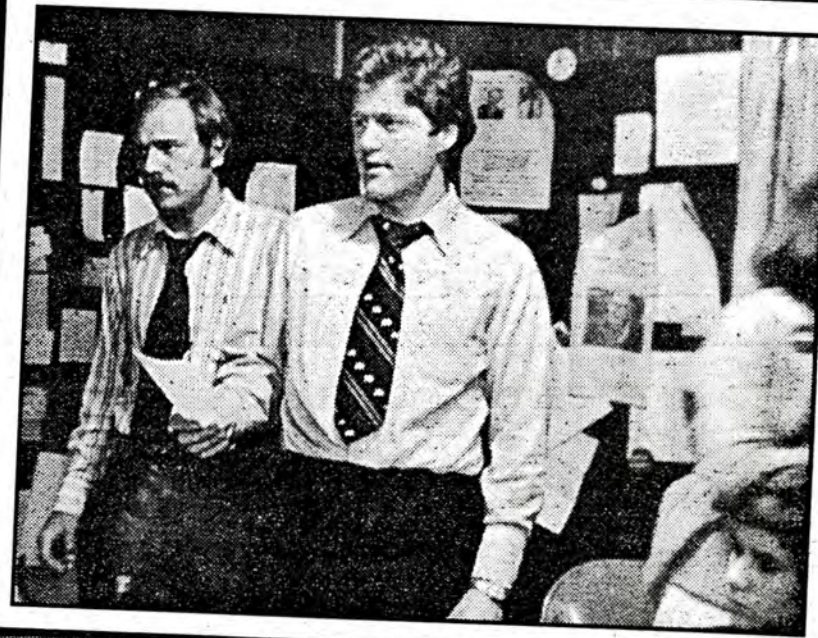
■ Has been inconsistent about whether he and his wife have told reporters about the alleged slur before. In an interview with The Post, the Frays said they had told at least three other reporters about Mrs. Clinton's attack on him. But in another interview, Fray said Oppenheimer was the first person he told about the alleged remark.

Mary Lee Fray

■ She supports her husband's story, saying Hillary uttered the slur during an "ugly night with lots of screaming and yelling."

Neil McDonald

■ Confirmed the Frays' account in interviews for "State of a Union" and in subsequent interviews with other reporters.



Bill Clinton and chief campaign aide Paul Fray (left) during election night in 1974.

■ However, the book says he was in the room, while in a subsequent interview he said he was "right outside the door" when he heard the confrontation.

■ Author Gail Sheehy says McDonald denied Hillary made the slur. McDonald denies discussing the matter with Sheehy.

Hillary Clinton

■ At a news conference on Sunday, flatly denied ever using a slur against Fray and said she did not

recall an election-night meeting.

Bill Clinton

■ Said in a statement that he was present on the night in question, although he did not specifically refer to a meeting.

■ Insisted Hillary never used a slur, but said she might have called Fray a bastard.

■ Recalled that Hillary and Fray had a "fight" but didn't specify when it took place.

The Southwest Times Record

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

TUESDAY, JULY 18, 2000 ★

Hillary backers say slur charges not true

Dismiss report of anti-Semitic remark

By Liz Trotta and Andrew Cain
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Supporters from the Anti-Defamation League to the White House defended first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday, dismissing a report that she used an anti-Semitic slur 26 years ago.

But conservative Jewish leaders in New York lent credence to the report, knocking the first lady's Senate campaign off stride.

Jerry Oppenheimer, a former reporter for the National Enquirer, accused Mrs. Clinton of calling campaign manager Paul Fray a "Jew bastard" the night Mr. Clinton lost his race for Congress in 1974. The author says Mrs. Clinton made the comment during a heated argument at campaign headquarters in Fayetteville, Ark.

Mr. Fray is a Baptist. His father was a Jew.

Mr. Oppenheimer makes the charge in "State of a Union: Inside the Complex Marriage of Bill and Hillary Clinton" — a book out this week.

The report further complicates Mrs. Clinton's Senate campaign. The first lady is drawing the support of barely half of Jewish New Yorkers in recent polls, a weak showing for a Democratic candidate.

Mrs. Clinton's Republican opponent, Rick Lazio, said yesterday "it's up to the voters to decide" whether to hold Mrs. Clinton accountable for the reported remark.

"This is sort of a 'she said, they said' situation," Mr. Lazio said. "I don't know who to believe. New Yorkers don't know who to be-

Bush says he'll win in Arkansas

Presidential candidate George W. Bush boasts, "I'm going to win this state" while in Little Rock touting a plan to make fathers take responsibility for their children. A4

lieve."

Mrs. Clinton and the president denied the charge Sunday. White House spokesman Joe Lockhart criticized the book yesterday at Camp David.

"We live in a world where the National Enquirer mentality has hijacked journalism, and that has become an issue in New York," Mr. Lockhart said as Mr. Clinton held peace talks with Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak and Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat.

"And these are scurrilous and untrue charges, and the president wanted to set that straight," Mr. Lockhart said.

"It's garbage," said former New York Mayor Ed Koch, a supporter of Mrs. Clinton.

see HILLARY, page A10

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

OFF THE RECORD

Voting Hillary
Off the Island

QUICK, somebody hand **Hillary** a map! The first lady this week stood before City Hall and unburdened herself regarding the cost of electricity in New York: She says it's really, really expensive.

"New York's utility rates are the second-highest in the country," **Mrs. Clinton** said. "The only place higher is Hawaii, and they're an island."

Umm, so is Manhattan. An island, that is. And Staten Island. And Long Island. Picky, picky, picky.

So, geography aside, how is the campaign going — one year after the "Listening Tour" kicked off?

Same, same. Literally.

Clinton has been on the road for a year. She's been to every county at least once (The Thousand Islands region must have been *really* confusing).

There's hardly a definable special interest (save for **Charlton Heston** and the NRA) that she hasn't made a play for.

And she has made no progress in the polls. None.

When **Rudy Giuliani** was her putative opponent, Hillary hung at 46 percent, give or take a point.

When Rudy bailed out, she didn't move.

And it took **Rick Lazio**, who nobody had ever heard of, less than a week to move into a statistical dead heat with the First Lady of the United States of America — who *everybody* has heard of, which no doubt is a big part of her problem.

And the dead heat maintains.

Why's that? Two Democrats — one African-American, one Hispanic and *both* with a strong interest in seeing Hillary elected — shared some thoughts with Off the Record.

"She's taking black voters for granted," said **Democrat No. 1**. "Maybe she could do that with Rudy running, but he's not running now and she's given us no reason to vote for her."

"It's like she's running in a primary election on the Upper West Side," said **Dem No. 2**. "Abortion is a big deal there, but it's not something [Hispanics] are really comfortable with. She should tone it down."

What Clinton *really* needs to do, both agreed, is to rein in strategists **Mandy Grunwald**, **Harold Ickes** and **Bill Lynch**, the fellow **David Dinkins** once referred to as his "rumpled genius" (for no discernible reason, Lynch having managed to get Dinkins unelected mayor in a city with a 5-1 Democratic enrollment edge).

Said Democrat No. 1: "Ickes and Grunwald think Lynch speaks for black folk. He doesn't."

■

HERE'S one way to clear the field for an upcoming campaign: Scare prospective foes out of the race by snowing them under with cold cash.

When the candidates in the 2001 city elections file their latest campaign spending reports next week, Brooklyn Councilman **Ken Fisher** — who wants to succeed Brooklyn Borough President **Howard Golden** now that he's turned his back on a run for mayor — will declare that he's raised \$600,000. And that's 16 months before Election Day, yet.

With matching funds, that will give him an impressive bankroll of over \$1 million — more than any other non-mayoral candidate in the 2001 field. And considerably ahead of his two main rivals, Deputy Borough President **Jeannette Gadson** and state Sen. **Marty Markowitz**.

■

WHO writes this stuff? "It is conceivable that if this law had been in effect 100 years ago, the greatest hate crime of all, the Holocaust, could have been avoided." — **Gov. Pataki** on Monday, signing legislation imposing additional penalties on so-called bias-related crime. No doubt the bill would have impressed old Adolf.



Clinton AP



Golden Jennifer Weisbord

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATIONPHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Arafat embrace still haunts Hill

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.

For the first time since entering the Senate race, Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday discussed in detail her embrace of Suha Arafat last year — saying it will be an issue for “some people” throughout the campaign.

Speaking at the Bell Park Jewish Center in Queens Village, the first lady was asked by a local resident about her awkward embrace of the wife of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat during a visit to the West Bank last November.

The hug came after Suha Arafat criticized Israel’s “daily use of poison gas” during its occupation of the West Bank, which she said contaminated the water supply and caused cancer in Palestinian women and children.

Clinton grappled with questions last year about Mrs. Arafat’s remarks while she was still weighing her Senate candidacy,

but yesterday’s encounter showed that the incident is still on the minds of some Jewish voters more than six months later.

Clinton told the audience yesterday that the initial translation of Mrs. Arafat’s remarks was not particularly offensive.

About the embrace, Clinton said, “Some of you may or may not have ever been to the Middle East, but a kiss is a handshake.”

Clinton noted that when she left Israel for Jordan, she learned of another “inflammatory and outrageous” translation — and immediately condemned Mrs. Arafat’s remarks.

“For my entire adult life, I have been a strong supporter of Israel, Israel’s security and Israel’s welfare,” she said to applause.

Another questioner pressed her on whether she was more pro-Arab than pro-Israeli.

“After — I thought very unfairly — what was said about me after the last



HILLARY CLINTON
Awkward hug.

visit, Prime Minister [Ehud] Barak said that he wished Israel had friends as good as the president and I had been,” Clinton said.

Later, speaking to reporters, Clinton said of the Arafat incident:

“For some people, it’s going to remain an issue.”

Frances Kalman, the 74-year-old Queens Village resident who questioned Clinton about Arafat, said she was basically satisfied with the first lady’s response.

“She fudged a little because she’s a politician,” Kalman said.

“When she figures it all out, she’ll know that it’s important to support the state of Israel and help the Jewish people.”

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

POLITICS

John F. Harris

For Hillary Clinton, A Heap of Invective

New York State Republican Chairman **William Powers** may have set a record for the longest consecutive string of nasty adjectives in a letter seeking contributions to help defeat Democratic Senate candidate **Hillary Rodham Clinton**.

The first lady is: "opportunistic, hypocritical, and egotistical." Also: "cold-blooded and hotheaded." Not to mention: "abrasive and annoying, brash and bitter, calculating and scheming, distant and deceitful, polarizing and power-hungry."

To summarize, according to Powers: "In her ruthless quest for power, she claims to be a 'New Democrat,' but she's a fraud, a phony, and a pretender. . . . She's a hard-core, hard-line, hard-nosed ultra-liberal who uses people and hates Republicans."

When it comes to political fundraising appeals, the conventional wisdom has always been that it does not pay to be subtle. The question in New York is whether there's a price to be paid for perhaps overdoing it.

Clinton's campaign yesterday condemned Power's alliterative work, and called on her GOP opponent, **Rick Lazio**, to renounce it. "He should stop offering excuses, disown this latest attack mail, and tell the people of New York that he won't allow a dime raised by it to be used in this campaign," said press secretary **Howard Wolfson**.

In a statement, Powers said, "The truth hurts."

And Lazio spokesman **Dan McLagan** said Hillary Clinton is trying to divert attention from her own negative fundraising appeals. He added that Powers was writing for himself, not for Lazio. "Chairman Powers is more than capable of expressing his opinion, and is free to do so," McLagan said.



AP

Hillary Rodham Clinton, bowling during a fund-raiser yesterday, tried to knock down pins as well as claims she made an anti-Semitic remark.

HILLARY

From page A1

"The fact is I don't have to believe she said it. Even if she did say it, it was 26 years ago. Ever hear of the statute of limitations?

"There's no pattern here. They said nothing about this incident until now — it's a smear. It will have no impact."

The Anti-Defamation League said in a statement that Mrs. Clinton's "public record shows no evidence of anti-Semitism, and we do not believe her to hold negative views about Jews."

But Dov Hikind, an Orthodox Jew and a Democratic assemblyman from Brooklyn, believes Mrs. Clinton did make the statement. He stopped short of calling Mrs. Clinton anti-Semitic.

"The issue really is not just this incident — the problem is credibility," Mr. Hikind said. He noted that during a trip to the West Bank last year Mrs. Clinton remained silent as Suha Arafat, wife of the PLO leader, accused Israel of poisoning Palestinian women and children.

"Based on what I have read from eyewitnesses who were there," in 1974, "I believe she made that remark, but I resent anyone who calls Hillary [an] anti-Semite based on this," Mr. Hikind said. "She's not an anti-Semite."

Mr. Hikind and representatives of conservative Jewish groups held a news conference yesterday outside Mrs. Clinton's midtown campaign office to criticize the first lady.

"These remarks made 26 years ago are the tip of the iceberg," said Joseph Frager, president of the Jerusalem Reclamation Project. "We have seen over the past 10 years a bias against the state of Israel that is unparalleled in America."

Raoul Felder, a prominent lawyer active in Jewish causes, said in an interview: "This is a story documented by three witnesses. I think Jews have to really have some kind of self-loathing to not be able to diagnose an anti-Semite when they see one."

The book charges that Mrs. Clinton made the slur during "a heated finger-pointing session" after Mr. Clinton lost the 3rd District seat by 6,000 votes.

Mr. Fray's wife, Mary Lee, and

"I don't know who to believe. New Yorkers don't know who to believe."

Rep. Rick Lazio

campaign worker Neil McDonald confirmed the account.

"I promise you it happened. It created a chasm I never overcame," Mr. Fray says in the book.

The first lady called a news conference at her home in Chappaqua, N.Y., Sunday to deny the allegations.

"I wanted to unequivocally state it never happened," Mrs. Clinton said.

The president defended his wife Sunday in a telephone interview with the New York Daily News.

"I was there and [Mrs. Clinton] never said it," Mr. Clinton said, according to the newspaper.

"In 29 years, my wife has never, ever uttered an ethnic or racial slur against anybody, ever. She's so straight on this, she squeaks.

"She might have called him a bastard. I wouldn't rule that out," Mr. Clinton said. "She's never claimed that she was pure on profanity. But I've never heard her tell a joke with an ethnic connotation."

Mrs. Clinton's campaign released copies of a handwritten letter, dated July 1, 1997, in which Mr. Fray asks Mrs. Clinton for forgiveness.

"At one time in my life, I would say things without thinking, without factual foundation," Mr. Fray wrote. "I beg your forgiveness."

But Mr. Fray told CNN that Mrs. Clinton did make the slur.

The comment "was made to me. My wife heard it," Mr. Fray said.

Mrs. Clinton angered potential Jewish voters last year by voicing support for a Palestinian state. Mrs. Clinton recently told Jewish leaders she considers Jerusalem "the eternal and indivisible capital" of Israel.

In 1933, Mrs. Clinton's maternal grandmother, Della, married Max Rosenberg, a Russian-born Jew, seven years after she and Mrs. Clinton's grandfather, Edwin Howell, divorced.

• This story is based, in part, on wire service reports. Liz Trotta contributed from New York.

THE

WASHINGTON

TIMES

7-18-00

PHOTO
PRESERVED

PAGE A4 / TUESDAY, JULY 18, 2000 ★★

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



Would Hillary sling a lie about a slur?

Did she, or didn't she? Not even Hillary's hairdresser knows for sure.

Just when we thought there could be nothing new in another book about Hillary Clinton, we get the latest profanity from the first lady. One of her old friends in Arkansas says she once, in a hissy fit of anger and frustration, yelled at a hapless hireling, "you Jew bastard."

"I wanted to unequivocally state it never happened," Hillary said on Sunday.

But maybe "it" depends on what your meaning of "it" is. The plot thickened yesterday. The first husband interrupted the tension at the Middle East peace talks, of all places, to say he was there on that Arkansas election night 26 years ago and he agreed, it didn't happen. Uh, ummm, on reflection, he said some of it didn't happen. Maybe part of it did. Could be. Probably.

"She might have called him a bastard," Mr. Clinton told a reporter for the New York Daily News, breaking the rule he established himself that there would be no conversations between the principals at Camp David and the reporters looking for something to write. Of course, when he made the rule he didn't know Hillary would need a little help with her Senate campaign.

"I wouldn't rule that out," he said of her use of the word bastard. "She's never claimed that she was pure on profanity. But I've never heard her tell a joke with an ethnic connotation."

It's difficult to imagine Hillary telling a joke about anything, or getting the punch line straight if she did, and the president is the greatest living authority on the sewer mouth of his lady. So maybe he's right. But we're not talking about a joke. All we have here is the word of the president and the first lady, and the last eight years — the last 26 years for those of us who knew them down in Arkansas — have taught us that nobody tells a lie with greater ease and conviction than a Clinton, even a synthetic Clinton.

Hillary and her handlers were thoroughly rattled by the assertion of one Paul Fray that young Hillary was looking for someone to blame when Bill Clinton's first political campaign crashed and burned on an Arkansas election night in 1974, and he was chosen. Mr. Fray, as it happens, is not Jewish, but Hillary knew that he, like she, has Jewish relatives.

Mr. Fray's wife said she was there, and heard it the way her husband did. A third witness, Neil McDonald, was standing outside the room and he heard it, too. If Hillary threw a lamp, as she



Slur-slinger?

sometimes does to emphasize a point in her discussions with her husband at the White House, nobody claims to have seen that. Ethnic slurs are not unknown in Arkansas, but Jewish slurs are rarer than they might be in, say, a suburb of Chicago. The only Jews

most Arkansawyers know own department stores, and a public slur like "Jew bastard" would be remembered.

This could be the pivotal issue in her Senate race. Some Jews may not mind defamation, as long as the defamators are liberal Democrats, but others, calculating that together with similar incidents this one accurately reflects Hillary's private disdain for Jews, do mind. Rick Lazio has no chance to win the Jewish vote, but he might shave a percentage point or two from Hillary's share of that vote. That could very well be his margin of victory. The panic in the Clinton camp over the weekend was real, and justified.

The only evidence of innocence that Hillary could offer was an ambiguous handwritten letter from Mr. Fray, written three years ago, apologizing for offenses the letter does not describe. Hillary is careful not to describe what Mr. Fray's letter is talking about, either, but she released the letter in the hopes that Jewish voters in New York would be thick enough to misread it as proof of Hillary's innocence.

In his letter, Mr. Fray writes: "I have wronged you. I ask for your forgiveness because I did say things against you, and called you names, not only to your face — but behind your back . . . names that are unmentionable. At one time in my life, I would say things without thinking, without factual foundation. . . I beg your forgiveness."

An apology, even an apology to a Clinton, no doubt makes a transgressor feel better, but on its face the letter says nothing about whether Hillary called Mr. Fray a "Jew bastard." Mrs. Fray says she heard it. Neil McDonald says he heard it. Neither has apologized. Nobody has retracted anything.

Hillary's defense is the familiar one, that the Clintons are entitled to the benefit of the usual doubt. The president sent Joe Lockhart, his press agent, out to put the White House spin on the story: "Well, I think . . . the president probably has more experience than any living human being about how deep in the gutter some people can go." You said it, Joe.

Wesley Pruden is editor in chief of *The Times*.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



New York candidates in up state of mind

Area outside city could make or break rivals Hillary Clinton and Rick Lazio, who are in dead heat in race for U.S. Senate

By Kathy Kiely and Martha T. Moore
USA TODAY

It's almost certainly the most watched Senate race in history, and it's shaping up to be the most expensive. New York's contest features top-gun political consultants, non-stop television ads and an international press corps.

But at the moment, Democrat Hillary Rodham Clinton and her Republican opponent, Rick Lazio, are in an old-fashioned contest to see who can shake the most hands. At picnics and ballgames, on the farm and at the Rotary Club, he's trying to tell New Yorkers who he is, and she's trying to convince New Yorkers she's one of them.

The race was abruptly transformed in May when New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani withdrew amid health and marital problems. That turned a clash of titanic personalities into a race between a celebrity first lady and a relatively unknown GOP congressman from Long Island.

With less than four months to go before the election and the latest polls showing Clinton and Lazio in a dead heat, the candidates spent last week barnstorming across central and western New York, key battlegrounds. A two-day slice of life on the nation's hottest campaign trail:



Gold-painted shovels: Republican Rick Lazio, second from left, helps break ground of a pier restoration project in Auburn, N.Y.



Supporters and protesters: Democrat Hillary Rodham Clinton works the crowd in the pedestrian mall of downtown Ithaca.

jokes, alluding to the high-tech luxuries on the Lazio press bus, "but here are some goodies." Edging toward the door after a 20-minute question-and-answer session, Clinton tells ABC producer Eileen Murphy that she's leaving the Hillary cookie on the press bus. "You can take a bite out of my head if you want," the first lady cracks.

10:40 a.m., en route to Webster: As his bus rolls from Wheatfield toward the Rochester area, Lazio calls in to the state's top political radio show, hosted by Fredric U. Dicker of the *New York Post*. It's a friendly interview: Dicker calls him a "happy warrior" on the campaign trail and describes Clinton as "a little bit uncomfortable." Lazio again says he stands behind his fundraising letter and accepts responsibility for what his campaign puts out. He also touts his accessibility to the press.

11:17 a.m., Elmira: At a rally in Brand Park, a trio of teenage girls serenade the first lady to the tune of *Matchmaker*. "Tell those old guys down in DC," they warble, "that Rick's not the man, 'cause Hillary can" Clinton professes to love this song.

Local police are keeping a watchful eye on two members of a local militia group who are lurking in the back of the crowd of about 500. The two are carrying anti-Clinton signs but no firepower.

Asked about the hostile signs, she tells reporters, "I have been down this road for so many years. You know even before I was married to Bill Clinton, people have had strong opinions about me. And it hasn't changed ever since I was a little girl. I don't expect it to change anytime before the end of this election. It is just part of the background music of my life."

1:05 p.m., Webster: As Lazio tours Trident Precision Manufacturing, a reporter asks what he's learned about himself while campaigning. "Not to get too defensive when somebody is saying something that bothers me," he says. "Take a deep breath and try to answer questions. This is a life-long experience, you hope you're modest enough to accept the fact that you're not perfect and look for ways to be better at what you do."

One question Lazio frequently faces is whether he is running a negative campaign. He says it's Clinton who is a negative campaigner. "I think the right question to ask is, can you name one single thing my opponent has done over the last eight years for the people of New York?"

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

8 a.m., Chappaqua: Like many other women in Westchester County, Hillary Rodham Clinton, 52, begins her day by seeing her husband off to work. Only her husband travels by motorcade and doesn't have to worry about rush hour, unless it's how he might make it worse. (The Clintons spent the night in their suburban home after attending a gala in New York City the previous evening. On the helicopter ride from Manhattan to the Westchester County airport, President Clinton, the first lady and the rest of their entourage played Oh Hell, a card game. The first lady won.) As she prepares to board an Air Force plane for a flight to Binghamton and the president heads for an appearance in Columbia, Mo., he teases his wife, "Well, you made the decision about how you're going to spend this year. I'm going to Columbia and have a good time."

8:50 a.m., Syracuse: Rick Lazio's campaign bus, the "Mainstream Express," is idling outside the Hotel Syracuse. The candidate's wife, Patricia, 39, emerges with their two daughters, Molly, 8, and Kelsey, 6, who are clutching white stuffed animals. A few minutes later, Lazio greets reporters waiting to board their own bus. It's luxuriously appointed with a kitchen, telephone, fax, TV and VCR. Lazio, 42, is wearing dark blue suit pants, a white shirt with the pressing creases visible, silver-knot cuff links and a striped tie. During the hour-long bus ride to the day's first event in Auburn, Lazio's daughters persuade him to decorate their fingernails with a felt pen.

10 a.m., Auburn: The Lazio bus arrives in this community on the shore of Owasco Lake, one of New York's Finger Lakes. Chairs are arrayed on a lawn and gold-painted shovels lie by a pile of dirt for the official groundbreaking of a pier restoration project. Lazio, who supported a federal grant for the project, works the crowd of about 140 people with the local congressman, James Walsh.

The ceremony lasts for an hour and a half, and Lazio gets the spotlight for about 10 minutes. That doesn't please some on his staff. As the mayor of Auburn, the sixth speaker, begins talking about upgrading the water intake pipes from the lake, one of Lazio's campaign aides rolls his eyes. "I was so against this event," he moans.

On the return to Syracuse, a wave of anxiety rolls through the media bus. Lazio is scheduled to have his daily question-



By Richard Drew, AP

On campaign trail with daughters: From left, Lazio helps his daughters, Molly and Kelsey, feed milk to calves in Wheatfield.



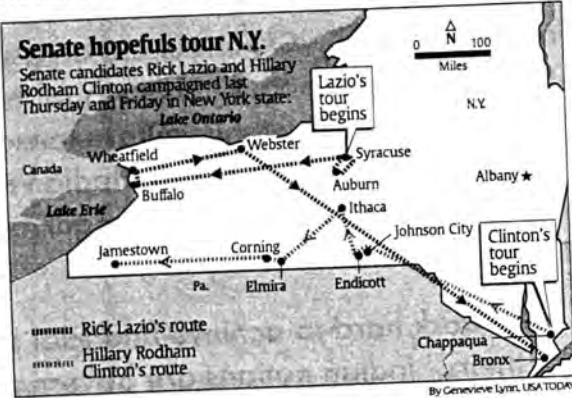
By Jim McKnight, AP

On the march: Clinton and 3-year-old Elizabeth Gerace follow World War II veterans of the VFW post in Jamestown.

fundraising letter.

12:59 p.m., Johnson City: After a 30-minute tour of the Lockheed plant, Clinton enters an auditorium filled with about 100 employees. She recounts the highlight of her tour, a turn at the flight simulator. "I just piloted a C-17, and you'll be glad to know I got it off the runway," she says as her audience chuckles. "I was relieved!"

She reminds the Lockheed workers that this is her second visit to the plant. "Last summer I came to listen. Today, I'd like to offer a plan," she says, unveiling an eight-page pamphlet on "making the economy work in Upstate New York."



By Genevieve Lynn, USA TODAY

College, asks him whether he favors civil union for gay couples. Leaning against a fi-

"The kids are getting antsy," an aide says.

Friday, July 7

8:15 a.m., Buffalo: Patrick McCarthy, Lazio's traveling spokesman and a former aide to Gov. George Pataki, is in the lobby of the Hyatt Regency, herding reporters to their bus. "The entire trip, from A to Z, beginning to end, is positive," he says. "People have been connecting with the congressman, and that's what this trip is about."

1:45 p.m., Corning: After attending a fundraiser in Elmira, from which the news media was excluded, Clinton joins about 350 people at the Rotary Club luncheon. Clinton listens with a rapt look to a half-hour history of the international Rotary and the accomplishments of this particular club. Then she speaks for 30 minutes, covering nitty-gritty economic issues such as economic development, electric deregulation and poor, costly plane service to the region. Questions range from gun control to religion to what committees she'd like to serve on if she's elected to the Senate. (The first lady is aiming high, choosing Finance and Appropriations, two coveted panels.)

2:15 p.m., Rochester: The "Mainstream Express" ends its tour at the Rochester airport. Lazio, his family, campaign aides and six reporters board a 20-seat Gulfstream prop plane to fly to New York City.

Coming to the back of the plane — where the press sits — is a hallmark of an accessible candidate. This plane is so small Lazio just swaps seats with his wife and he's in the midst of reporters. Certain facts emerge during the 40-minute schmooze. Best rock concerts he's attended: the Allman Brothers, Bruce Springsteen, Isaac Hayes, Three Dog Night and T. Rex "when he was still around. That's really a blast from the past." Last movie seen: *Pokemon*. "Unbelievably bad." Last books read: *Tuesdays with Morrie*, about the friendship between a sportswriter and his retired professor, and parts of the Bible, in a reading group of House members who discuss Scripture. "I find that relaxing," he says.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

11:55 a.m., Johnson City: Clinton appears in the cafeteria of Lockheed Martin Control Systems, accompanied by company President Jim Scanlon. She's dressed in a form-fitting navy blue pantsuit and powder-blue blouse.

Scooping up a plastic tray, Clinton heads for the hot food line. John Palmiter, the district manager of American Food and Vending, serves up sirloin stir-fry with jerk seasoning. Clinton pays cashier Joyce Weiss \$4.31 for her meal and sits at a table with 14 Lockheed employees. When she gets up to leave 20 minutes later, her lunch has barely been touched. "I talked more than I ate, but it was good," she tells a bystander.

12:55 p.m., Syracuse: Lazio arrives at Bernadine Apartments, an assisted-living residence for senior citizens. About 45 residents and staffers are gathered in the garden, and Lazio shakes hands and speaks to them about his support for housing issues. After his talk with the seniors, reporters cluster around Lazio. He criticizes the Clinton administration for trying to cut programs for elderly housing. He takes 10 questions, only one of which is related to housing for the elderly. Seven are about the

2:15 p.m., en route to Buffalo: George W. Bush returns a call from Lazio. The congressman, who was a Bush delegate on the primary ballot (although he has hired a number of staffers from the campaign of Bush's former presidential rival, Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz.), wishes the Texas governor a happy birthday.

6 p.m., Endicott: Clinton arrives at Grippen Park, where more than 800 people wait at a Southern Tier Democratic picnic. Former Chenango County Democratic chair Gert Hingos says the picnic normally draws 250. "She's going to win over a lot of Republicans," Hingos predicts.

6:30 p.m., Buffalo: The Lazio bus pulls up to Lafayette Square, where a regular Thursday free concert has drawn a big after-work crowd to socialize and drink beer. As usual, the bus public-address system is playing a Ray Charles song that includes the lines: "Tell your mama, tell your pa. I'm gonna ship you back to Arkansas." The candidate has changed into a faded red polo shirt and khaki pants.

Jennifer Foster, a student at Buffalo State

7:20 p.m., Buffalo: Lazio and his family arrive at Dunn Tire Park to watch a minor league baseball doubleheader between the Buffalo Bisons and the Syracuse Chiefs. During the break between games, Lazio, accompanied by his Capitol Hill police bodyguard, goes down to the locker room to say hello. On the way, Lazio stops to retie his shoe for at least the second time that day. "I never used to worry about it," he says. But since what he calls "the lip trip" — a tumble in a Memorial Day parade that left him with stitches in his lip and a badly swollen face — he's been more careful.

7:23 p.m., Endicott: Clinton is still working the Grippen Park crowd as her aides hustle reporters away. After more than an hour of shaking hands, the first lady and her entourage depart, but then Clinton spots a house decked in "Hillary" signs. She alights from her motorcade to thank a woman on the porch. En route to Ithaca, the first lady remembers Tony's Pizzeria in Owego, where she had made a campaign stop the year before. She turns her motorcade around for some pizza.

9 p.m., Buffalo: Lazio and his entourage leave the ballgame in the top of the third inning of the second game of the doubleheader.

9:13 a.m., Ithaca: Clinton appears in the downtown pedestrian mall of this college town. The huge throng includes noisy demonstrators calling for "Peace in Vieques" and an end to the Navy's use of the small island off the coast of Puerto Rico as a bombing range. Clinton unhesitatingly approaches the protesters, whose position she supports. "I'm taking a very strong stand on that. You know I have." At least 15 Secret Service agents keep a watchful eye on the crowd. Though the first lady's crowds are for the most part polite and friendly, they almost always include one or two disturbingly hostile hecklers. In Ithaca, one bearded man holds a sign alluding to a presidential sex scandal and shouts crude taunts. After a 10-minute stroll down Ithaca's boutique-lined streets, Clinton ducks into Home Dairy Co., an Ithaca landmark. Bakery owners Jeff Lamb and Kristain Woodhall present her boxes of baked goods and a cookie frosted to look like the first lady.

9:30 a.m., Wheatfield: The Lazio bus pulls up at a Niagara County dairy farm owned by Frank and Bob Zuccari. Candidate and cameras walk through the dairy barn, where Molly and Kelsey get to pet black-and-white calves. Television and still cameras zoom in on the girls, and Lazio steps right into the frame, helping his daughters feed the calves milk from a big bottle. He emerges with great pictures and with his khakis adorned with cow saliva.

About 40 people sit on hay bales to listen to Lazio, who's introduced by state Sen. George Maziarz as "the man who's going to save us from Hillary Clinton."

10:15 a.m., on the road out of Ithaca: For the first time in more than a year of campaigning, Clinton boards the media bus. She brings the box of baked goods. "I'm sorry we don't have microwaves, faxes and global positioning systems," she

3:16 p.m., Corning: After her speech to the Rotarians, Clinton begins shaking hands in a receiving line, which snakes all the way around the large room. Many people are carrying copies of the first lady's book, *It Takes A Village*, for her to sign. Republican Judy Smith says Clinton might get her vote: "She is a woman."

Paul Rossi, the Corning Rotary's president-elect and the vice chair of the Corning Republican club, still plans to volunteer for the Lazio campaign. But he says he voted in favor of inviting Clinton to speak to the club. "It's an honor to have the first lady," Rossi says.

Lazio also has been invited to address the Corning Rotary but has not yet responded, a fact that is announced to the crowd at today's luncheon.

4:15 p.m., New York: Lazio visits Bronx Lebanon Hospital, where Molly and Kelsey try on doctor's scrubs. Though Lazio, a New York Mets fan, had hoped to catch the first game of a "subway series" between the Mets and New York Yankees, he and the family skip the game and, at 5:30 p.m., head home to Long Island.

7:30 p.m., Jamestown: On an immaculate baseball diamond that is the home of the Jamestown Jammers, a Class A farm team for the Atlanta Braves, Clinton and a group of local children march behind a unit of World War II veterans from the local VFW post as they present colors. The setting sun casts long shadows and an amber glow across the field. The first lady is holding hands with 3-year-old Elizabeth Gerace, the daughter of the local sheriff. A crew making a campaign commercial for Clinton has the film rolling.

After speaking, the first lady lingers for more than an hour shaking hands. By the time she leaves, it is cold and dark.

Contributing: Mimi Hall; Missy Globerman, *The Ithaca Journal*

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Bush is counting on Hill's 'help' to carry N.Y.

Republican George W. Bush says he thinks he can win New York — with Hillary Rodham Clinton's help.

"I believe the Lazio-Mrs. Clinton race helps my chances, because I think it's going to generate a big turnout. I think our [Republican] base is going to unite," Bush told The Post in an interview on his campaign plane.

"She's an obviously very high-profile candidate who kind of draws a lot of attention. It's a candidacy that draws very strong emotions, very positive response, but sometimes not so positive response."

Bush said having the first lady in the race "gives Rick [Lazio] an opportunity and, for that matter, me an opportunity to rally the base... it helps us maximize our votes where we need to do well."

"I believe I can win it," he said — insisting he intends to make a real effort in New York, where he's already made several stops — even though it's probably Vice President Al Gore's strongest state right now.

Bush spoke as he flew from Pitts-

By DEBORAH ORIN
Washington Bureau Chief

burgh to New Jersey. He'll be in New York today to appear with Lazio at a Conservative party lunch. It'll be their first time together since the Long Island congressman replaced Mayor Giuliani as the Republican candidate for Senate.

Bush hailed Lazio for running "a very good campaign — a lot of people are very pleased with how he came on very strong, very quickly."

He seemed to be following the race closely, noting that the latest poll — which has the candidates in a tie — suggests Lazio is "not doing as well as he's going to do" in Republican upstate.

Bush said he'll help him raise campaign cash if he wants and aid him any way he can in a positive way. He also got in a little dig at the first lady, who continues to be dogged by her "carpetbag" problem.

"Rick's got a good point when he

says that New York would be better served by somebody who understands New York, grew up in New York and is of New York," Bush said with a smile.

The Texas governor said he's encouraged by the new Quinnipiac University poll in New York, even though it shows him trailing Gore by 12 points — or 10 points, if Ralph Nader and Pat Buchanan are included.

In a four-way race, it's Gore 45, Bush 35, Nader 7 and Buchanan 2 in New York. A Quinnipiac poll a few months ago had Gore leading by 16 points in a two-way race.

"That's encouraging to be down 10 in New York. This is a state where the previous Republican candidate [Bob Dole in 1996] was out of the running before it started. This means this state is going to be competitive," Bush said.

Bush flying without a wingman / Page 16



HIGH HOPES: George W. Bush boards a plane yesterday for his campaign swing through New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. AP

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clinton & the Slave Trade

Does she really want to prevent prosecution of forced prostitution?



**CANDACE
DE RUSSY**

HILLARY Clinton chairs a presidential task force that is lobbying the United Nations to redefine prostitution in a way that would effectively legalize it — and make it impossible to fight the “sexual slave trade.”

As estimated in a CIA report, up to 2 million women and children worldwide are “trafficked” by criminals each year — bought and traded for sexual purposes. As many as 50,000 are brought into the United States and forced into sexual bondage.

U.S. victims include Mexican girls as young as 14 made to work as prostitutes serving migrant workers and Latvian women coerced into dancing nude in Chicago. Girls from Asia and Africa, some 9 years old, are sold by their parents “for less than the price of a toaster.”

Such trafficking constitutes “the biggest violation of human rights in the world,” says Pino Arlacchi, the director general of the United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention. He estimates that in the last decade more than 30 million women and children have been trafficked within and from Southeast Asia for sexual purposes and sweatshop labor. Rates of this “sexual slave trade” are also high in the countries of the former Soviet bloc.

Religious and feminist leaders have forged an unusual alliance to fight the traffickers. In the ongoing negotiations in Vienna over the definition of trafficking and prostitution for the U.N. Convention on Transnational Organized Crime,

they defend long-standing U.N. language outlawing the trafficking of human beings for any reason, voluntary or coerced.

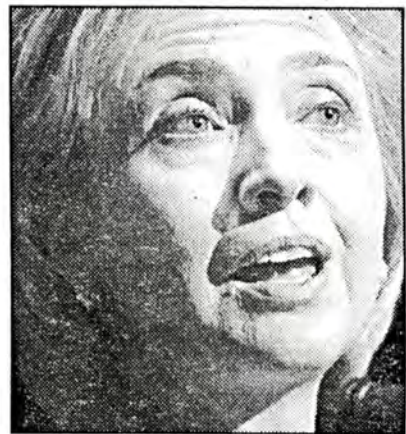
To be exact, the 1949 convention requires punishment of any person who “exploits the prostitution of another person, even with the consent of that person.”

Yet the President’s Interagency Council on Women — a group Clinton leads — supports qualifying the word “trafficking” to apply only to “forced” prostitution, that is, prostitution involving use of force, fraud or deception. Joined by some Europeans, this faction claims that women have the right to sell their sexual favors as they see fit and should be protected in this by labor laws and local governments.

Feminist leaders including Gloria Steinem and Patricia Ireland wrote the president that the change would fail to “cover some of the most common methods of sex trafficking which prey on and profit from the economic desperation of women, girls and their families by securing their ‘consent’ to sale in prostitution.”

From a legal standpoint, the new U.N. wording would be “a virtual bar to prosecution,” warns J. Robert Flores, a former prosecutor with both the New York District Attorney and the U.S. Department of Justice. That is, the phrase “forced prostitution” would place the traffickers’ victims — typically poor women displaced in a foreign land — in the impossible situation of having to prove their prostitution was coerced.

Marie-Jose Ragab, former international director of the National Organization of Women, has followed this issue for a decade. “What a bizarre paradox,” she says, “that the many high-placed women leaders who sit on the Council” — including Secretary of State Madeleine Al-



Hillary Clinton: A strange stance on prostitution.

N.Y. Post: Francis Specker

bright and Audrey Tayse Haynes, chief of staff to Tipper Gore and special counsel to the vice president — “have not spoken out against this hideously anti-woman proposal.”

Ragab finds it “blatantly inconsistent that women of such stature . . . back a measure that would swell even further the already estimated \$17 billion a year in profits that crime syndicates pocket as a result of trading in humans.”

Clinton and her Interagency Council won’t budge. On Jan. 19, in her syndicated column, she didn’t even mention the proposed new treaty language. Instead, she sought to cast suspicion on “those who would distort the truth about this treaty,” implying that it’s the critics who oppose “international efforts to deal with trafficking.”

Senate candidate Clinton owes New York voters a full explanation of her strange stance on sex trafficking. If she’s simply made a judgment error, she can show leadership by repudiating her view and moving her committee to amend its proposal. Otherwise, one is forced to conclude that the Interagency Council and its chair support legalized prostitution and its brutal consequences for women.

SUNY Trustee Candace de Russy is a member of the advisory board of the Independent Women’s Forum.

Hillary: your voice's impact on NAACP

Scoffs at Bush's 'compassionate conservatism'

By Steve Miller
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BALTIMORE — First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton urged 2,800 NAACP conventioners in a highly partisan speech yesterday to vote this fall, otherwise the country will be "wide open to people who may not have the same ideas" as her audience.

"The choices we make in this election will determine not only who leads us but where we will go," said Mrs. Clinton, a last-minute stand-in for her husband, who could not speak as scheduled because of the Middle East peace talks at Camp David.

President Clinton has rescheduled his speech to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for tomorrow afternoon.

This first lady's 35-minute speech included several subtle partisan pokes.

When she uttered, "I'm all for compassion — it's a wonderful emotion," attendees tittered because just 24 hours before, Texas Gov. George W. Bush had appeared in the same ballroom to a less than enthusiastic response.

The presumed Republican presidential nominee, whom Mrs. Clinton did not mention by name, has used "compassionate conservatism" to describe his platform.

"I know a lot of people feel bad when someone is discriminated against," the first lady continued.

"But we need to move beyond an expression of compassion. We need to move towards conviction and action and change on behalf of the principles of equality and justice," she said to a standing ovation.



Photo by Kenneth Lambert/The Washington Times

Hillary Clinton speaks to the NAACP convention in Baltimore with a Medgar W. Evers bust as a backdrop.

tion, one of several she got from the wildly supportive audience.

The first lady faced nothing like the opposition Mr. Bush did the previous day. There were no press conferences criticizing her, no protests in or outside the hall and she was introduced by NAACP President Kweisi Mfume, not a board member, as Mr. Bush was.

The first lady needs strong turnout among traditionally Democratic voters in New York, where recent polls have her tied in her bid for the Senate against Republican Rep. Rick Lazio.

In June, a black activist, the Rev. Al Sharpton, said in an interview that Mrs. Clinton was not doing all she could do to secure that vote and that the 1.2 million voter bloc could decide to sit out the New

York race.

Mrs. Clinton's speech echoed an oratory delivered by Mr. Sharpton earlier in the week; the recent economic gains by black America are not a license to relax.

"The revolution continues," Mrs. Clinton intoned. "In times of great blessing like the ones we're living through, you go back and read the Bible . . . when we get fat and happy, that's when trouble comes through the door."

Although introduced only as the first lady, Mrs. Clinton referred several times to the importance of the Senate as a legislative body, saying "I do think a lot about the Senate these days."

Mrs. Clinton ran through a list of sundry issues that have been hailed as important during the

convention since it began Sunday.

Her speech was peppered with references to the deeds of the Clinton administration. Mr. Clinton is highly regarded in the black community, which supported him with more than 90 percent of its vote in his 1996 re-election campaign.

Mrs. Clinton cited economic policies of the last eight years as the reason for the country's current prosperity.

"We are a better country than we were in 1992," Mrs. Clinton said, "because of the changes we have worked on together."

Her speech ended and the ballroom emptied, despite the pending speech of Green Party presidential candidate Ralph Nader.

HILLARY GETS WARM WELCOME



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

WEDNESDAY, JULY 12, 2000

THE WASHINGTON POST

Hillary Clinton Cautions NAACP On GOP Rhetoric

*First Lady Tells Group
Its Nov. Support Is Crucial*

By MICHAEL A. FLETCHER
Washington Post Staff Writer

BALTIMORE, July 11—First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton told NAACP members today that their support is crucial to Democratic chances in the November elections and urged them to carefully match Republican rhetoric against GOP actions before deciding how to vote.

Speaking before an adoring audience at the national convention of the nation's oldest and largest civil rights organization, Clinton offered a strongly partisan message clearly aimed at blunting Republican efforts to woo minority voters.

Her speech came one day after GOP presidential candidate George W. Bush spoke to the convention, making him the first Republican presidential candidate to address the 500,000-member NAACP since his father George H.W. Bush in 1988. NAACP members are scheduled to hear from Vice President Gore on Wednesday and from President Clinton on Thursday.

The Texas governor promised to work to bridge the divide separating his party and the vast majority of African American voters who vote Democratic.

In a speech that preceded one by Green Party presidential nominee Ralph Nader, Clinton made only passing reference to her campaign for a Senate seat in New York. Instead, she promoted the efforts of Democrats in Congress and elsewhere and praised the NAACP for its 91 years of civil rights advocacy. She also aimed some thinly veiled barbs at Bush's efforts to take his message to black and other minority voters.

"Everybody wants to come talk to the NAACP in the year 2000," Clinton said, pointing out that she and many Democrats consistently have addressed the group over the years.

She also took a slap at Bush's description of himself as a compassionate conservative, warning the audience to "watch what they do, not what they say."

"I'm all for compassion. It is a wonderful emotion," Clinton said, as the crowd howled with laughter. "And I know there are lots of people who feel badly when somebody is discriminated against . . . [But] we need to move beyond a feeling of emotion. We need to move toward commitment and action and change."



BY ROBERTO BOREA—ASSOCIATED PRESS

NAACP Chairman Julian Bond greets Green Party presidential candidate Ralph Nader before his speech.

She then cited a long list of NAACP-backed issues on which Democrats have been supportive and Republicans generally have not, including increasing the minimum wage, appointing minority judges to federal appeals courts in the South and providing federal money to hire 100,000 new teachers nationwide. "There are huge differences that must be focused on in this election season," Clinton said.

After Clinton's speech, about a quarter of the audience began making its way out of the room, prompting the master of ceremonies to pound his gavel and remind people to return to their seats for Nader's speech.

The longtime consumer advocate touched on issues central to the NAACP's agenda as he offered his message of redistributing the nation's wealth. Nader talked about redlining and corporate reparations and the need for a "Marshall plan to combat poverty," universal health care and a doubling of the minimum wage and the need to take control of public assets such as the broadcast airwaves. He also decried corporate greed and what he called "the growing injustices in our society."

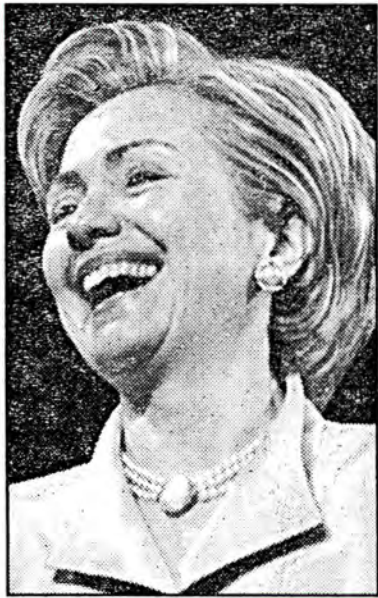
While the nation enjoys an unparalleled economic expansion, Nader pointed out that child poverty in California has increased from 15 percent to 25 percent in the past 20 years. "This is . . . a badge of shame for our country, the richest in the world," he said, adding that it is the result of "a concentration of power and wealth in too few hands."

The speech earned some nods of support and scattered applause from the audience. But there was little indication that Nader, who is on the ballot in 16 states and expects to be on the ballot in 24 others by the end of the month, won over many NAACP converts.

"I tell you, he had some good ideas. He was provocative and made common sense," said Johnnie R. Turner of Memphis. Asked whether she planned to vote for him, Turner hesitated. "Well, no," she finally answered. "What I don't see behind him is the kind of clout and power the other political parties have. He is an advocate for change, but he doesn't have the power."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Lazio aides rip 'lies' in Hill \$-raising letter



ALL SMILES: Hillary Clinton addresses the NAACP convention in Baltimore yesterday. AP

By GREGG BIRNBAUM
and VINCENT MORRIS

A scathing fund-raising letter for Hillary Rodham Clinton charges Rick Lazio backed the biggest education cuts ever — and claims he would “appoint” anti-abortion Supreme Court judges, it was revealed yesterday.

Lazio aides responded that the mailing from the state Democratic Committee was riddled with falsehoods and called into question Clinton’s trustworthiness.

The two-page solicitation, signed by state Democratic boss Judith Hope, also attacks Lazio for voting to slash funding for Medicare, child-nutrition programs and the environment.

Lazio supported “the harshest reductions in school funding in our history,” Hope wrote, seeking cash for the party’s “coordinated campaign” program to increase voter turnout to benefit

Campaign

★ 2000 ★

Clinton and other Democrats.

Party spokesman Peter Kaufman said Hope was referring to 1995 votes in Congress by Lazio to abolish the U.S. Department of Education and reduce federal school aid.

The letter also claimed that “Lazio ... won’t rule out appointing anti-choice Supreme Court justices.”

Senators do not “appoint” justices to the country’s highest court, they vote on whether to confirm the president’s appointments.

Lazio spokesman Dan McLagan said the fund-raising letter was filled with inaccuracies and misleading charges.

“Mrs. Clinton’s hypocrisy is breathtaking,” McLagan said.

“She’s criticizing Congressman Lazio while her cohorts are telling untruths about his record. This is why New Yorkers are coming to the conclusion that they just can’t trust Hillary Clinton.”

Kaufman said Hope stands behind the letter and Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson added of Lazio: “I’ve never seen a member of Congress more ashamed about his own votes.”

Meanwhile, Lazio found himself in a flap in Washington over a congressional measure to help 2,000 Syrian Jews living in New York on tourist visas become permanent residents.

Rep. Anthony Weiner (D-Brooklyn), who represents the district where many of the Jews live, charged that Lazio hijacked the measure in order to steal political credit for it.

“He certainly left some big boot prints when he landed on my bill,” Weiner said.

“It’s unusual because it’s not an issue that Rick has ever shown any interest in,” Weiner added.

It’s the second time since Lazio entered the Senate race, that he’s been accused of grabbing a Democrat’s bill. A congresswoman from California previously charged that Lazio “stole” her legislation on breast cancer.

“Mrs. Clinton’s hypocrisy is breathtaking. She’s criticizing Congressman Lazio while her cohorts are telling untruths about his record.”

Lazio spokesman DAN McLAGAN

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

First Lady Takes Aim at Bush At Annual N.A.A.C.P. Meeting

By NEIL A. LEWIS

BALTIMORE, July 11 — Hillary Rodham Clinton, blending roles as a Senate candidate and first lady, told delegates to the annual convention of the N.A.A.C.P. here today that they should not be beguiled by the assurances of Gov. George W. Bush that he abhors discrimination and is committed to enforcing civil rights laws.

Standing in for President Clinton, who had been scheduled to appear today but was instead presiding over the Mideast summit meeting at Camp David, Mrs. Clinton did not mention Governor Bush by name. But she made it clear that her biting criticisms were directed at the expected Republican presidential nominee, who appeared at the convention on Monday.

Mrs. Clinton said it was gratifying that the annual meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was attracting the kind of political guests who had shunned the group in the past, an allusion to Mr. Bush's appearance after Bob Dole, the Republican nominee in 1996, declined to attend the group's convention. Even though someone may speak to you, Mrs. Clinton said it is wise to "watch what they do and not what they say."

"I'm all for compassion," she said, lightly mocking Mr. Bush's assertions that he understands the pain of discrimination. "I think it's wonderful when people feel 'real bad' when there's discrimination. It's fine when people say they are 'truly compassionate' about hate crimes."

But, Mrs. Clinton said: "We need to move beyond mere compassion.

We need to move to conviction to do something so we can move beyond the injustices of our country."

At times in her 35-minute speech, Mrs. Clinton sounded very much like her husband, using a down-home style to offer parables from the Bible and drawing warm applause from the audience. She even occasionally lapsed into a pronounced drawl, as in talking to "mah friends."

Her appearance was sandwiched between Governor Bush's speech yesterday and a planned appearance by Vice President Al Gore, the expected Democratic presidential nominee, on Wednesday morning.

Mr. Bush received a surprisingly warm welcome, noting wryly that previous Republican presidential nominees had not always been eager to appear before the N.A.A.C.P.

Julian Bond, the chairman of the N.A.A.C.P., told reporters that the delegates were delighted that Mr. Bush had appeared, but they were disappointed that he had not addressed specific concerns like affirmative action or the death penalty.

He said both Mrs. Clinton and Ralph Nader, the Green Party candidate, who also spoke to the convention today, offered genuine substance in their talks, in contrast to Mr. Bush, who he said "viewed his appearance as a photo opportunity."

Mrs. Clinton said she remembered how moved she was in 1963 when, as a high school student, she heard a speech in Chicago by the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. His message that day to stay involved in the civil rights revolution, she said, has stayed with her throughout her life.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Scary meets scary

One has to wonder what Susan McDougal — convicted felon, ex-prisoner, former Whitewater business partner of President and Mrs. Clinton, and scary woman if there ever was one — means when she says she supports the first lady's U.S. Senate bid because "she's a scary woman."

"I mean, she's a scary woman," Mrs. McDougal says of Hillary Rodham Clinton in a lengthy interview with NewsMax.com.

"You should have her," she tells the New York interviewer. "She'll go after what she believes in and I doubt that anyone could stand up to her."

NEW YORK POST, TUESDAY, JULY 11, 2000

BRUNO: HILL DUG UP NEW DIRT ON GIULIANI

By Fredric U. Dicker in Albany
and David Seifman in City Hall

Hillary Clinton's campaign is behind the negative bombshells in two new books about Mayor Giuliani, State Senate Majority Leader Joseph Bruno suggested yesterday.

"It's kind of interesting in terms of timing," Bruno told Albany radio station WROW.

"A bright and very informed person shared a theory with me ... that a lot of this was negative material that had been prepared by the Hillary people, and they were prepared to use this negative campaigning if Giuliani was indeed the nominee."

"It's now being leaked so that they slow down the mayor and maybe some of it rolls over to the Republican structure generally. Why does it come out now, and why doesn't it come out a year ago, two years ago?"

The two books, "Rudy Giuliani: Emperor of the City" by New York 1 reporter Andrew Kirtzman and "Rudy: An Investigative Biography of Rudolph Giuliani" by Village Voice reporter Wayne Barrett, hit stores this week.

Both contain stunning new information, from the 1934 criminal record of Giuliani's fa-

ther to an allegation that former mayoral press secretary Cristyne Lategano wanted to leak rumors about Ed Koch's sex life in 1996.

Giuliani declined to blame Mrs. Clinton or the White House, saying he had "no idea" who provided material to the authors.

Howard Wolfson, the Clinton campaign spokesman, said Bruno didn't know what he was talking about.

"Call me when he offers some proof," Wolfson said. "He's not going to offer any proof, because it's not true ... Why would we have this information?"

Kirtzman chuckled when The Post told him of Bruno's charges.

"The vast majority of my sources not only don't come from the Hillary Clinton camp, they come from the Giuliani camp," Kirtzman said.

Barrett ridiculed Bruno by saying, "It wasn't only Don Imus who fell off a horse. I never talked to them [the Clin-

ton people] about Rudy Giuliani."

Barrett readily admits that four individuals and foundations, some with close Democratic Party ties, such as Bill Moyers, provided funding for his researchers.

"They understood who I am, my kind of journalism ... " he said.

Giuliani disclosed yesterday that he had called Koch to deny a report in Kirtzman's book that Lategano tried to smear the ex-mayor four years ago by leaking rumors to the press that he's homosexual.

"There is not a single bit of truth to it," Giuliani said. "It is a total, absolute falsity."

Koch told The Post he accepted Giuliani's words at face value, as well as those of Lategano, who also called him over the weekend.

Meanwhile, without specifically addressing his father's criminal past, Giuliani asserted that any large family has a few skeletons in its closet.

"It's very hard to find a very large family in America that doesn't have somebody involved in criminality ..." the mayor said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Lazio may not be GOP star in Philly

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

Republican Senate candidate Rick Lazio is considering a low-profile appearance — without a prime-time speech — at his party's national convention later this month, The Post has learned.

While Hillary Rodham Clinton ponders a major showing at August's Democratic gathering with a prime-time address, sources close to Lazio's campaign believe there is little to be gained from doing the same at the GOP affair, which runs from July 31 to Aug. 3 in Philadelphia.

Although Lazio's Senate race is the most closely watched in the country, the sources said the campaign is viewing the gathering primarily as a national stage for presidential hopeful George W. Bush — with Lazio voluntarily taking a back seat.

"This is a 'New York first' campaign," said a source close to the Lazio campaign.

"This isn't a stepping stone for Rick," the source added, referring to criticism that Clinton is ultimately interested in running for president. "He's running for New York."

Under one plan being considered, the Suffolk County Republican would not seek a prime-time



ROAD SHOWS: Hillary Clinton greets Albany voters yesterday in the wrap-up of a five-day upstate bus tour, while Rick Lazio (below) in New York called for the release of the 10 Jews convicted in Iran of spying.

Alan Solomon (above), N.Y. Post David Rentas (below)

EXCLUSIVE

speechmaking slot and might address the party faithful at an off-hour, although even that remains uncertain.

Lazio could instead promote himself with press conferences and "would still be visible at the convention," the source said.

Meanwhile, Lazio yesterday called for the release of the 10 Jews recently convicted in Iran of spying for Israel.

At a press conference at-

tended almost entirely by Democrats across from the United Nations, Lazio called the prison sentences for the Iranian Jews perhaps "the greatest injustice of my lifetime."

Clinton wrapped up her five-day upstate bus tour in Albany by unveiling a proposal to change the Medicaid reimbursement formula, which she said would save the state and county governments in New York \$3 billion a year.

"We don't take anything away from Texas or Utah or any other state," she said of the plan, which would be funded from the federal budget surplus.



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Mrs. Clinton Seeks New Formula For State Medicaid Financing

By JONATHAN P. HICKS

COLONIE, N.Y., July 10 — Hillary Rodham Clinton continued her focus on economic issues today as she called for a new formula to calculate the amount of money New York receives from the federal government for Medicaid expenditures. Her formula, she said, could cut residents' taxes by an average of \$400 a year.

Mrs. Clinton, who made the recommendations in a speech to about 100 people at an American Legion hall in this Albany suburb, said that the current formula reimbursed New York at the lowest rate of federal subsidy for Medicaid. Since New York's counties share the cost of Medicaid with the state, the change she proposes would provide the state with about \$3 billion a year, she said.

Her proposal is similar to recommendations made by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the man she hopes to succeed. The difference, Mrs. Clinton said, is that an expected increase in the federal budget surplus would make her plan more palatable politically, with the increased subsidy coming from those funds.

"Now, because of the surplus, we can present this choice," Mrs. Clinton said. "And I think we have a better chance than we've ever had to

create a coalition that would enable us to pass this."

The proposal came at the end of a five-day campaign tour that has taken Mrs. Clinton to a dozen communities from western New York to the Albany area. As she has done frequently during the tour, Mrs. Clinton told the audience that her most pressing priority, if she is elected senator, will be to work to stimulate the economy upstate.

The plan being pushed by Mrs. Clinton would use a formula that largely takes into account the percentage of the population classified as living in poverty. Under the current system, Medicaid reimbursement is determined by the state's per capita income.

Mrs. Clinton said that her proposal was likely to be viewed skeptically by Republicans in Congress. "Obviously I'm in an election, so people on the other side of the aisle will probably come out against it within 10 or 15 minutes, if not sooner, because they don't want me to present an idea that sounds like a good idea," she said.

In addressing other economic issues, Mrs. Clinton again discussed her interest in bringing better airline service and lower fares as well as lower utility rates to upstate cities.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Candidate Clinton adjusts to campaigning, says she likes it

First lady says she has tried to learn every day

By Kathy Kiely
USA TODAY

ITHACA, N.Y. — One year to the day after she launched her campaign for the U.S. Senate, Hillary Rodham Clinton did something that many candidates do almost routinely: She rode a bus with reporters.

It was just another step in the political education of the first lady, who says she's "tried to learn every day" new ways to be "more effective in being a candidate."

Though she "wasn't sure how I'd feel about it" when she began campaigning, the first lady said she had found that "I like doing it."

As she celebrated the first anniversary of her quest to become the first presidential wife to win elective office, it was clear that Clinton has settled on a strategy to pursue against her Republican opponent, Rep. Rick Lazio.

The Long Island congressman entered the race in late May after New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani dropped out amid health and marital problems. Polls show the race in a dead heat.

In response to Lazio's criticisms that she has no ties to the state, Clinton is emphasizing her résumé as a lawyer, child welfare advocate and first lady. She argues that her role as a national and international representative for President Clinton's administration has given her contacts and ideas she can use to benefit a state that "needs all the clout it can get."

Clinton has had to counter criticism that she is distant and inaccessible compared with the affable Lazio.

Last week, she shared a few glimpses into her carefully guarded private life.

At a speech to Niagara County Democrats on Saturday, Clinton recalled the first time she visited the famous nearby falls as a young girl.

The older of her two younger brothers interrupted her reverie to announce that the younger boy had fallen into the falls.

She and her mother had a few panic-stricken minutes, the first lady said, before the baby of the fam-



By Jim McKnight, AP

On the bus: Hillary Clinton talks with reporters near Ithaca, N.Y., Friday.

"Even people you think you know extremely well, do you know their entire personality, do you know everything they think at every minute of the day?"

— Hillary Rodham Clinton

ily turned up hiding under a bush. "Why do boys do that?" asked Clinton as her audience — which included reporters from as far as France, Germany and Australia — erupted in laughter.

During her 20-minute ride on the press bus, the first lady offered insights into her personality. However, she also made it plain she finds the personal questions irritating.

"Even people you think you know extremely well, do you know their entire personality, do you know everything they think at every minute of the day?" she protested during a slightly uneasy encounter with the reporters.

"Do they, at every point that you're with them, do they reveal totally who they are? Of course not," she said. "We now expect people in the public arena to somehow do that. I think that's kind of unfortunate. I don't understand the need for that."

Details of the first lady's day-to-day life can seem more closely

guarded than the nuclear secrets at Los Alamos. Aides are loath to risk seeming disloyal by letting even the most innocent anecdotes slip.

Even so, Clinton has come a long way since 1998. During a "Save America's Treasures" tour of endangered historic sites in Upstate New York, she sat down for a previously scheduled interview with reporters — only to leap up as though a bee had stung her when notebooks and tape recorders were produced.

"I see someone I need to say hello to," she said. "I'll come right back."

She was not seen again until reporters were summoned to have a souvenir photograph taken with her.

Now, Clinton dutifully gives interviews at almost every campaign stop to local newspaper, TV and radio reporters, and she periodically holds news conferences with the traveling reporters. However, she often stays in different hotels from her traveling press corps and avoids the kind of spontaneous chitchat that takes place between journalists and candidates on most campaigns.

"You still make me nervous," she told reporters at a news conference last week.

On the campaign trail last week, it was clear the celebrity status that makes her an object of such intense interest also gives her a certain advantage.

She drew record crowds to local Rotary Club lunches and political picnics. People lined up for a chance to shake her hand, get her autograph or pose for a picture. At one stop in Buffalo on Saturday, a heckler who was urging her to "go back to Arkansas" occasionally interrupted his insults to snap Clinton's picture.

She gets pointers from President Clinton, whom she regards as the best campaigner ever. And how does she rate herself against her husband?

"Oh puh-leeze!" the first lady told reporters. "I'm a baby campaigner. I'm still in the toddler stage."

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HILL FEELS RUDY'S PAIN

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.
Post Correspondent

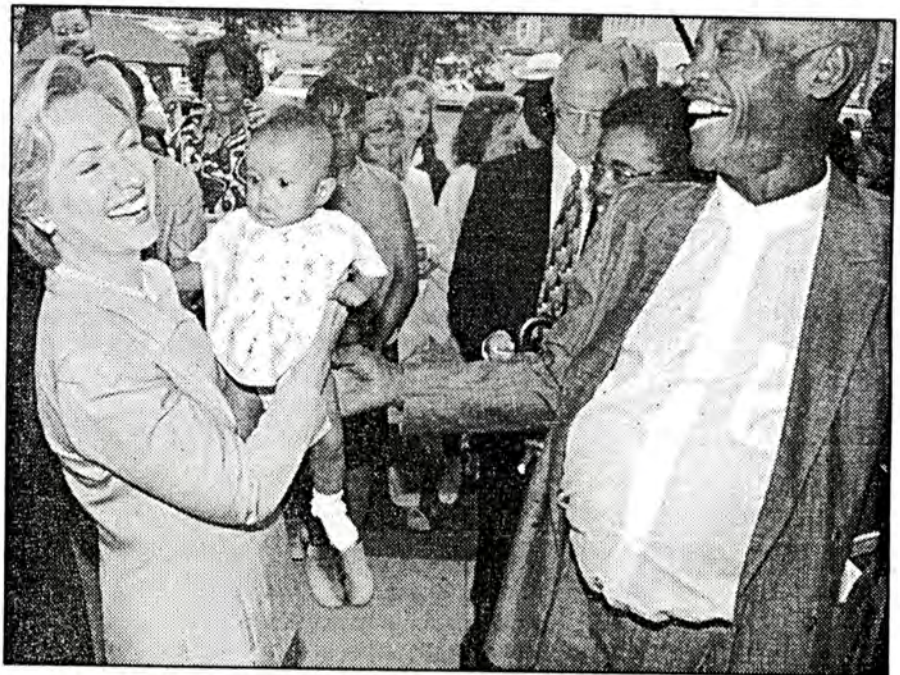
ROCHESTER — Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday said she felt "empathy" for Mayor Giuliani in the wake of the negative publicity her former Senate foe has received because of an upcoming biography.

"I think anyone feels empathy toward any person who has their past or their life or their family's life on the front pages," Clinton told reporters at a press conference in Rochester.

"I know a little bit about that, so, of course, I have empathy," she said in response to a question about the many newspaper articles concerning Wayne Barrett's "Rudy! An Investigative Biography of Rudolph Giuliani."

Among its many claims, Barrett's book reports that Giuliani's father was a convicted robber and that his uncle and cousin were members of the Mafia. The book also charges the mayor cheated on his first wife.

Clinton said she hadn't thought about what the book's political impact would have been had Giuliani



BABY TALK: Hillary Clinton woos a future voter, 7-month-old Brittney Holmes, as proud granddad Mitchel Holmes looks on in Rochester yesterday. AP

stayed in the Senate race.

"I haven't thought about it in any political context," she said.

Asked if she thought the media coverage of the book has been fair, Clinton said, "Fair is something for the media to determine."

"Those of us who are on the other side of the microphone, all we can do is keep going, persevere."

"Issues about what's fair, not fair in the media, that's in your hands."

The first lady began her day in Rochester speaking at a predominantly black church, where she was warmly received.

"I stand here before you today to thank those of you who have prayed for me and my husband," Clinton told the 250 audience mem-

bers at the Mount Olivet Baptist Church.

"I believe that we have been sustained and uplifted over the last many years because of prayer, so I thank you and ask you not to quit yet."

Without mentioning GOP opponent Rick Lazio by name, Clinton said that people should look at deeds instead of words when it comes to politics.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Marjorie Williams

Hillary: The Perfect Storm

Even after all these years, it's hard to understand the anger, the ugliness, the sheer vituperation that Hillary Rodham Clinton inspires in her detractors.

I don't much admire the first lady myself, and was always skeptical of the two-for-the-price-of-one construct with which the Clintons introduced themselves to the country. I concede the fairness of at least asking many of the questions that have surrounded her commodities trading, her vanishing records, her Arkansas legal career. And if I were a New Yorker, I might ultimately vote against Hillary solely on the grounds of her collusion in the Big Lie that embroiled the entire country, for an entire year, in her husband's efforts to evade the truth about Monica Lewinsky.

But it's still hard to fathom the eye-bulging choler of her critics, which is nicely displayed in the July/August issue of the *American Enterprise*, the magazine of the conservative American Enterprise Institute. The magazine convened a symposium in the spring to kick around such fair-minded questions as "Does Hillary have a sense of shame?" and now publishes some of the results.

Except for the remarks of a few token defenders, the commentary is bitchy ("Hillary only wishes that she had Eleanor Roosevelt's seriousness and Jackie Onassis's class," meows former Reagan speechwriter Peggy Noonan), superheated (Christopher Hitchens refers to Hillary's "moral and financial and personal and intellectual squalor"), tendentious ("We know her through beliefs and policies that have unquestionably been ruinous to women," says conservative pundit Laura Ingraham), or untouched by nuance ("She's excessive in everything she does," attests her conservative biographer Joyce Milton, who finds her a menace despite the fact that "I don't

think Mrs. Clinton is so very bright").

She is accused of everything from "corporate fascism" (Milton) to a "shameful coldness toward and lack of concern for the children of our country" (Noonan). Christina Hoff Sommers, the self-appointed scourge of feminist orthodoxy, calls her "a zealous and committed gender feminist who enjoys the company of some rather loony sexual ideologues." It is a sign of how she unhinges conservatives that John Fund, of the *Wall Street Journal's* right-wing editorial page, accuses her of being an irresponsible saber-rattler: "I think she'd be an interventionist" internationally, he says. "I think she'd find things to bomb all around the world."

Phyllis Schlafly summarizes with school-yard petulance: "Hillary Rodham Clinton is not an interesting person. She hasn't accomplished anything of note in business or profession or politics. Her speeches are a bore. And she isn't even a likable person."

How could one woman have earned such an awful reputation? Perhaps the best explanation is one derived from the central metaphor of the hit movie "The Perfect Storm," in which the sword boat Andrea Gail finds herself pummeled by three weather systems that collide to create a gale mightier than the sum of its parts.

Blowing in from one direction you have critiques of the way Hillary has conducted her assigned roles—both overt and covert—as one of Clinton's policy advisers, especially her infamous shot at health care reform.

From another side comes unease over her important role in Clinton's long rear-guard action against his own weaknesses. This subtropical gale encompasses both anger at her aggressive attacks against the "vast, right-wing conspiracy" she has always seen in their enemies, and our



ASSOCIATED PRESS

confusion and discomfort over whether she is Clinton's victim or his enabler, or both.

But what really makes the ocean heave is the right's old-fashioned need for a liberal boogeyman. Bill Clinton has driven conservatives mad by nudging his party toward the center, stealing some of the best conservative rhetoric and ideas, and making himself invulnerable to attack with the L-word that Republicans have used in the past to such devastating effect. Unable to tar as a liberal the president who balanced the budget and signed welfare reform into law, conservatives have had to invent Hillary as an ultra-liberal consort who embodies the menace in his stead. Her very lack of direct accountability over the past eight years has made her the perfect person for the role.

In the *American Enterprise*, conservative writer David Horowitz comes right out and says so, describing Hillary Clinton as "America's foremost leftist." This conviction is the hurricane force that compounds all the others.

Perhaps now that she is running for power in her own right, as a candidate for the Senate, Hillary Rodham Clinton will make her way to a place of greater calm. Then again, anyone who has seen the movie or read the book knows what happens to the Andrea Gail in the end.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



By Jim McKnight, AP

Meal break: Jim Palmiter of Lockheed Martin serves beef stir-fry to first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in the aeronautics company's employee cafeteria Thursday in Johnson City, N.Y.

Hopefuls volley barbs in N.Y. race

Lazio letter says
Clinton 'covets
power and control'

By Kathy Kiely
and Martha T. Moore
USA TODAY



By Richard Drew, AP

Family time: Rep. Rick Lazio decorates the fingernails of his daughter Molly as his daughter Kelsey watches over his shoulder aboard Lazio's campaign bus Thursday morning.

JOHNSON CITY, N.Y. — Hillary Rodham Clinton says Rick Lazio is probably a "nice guy," but she lashed out Thursday at her Republican opponent in New York's Senate race. She accused him of engaging in "personal insults" and "double talk."

The unusually direct rebuke from the first lady, who normally leaves it to her aides to respond to opponents, came in response to a Lazio fundraising letter that became public this week. It said the first lady and President Clinton have "embarrassed the country and disgraced their powerful posts."

"She covets power and control and thinks she should be dictating how other people run their lives," the letter said.

As the rhetorical fight escalated on both sides, Lazio seemed to try on Thursday to distance himself from the letter, but he did not repudiate it.

"You have to make a distinction between what one writes in a solicitation letter to supporters and how you are campaigning in general," the congressman said. Though the letter went out over his signature, Lazio said Thursday that he had not reviewed it.

Clinton scoffed at that comment.

"Last week, he was telling New Yorkers he wasn't responsible for his voting record. This week, he's telling us that he's

not responsible for his fundraising letters," Clinton said. "I think he ought to rename his bus. Instead of the 'Mainstream Express,' he ought to call it the 'Double Talk Express.' He's got moderate talk on the trail and extreme rhetoric in his mail."

Lazio tried to turn the tables on Clinton. The first lady was the first to "go negative" in the campaign, he said. He cited a series of ads the Clinton campaign and the state Democratic Party have been running on New York television stations. Lazio contends that they distort his record.

Clinton defended the ads, which she said are designed to highlight the differences between her and Lazio on issues such as the proposed patients' bill of rights and abortion.

Lazio says he favors the patients' bill of rights, but Clinton says the GOP version he voted for favors the health-care industry over consumers. Both say they favor abortion rights, but Lazio favors certain restrictions, such as a ban on a procedure that opponents call "partial-birth" abortion.

"I haven't called him any names. I will never call him a name," Clinton told a group of employees at a Lockheed Martin plant, where she held a

town meeting. "I don't have any personal animus toward him. As far as I know, he's a nice person. But I do think it's important for you to know where he stands and where I stand on the issues."

There are indications that Clinton's TV ads are having an effect. At a senior citizens center that Lazio visited in Syracuse, one resident challenged him over his vote on the patients' bill of rights. "I saw a commercial that said you were against it," Alice Boxer told him. Lazio assured her that he had voted in favor of two different versions of the bill.

The two candidates in the nation's most closely watched Senate race are spending the week on dueling bus tours across Upstate New York.

Lazio visited the senior center, then attended a picnic.

After visiting the Lockheed Martin plant, Clinton attended a picnic near Binghamton. She is celebrating her first-year anniversary on the campaign trail. She began her first "listening tour" of New York one year ago today.

Lazio entered the race in May, after New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani dropped out. Polls show Lazio running neck-and-neck with the first lady.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, JULY 7, 2000

Letter rip! Hill lashes Lazio over attack flier

The Senate race turned into a bus battle yesterday, with Hillary Rodham Clinton saying Rick Lazio should rename his campaign vehicle the "Double-Talk Express."

Kicking off a five-day upstate bus tour, the first lady ridiculed remarks Lazio made Wednesday when reporters questioned him about a fund-raising letter that said she and the president "have embarrassed our country and disgraced their powerful posts."

Lazio tried to distance himself from the letter.

"It's hard for me to get this straight," Mrs. Clinton told reporters after touring a Lockheed Mar-

By Robert Hardt Jr. in Johnson City, N.Y., and Gregg Birnbaum in Syracuse

tin plant in Johnson City, near Binghamton, where she met workers and rode in a flight simulator.

"I mean, last week, he was telling New Yorkers that he wasn't responsible for his voting record, and this week, he's telling us that he's not responsible for his fund-raising letters."

"He's got moderate talk on the trail and extreme rhetoric in his mail."

She added: "I think he ought to rename his bus. Instead of the 'Mainstream Express,' he ought to call it the 'Double-Talk Express.'"

Lazio reacted last night in Buffalo, saying, "I'm not going to respond to what she says. I understand she'd like to deflect attention from what she's failed to do for New York."

Earlier, he spent the day trying to draw a distinction between the letter — which also says Hillary Clinton "covets power and control — and other aspects of his campaign, including his stump speeches and his television ads.

"The real question is: Why has my opponent run six television commercials attacking me and distorting my record?" Lazio told reporters at a senior-citizens apartment complex in Syracuse.

"I haven't had any television commercials attacking her and distorting her record," said Lazio, in the fourth day of a five-day statewide bus tour. "My campaign is about positive issues."

Mrs. Clinton tried for the first time to define in detail the difference between negative ads and personal attacks.

"Lots of times, when you hear somebody in a campaign say, 'Oh, you're negative,' you have to judge ... Is that really negative, because someone's standing there, calling somebody a name?" she asked.

"Or is it negative because the opponent is giving you information about an issue or a record that they would just assume you would not know?"

"If he thinks it's negative to point out that he never supported hate-crimes legislation until it passed in the state Senate, then he may think it's negative. I think it's educational and informative," she said.

"I haven't called him any names. I will never call him any names."

"As far as I know, he's a nice person."

Clinton aides going on party payroll

THE imminent departure of two mid-level Clinton staffers quickly sent the rumor mills churning that the first lady's campaign was about to suffer its first shakeup.

But it turns out that Samara Rifkin and Marc Lapidus — two crack advance workers for Hillary — will be moving over to work for the state Democratic Party's coordinated campaign, which also handles the presidential and local races.

The transfer of campaign workers to a state committee is a common practice — often used to save money during crunch time in a big race.

But Democratic insiders insist that it's not about cash; they want to use Rifkin and Lapidus' talents for bigger purposes.

"They both really know the lay of the land, so it will help us when

[Al] Gore and others are here," one insider said.

A crew of cameramen and sound technicians — directed by media guru Mike Murphy — has been filming Rick Lazio's bus tour almost nonstop this week, but the Republican hopeful may not be the only star in upcoming political commercials.

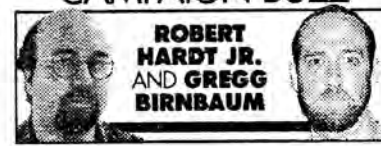
Lazio's wife, Patricia, has quietly recorded potential TV spots on behalf of her husband.

She's seen as a great political asset — and her Irish heritage (née Moriarty) can't hurt either with a key voting group.

Completing the image of Lazio as a family man, his young daughters, Molly and Kelsey, could also turn up in new ads.

As Clinton and Lazio rolled across the state yesterday on their

CAMPAIGN BUZZ



**ROBERT
HARDT JR.
AND GREGG
BIRNBAUM**

dueling bus tours, the media has been busy comparing notes — not the candidates' positions on the issues, but which press corps has the better bus.

The specially outfitted Lazio press bus has all the creature comforts of home — and then some.

Amenities include: fax machine, captain's swivel chairs and couches, microwave oven, coffee maker, well-stocked refrigerator and satellite phones and color television. (Reporters have enjoyed watching the Wimbledon tennis coverage this week.)

The Clinton bus has none of those bells and whistles. The only extra bonus are two power strips for reporters' computers.

But a sign on the strips warns intrepid reporters: "We cannot be responsible for any electrical items plugged into this outlet. [Use at your own risk.]"

Passengers traveling with the first lady have also enjoyed the bus driver's large, stuffed monkey, which reporters instantly dubbed "Wolfie" — Hillary's pet name for her spokesman, Howard Wolfson.

The carpetbagger issue is alive and well, judging from the strong reaction of a nonpartisan crowd to Lazio in upstate Watertown.

As Lazio made his way through a sea of hundreds of people at an outdoor concert he was besieged by fans who had one beef with Clinton: She's not from New York.

"Kick her back to Arkansas!" belted one man, before getting his picture taken with the GOP Senate candidate.

It's so nice to have a New Yorker running, said a woman, echoing comments made by more than a dozen people.

Lazio in full retreat

Rick Lazio finally trumpeted the truth about the New York Senate campaign this week — then promptly muted it, revealing, among other things, a disheartening ignorance or, worse, disregard of the historic role chance and luck have bestowed on him.

The clarion call came from a new Lazio campaign fund-raising letter that says, "Hillary Clinton and her husband have embarrassed our country and disgraced their powerful posts." Gee — and the sun rises in the east. If ever there were a self-evident truth, this one about the legacy of Clintonism is it. In fact, it is difficult to find more exacting terminology to describe the nearly eight years of historic degradation Bill and Hillary Clinton have together inflicted on the American public with malfeasance great and small, with misconduct outrageous and repulsive, all carried out against the unrelenting rush of an incessant flow of lies.

In other words, Rick Lazio would have been rock solid on terra firma when quizzed by reporters this week. But no. The Republican nominee for the U.S. Senate from New York said, "Frankly, these letters are not written by me. I'm not disowning it, but they're not written by me. I just think this is a huge smoke screen." Without pausing to explain how the simple truth could possibly be a "smoke screen," Mr. Lazio continued: "That's not part of our media campaign," he said. "That's not what I'm talking

about on the stump. I just think it's incredibly unfair to try to characterize the message of a campaign based on a phrase in a solicitation letter." Then, finally, as reluctant as he was defensive, he added, "I just think that both Mrs. Clinton and the president have got pretty significant liabilities that are well-known by the public."

So much for the stirring oration. What Mr. Lazio seems to be missing is the fact that this race is no garden-variety referendum on whether New York's junior senator will be a far-left Democrat or a liberal Republican. It has a greater, indeed, an historic significance. As much if not more than the presidential race, the New York Senate race is a referendum on Clintonism, a word that evokes no philosophical principle but rather a mode of governing designed to preserve power at any cost, from misleading voters to smearing opponents. In the state of New York, it is Rick Lazio, a congressman from Suffolk County, to whom the job has fallen to turn back this terrible creed — a daunting task, to be sure, but once taken on, nothing to shrink from. Mrs. Clinton calls Mr. Lazio's letter a "personal insult" — a peculiar reaction. To be sure, the truth about the Clintons is ugly. But it must be confronted, by voter and candidate alike, in order to determine in November whether Clintonism will continue to be a true reflection of the American people.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Campaign★2000

Rick fund-raising letter labels Hill a 'disgrace'

In his harshest attack yet in the muddy Senate race, Rick Lazio blasted Hillary Rodham Clinton and the president, saying they "have embarrassed our country and disgraced their powerful posts."

"She covets power and control, and thinks she should be dictating how other people run their lives," Lazio wrote in a four-page fund-raising letter that emerged yesterday.

"No other Senate hopeful enjoys a liberal national press that hangs on her every word and treats her never-ending soap opera of scandals as 'irrelevant' and 'yesterday's news.'"

Campaigning upstate on a five-day bus tour, Lazio distanced himself from the letter when he was peppered with questions about it from reporters.

"Frankly, these letters are not written by me. I'm not disowning it, but they're not written by me. I just think this is a huge smoke screen," Lazio said during a rolling, 25-minute question-and-answer session aboard the press bus.

By Gregg Birnbaum in Malone, N.Y., and Robert Hardt Jr. in New York City

"That's not part of our media campaign. That's not what I'm talking about on the stump."

"I just think it's incredibly unfair to try to characterize the message of a campaign based on a phrase in a solicitation letter," said the Long Island congressman.

"I just think that both Mrs. Clinton and the president have got pretty significant liabilities that are well known by the public."

Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson dismissed Lazio's latest fund-raising appeal, saying, "We are confident that New Yorkers will reject Rick Lazio's campaign of personal insults in favor of Hillary's campaign of issue differences and real ideas."

Wolfson also noted that Lazio's rhetoric in the letter was significantly stronger than in a similar mailing to New York state residents.

"Why is Rick Lazio saying one

thing out-of-state and another thing to New Yorkers?" Wolfson asked.

Also yesterday:

■ The state chapter of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League unveiled an anti-Lazio ad that will be aired on cable stations in New York City and its suburbs.

Featuring a woman talking to the camera, the ad presses Lazio on whether he would reject a Supreme Court nominee who opposes legalized abortion.

Lazio told The Post this week that he would want "on the record" what a nominee's "reasoning" is on abortion, but said it shouldn't be a litmus-test issue to reach the high court.

■ Former presidential candidate Steve Forbes sent out a fund-raising letter to his supporters, saying Clinton "engages in a predictable pattern of shameless hypocrisy, perpetual pandering and cruel scapegoating against her opponent."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Chameleon Hillary

"If she is elected [to the Senate] and does indeed become, as many expect she would, the most visible Democrat in the country, what kind of influence would Mrs. Clinton exercise on the nation?"

"She is trying very hard . . . to convince observers she would be a mild and centrist 'New Democrat' in the Senate. Judging how she'd actually behave is not easy. . . . Mrs. Clinton, like her husband, is a true chameleon. Throughout her career, Gail Sheehy and other biographers make clear, the first lady has

quite consciously tried on different personas and changed positions to suit her political needs. Several times over the last decade she has transformed even her very name, beginning as Hillary Rodham, then becoming Hillary Rodham Clinton, then calling herself simply Hillary Clinton, and finally morphing, Madonna-like, to just 'Hillary' in her Senate campaign literature. One is tempted to refer to her as The Artist Formerly Known as Princess."

— Karl Zinsmeister, writing on, "Can You Say Senator Clinton?" in the July/August issue of the *American Enterprise*

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

HAPPY BIRTHDAY, AMERICA

STANDING 'TALL' ON

Hudson gleams with ships

Reported by Tom Topousis, Neil Graves, Joe Cunningham and Roosevelt Joseph. Written by Andy Geller.

An armada of towering tall ships led a stately parade of vessels up the Hudson River yesterday in a majestic tribute to the nation's independence.

Millions lined the river's shores to view OpSail 2000, a floating display of craft of all sizes and shapes that included two dozen warships from 14 countries.

Spectators gasped when a surrealistic-looking B-2 stealth bomber flew overhead — one of the highlights of the day.

The sailing extravaganza was followed by a fireworks

spectacular featuring 150 tons of explosives fired from 13 barges.

Sixty thousand shells — a glare of red, white and blue — burst into the air from

five locations on the city's waterways.

Standing on the flight deck of the USS John F. Kennedy — anchored in the shadow of the Statue of Liberty — President Clinton reminded the nation of its immigrant roots.

"Perhaps more than any other nation in all history, we have drawn our strength and spirit from people from other lands," the president said.

"And that is why ... we must resolve never to close the golden door behind us, and always not only to welcome people to our borders, but to welcome people into our hearts."

It was an inspiring moment when the parade of 130 ships emerged from beneath the Verrazano Narrows Bridge in the morning haze to begin a journey up and down the Hudson.

Tugboats led the proces-

sion, sending out geysers of red, white and blue spray. Waves of jet fighters pierced the skies in an aerial salute after the first of the tall ships sailed past the inspection ships.

Because of tides, however, none of the 26 Class A tall ships was able to make it to the intended destination of the George Washington Bridge.

The ships began their stately procession after Clinton reviewed an international armada of 24 warships anchored in the Hudson.

The president, wife Hillary and daughter Chelsea then helicoptered to the Kennedy's flight deck, where they were met by senators, congressmen, cabinet members and reigning Miss America Heather French.

Clinton paid a special tribute to Caroline Kennedy Schlossberg, who also was aboard the carrier, by recalling that it was her father John F. Kennedy who started the OpSail tradition in 1961.

He also announced that America's next generation of destroyers would be named for late Adm. Elmo Zumwalt Jr., architect of the modern Navy. He called Zumwalt, who died in January at age 79, "my mentor, my friend and a magnificent role model."

Aboard the Mount Whitney, the Navy communications ship, R. Kenneth Conover, 78, of Freehold, N.J., stood with a group of Tin Can Sailors, veterans who served on destroyers during World War II.

They cut an unusual sight in their replica 1945-model blue corduroy pants and blue shirts.

Conover was impressed, but said he'd seen larger fleets — in March 1945 in the Pacific.

Alfred Winter, 76, of Melville, L.I., who also served on a destroyer during World War II, viewed the procession from the USS Intrepid, now a floating museum on the Hudson.

"This was really something," he said. "The tall ships were great. How can this not make you feel patriotic?"

Robert Martinez, 41, of Orlando, Fla., who brought his 7-year-old son Robert Jr., to view the floating parade, agreed.

"The ships are so beautiful it's almost surreal seeing them sailing through the harbor today. I hope it's a memory my son will have forever."



AT THE SEE SIDE: President and Mrs. Clinton and first daughter Chelsea aboard the USS Hue City take in the majestic procession of tall ships yesterday.

N.Y. Post: G.N. Miller

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



HAPPY BIRTHDAY, AMERICA



Lazio broadside: Clintons tried to shortchange vets

Rick Lazio yesterday celebrated the Fourth of July by setting off some political fireworks aimed at the Clintons: The GOP Senate candidate charged that they have turned their backs on the country's veterans.

In a speech to about 75 veterans, Lazio zapped President Clinton for failing to push for improved benefits for them and for shortchanging them in favor of veterans in Arkansas.

Lazio later told reporters his

By Gregg Birnbaum in Saratoga Springs and Tom Topousis in New York

Democratic opponent, Hillary Rodham Clinton, was part of the problem — saying she didn't lift a finger to help those who have served in the armed forces.

"When New York needed Mrs. Clinton to fight for veterans, for veterans' health benefits, where

was she?" Lazio asked.

"When New York was getting hurt by the formula that the administration developed, that diverts money from New York to other states, where was she?"

The Suffolk County Republican added: "I know where I was. I was fighting for New York."

Lazio told the veterans he and other congressional Republicans succeeded last year in pushing through a \$1.7 billion boost in vets' benefits after President Clinton sought nothing for them.

The four-term congressman also blasted the Clinton administration for crafting a funding formula that he claimed gives Arkansas — Clinton's home state — and other southern states extra federal dollars for vets at the expense of New York, which has the third highest number of veterans.

Hillary Clinton's spokesman Howard Wolfson responded that Lazio's attempt at campaign fireworks was a dud.

"While Hillary Clinton worked to make treating Gulf War illness a government priority, Rick Lazio voted to cut \$1 billion from the administration's veterans' budget," Wolfson said, referring to a 1995 congressional budget vote.

"When he had the chance to chose between New York's veterans and Republican leaders, he followed his leadership."

While Lazio motored across upstate New York, Hillary Clinton, returning to her role as first lady, began her day alongside the president aboard the guided missile cruiser USS Hue City in New York Harbor.

The Clintons, along with daughter Chelsea, reviewed the international naval armada anchored in the Hudson River and then flew by helicopter to the carrier USS John F. Kennedy to watch the tall ships pass.

Mrs. Clinton, wearing a peach-colored pants suit, a broad-brimmed straw hat and sunglasses, sat at times holding hands with her husband or chatting with the VIPs seated just behind her.

But there was no mention of politics. Mrs. Clinton did not make any public comments and the president talked only of loftier issues, such as welcoming new immigrants to the United States.

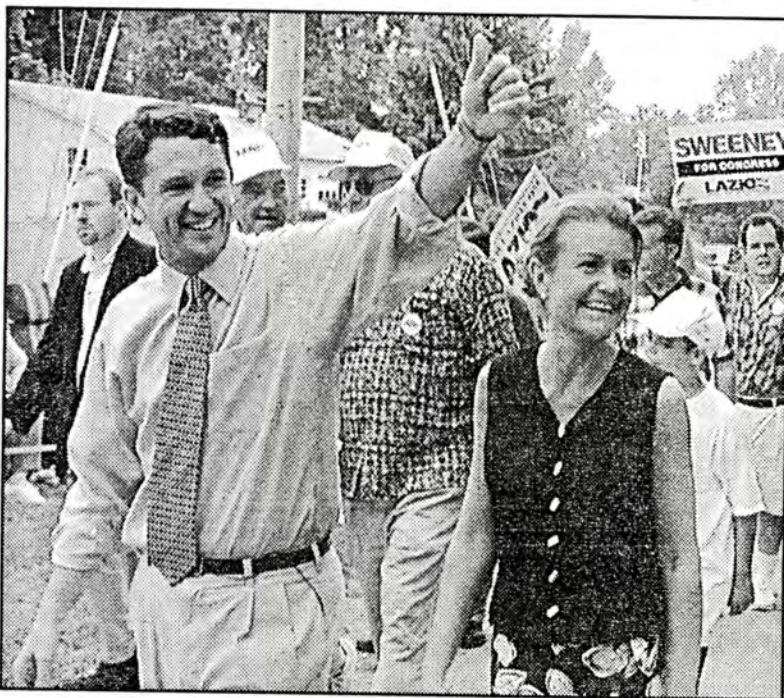
Lazio's aides ripped Mrs. Clinton's appearance as first lady with the president as a waste of taxpayer money, mocking it as "Photo OpSail."

Lazio wasn't invited to any of the OpSail events, but he didn't mind missing the festivities to march in no fewer than three upstate parades on the Fourth, an aide said.

"He could have clawed his way into it," the aide said. "But what we're doing today makes a nice contrast with her 'Photo Op Sail.'"

Responding to Lazio's charges about the Clinton administration's position on veterans' issues, White House spokesman P.J. Crowley said:

"The relationship between our country and our veterans ought not to be a matter for politics. Our commitment to veterans is unshakable."



ON THE MARCH: Lazio waves to onlookers as he and wife Pat join veterans parading in Saratoga Springs. The GOP candidate wasn't invited to any of New York City's OpSail events. Alan Solomon

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Lazio's abortion stance

Rep. Rick Lazio, the Long Island Republican who is running against Hillary Rodham Clinton for a Senate seat from New York, says he would have no litmus test for judging Supreme Court nominees but would consider their stance on abortion.

"I think it's a consideration," Mr. Lazio told the New York Post in an interview Monday aboard his campaign bus. "I think, absolutely, you want to have that information on the record — absolutely — and I would want it on the record."

"You want to have as much information as you possibly can about a judge's philosophical proclivities and where they're headed and how they got there."

He added: "I want to know what they are saying. I want to know how they are reasoning on the [abortion] issue so we can make a judgment about whether this person has the intellectual capacity to make a good, reasoned judgment."

Mr. Lazio has come under fire from Mrs. Clinton on the abortion issue, even though he is pro-choice. She vows, if elected, to vote against any nominee who expresses qualms about an unlimited right to abortion, including Medicaid funding and partial-birth abortion.

Gore's transformation into the Democratic Party's Alpha Male; the sooner Clinton speaks and exits the Los Angeles stage the better. The other reason is to force ABC television to rethink its plans to broadcast Monday Night Football that evening and squeeze its convention coverage into the game's halftime report," the magazine said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

New York Senate candidates drop gloves, go negative

By Liz Trotta
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

NEW YORK — A casual observer would never guess that traditionally this is the slow season in politics, languid days of beach-going and barbecuing with the TV turned off and newspapers piled up.

Even though few potential voters may be paying attention, Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rep. Rick Lazio, New York Republican, are in full campaign mode, blasting away on the stump and over the air as though November is only days away.

Since Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani dropped out of the race, Mrs. Clinton, who is opposing Mr. Lazio in the U.S. Senate race, has taken off her white gloves. The Long Island congressman, playing defense, is giving as good as he gets. Both are going negative even as they accuse each other of doing so.

"Their camp is about tearing people down," said Mr. Lazio recently. "This is their M.O. I understand that. I guess I understood that going in. ... I'm not going to

Lazio, Hillary trade accusations as though it were fall

be dragged down into the mud with them."

But in the mud is where many political experts say the race is, and should be, especially in such a high-profile contest that pits a controversial first lady with a virtual unknown. "Even though there's usually a slowdown for summer, we're running as though we're 5 points behind," said Mike Murphy, chief strategist for Mr. Lazio. His candidate and Mrs. Clinton have been running neck and neck in the polls.

The campaign brickbats are flying daily: She says he didn't vote for a patient's bill of rights. He says he did. She says he missed a vote on a bill to create oil reserves for the Northeast. He says five Democrats missed it, too. She says his absence from the Gay Pride Parade proves he does not support homosexual rights. He says he does. She says he's not really pro-choice. He says he is.

At one point even the president got into the fray by attacking Re-

publican tax-cut proposals as a dangerous "Bush-Lazio tax plan."

Still, the political experts are urging more bloodshed from those in the arena.

"Barefoot boy with cheek of tan doesn't work in New York," said Democratic consultant Norman Adler, comparing Mr. Lazio's fresh-faced looks to the John Greenleaf Whittier poem. At the same time he admits that "One would expect that the Democratic candidate would be better. She's not in trouble, but she's moving more slowly than she should."

Rep. Peter T. King of Long Island, who advertised for the opportunity to oppose Mrs. Clinton, might have been a better Republican choice, he added.

For Mr. King's part, his only criticism of his colleague is that he doesn't get off the mark fast enough. "He has to be a little firmer on offense," said the conservative Republican. "You have to be on the attack and create a climate of mutually assured destruction,"

he added.

"They're kind of like ex-cons," said Mr. Murphy of the Clintons. "People know they've misbehaved in the past, so they're being carefully watched, and the usual Clinton tricks won't be effective. We expect this campaign to come right out of the sewer."

Mrs. Clinton's campaign staff did not return calls for comment on the new drift of the campaign, but it has repeatedly insisted that she is sticking to the issues even as she attacks the four-term congressman. A probe by the SEC into a stock trade that Mr. Lazio made — one in which he invested \$2,300 and made \$16,000 on the day the company was bought out — was initially requested by State Comptroller H. Carl McCall, one of the first lady's loyal supporters.

Mr. Lazio sees the SEC probe as a move by the Clinton White House to use federal agencies to aid the president's wife and "force their will down the throats of New Yorkers."

"Scandal doesn't cut it," said pollster John Zogby. "She's going to have to come up with something new."

He said Mrs. Clinton must win 70 percent of the city — which is her natural liberal base — and the rest in the suburbs and upstate if she is to prevail.

Joseph Mercurio, a New York-based consultant, believes Mrs. Clinton has already been disconnected from that base, namely white, female Democrats and independents. In a survey he conducted on Manhattan's Upper East Side, he found that in a head-to-head match-up Mrs. Clinton prevailed over her opponent 45.9 percent to 43.4 percent, but those who described themselves as ticket-splitters chose Mr. Lazio over Mrs. Clinton by 46.8 percent to 35.3 percent, and independents picked Mr. Lazio by 41.4 percent to 30.1 percent.

Mrs. Clinton brought her daughter, Chelsea, to the campaign this week during her second appearance on the steps of City Hall, a traditional soap box for New York politicians. Some see this as de-



Hillary Rodham Clinton

signed to appeal to "soccer moms" disenchanted with Mrs. Clinton.

"She spent the last few months running as 'Woman Alone,'" said Mr. Zogby. "But she's going to have to come up with something fresh."

Give.



American
Heart Association

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Elían's flight arranger linked to Hillary

By Jerry Seper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Cuban government paid for Elián Gonzalez's chartered flight to Havana through a Miami firm headed by a woman whose \$22,000 donation to Hillary Rodham Clinton's Senate campaign was returned when it was learned the woman had ties to a convicted drug smuggler.

Vivian Mannerud Verble heads a Miami-based firm known as Airne Brokers Company Inc., which ranged all of the chartered flights to and from Havana involv-

First lady returned donation of \$22,000

ing Elián's father, Juan Miguel Gonzalez, his grandmothers and other Cubans.

Mrs. Verble has been linked to convicted drug trafficker Jorge "Gordito" Cabrera, a Cuban-born U.S. citizen sentenced to 19 years in a Florida prison and fined \$1.5 million for his conviction in the transportation of 6,000 pounds of cocaine into the United States.

It was that connection that prompted Mrs. Clinton's New York senatorial campaign in April to re-

turn the \$22,000 donation — the "the largest single contribution" to her soft money fund. Campaign officials returned the cash after determining the donation was "inappropriate," according to the first lady's spokesman, Howard Wolfson.

Mrs. Verble, also a Cuban-American, served as the fund-raising intermediary between Cabrera and the Democratic National Committee in 1995. After giving \$20,000 to the DNC, Ca-

brera attended a 1995 White House Christmas party with President Clinton, where he had his picture taken with the first lady. He also attended a fund-raiser in Miami in December 1995, where he was photographed with Vice President Al Gore.

His \$20,000 contribution in November 1995 was returned after DNC officials learned of his arrest.

House investigators said Ca-

see **HILLARY**, page A12

• *Elían spends first day in Cuba in shielded, Havana mansion. A12*

HILLARY

From page A1

brera wrote the DNC check from an account to which he had diverted illicit drug profits. They said the donation came after Mrs. Verble talked with Cabrera in November 1995 at the Copacabana Hotel in Havana — an accusation the Miami businesswoman, who has not been charged with any crime, has denied.

Mrs. Verble confirmed in a telephone interview yesterday she arranged the flights for the Gonzalez family through the Cuban govern-

ment and the National Council of Churches, which served as intermediary with the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service in the dispute over Elián's custody.

"I think I was chosen because of public statements I made earlier this year that I would be willing to fly Elián and other members of his family to and from Havana as the process continued," she said, acknowledging that she arranged for the jet to Havana this week and was paid by the Cuban government for the flight.

"The National Council of Churches called me because they knew my company was licensed by the U.S. government to arrange for

charter flights into Cuba," she said.

Her firm is one of only a handful licensed by the Treasury Department to charter flights between the United States and Cuba. It handled flight arrangements for the Baltimore Orioles when they played reciprocal games last year with the Cubans.

The National Council of Churches helped defray much of the costs for Juan Miguel Gonzalez and others, including legal fees, through a humanitarian fund established by the board's executive committee.

Mrs. Verble herself is no stranger to the Democratic Party. She attended an October 1995 White House coffee with Mr. Gore, DNC

Chairman Donald L. Fowler, DNC Finance Chairman Marvin S. Rosen and oil financier Roger Tamraz, now an international fugitive who donated thousands of dollars to the DNC.

Elián flew home Wednesday aboard the chartered jet to a hero's welcome in Havana. The flight came after the Supreme Court rejected a final plea from members of the boy's Miami relatives, who had sought his custody since he was plucked from the sea in November.

The plane landed in Havana shortly before 8 p.m., marking a victory for Cuban President Fidel Castro, who made the boy an icon

of his revolution. With the Supreme Court refusing to intervene, a legal injunction keeping Elián in this country expired at 4 p.m. and at 4:31, the private jet carrying Elián and his family back to Cuba took off.

Elián's mother, her boyfriend and nine others perished when their boat sank. The boy and two others were the only survivors. His great-uncle, Lazaro Gonzalez, won temporary custody of Elián and the boy stayed with his Miami relatives until federal agents seized him at gunpoint in a pre-dawn April 22 raid.

Cabrera was arrested in January 1996, a month after the White

House party, by undercover detectives who confiscated cocaine, \$50,000 in cash, several boxes of illegal Cuban cigars and photos of Cabrera with Cuban President Fidel Castro.

He was indicted in 1983 by a federal grand jury in Miami on racketeering and drug charges and charged in 1988 with managing a continuing narcotics operation. In both cases, he pleaded guilty to lesser charges — conspiracy to bribe a witness and income-tax evasion.

According to federal election records, Cabrera gave the money to the DNC on Nov. 9, 1995.

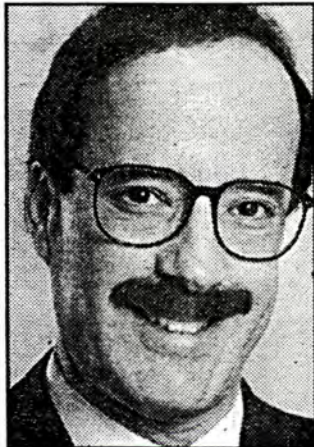
PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Rick hammers 'hypocrite' Hill on Dem \$\$ bash

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.

Senate candidate Rick Lazio called Hillary Rodham Clinton a hypocrite yesterday for attacking him for missing a House vote — while she attended a fund-raiser for another congressman who was playing hooky.

"She clearly knew by the time she went on the attack against me ... that she didn't have clean hands on this issue," Lazio said.



ELIOT ENGEL
Dem was also absent.

Lazio was responding to a report in Newsday yesterday that Clinton was in New Rochelle for a fund-raiser for Rep. Eliot Engel on the night of June 15, while the House was voting down a bill that would have created an oil reserve for New York.

For two weeks, Clinton has blasted Lazio for missing the vote on the \$10 million funding bill, which was defeated 195-193.

Lazio was rushing back home that night to prepare for a day of campaigning in western New York.

The Long Island congressman has repeatedly noted that five local Democrats, including Engel, also missed the vote.

But the revelation that Clinton was with one of the missing Democrats during the vote made Lazio hit the roof.

"What she's trying to do is fool the people of New York, and I just think her lack of straight talk is going to reverberate," he said.

"I think it speaks once again to the issue of character, integrity and truthfulness."

Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson ridiculed Lazio's remarks.

"This is a guy who has the 'dog ate my homework' excuse for everything," Wolfson said.

"Now he's trying to blame Hillary for his missing the vote. The last time I looked, Hillary was not a member of Congress."

Engel blamed GOP leaders for scheduling the vote at the last minute.

"The Republican leadership misled many members of Congress — including their own — by not telling members that votes were scheduled for after 6 p.m. until members were



THE NERVE OF THAT WOMAN! Hillary "knew by the time she went on the attack against me ... she didn't have clean hands on this issue," Rick Lazio fumed. Helayne Seidman

leaving Washington for their districts," Engel said.

Lazio also repeated yesterday that he is not considering resigning from the House to avoid criticism on future votes he

might miss while campaigning.

"I am committed to filling out my term and serving the people who sent me here," he said.

Lazio last night continued to try delicately juggling his busy campaign and work schedules.

The congressman was scheduled to attend two Manhattan fund-raisers last night, but his aides were uncertain whether he would be able to attend because of an important agriculture-budget vote.

The revelation that Clinton was with one of the missing Democrats during the vote made Lazio hit the roof.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Ny Post Friday, June 30, 2000

Lazio 'helper' is a man of conviction

A CONVICTED bank robber was making the rounds at Rick Lazio's \$1 million fund-raiser this week — not to grab any cash, but to pitch in on the campaign.

Arnold Moskowitz, who was found guilty in the 1977 armed heist of \$279,000 from a Chemical Bank branch in Brooklyn, was serving as a Lazio volunteer staffer to screen contributors who were entering a private photo session with the Republican candidate.

A longtime GOP operative and former driver for state economic-development czar Charles Gargano, Moskowitz told people at the Tuesday-night event at the Sheraton that he is "helping out" on Lazio's campaign.

Lazio spokesman Michael Marr said Moskowitz has "no role in this campaign, official or unofficial."

Moskowitz — who was given a suspended sentence — maintains his innocence in the bank job. Among those urging leniency was then-U.S. Sen. James Buckley (C-N.Y.), who had Moskowitz on his payroll at the time.

None of the loot has been recovered.

■
Hillary really is a Yankee fan — and now there's proof!

Evidence has surfaced that well before she got a gleam in her eye to become a senator from New York, Clinton was proclaiming her love for the Bronx Bombers.

At a White House picnic in 1994 honoring filmmaker Ken Burns' "Baseball" documentary, Clinton hit a few balls in a batting cage and told a Washington Post reporter that, as a young girl in Illinois, she was a "big time" fan of the



Chicago Cubs and the Yankees.

■
Just before Ed Koch began starring in ads for Clinton, the former mayor held a hush-hush meeting with Lazio.

The secret Koch-Lazio get-together was brokered by Conservative Party boss Mike Long, who is friends with both.

Koch was backing Hillary, but Long and Lazio hoped the meeting could foster good relations for the rest of the campaign

(and perhaps beyond) between the ex-three-term Democratic mayor and the four-term Republican congressman.

Koch, who calls Lazio a "good chap," gave him a heads-up that he would be making some commercials for Clinton — and said he hoped Lazio wouldn't mind.

Perhaps that explains Koch's unusual opening line in the ads: "I like Rick Lazio, but..."

■
What's Hillary going to talk about now that the Human Genome Project is done?

For almost a year, she's been peppering her speeches with talk about the project, telling audiences that it shows people are "99 percent the same" — prompting jaded reporters to roll their eyes.

After a journalist predicted Hillary would replace the genome with talk



HILLARY CLINTON

Focus now on Mars.

about a possible mission to Mars, it quickly came true.

"Think about it — water on Mars," she said this week in Buffalo, prompting laughter from surprised reporters.

"Did you say I was going to do it?" Clinton asked.

"This is scary," she said before humming "The Twilight Zone" theme.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary's achievement

Americans whose only source of news is right-wing talk radio and the Republican National Committee will be forgiven for thinking Hillary Rodham Clinton must be the most despised woman in the world. Certainly, conservatives have turned hating Hillary into a multimillion-dollar business, churning out battering books, unflattering articles and not-much-mattering television appearances by a coterie of anti-Clinton crusaders.

When her husband was facing Ken Starr's inept scrutiny two years ago, Hillary Clinton spoke of "a vast right-wing conspiracy" that was out to get the first family. As legal commentator and author Jeffrey Toobin has illustrated in his book on the right's obsession with the Clintons, the first lady was essentially right.



Clinton

Yet distinctions can be made regarding attacks on America's ultimate power couple. While the bashing of Bill is rooted quite often in missteps by the president, the hating of Hillary is a far more troubling affair — explained not so much by the first lady's imperfections so much as the right's fury at a woman who "does not know her place."

The right is not alone in recognizing that Hillary Clinton is challenging political and cultural boundaries, however. The first lady's triumphal appearance at the United Nations Conference on Women was a powerful reminder that Hillary Clinton — who has traveled more widely than any president's wife, and who has spoken out more forcefully than all of her predecessors save Eleanor Roosevelt — has earned more respect internationally than she may ever be accorded at home.

The response to the first lady at last week's U.N. summit, which seeks to accelerate progress toward equality of the sexes by building on the work of the 1995 Beijing women's conference, indicated the extent to which Clinton has emerged as a tribune of women's struggles — not just in the United States but around the world. The crowd's greeting had more in common with a rock concert than a diplomatic session.

There was plenty to applaud. Clinton's remarks were pointed and passionate. While the woman who wants to be the first first lady to parlay her prominence into a U.S. Senate seat has earned justified criticism for her murky, overly cautious approach to some issues, there was no mistaking her position on the subject of the right of women to be safe from violence and oppression.

"We have come here because for the progress we can point to, our work is far from done," Clinton told the U.N. conference. "When girls are doused with gasoline, set on fire and burned to death because their marriage dowries are too small and when 'honor killings' continue to be tolerated, our work is far from done."

The directness of Clinton's remarks went over well with the crowd, but in truth she had won them over long before she arrived. Mere mention of the first lady's name drew thunderous applause; her actual appearance was greeted with a standing ovation and the cheering at the conclusion of her remarks evolved into a spontaneous rendition by the crowd of the civil rights anthem, "We Shall Overcome."

Hillary Clinton may be an imperfect politico, and certainly she is an imperfect messenger on many issues. But on the issues closest to her heart — the rights of women and children to a world free of violence, discrimination and crushing poverty — she has gained the confidence of those who are battling on the front lines for justice. And for those who ponder what her service in the Senate might yield, the U.N. appearance offered a tantalizing glimpse of what might be.

Lazio says he favors fed bill for hate crime

By GREGG BIRNBAUM in New York
and ROBERT HARDT Jr. in Buffalo

Senate candidate Rick Lazio yesterday backed federal hate-crimes legislation pending in Congress — and Hillary Rodham Clinton responded that she welcomed her opponent's new stance.

Lazio had been sitting on the fence since the measure — making it a federal offense to attack homosexuals — passed the Senate last Tuesday on a 57-42 vote.

The four-term Republican congressman said yesterday for the first time that he would vote in favor of the legislation if it comes to the floor of the House, as it could before Election Day.

"I think we ought to have enhanced penalties ... I stand strongly for that," Lazio said.

Lazio said he backed the measure because he wanted to make sure "that we express ... community outrage for crimes that are committed against a particular class of person."

Lazio's support for the bill comes at a time when he is under fire from his Democratic rival for flip-flopping on state hate-crimes legislation and not marching in Sunday's huge Gay Pride parade. Lazio said he had prior commitments upstate that day.

Campaigning in Buffalo, Clinton, who has previously lined up behind the federal hate-crimes bill, said Lazio is just figuring out which way the political winds are blowing.

"I'm delighted that once again Mr. Lazio is following someone's lead — in this case mine," Clinton told reporters.

"Usually, what he does is against the interest of New Yorkers. I've noticed in the last several weeks, he's been changing positions quite rapidly to try to agree with my positions."

She added "Now that he



SHOPPING FOR VOTES: Hillary Rodham Clinton, who welcomed Rick Lazio's support of the hate-crimes bill, yesterday stops at the Boulevard Mall in Amherst. AP

understands it's an important issue to many New Yorkers, he's decided that he is going to support the Senate [bill]."

Meanwhile, Lazio — whose war chest is lagging way behind Clinton's — held the biggest fundraiser of his campaign at the Sheraton Hotel in Manhattan, raising about \$1 million.

In a new speech that aides said will be used regularly, Lazio warned

Clinton that her "negative" campaign is going to blow up in her face.

"If these tactics continue," Lazio told several hundred supporters, "my opponent will learn this about New York: Bend the truth and face the consequences."

"New Yorkers don't elect people they cannot trust," he said, and then ad libbed, "Character is everything in public service and honest and integrity."

Earlier, Lazio and Clin-

ton continued their "fuel duel" over rising gas prices.

Standing in front of the pumps at gas stations in Dutchess and Westchester counties, Lazio blamed the Clintons for doing nothing to help bring down the cost of filling a tank.

In response, Clinton ridiculed Lazio's proposal to lift temporarily the federal gas tax as "a bad idea for New York and a potential bonanza for the oil companies."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Who is she?

"I see Mrs. Clinton as a turn-of-the-century Progressive. While she isn't always politically left-wing, she does firmly support what you might call New Age values. For instance, while she has proposed all kinds of programs to benefit children, she has never focused on the rates of children being born out of wedlock. She can't do that without getting a lot of negative feedback from her staunchest supporters. . . .

"[The Clintons have] repeatedly asked us to forget about what they were yesterday and accept the new identity that they have assumed today. 'Just get over it; that's all in the past,' they say. They both seem to lack any shame or concept that they have to deal with their own problems. So their problems become our problem.

"And of course, they attack. It's a feature of the narcissistic personality to see all criticisms as coming from enemies, people plotting against you. Hillary does have this. She might have said, 'Maybe I went a little overboard



Hillary Rodham Clinton

when I blamed these Monica stories on a vast right-wing conspiracy, because it turns out now there was something to it.' Just a little word of recognition that she got carried away would have made a healing impression. In-

stead, she compares herself to Jesus, who forgave St. Peter."

— Joyce Milton, author of "First Partner," interviewed in the July/August issue of the *American Enterprise*

PHOTOCOPY
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Hillary unindicted

A dispassionately analytical word for Independent Counsel Robert Ray's statement on the White House travel office investigation is "perplexing." Mr. Ray has attested to finding what he calls "substantial evidence" of Hillary Rodham Clinton's "role" (Mr. Ray's quotation marks) in firing seven White House travel office employees. He has determined that Mrs. Clinton "ultimately influenced" that decision. But despite the first lady's repeated denials, under oath, of any role (or "role") in what is known as "Travelgate," Mr. Ray announced last week that he will not bring any charges against the first lady for making false statements, committing perjury or obstructing justice.

It's not that the Ray statement is exculpatory of Mrs. Clinton — or the White House, for that matter, which Mr. Ray excoriates for a range of blatant stonewalling tactics, from asserting "unfounded privileges" consistently rejected in the courts, to conducting "inadequate searches" for documents. The statement cites Mrs. Clinton's travel office "discussions" with then-deputy White House counsel Vincent Foster, then-Chief of Staff Mack McLarty and "longtime friend and adviser Harry Thomason," the wealthy Hollywood producer whose travel service stood to benefit from a change in White House personnel. Mr. Ray cites "one direct conversation" with David Watkins, the White House official directly in charge of the travel office whose infamous "hell to pay" memo about Mrs. Clinton would eventually trigger the Independent Counsel's investigation. As Mr. Ray very carefully puts it, "These individuals discussed her concerns among themselves, which produced a momentum to take immediate action."

"Produced a momentum to take immediate action." Sure sounds like the way any eminence

rose worth her hotline operates. Even this somewhat rarefied vision of Mrs. Clinton at work contradicts the first lady's many denials, including testimony provided under oath. "Nevertheless" — Mr. Ray's interesting word — the evidence he first characterizes as "substantial" turns out to be also "insufficient" to "prove to a jury beyond a reasonable doubt that any of Mrs. Clinton's statements and testimony regarding her involvement in the travel office firings were knowingly false." Would that he had given a jury a chance to make that determination.

In conclusion, Mr. Ray sounds what may strike one as a hopeful note: "The matter is now closed." To be sure, the report is now finished. But Mr. Ray may by now have an inkling of how difficult it is to achieve what is these days known as "closure" when logic appears to have been defied. In a deft display of the art of interviewing, NBC's Tim Russert quizzed Mr. Ray on "Meet the Press" on Sunday on the statement's startling contradictions, repeatedly inviting the independent counsel to reconcile Mrs. Clinton's record of denial with the evidence of her involvement in what amounts to the shoddiest scandal in two terms of the Clinton-Gore administration: the pitiless abuse of seven White House employees who did nothing but occupy jobs Bill and Hillary Clinton wanted to fill with assorted "cousins" and cronies.

Mr. Ray has determined that, despite "substantial evidence" of both Mrs. Clinton's involvement in and subsequent cover-up of this outrageous abuse of power, she remains beyond the reach of the law. "This matter then returns appropriately to the people and to the political process where it belongs," Mr. Ray told Mr. Russert. Without the law's guidance, one wonders what will they make of it.

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BY DEBETO MATTHEWS—ASSOCIATED PRESS

6/27/00 Running in Place



BY JIM MCKNIGHT—ASSOCIATED PRESS

The first lady greets Assemblywoman Carmen Arroyo at the Puerto Rican Day parade, top, and jokes on the carpetbagger charge.

For Hillary Clinton, the Senate Race Won't Heat Up Till N.Y. Cools Down

By MICHAEL POWELL
Washington Post Staff Writer

WNEW YORK
e're downing rum-and-Cokes in the Bronx at Marina del Rey, which happens to offer the city's best view of the underside of the Throgs Neck Bridge. The joint is jammed with big men in black tuxes and diamond studs, and women in evening dresses that look like plaster of Paris molds. A dozen trays of *arroz con pollo* and roast beef sit in the ballroom beneath chandeliers approximately the size of the Antarctic ice shelf.

It's the Bronx County Democratic Committee Annual Dinner, which is to say the only political party that's mattered in the Bronx since Grover

Cleveland was president. And over there just below the "Corona Extra: A Salute to Great Americans" banner sits herself.

The first lady of the United States. And the Bronx.

"Hill-UH-ree! Hill-UH-ree! Hill-UH-ree!"

"Hey Hill-UH-ree, you go giuuuirl!"

It's a year since Hillary Rodham Clinton left Illinois-Arkansas-Washington behind and threw herself into the U.S. Senate race in New York. Since she became the woman from Chappaqua. A strange thing has happened, which speaks to the good and the bad news for the first lady. She's visibly more comfortable on the stump and she can slap a rival upside the head (the good news). She's also become the de facto incumbent

See CLINTON, C2, Col. 2

Letter From China

The Coveted Stamp of Disapproval

By JOHN POMFRET
Washington Post Foreign Service

ASHANGHAI
few months ago, Zhou Weihui went to Chengdu in southwestern China for book-signing ceremonies and publicity associated with her new novel, "Shanghai Baby," the country's hottest work of fiction in years.

Chengdu is an odd place. For decades after China's revolution, the industrial city was a snoozy backwater. But the economic reforms that have al-



ready rolled through other parts of China have finally made it to the smog-choked Sichuanese capital. One result: Chengdu is in the grips of a media war, with competition between newspapers and TV the likes of which has never been seen in Communist China.

Weihui—she is known throughout China by her given name, not her surname—sashayed into the midst of this feeding frenzy. When it was over, China's propaganda czars had banned "Shanghai Ba-

See LETTER, C3, Col. 1



BY JOHN POMFRET—

Zhou Weihui's banned novel is a bestseller.

I'VE HAD A
BIG DAY AND

Exhibit

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

ic could converse with
the men. Urban dwellers were
hers in his view; not much in
but a bunch of useless,
nber. One wonders what
uld have thought of Adeline,
goine of "Manzelle
Left to entertain herself while
oils in the cane fields of
he forms a fast friendship.
We used to have long chats,
," she recalls at the very
this novel, the first by Raphaël
translated into English.
delise confides in her tree,
rise to tell it all about her
ars. "I would call out to it,"
nightgown billowing in the
shed me from
le." But times are harsh in
try village of Glotin, and soon
e leaves her tree and her
and heads for
Martinique's capital,
y be known to American
under of the Creolite
movement. "L'Eloge de la
89 manifesto he wrote with
cans Patrick Chamoiseau and
declared their opposition to
philosophy that for decades
istic and political direction of
me. Founded by Leopold
Damas and Martinique's
aire, Negritude looked to
le source of Caribbean
ponents relied on a
astery of French, turning
s' tongue into a voice of
ointed as *bees-de-mor*, the
aks" that some Martinicans
e as deadly weapons.
ears in "Manzelle
the mayor of Fort-de-France,
has filled in real life since
99 in Confiant's story, and
s French seems less a call to
evice intended to mesmerize
zens into facile cooperation.
ain at a rally, Adeline and her
uld hear nothing else. The
is French had already dazzled
too much, and instead of
nk over the arguments the
dng, they let themselves be
ration as if they'd been sitting

ad his cohort dismiss textbook
r of Creole, a folk idiom
the various ethnic strands
gle in the Caribbean region.
manzelle Dragonfly" in Creole,
ad it to French. As rendered
y Linda Coverdale, Adeline's
hat of her fellow residents in
in, the shantytown where she
gh and rhythmic, full of
sh insults and sex talk. While
ly sympathizes with his poor,
characters, his tone is
sentimental: "The life they led
own—a life of stabbings for a
ong, of razor fights, of petty
for small change—didn't
understand what love was."
qpts to the harsh codes of
in, often selling her body just
e also bears witness to street
political unrest as her people
ece together something
national identity. It is easy to
ant feels about all this. After
sto he helped write defiantly
her Europeans, nor Africans,
e proclaim ourselves
the new Martinique to rise,
—supported by Negritude and
of French colonialism—must
attaches his ideas to the most
ts, tempting readers to flesh
with fill-in-the-blanks
supposed, for instance, that
tution signifies
heavily subsidized
nth France—a situation
odds with Creolite's bold
nts.
symbols, what of Adeline's
er steadfast companion of
She hardly thinks of it
y years away, and recalls it
vel's end, when she has run

this time?"
"We're not aiming it at the Russians,"
Dr. Strangelove said. "This time we are
developing it against China, Pakistan

peers think twice about launching
missiles at the United States."
"That makes sense. What do you call
the system?"

"They say tha
ability to launch
using a terrorist
frequent-flyer se

Clinton's Battle of The Bronx

CLINTON, From p. 1

(which is, after a fashion, the bad news).
The dichotomy that was supposed to
frame this race, the yin and the yang, was
Rudy and Hillary. Double espresso against
double espresso. Who do you love? Forget it.
Which candidate do you dislike less?
Now it's just Hillary.
"This is now a race in which Hillary is
weaker than the typical Democratic candi-
date," says Jim Chapin, a political analyst
based in Queens. "With Rudy gone, it's
turned into a race between Hillary and her-
self, and that's always dangerous for a poli-
tician."

Her poll numbers aren't terrible, but they
aren't great, either. Mayor Rudolph Giuliani
drops out of the race in May, a little-known
congressman named Rick Lazio jumps in.
What happens? Polls show Clinton and La-
zio dead even at 44-44. And she's weak
where nature suggests she should be strong.
Most polls show slightly more white women
favoring Lazio over Clinton.

Clinton has been airlifted, bused and driv-
en into all 62 counties. She gets good notices
most places. But sometimes she carries her-
self with an aloofness that's more Queen
Mother than hurly-burly pol. "She gets
caught in that behind-the-ropeline mental-
ity," says a prominent New York Democrat.

Nor has she picked up an easy pol trick:
Scratch the press belly and give the *entre-
preneurs* interviews that make reporters feel so
very inside. Of late, George W. Bush has
mastered those licks in his presidential cam-
paign, snaring "humanizing" press coverage
by schmoozing with reporters and bestow-
ing a nickname on a self-important reporter
or three.

If the political education of Hillary Clinton
is a work in progress, there are signs
she's pulling better grades. Already she's
gotten her mouth around "do" like a proper
New Yorker—as in "I want to dew the right
thing." And she rather effortlessly did the
Bronx last week.

She comes dressed in the *de rigueur*
black New York suit and sits shoulder-to-
shoulder with former mayor Ed Koch and
the powerful county party boss Roberto Ra-
mirez, who flashes his cat-that-ate-the-Bronx
smile.

It's a deeply tactile crowd. Lips on lips,
hands on hands, hands on shoulders, arms
around bellies, lots of women with big cleav-
age and the men who love them. Most are
fluent in Bronxese. Says the special assistant
to the assemblyman to the outreach special-
ist for the deputy borough president:

"Hyahlyadngbeegayhey!" (Loosely
translated: Hey, how you doin', big guy,
hey?)

"Hayllanallhrit, howyadoonng?" (Hey,
I'm all right, how you doin'?)

Hillary smiles and chats, busses women
on the cheek and looks men in the eye. (As a
political consultant notes, she's slowly los-
ing the Southern custom of demurely smil-
ing with the mouth but not the eyes. In New
York, you smile or grimace with every mov-
able body part.) She's from Westchester, but
that's okay, too. She's just over the county
line. When she stands to speak, the deputy
district leaders give her the big whoo-who-
who.

"Hill-UH-ree! Hill-UH-ree!"
"Well, it's just another night with those re-
served and quiet Bronx Democrats." She
looks around and smiles. "But you know we



Hillary Clinton with former N.Y. mayor Ed Koch and Bronx Borough

United States.

Her issues tend to be theirs. She favors
abortion rights, and licensing and registra-
tion of guns. And she favors legislation giv-
ing patients the right to sue their HMO doc-
tors. That last plays well in the Bronx, where
working-class juries tend to view lawsuits
against big institutions as once-in-a-lifetime
opportunities for income redistribution.

Clinton put another aspect of her educa-
tion on display a week earlier, when she
agreed to perform a skit at the annual legisla-
tive correspondents dinner in Albany. Hu-
mor has been slow a-coming for the first la-
dy. The Ozarks are not the Catskills. And
"funny," she acknowledges, "is not my deal."
But her prepared material and her perfor-
mance this evening are pretty good and in-
advertently revealing.

She walks in toting a carpet bag and talks
about re-releasing her book and retitling it:
"It Takes a Suburb." The minutes pass and
you can't help hearing the real woman inside
the jokes. As when she talks about the fun-
house aspect of campaigning, the sense that
people are forever projecting onto you what
they think they know.

"Clearly nobody knows anything that has
any basis in fact," Clinton says. "But that's
okay because the stories are all so much bet-
ter than my life. . . . I'm getting set straight
all the time, everywhere I go in New York."

Now she introduces a slide show, titled
"The Girl From Chappaqua." Old black-and-
white photos are retouched so that it ap-
pears she is a native New Yorker, born and
raised in Chappaqua. Photographs show Hil-
lary the toddler, the teenager, the college de-
bater, each with a Yankees cap superim-
posed on her head. We see Clinton wearing
it at the Watergate impeachment hearings
(or, as she framed it, "the good impeach-
ment").

"There's me meeting the pope," she says
brightly. "He really liked my hat."

It amounts to a humorous surrender. She
began her campaign by laying claim to her
lineage as a Chicago Cubs and New York
Yankees fan. She's endured nothing but rib-
bing since. Mayor Giuliani, a lighthearted
fellow, challenged her to a trivia contest that
somehow sounded more like blood sport.

Pundits even claim to divine a character
flaw in her insistence on dual baseball loy-
alties. A clever fellow at the Tampa Tribune
suggests she has "raincloud for brains." Commentator Steve Roberts opines that
she's "not a New Yorker, she's a Chicago

scandal at all. A
first lady spoke
the Yankees. "S
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ball," a childho
ton Post in 1992.

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The first lady
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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Lazio launches gas attack on Clinton

By GREGG BIRNBAUM in Buffalo
and ROBERT HARDT Jr. in New York

The Senate campaign trail ignited into a gas-price war yesterday as Rick Lazio scorched Hillary Rodham Clinton as a "limousine liberal" who doesn't realize New Yorkers are hurting from high pump prices.

Clinton immediately fired back that it was the Long Island congressman who skipped a recent vote that could have lowered fuel prices and she praised her husband's administration for taking steps to bring prices down.

At stops at Mobil stations in Buffalo, Rochester and Syracuse, Lazio charged that gas prices have reached a "crisis" and he proposed temporarily suspending the 18.3 cent-a-gallon federal gas tax, eliminating an additional 4.3 cent-a-gallon levy enacted in 1993, and opening the Strategic Oil Reserve to put more fuel on the market.

Lazio blamed the problem on Hillary Clinton, President Clinton and Vice President Al Gore.

"What she needs to do is get out of the motorcade and check out the real issues affecting New Yorkers, like gasoline prices," the Republican said in Buffalo, at a station where pump prices ranged from \$1.67 to \$1.79.

The Suffolk County Republican said Clinton has ignored the pocketbook pain caused by high pump prices, reflecting her "limousine liberal outlook."

"That's why we say Mrs. Clinton is out of touch with the real issues affecting New Yorkers," Lazio said, adding that Clinton lives in "fantasy land."

"Mrs. Clinton has no energy policy and she refuses to take a stand on repeal of the [federal] tax."

Before Lazio arrived at the Buffalo gas station, volunteers acting on behalf of the Clinton campaign distributed a press release to reporters from Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson attacking Lazio for missing a recent vote in Congress to lower oil prices.

"Months and months ago I think I was among the first people who advo-

cated a Northeastern oil reserve that I thought would be very helpful in helping to lower the cost of home heating oil and gasoline products here in New York," Clinton said at a news conference on the City Hall steps.

"We could have passed that ... He [Lazio] missed that vote."

"I think the more interesting questions are the relationships between the Republican Party and a lot of the big oil companies," Clinton said.

Also yesterday, Clinton, in her second press conference in five days on City Hall steps, called for the release of 13 Iranian Jews awaiting sentencing on charges of spying for Israel.

Lazio today will continue to chip away at the gas-price issue at stops in the suburbs and tonight will be the guest of honor at a major fund-raiser in Manhattan for his Senate campaign.

**Lazio's 'investigators' /
Editorial: Page 38**

... And Clinton's Tone-Deaf Cash-Grab

Speaking of the first lady, even at this late date she can still take your breath away.

As The Post's Gregg Birnbaum reported yesterday, one Walter Kaye is hosting a fund-raiser for the first lady at the end of this week. And she's going.

Kaye is a big Democratic fund-raiser, and a fellow of influence at the White House. In fact, he's the guy who successfully lobbied the White House to get the daughter of a friend hired as an intern.

That intern was Monica Lewinsky. And the rest, as they say, is history.

The Clinton Senate campaign has had some tone-deaf moments in the past ("And how are you, Mrs. Arafat?"), but this has to be one for the record books.

We understand that the *sine qua non* of modern politics is money, but please. Is the Democratic candidate so parched for cash that she would enlist the facilitator of her greatest public humiliation to raise a few bucks?

To paraphrase a famous American — at long last, Mrs. Clinton, have you no decency?

Guess not.

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— Campaign ★ 2000 —

Hillary's foe changes tune to sing her praises

ONE of Hillary Rodham Clinton's biggest Democratic detractors has changed her tune.

City Councilwoman Ronnie Eldridge of the West Side gave Clinton a "very special welcome" at the first lady's City Hall press conference last week, calling it a "great pleasure" to introduce a "longtime supporter of women and their needs."

But last November, Eldridge was publicly urging Clinton to step aside for some other Democrat,

telling reporters: "She's the weakest candidate."

"She doesn't have a New York instinct ... People are also tired of the Clinton name," said Eldridge. Eldridge now says Hillary "has won me over," adding, "I like her energy. I like her presence."

Clinton just can't win when it comes to baseball.

The first lady has taken endless grief over her claim to be a lifelong Yankee fan — and now, even her past rooting for her native state's Chicago Cubs is costing her.

Jerry Reinsdorf, owner of the White Sox — the Windy City's other team — is hosting a fundraiser for Rick Lazio in his Comiskey Park skybox on Friday, when the team takes on the Red Sox.

The word is that Reinsdorf wants to make Clinton pay for her allegiance to the rival Cubs.

In case anyone's wondering, Lazio's a Met fan.

Mayor Giuliani's not

running, but he will be traveling to the City of Brotherly Love next month to cheer for the Republican ticket at the party's national convention.

The mayor made a point of missing the Republican National Convention in San Diego in 1996. He told reporters afterward: "I made the best choice in terms of

sticking to my job and trying to do the best that I can to be a mayor that reaches out to both political parties."

State Republican boss Bill

Powers — who was feuding with Giuliani at the time — didn't invite him to the 1996 convention. This time, Powers invited the mayor along.

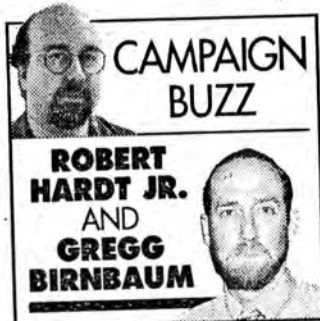
On the campaign trail in The Bronx recently, Hillary confronted one of the Clintons' harshest critics in the media.

She spotted conservative columnist and CNN commentator Robert Novak in a group of reporters at St. Ann's Church, which the first lady was visiting.

An extraordinary exchange took place when Clinton suddenly called forward Novak — who had written scathingly about President Clinton's impeachment — to meet Episcopal priest Martha Overall.

"She believes in redemption, Bob," the first lady said, her voice thick with meaning.

"Me, too," Novak muttered under his breath, as he turned away.



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

CHELSEA GIVES HER MOM A BIG BOOST

First Daughter Chelsea Clinton hit the Senate campaign trail for the first time yesterday, stealing the limelight from her mother and a dozen elected officials at a press conference on the steps of City Hall.

Chelsea, who finished her junior year at Stanford University this spring, told political reporters "you'll be seeing some of me" as the race heats up between her mother and Long Island Rep. Rick Lazio.

While her mother and

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.

others spoke about the plight of 13 Iranian Jews accused of spying for Israel, Chelsea stood quietly next to a reporter and listened. Several cameras that were aimed

She'll stump for Hill 'off and on'

at the first lady turned to focus on her poised 20-year-old daughter.

Chelsea's surprise appearance comes a month after Lazio toured the state with his wife, Pat, and two daughters, 8-year-old Molly and 7-year-old Kelsey.

Wearing sunglasses and fanning herself with a

press release to combat the fierce heat, Chelsea was approached by the media horde after the late-morning event.

"Pleasure to meet you," she told several journalists who were formally introduced to her by an aide for the first lady.

When one reporter told

Chelsea that her young son is always asking about Mrs. Clinton, Chelsea replied: "You have a smart son."

The younger Clinton — who has been sheltered from the press for much of her father's presidency — wouldn't say how much time she'll spend stumping with her mom, but promised she'll hit the trail "on and off, some."

Mrs. Clinton, who seemed buoyed by her daughter's presence, said Chelsea is "going to be coming and going as she chooses."

"I believe in permitting her to make those decisions and you'll see her sometimes, which will be a delight for me," the first lady said.

After meeting with Assembly Speaker Sheldon Silver in his lower Manhattan offices, Mrs. Clinton noted that Chelsea was on the campaign trail in 1992 and 1996.

"There's no real change in policy," she said outside the Woolworth Building.

"She was always with us and with her father from time to time and that's what she's going to do for me."

Clinton was still thinking about her daughter later when she spoke at the commencement for Forest Hills HS in Queens, which was held in the Nassau Coliseum.

She told the 590 graduates and their families: "When Chelsea graduated from high school, I certainly remember sitting here in the audience as so many parents and proud relatives are today. It was just as much a rite of passage for Bill and me as it is for all of you."

Chelsea was a big hit last August when she vacationed with her parents in the upstate Fingers Lakes region and was mobbed by about 250 people when she visited an art gallery in Skaneateles.

