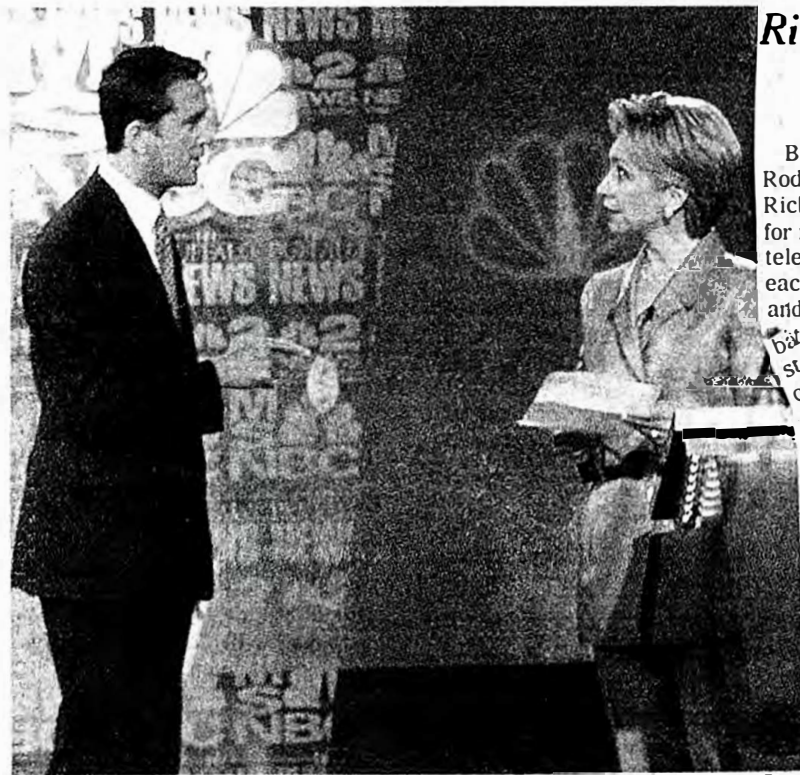


# The New York Times

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 2000

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## Hillary Clinton and Lazio Clash On Donations, Taxes and Trust



James Estrin/The New York Times

During a debate last night Representative Rick A. Lazio asked Hillary Rodham Clinton to sign a pledge renouncing the use of soft money.

### Rivals for the Senate on Attack From the Start

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

BUFFALO, Sept. 13 — Hillary Rodham Clinton and Representative Rick A. Lazio slashed into each other for nearly 60 minutes in a nationally televised debate tonight, attacking each other's credentials, integrity and political views. Near the debate's end, Mr. Lazio crossed the stage to the first lady, waving a piece of paper in his hand as he unsuccessfully challenged her to sign a pledge renouncing the use of soft money in a campaign.

The two candidates for United States Senate, in their first debate, engaged in what may well have been the most raucous meeting of two candidates for statewide office in New York in a generation.

Lazio, viewing the debate as his last chance yet to introduce himself to New York voters, took after Clinton from the very first minute and hammered her at virtually every opportunity for the rest of the hourlong program. He attacked her as untrustworthy, mocked her attempt to serve as a senator from a state where she has never before lived, and at one point grew visibly angry as he described her as "beyond shameless."

For her part, the first lady repeatedly sought to link Mr. Lazio to the policies of Newt Gingrich, the former House speaker, noting that Mr. Lazio voted with Republicans in shutting down the government in 1994. She attacked what she described as his "reckless" plan to cut taxes by at least \$770 billion.

But perhaps the most striking moment of the evening came not with Mr. Lazio and Mrs. Clinton, but with the first lady and the host of the debate, Tim Russert, the host of

NBC's Sunday program "Meet the Press." He showed a videotape from the "Today" program of Jan. 27, 1998, in which Mrs. Clinton, just after the Lewinsky scandal broke, defended her husband and denied the allegations that he had had an affair with a White House intern, Mr. Russert asked Mrs. Clinton if she regretted "misleading the American people" and if she would "now apologize for branding people as part of a vast right-wing conspiracy."

Mrs. Clinton, who has declined to appear as a guest on "Meet the Press," appeared shaken by the question. Her eyes turned downward and her face tightened.

"Well you know Tim, that was a very, a very painful time for me, for my family and for our country," she said quietly. "It is something that I regret deeply that anyone had to go through."

"I've tried to be as forthcoming as I could, given the circumstances that

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PRESERVATION



NYT

## Senate Rivals Hold Back Little in Debate

Continued From Page A1

I faced," she said, her eyes still downcast. "Obviously I didn't mislead anyone. I didn't know the truth. And there's a great deal of pain associated with that and my husband has certainly acknowledged that and made it clear that he did mislead the country as well as his family."

The exchange came in a debate that had been viewed as a critical juncture for both sides — and particularly for Mr. Lazio, who seemed intent on erasing any doubt among Republicans about the vigor he might bring to this contest against Mrs. Clinton. And there was no doubt that Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Lazio had arrived with the intent of getting out one central charge against the other.

Mrs. Clinton mentioned Mr. Gingrich a half-dozen times. "Time and time again, when he's had a choice to make, particularly at the critical turning point when our country was really on the line with Newt Gingrich's Contract with America, he stood with the Republican leadership and Newt Gingrich," Mrs. Clinton said of Mr. Lazio.

Mr. Lazio's use of repetition revolved around the words "trust" and "character," painting Mrs. Clinton with the same broad accusations that Republicans have used against her husband. "At the heart of this campaign are two critical issues: character and trust," Mr. Lazio said in his closing statement. "They've come up all night. Now, the measure of someone's character and trust is not what you say; it's what you actually do."

Both Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Lazio arrived with presidential-campaign-size squadrons of aides and supporters, in a city where a presidential-campaign-size squadron of reporters had descended. Mr. Lazio's campaign kept up a constant patter of e-mails to reporters attacking Mrs. Clinton during the debate, and both candidates and their aides — not surprisingly — declared victory once they were done.

A number of Republicans had said that Mr. Lazio, who remains a relatively unknown quantity in the state, had more to gain — and to prove — with the presumably huge audience he found tonight. And Mr. Lazio fairly leapt from behind the lectern as he went after the first lady, not even backing away when Mr. Russert gave him a chance to follow up on Mrs. Clinton's reply to her husband's infidelities.

"I think that, frankly, what's so troubling here with respect to what my opponent just said, is somehow

that it only matters what you say when you get caught," Mr. Lazio said. "And character and trust is about, well, more than that. And blaming others every time you have responsibility? Unfortunately, that's become a pattern, I think, for my opponent. And it's something that I reject and I believe that New Yorkers reject. We can do well better."

The first lady did anything but turn the other cheek, even though Mr. Lazio attacked first. In answer to the initial question, Mr. Lazio attacked Mrs. Clinton's effort to advocate a national health care system, saying that "a New Yorker would have never made that proposal" and that "the bottom line is, it would have been terrible for New York."

Mrs. Clinton used Mr. Lazio's response to introduce one of her dominant themes of the evening. "Well, you know Tim, listening to the congressman's response reminds me of

### *Squabbling aside, two different views of what government should do.*

a word I've heard a lot of this past year: chutzpah," she said. "He stands here and tells us that he's a moderate, mainstream, independent member of Congress. Well, in fact, he was a deputy whip to Newt Gingrich. He voted to shut the government down. He voted to cut \$270 billion from Medicare. He voted for the biggest education cuts in our history."

Mr. Lazio returned to the attack two questions later, in response to a question posed to him about the upstate economy. "Well, I have to go back to Mrs. Clinton's last remark because it has to redefine the word chutzpah," he said. "Mrs. Clinton, you of all people shouldn't try to make guilt by association. Newt Gingrich isn't running in this race. I'm running in this race. Let's talk about my record."

At times, the debate here seemed on the verge of spinning beyond even Mr. Russert's control, particularly when Mr. Lazio yanked the soft money pledge from his pocket. Debate organizers later said that Mr. Lazio broke one of the debate rules against using props, though Mr. Lazio's advisers said they would make no apologies.

The pledge produced by Mr. Lazio

called on the candidates to renounce the use of soft money, the largely unregulated campaign contributions that have proven to be a major benefit for the first lady. Mrs. Clinton has raised almost \$22 million for her campaign, both through millions in soft money and in direct contributions, and Mr. Lazio has accumulated about \$19 million.

Mr. Lazio has, so far, not set up any soft-money fund-raising committees on his behalf. However, he has benefited from spending by independent committees, which have been running ads in New York attacking Mrs. Clinton. The first lady has said that she is willing to renounce the use of soft money, providing that Mr. Lazio obtains "signed agreements" from those committees promising not to advertise in New York or those sending "mean mail" solicitations.

In truth, a number of political analysts have suggested, Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Lazio were probably more interested in winning political advantage than in actually changing campaign finance projects. At the end of the exchange, the two talked over each other, with Mr. Lazio standing trying to press the piece of paper into Mrs. Clinton's hand, and Mrs. Clinton trying to get Mr. Lazio to shake her hand on the broader proposal she was making.

"You know, I admire that," she said. "That was a wonderful performance and I —"

"Well, why don't you just sign it?" Mr. Lazio demanded.

"And you, and you did it very well," Mrs. Clinton said, ignoring his demands.

"I'm not asking you to admire it," Mr. Lazio said. "I'm asking you to sign it."

For much of the evening, Mrs. Clinton was serious; she did not smile often. By contrast, Mr. Lazio pulsed while smiling; one of Mrs. Clinton's advisers suggested later that he was almost smirking.

Through all the squabbling, Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Lazio offered clearly different views of what government should do and what they would do in the Senate. Mr. Lazio advocated large tax cuts as a way of invigorating the economy, and school vouchers to help the nation's education system. Mrs. Clinton attacked those as a threat to the nation's prosperity.

And they sparred, but steered around, the issue of whether a convicted spy, Jonathan Pollard, should be granted clemency — a situation favored by many Jews. Both candidates said they did not have access to classified information needed to offer an informed opinion.

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION

TASTE THE FLAVOR OF BRAZIL



# It's Indian Summer At the White House

DINNER, From C1

relatives."

Another laugh. And thus the leaders of the world's two largest democracies bonded in that human way that can send a ray of hope into the vast threat posed by the presence of nuclear weapons on the subcontinent and the ongoing dispute between India and Pakistan over Kashmir.

The threat was certainly on the minds of many guests last night, underlying a general atmosphere of brotherly jollity in the tented palace of gold, pomegranate and more gold on the South Lawn.

"I think the threat of nuclear annihilation has been played down during this visit," said Indian author Ved Mehta, one of scores of prominent Indians and Indian Americans on the scene. "India cannot fight mosquitoes—what will they do with nuclear bombs?"

Said model and political-environmental activist Christie Brinkley, dressed in drop-diamond earrings and a body-clinging beige dress: "It would be great if India and Pakistan could find friendship like this and save us from nuclear destruction."

As she spoke before clicking cameras at the White House's east guest entrance, her husband, architect Peter Cook, stood by solicitously, his unmoving right hand firmly planted upon the exact epicenter of her behind.

Holocaust survivor and author Elie Wiesel said he thought both India and Pakistan would accept disarmament "if enough pressure is brought to bear on each. Nuclear proliferation is the greatest threat of the century." New Age guru Deepak Chopra agreed. "We have no choice," he said. "If we go the way of the predator with nuclear weapons, we risk extinction."

Rep. John Lewis (D-Ga.) had a positive slant on the matter, expressed with his usual gentle eloquence: "Gandhi gave us the way of nonviolence," he said. "India should show us the same way now."

But all was not grim last night. Goldie Hawn, wearing a flaming red something-or-other, shrieked "Divine! Divine!" with delight as she encountered an old pal, singer Melissa Etheridge. "India is one of my favorite places in the world," she confided later. Comedian Al Franken said he didn't "know anything about that nuclear stuff. Tonight is for the good stuff."

And so it was. Indian tennis legend Vijay Amritraj cast Vajpayee as an unsung hero. "He is one wonderful human being. Imagine keeping people together in a country with more than a billion people."

A never-married bachelor and published poet, Vajpayee, 75, has an attractive, self-made-man history for Americans. A former student activist and journalist, he was born to a government schoolteacher father in the poor province of Gwalior on Christmas



Day.

Last night's event saw the traditional White House reception line virtually done away with in deference to Vajpayee's apparently losing battle with osteoarthritis, particularly around his left knee.

A gourmet cook and lover of traditional Indian food, the Indian leader also had to deny himself a full sampling of the White House chef's elaborate efforts with American ingredients and Eastern spices as part of a weight-loss regimen to help combat the disease.

Guests dined on chilled green pea and cilantro soup over marble potatoes for starters, and wild Copper River salmon for the



PHOTOS BY SUSAN BIDDLE—THE WASHINGTON POST

Christie Brinkley and husband Peter Cook, left, and author Ved Mehta and Linn Cary Mehta, above, were at the dinner for Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

main course, served with garlic-chantrelle emulsion and red Kuri squash (the chef making a point of emphasizing that this was "Kuri" and *not* curry).

Indeed, the chef's description of the soup could just as well have represented the strange diplomacy of the evening: "It's all about sweetness and smoke."

Besides hints of Indian kitsch—candles, china, chairs and leaves sported gold tones—the theme for the vast pavilion tent was simply America-in-the-fall, with 70 tables decked out with soft-yellow roses, pale hydrangeas and rare wartah proteas surrounding mangoes and pears on pomegranate damask tablecloths.

The dinner's glamour-power nexus was ratcheted up by the advent of the first lady as a pol in her own right—smiling, stunning and toasting everyone, decked out in a brown leopard-print gown by Oscar de la

Renta. She seemed fresh and unbloodied from last week's fierce debate with her opponent for a U.S. Senate seat from New York, Rep. Rick Lazio (R-N.Y.).

Vajpayee said in his official toast, "I'm grateful to Mrs. Clinton for taking time from her campaign" to attend the dinner, a line that brought sustained applause—and an apparently startled and pleased reaction from Mrs. Clinton.

The gifts exchanged were as delicate as the new diplomatic romance. Vajpayee gave Clinton a glass sculpture of the god Ganesha—Indian herald of prosperity—by artist Anjolie Ela Menon, titled "Revered Image in Glass."

The Indian leader received an engraved sterling-silver cache pot from Tiffany's; it included an etching of the dogwood blossom from the president's home state of Arkansas.

Dinner guests also included Jhumpa Lahiri, this year's Pulitzer Prize winner for fiction; Kalpana Chawla, the first Indian American into space; portraitist Chuck Close; comedian Chevy Chase; Event.com CEO Reggie Aggarwal; U.S. Ambassador to India Richard Celeste; Columbia University economics professor Jagdish Bhagwati; and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, who was wearing a navy blue suit and lamented to a friend, "I wish could have worn a sari tonight."

Following Vajpayee's request for classical music, entertainment was provided by the Chamber Music Society of Lincoln Center, playing excerpts from "Don Giovanni."

The evening was an Indian summer indeed, climaxing—in a sense—with these dramatic words of Clinton's toast:

"Together," he said, "India and America can change the world."





BY SUSAN BIDDLE—THE WASHINGTON POST

Indian Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee with President Clinton last night.

## *At This Dinner, Harmony Is Served*

By ROWAN PHILP  
and PHIL McCOMBS  
*Washington Post Staff Writers*

India and America clinked glasses in their new whirlwind friendship at an elaborate and exotic state dinner at the White House last night as Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee profusely praised Bill and Hillary Clinton—and also Christopher Columbus, “who set sail for India but landed in America. I wonder where we would be if he had actually reached India.”

The line got a big laugh from the

nearly 700 assorted political, business and entertainment glitterati lucky enough to snag one of the coveted seats in what was by far the largest—and possibly last—such event of the Clinton administration.

For his part, the president quipped in his pre-dinner toast that Vajpayee, “when he’s not writing Hindi poetry, actually likes to read novels by John Grisham. I am actually related to the Grishams, but all Grishams with money are distant

See DINNER, C8, Col. 1



# Your turn, Mrs. C

## Lazio comes through

**A**s of Wednesday, more than a dozen groups had agreed to stop running political ads that criticize Hillary Rodham Clinton if she agrees to eschew soft-money assistance in her U.S. Senate campaign against Congressman Rick Lazio.

So much for what Hillary! sarcastically denounced as "just a debate stunt."

"Mrs. Clinton should today put her soft money where her mouth is and follow through on her commitment to eradicate the poison of dirty money from this Senate race," Lazio told the New York Press Association while making the announcement.

What does Lazio want in return? Agreements from at least 13 groups friendly to Mrs. Clinton to refrain from financing ads critical of him.

According to New York media outlets, Mrs. Clinton has already collected millions of dollars in so-called soft money, unregulated contributions made to a political party instead of directly to a candidate which often are funneled into campaigns through TV ads that attack the receiving party's opponents. Lazio hasn't accepted any soft money, but a number of groups have been running anti-Hillary ads on their own.

Among the groups that have agreed to abide by the no-soft-money pact Lazio wants Mrs. Clinton to embrace are the Republican and Conservative parties of New York, the Republican National Committee and the American Conservative Union.

Mrs. C's response? She'll *consider* it "if what he's offering is compatible with what my campaign has been offering for months."

What has her campaign been offering?

That's anybody's guess, but it couldn't possibly have anything to do with curbing the almost nonstop anti-Lazio barrage of ads being financed by groups such as the Sierra Club and Planned Parenthood.

It's hard to envision circumstances under which Mrs. Clinton would forgo the benefits of soft-money campaigning. At last report, she had amassed a direct-contribution war chest nowhere near the size of Lazio's. In the outrageously expensive media market that is New York, she *needs* the benefits that soft money brings.

She maintains that there ought to be a law against all issue-based advertising paid for by independent organizations that criticize candidates, but you haven't heard her volunteer to introduce such legislation if elected.

Note to readers near and far who e-mailed or phoned to ask me to send my Wednesday column to the Lazio campaign:

### Meredith Oakley



I didn't have to. Either they found it on their own or someone else called it to their attention.

### Never say never

Fellow columnist Gene Lyons says George W. Bush will never be president.

Hey, it's possible, although I'm old enough to remember similar statements being made about both Jimmy Carter and Richard Nixon, not to mention Ronald Reagan in his first campaign.

For folks whose optimism lives and dies by the results of public opinion surveys, however, it seems appropriate to mention the latest CNN-USA Today-Gallup Poll, which shows Bush and Al Gore still locked in a statistical tie.

True enough, Gore was favored by 48 percent to Bush's 44, but when you take into account a margin of error of plus or minus 4 percent, that's still dead-heat territory.

Same goes for the latest Voter.com-Battleground poll, released Wednesday, wherein 40 percent favored Bush and 39 percent favored Gore.

Strategists continue to suggest that the key to this race is women, who have begun outvoting the men in recent years. (About time, too, considering that women have long outnumbered men in the general population.) If the major candidates have been paying attention, we ought to be hearing a lot more about issues such as education, child care and health care—so-called women's issues—in the final weeks of the presidential campaign.

Certainly, "big oil" and energy deregulation are burning issues at this time, so those buttons have to be hit, but they are not constants in the collective mind of the electorate.

It's interesting that last week's Bloomberg poll found that much of Gore's momentum has come from his having convinced middle-class voters that he deserves credit for the nation's record economic expansion.

Middle-class voters who have been so convinced could do the rest of us a big favor by writing in to explain just how the vice president accomplished this.

How he accomplished this record economic expansion, that is, not how he persuaded so many of them that he's the real power behind the Fed.

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



SEPTEMBER 22, 2000 • ARKANSAS TIMES

## What's a library worth?

■ The impact of the **Clinton Presidential Library** is only speculation for now. But a neighbor to the south has some real-life experience.

Bus tours to College Station, Texas, are up tenfold, thanks to the **Bush Presidential Library**, a spokesman for the Economic Development Corp. there says.

But, says **Robert Worley**, most of the people on the bus are schoolkids, "and they maybe stop at Dairy Queen for a coke on the way home."

No, College Station isn't measuring the benefits from its library in dollars spent in hotel rooms or restaurants or new jobs to handle the traffic, Worley said. "It's news coverage and high-profile people," like Henry Kissinger, Julie Eisenhower and Margaret Thatcher, coming to town. "Numbers," said Worley, "don't mean that much to me."

## THE INSIDER

### Speculating

It's a ways off and all, but ... **Sherman Tate**, the Alltel executive and long-time business and civic activist, is weighing a race for the Democratic nomination for governor in 2002. Several Democrats have talked to Tate about the race and he reportedly is interested.

### Who's got the button?

**Clinton** fans in Arkansas may be sitting on small gold mines. In recent weeks, our source reports, there have been some high-dollar offers from **political paraphernalia** collectors of buttons issued during the Clinton presidential campaigns. A price in the \$1,000 range was quoted for a button emblazoned "It's a Homer" that was issued as a ticket to a party at a sports bar during the 1996 Democratic Convention in Chicago. Original Arkansas Traveler buttons are supposed to be commanding similarly lucrative prices. A hot button from the 2000 Convention: "FOB Forever."



# Firing arrows

*Dems up, Repubs down.*

■ As autumn shows a bit of leg and election and football seasons merge, a man's thoughts turn to a more frequent firing of conventional wisdom's arrows.

◆ Hillary Clinton — She is beginning to benefit from the residual modern-day Democratic advantage, which is the buffoonery of Republicans.

◆ Rick Lazio — See above. He lost that debate last week, which is to be distinguished from Hillary's winning. He failed on so many counts.

He overplayed a stunt, invading Hillary's space to appear to badger if not bully her about signing a pledge not to accept soft money. The ploy was hollow to begin with, since Republicans perfected soft money and have come to rely in recent years on another end-run about campaign finance restrictions, meaning the attack ads by so-called "independent groups."

Anyway, Lazio's eschewing soft money is a futile attempt to ingratiate with John McCain voters. What Lazio and others don't understand is that McCain didn't capture swing voters with message alone. He captured them with iconoclastic policy as combined with heroic biography, each complementing the other. If you don't have the heroic biography, you can't so easily sell the iconoclastic policy.



**JOHN BRUMMETT**

For the most part his policies are lesser imitations of Gore's — some prescription drug help, but not as much, and some investment in schools, but not as much. An exception is his big tax cut that Americans don't want.

Bush's one domestic issue advantage might be his plan to reform and update Social Security to allow a private investment component. But it's a tough sell. It would be pretty easy to stir up fears about it, and Democrats certainly know how to do that.

◆ Joe Lieberman — At the risk of overstatement, I must say that polls suggest this man has done nothing less than unite American Christians and Jews under a banner of God and shared values. In the process he's reconnected Democrats with religious people who went Republican after Carter.



And another thing: When Hillary fired that tired old line at him about being an ally of Newt Gingrich, Lazio shot back that she, of all people, shouldn't accuse anyone of guilt by association. He seemed by that to plead guilty both to an association with Gingrich and to something sinful about ever having agreed with the guy. Worse, though, was the apparent suggestion that Hillary bears guilt by association with Bill's sins. My goodness. Every woman whose husband ever messed around on her and lied about it had reason to resent that little Lazio salvo.

He ought to hit her on that cosmic-proportioned blunder she committed both in political and policy terms with that health plan in 1993-94, since it reveals her spectacular failings in style and substance in the government arena. Otherwise he ought to let her arrogance and audacity speak for themselves, as they do and as they inevitably will.

➤ Al Gore — I think he won the race on "Oprah" and "Letterman." The rascal's loose, confident, funny.

➤ George W. Bush — Now that the character tactic has flopped and compassionate conservatism has been trumped by competent centrism, he intends to run the race on issues. Oh, no. That's the one thing he needed to avoid. . . .

➤ Dick Cheney — Once a fine congressman and later an even better White House chief of staff and secretary of defense, he is an unmitigated disaster as a campaigner. It's a long and bumpy ride on that golden parachute from the corporate board room to the campaign hinterlands.

➤ Jay Dickey — He wants to cast Mike Ross as a liberal by saying that regardless of what he says, Ross takes money from Clintons and Kennedys and that there'll be a certain "quid pro quo." But he

fumbled so badly on "quid pro quo" that you'd have thought it was George W. talking.

And another thing: Dickey continues to boast of not taking money from political action committees, even as he is awash in soft money flowing from the party and independent groups. Little Rock's city fathers could tell him a thing or two about how well voters react to shell games.

➤ Used car salesmen — Bless their hearts. A player for Boise State called Houston Nutt one, and Arkies fell over each other to rush to their coach's defense against such slander. My man Bubba McCoy over at Bubba's Auto Emporium, formerly Bubba's Tote-the-Note, is steaming. 🐉

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*John Brummett is a columnist and reporter for Donrey News in Little Rock. His e-mail address is [jbrummett@donreynews.com](mailto:jbrummett@donreynews.com).*

## I think Al Gore won the race on "Oprah" and "Letterman."

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# The New York Times

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THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 2000

## BEGAN 6 YEARS AGO

### White House Sees Major Victory, Particularly for Mrs. Clinton

By NEIL A. LEWIS

WASHINGTON, Sept. 20 — An independent prosecutor today put an end to the six-year Whitewater investigation, saying he had concluded that there was insufficient evidence to show that either President Clinton or his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, had committed any crimes in connection with the Arkansas real estate venture that vexed his presidency through two terms.

Robert W. Ray, the prosecutor, said he could not prove that the president or Mrs. Clinton had been involved in any criminal behavior in connection with a set of complicated Whitewater-related financial and legal transactions in Arkansas. Nor, he said, could he prove that they had concealed information from investigators or obstructed justice in any manner related to Whitewater.

In saying he did not have evidence to charge either the president or Mrs. Clinton with a crime, Mr. Ray was notably spare in his language. On each of the accusations, he said only that "the evidence was insufficient to prove to a jury beyond a reasonable doubt" that they had committed any crime. [Text, Page A18.]

Nonetheless, Mr. Ray's statement was a definitive legal conclusion on the issue and thus was regarded by the White House and its supporters as a significant victory, especially for Mrs. Clinton, who is running for the Senate from New York.

The report's conclusions also appeared to largely undercut concerns that it was unfair to Mrs. Clinton for Mr. Ray to issue a statement only weeks before she faces Representative Rick Lazio, a Republican congressman from Long Island, in the Senate voting. The Ray statement seemed to provide little ammunition for Mrs. Clinton's opponents.

The Whitewater investigation began in January 1994 when President Clinton, under increasing pressure, asked for a special prosecutor to be named to investigate his Whitewater

## WHITewater INQUIRY ENDS; A LACK OF EVIDENCE IS CITED IN CASE INVOLVING CLINTONS

At this time, it is appropriate, in the public interest, and consistent with the law to inform the public of the findings and conclusions regarding the core matters within this Office's Madison Guaranty/Whitewater jurisdiction. Except for limited pending matters, the Madison Guaranty/Whitewater investigation is now closed.

An excerpt from the special counsel's statement saying he could not prove the Clintons had committed a crime.

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



# Whitewater Investigation Ends; a Lack of Evidence Is Cited in Case Involving Clintons

Continued From Page A1

land dealings. That investigation began with accusations that the Clintons had received special treatment from their fellow investors in the land venture on the White River, James B. and Susan H. McDougal, because he was the governor of Arkansas, a subject that was first raised in a news article in The New York Times.

From that narrow beginning, the investigation expanded several times to cover a wide range of accusations that eventually came to include whether Mr. Clinton lied under oath about his relationship with Monica Lewinsky when she was a White House intern. That issue resulted in Mr. Clinton's impeachment by the House in 1998 and his acquittal by the Senate last year.

Joe Lockhart, the White House spokesman, issued a statement saying, "Robert Ray is now the latest investigator to complete an examination of the transactions related to Whitewater Development Company and conclude that there are no grounds for legal action."

The five-page statement from Mr. Ray is a summary of his final report on the matter, which will contain far more detail on the investigation. Mr. Ray said he had not yet submitted that report under seal to a special panel of three federal judges, as the

law required.

He said was waiting to wrap up loose ends, notably an investigation as to whether anyone in the White House concealed e-mail messages from investigators. That investigation is not expected to involve the president or Mrs. Clinton directly, law enforcement officials have said.

That leaves as Mr. Ray's principal remaining task a decision about whether to indict Mr. Clinton after he leaves office over his sworn statements in connection with his relationship with Ms. Lewinsky.

Mr. Ray has said that he and a recently empaneled grand jury would announce that decision shortly after the new president is inaugurated next January.

Underlying the investigation of the Clintons' investment in Whitewater was the question of whether Mrs. Clinton, as a lawyer in Arkansas, worked to prop up a failing savings and loan association, Madison Guaranty, which was used to keep the Whitewater investment afloat.

Madison Guaranty eventually collapsed at a cost to the federal government of \$73 million, according to a federal bank regulatory agency.

One of the issues investigated by Mr. Ray was the unexplained disappearance of Mrs. Clinton's billing records when she was an Arkansas lawyer. They were initially sought by investigators to determine how much Mrs. Clinton might have



Associated Press

Robert W. Ray, the prosecutor, ended the Whitewater inquiry.

known about real estate transactions that were eventually deemed a sham to deceive federal regulators.

A copy of the records was found in the family quarters of the White House in January 1996, some 18 months after they were first subpoenaed by investigators. Mr. Ray said his investigation of the records' disappearance was inconclusive.

The statement on Whitewater was the third by Mr. Ray, who succeeded

Kenneth W. Starr last October.

Last March, Mr. Ray investigated how the White House came to improperly acquire hundreds of confidential personnel files kept by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, many of them files of prominent Republicans, and concluded that it had been the result of unwitting mistakes by low-level White House officials.

He was generous in his language then, saying there was "no credible evidence" that either the president or Mrs. Clinton had secretly collected the files to gather intelligence on Republican opponents.

In his second report last June, Mr. Ray cleared Mrs. Clinton of charges that she had engineered the dismissal of seven longtime employees of the White House travel office and their replacement with friends and relatives of the Clintons. In contrast to the previous report, Mr. Ray seemed to criticize Mrs. Clinton, saying her sworn statements that she had not been involved were misleading but did not warrant criminal prosecution.

The statement today used similar narrow language. Mr. Ray declined to declare as he did six months ago that there was no credible evidence to support the allegations.

"This office determined that the evidence was insufficient to prove to a jury beyond a reasonable doubt that either President or Mrs. Clinton knowingly participated in any crimi-

nal conduct involving Madison Guaranty, C.M.S. or Whitewater Development or knew of such conduct," he wrote. C.M.S. was Capital Management Services Inc., operated by an Arkansan, David Hale, who had dealings with Madison Guaranty.

In Albany, where she was campaigning, Mrs. Clinton said, "I'm just glad that this is finally over."

She said at a meeting in Albany of state members of The Associated Press, "I think that most New Yorkers and Americans had made up their minds a long time ago about this." She added, "Now everybody can just move on and be focused on issues."

In addition to the issue of the billing records, Mr. Ray investigated several other Whitewater-related allegations that he effectively divided into two categories: the Clintons' involvement in Whitewater and whether they had attempted to cover up information from investigators.

In the first category, Mr. Ray investigated the accusations that Mrs. Clinton telephoned an official in her husband's administration to obtain preferential treatment for Madison Guaranty. Mrs. Clinton said she could not remember having made such a phone call.

In the category of whether Mr. Clinton or Mrs. Clinton gave misleading testimony or blocked investigators, Mr. Ray investigated several other issues, concluding that the evi-

dence was insufficient to convince a jury a crime had been committed.

Among those issues was whether President Clinton knowingly gave false testimony in 1996 at the fraud trial of Mr. McDougal and Gov. Jim Guy Tucker of Arkansas when he said that he had never sought to borrow any money from Madison Guaranty and when he said that he was unaware of a \$300,000 loan made to C.M.S. by Madison Guaranty.

Mr. Ray said he had also investigated how Mrs. Clinton came to represent Madison Guaranty. Mrs. Clinton had said several times that a young associate in the law firm, Richard J. Massey, had brought in the concern as a client. Mr. Massey testified that while he tried to bring in Madison he was not responsible.

In addition, Mr. Ray investigated whether either the president or Mrs. Clinton helped arrange employment for Webster L. Hubbell, a former associate attorney general, "as a criminal quid pro quo" to buy his silence and prevent him from testifying about their involvement in a variety of issues.

Mr. Hubbell, a longtime friend of the Clintons who served in the Justice Department's No. 3 position in the early Clinton years, was convicted of defrauding his former law firm. After he left office, he was given lucrative consulting contracts by Clinton supporters.



## Campaign 2000

**They're off  
the hook,  
but not  
innocent**

**S**O THE Clintons, by some dark miracle, have once again slipped the noose.

In retrospect, what was really needed to deal properly with Bill and Hillary's sleaze was not an independent counsel but an exorcist.

Is this exonerated? Don't you believe it. There's a vast difference between saying "innocent" and admitting there's "insufficient evidence" to convince a jury beyond a shadow of a doubt of the Clintons' guilt.

In fact, though no indict-



ments will be forthcoming, this six-year probe turned up much relevant information about the kind of people the Clintons are, and the corrupt circles they move in like a fish swims in water.

"Now everybody can just move on and be focused on issues," Mrs. Clinton said yesterday.

Not so fast, Hillary. Independent counsel Robert Ray may be moving on, but the first lady's character remains the same — and vitally important to New York voters as we decide what kind of person we want to represent us in the Senate.

The investigation resulted in 14 convictions of Clinton friends and allies, including former Assistant Attorney General Webster Hubbell, ex-Arkansas Gov. Jim Guy Tucker, and Jim and Susan McDougal, the Clintons' Whitewater business partners.

In their trial, the McDougals denied the president played a role in arranging a fraudulent loan for the Whitewater development, and Clinton testified he was clueless about it.

But from his post-conviction jail cell, a terminally ill Jim McDougal changed his story and offered to cooperate with the independent counsel. He died before he was of much use.

For her part, Susan McDougal refused to tell the government what she knew, leading the judge to cite her for contempt. Without her cooperation, it became virtually impossible to build a strong case against the first couple.

We have also learned

See DREHER on Page 24

# RICK'S SOFT-\$ PLEDGE PUTS HEAT ON HILLARY



**LINCOLN'S THINKIN':** In Albany yesterday, a protester dressed as Abe Lincoln alludes to allegations Hillary let donors stay in the Lincoln Bedroom.

Alan Solomon

**ALBANY** — Rick Lazio tried to keep Hillary Rodham Clinton on the hot seat over soft money yesterday, saying he has agreements with 14 outside political groups to butt out of the Senate race.

Clinton moved quickly to take the steam out of her GOP rival's maneuver by saying his offer sounded encouraging.

Lazio said he was rising to Clinton's challenge at

By GREGG BIRNBAUM  
and ROBERT HARDT Jr.  
Post Correspondents

last week's debate that she would give up soft money if he called on organizations like the American Conservative Union to halt activities intended to boost him or bash the first lady.

In a speech to a group of journalists, Lazio waved a sheaf of signed letters he just received from the groups pledging to stop any television advertising, mailings and other efforts — and move to the sidelines to let Lazio and Clinton battle it out on their own.

"Mrs. Clinton today should put her soft money where her mouth is and follow through on her commitment to eradicate the poison of dirty money from this Senate race," Lazio told reporters and editors at an Associated Press conference, calling the challenge a "test of character" for Clinton.

Clinton addressed the same conference less than two hours after Lazio left, saying, "I am very encouraged by what I heard," she said.

"I obviously didn't hear about it until I landed here in Albany, and I'm going to ask my campaign immediately to meet with him and figure out if what he's offered is compatible with the requests I've been making for months."

Lazio dispatched campaign manager Bill Dal Col to Clinton's headquarters in an attempt to meet with the first lady's aides. Political observers be-

lieve the odds are slim for any real deal to zap soft money from the Senate contest. The Lazio campaign wants to use the campaign finance reform issue to raise doubts about Clinton's character.

"Once trust is lost, it's over for any candidate," said one Lazio adviser.

Lazio set a 72-hour deadline for Clinton to take up his offer. If she declines, Lazio said he would no longer be able to hold back the outside political organizations, but he still vowed not to take part in raising soft money.

Lazio's conditions require the first lady to shut down her existing soft-money bank accounts, pledge not to raise any more, and get agreements from pro-Clinton outside groups — including labor unions — to stay out of the race.

Lazio has not raised soft money — large, unregulated contributions — the way the first lady has in the campaign.

Clinton has set up coordinated joint fund-raising committees between her campaign and national and state Democrats to collect millions in soft money; Lazio has not created any such joint committees.

Meanwhile, the latest CBS News/New York Times poll shows Clinton with a 9-point lead over Lazio.

The poll, taken Sept. 14 through Sept. 19, gives Clinton 48 percent to Lazio's 39 percent. The poll also showed the first lady with an 18-point edge among women — 52-34 percent.



**JOINING FORCES:** Former presidential press secretary James Brady yesterday joins Hillary Rodham Clinton at City Hall, where she spoke about gun control. Brady was wounded in the 1981 assassination attempt on President Reagan.

Joey Newfield

## Bill and Hill beat \$52M Whitewater probe

By BRIAN BLOMQUIST  
Post Correspondent

**WASHINGTON** — Whitewater prosecutors closed their six-year, \$52 million probe yesterday — saying there was "insufficient evidence" to charge President and Hillary Clinton of any crimes.

In a six-page statement, Independent Counsel Robert Ray repeatedly said the evidence was "insufficient" to prove "beyond a reasonable doubt" that Mrs. Clinton and President Clinton had committed crimes related to the controversial 1980s Whitewater land deal.

"I'm just glad that this is finally over," Mrs. Clinton said about the report — which removes the scandal cloud from the first lady's Senate

campaign. She said she hopes people will focus on the issues in her Senate race against Rep. Rick Lazio (R-L.I.).

Ray's written conclusions never stated outright that the Clintons were innocent. Rather, he summarized the various allegations against them and concluded that in each case the evidence was "insufficient" to warrant an indictment.

White House spokesman Joe Lockhart didn't complain about the wording.

"It is a legal term of art, so I don't have any problem with it," he said.

Lockhart said the president wasn't surprised by Ray's findings and didn't show "any outward sign of relief" that the probe is over. The Clintons' legal bills from Whitewater have climbed into the millions; a

legal defense fund has been set up.

The Whitewater investigation lasted more than six years at a cost of more than \$52 million. It led to 14 convictions, including those of the Clinton's Whitewater partners, Jim and Susan McDougal, and ex-Arkansas Gov. Jim Guy Tucker.

In his statement, Ray complained that the White House dragged its feet and waged court battles before handing over "relevant evidence."

Ray will soon send a final, detailed Whitewater report to a federal three-judge court, which will hold it under seal for at least three months.

In yesterday's statement, Ray specifically concluded he could not prove:

■ That Mrs. Clinton lied about her legal work on the fraudulent Castle

Grande real estate deal involving Webb Hubbell and his father-in-law, Seth Ward.

■ That Mrs. Clinton hid the missing Rose Law Firm billing records, which mysteriously appeared at the White House two years after they were subpoenaed, "with the intent to obstruct justice."

■ That President Clinton "knowingly" lied about a taxpayer-funded \$300,000 loan to Susan McDougal that benefited the Whitewater project.

**Hillary dodges bullet /**  
Editorial: Page 38



## *Whitewater Investigation Is Concluded With No Charges Against the Clintons*

By GARY FIELDS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Independent counsel Robert Ray closed the Whitewater investigation without charging President Clinton or Hillary Clinton with any crimes, easing concerns among Democrats about some election-eve bombshell.

Mr. Ray said there was "insufficient evidence" to prove "beyond a reasonable doubt" that either the president or first lady committed a crime, and that except for "limited pending matters, the Madison Guaranty/Whitewater investigation is now closed."

Mr. Ray's office is still investigating White House e-mails and the Monica Lewinsky case, and lawyers in the office say a final report isn't likely to be made public until next year.

That should allay worries among Democrats and the White House that Mr. Ray's report would be released before the November election, possibly hurting Mrs. Clinton's Senate campaign in New York.

The issue of politics and Mr. Ray's office was raised earlier this summer when the existence of a grand jury investigating the Lewinsky matter became public just as Vice President Al Gore prepared to accept the presidential nomination. As it turned out, a federal judge appointed by President Carter acknowledged leaking the information inadvertently.

Mr. Ray, who succeeded Independent counsel Kenneth Starr, has closed the book on whether President Clinton "knowingly gave false testimony" during a 1996 trial

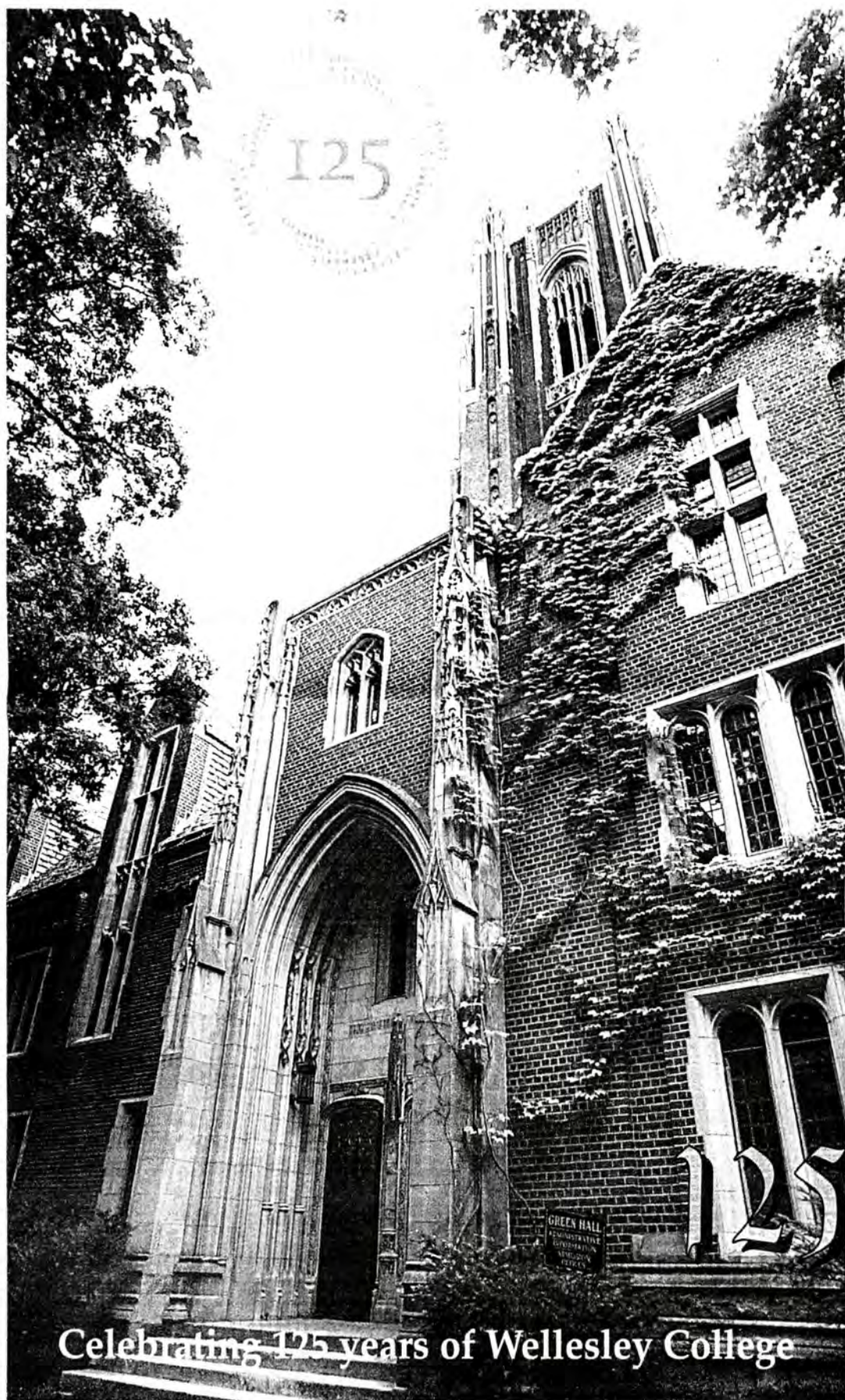
about borrowing money from now-defunct Madison Guaranty and whether Mrs. Clinton was involved in any effort to obstruct the investigation by withholding "relevant evidence or information in connection with her billing records" from the time she was with the Rose law firm in Little Rock, Ark.

White House spokesman Joe Lockhart said that with yesterday's announcement, "Robert Ray is now the latest investigator to complete an examination of the transactions related to Whitewater Development Co. and conclude that there are no grounds for legal action."

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Celebrating 125 years of Wellesley College

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## Information on the Davis Museum

The Davis Museum and Cultural Center is located on the Wellesley College campus, at 106 Central St. Their phone number is (781) 283-2051, and their Web site is: [www.wellesley.edu/DavisMuseum/davismenu.html](http://www.wellesley.edu/DavisMuseum/davismenu.html).

Hours: Tuesday, Friday and Saturday: 11 a.m.-5 p.m.; Wednesday and Thursday, 11 a.m.-8 p.m. (note: in January, June, July and August, the hours for these days are 11 a.m.-5 p.m.); Sunday, 1-5 p.m. Closed Mondays and major

holidays.

Guided tours are available free of charge. To reserve a tour, call (781) 283-2081 at least two weeks in advance.

Membership in the Davis Museum Friends of Art is open to all, with benefits. Fees range from \$15 for a recent Wellesley College alumna to \$35 for a regular membership, or up to \$1,000 or more for the Patrons Society. For more information on memberships, call (781) 283-2081.

DAVIS, from page 4

Take the upcoming September 2000 show "Cold War Modern: The Domesticated Avant-Garde": this isn't just about hanging stuff on the walls.

### Tear down those walls

Typically, says Fox, a university museum mounts an exhibit and the faculty builds a class or a seminar around it; with the Davis's "Cold War Modern," the reverse is true.

Borne out of a seminar collaboration between Wellesley College art historian Patricia Gray Berman and music professor and composer Martin Brody, "Cold War Modern" revis-

its the era between the nascence of the Atomic Age and its greatest culminative "brink moment" of the Cuban Missile Crisis. Employing 2D work, music, film, video and even furniture as sculpture, "Cold War Modern" is such a mammoth undertaking for the Davis, plans are for the show to remain standing for an entire academic year.

In the exhibit's three themes — "New Frontiers," "New Origins" and "Freedom" — visitors to the exhibit can expect to encounter the mobiles of Alexander Calder, the painting of Jackson Pollack, video of Nixon and Krushchev, the "Duck and Cover"

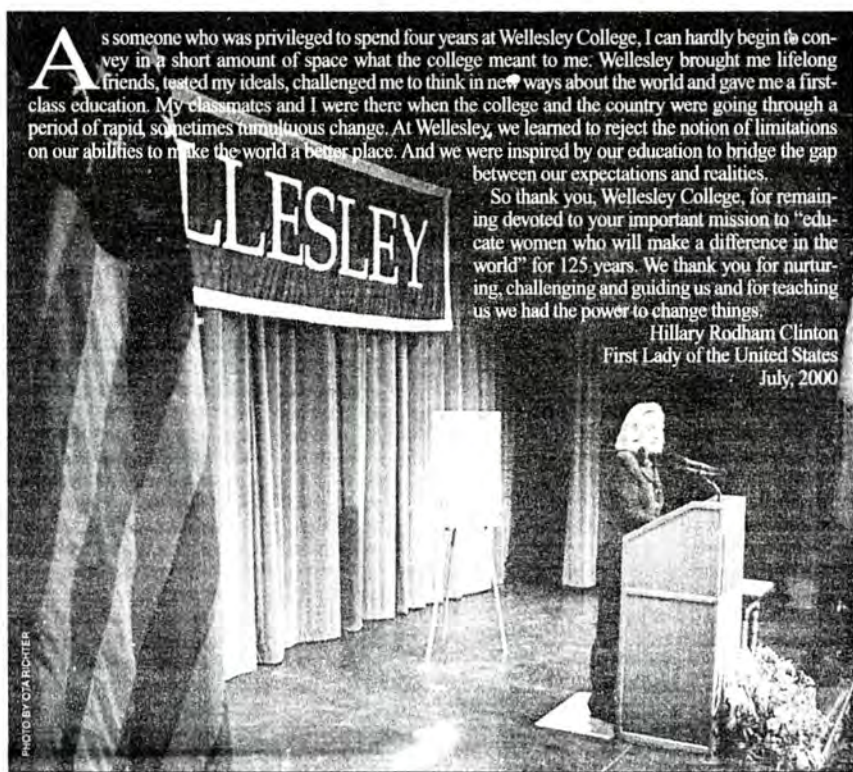
DAVIS, page 14

## Congratulations from the First Lady

As someone who was privileged to spend four years at Wellesley College, I can hardly begin to convey in a short amount of space what the college meant to me. Wellesley brought me lifelong friends, tested my ideals, challenged me to think in new ways about the world and gave me a first-class education. My classmates and I were there when the college and the country were going through a period of rapid, sometimes tumultuous change. At Wellesley, we learned to reject the notion of limitations on our abilities to make the world a better place. And we were inspired by our education to bridge the gap between our expectations and realities.

So thank you, Wellesley College, for remaining devoted to your important mission to "educate women who will make a difference in the world" for 125 years. We thank you for nurturing, challenging and guiding us and for teaching us we had the power to change things.

Hillary Rodham Clinton  
First Lady of the United States  
July, 2000



# Congratulations

## Wellesley College on your 125th Anniversary

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TERRY GOLWAY

## Voters Don't Care Whose Money is Soft

Forgive me, readers, for I have sinned. I missed the debate between the two Senate candidates. Domestic obligations, etc. By the time my duties were discharged, the high priests of political chat were resurrecting images from the debate by way of offering their post-mortems. This is good, I thought, sort of like tuning into ESPN's *SportsCenter*. You get to see the highlights without having to slog through (pick your sport) long at-bats, boring neutral-zone play, tap-ins for par or a series of three-and-outs. Plus, like *SportsCenter*, the political chatters could be counted on to show all the bloody parts, regardless of their relevance.

On CNBC, Geraldo Rivera and company employed the usual boxing metaphors—did anybody land a knockout blow?—before considering the signature moment of the proceedings. What could it have been, I wondered. I heard Mr. Rivera use the phrase "soft money." Surely, I thought, no discussion of soft money could lead to a made-for-cable discussion of public policy. Didn't these two well-prepared candidates have something better to argue over? Wasn't at least one of them an untrustworthy, carpet-bagging, semi-socialist, bureaucrat-loving wife of a rogue? And wasn't the other a smarmy, overly ambitious, ill-prepared, chameleon-like lightweight? The possibilities of a contention just *made* for cable TV seemed endless. They couldn't have botched it by talking about soft money, right?

Wrong. Mr. Rivera cheerfully told unseen assistants to roll tape, and there was the dramatic moment of the night: Rick Lazio clutching a wad of paper and asking Hillary Clinton to affix her name to same. By doing so, the First Lady would have committed her campaign to an exorcism of that great demon of the nation's editorial pages, unregulated campaign contributions. Mr. Lazio, purer than Caesar's wife and better looking—after all, she's been dead for 2,000 years—reminded the audience that he has promised to run a chaste campaign. Hands that handle soft money shall never touch his.

Ms. Clinton, having already been forced to make allusions to her hus-



HILLARY CLINTON

band's embrace of unregulated personal behavior, seemed a bit put off, but finally dismissed Mr. Lazio's offer as little more than performance art. So it was. But clearly it was, at least in the media's eyes, the high point of the proceedings.

Now, what's an ordinary citizen to think? Here were two candidates for the U.S. Senate throwing around the phrase "soft money," and afterward there were more great minds similarly engaged, and nearly everybody watching either couldn't tell the difference between hard and soft money, or couldn't care less.

I'm not much one for conspiracies—great or small, right or left, winged or earthbound—but I'm convinced that somebody has figured out that everything will be OK if the candidates and the press keep talking about "soft money" and "hard money" and avoid the subject of just plain *money*. For it is money—whether of the flaccid or the unyielding variety—that is responsible for so much of what ails politics today.

Politicians complain about the time and energy they must devote to the care, feeding and fleeing of the moneyed class. Contributors complain about the pressure they come under during every election cycle, as politicians in fund-raising boiler rooms go about their telemarketing chores. And the public quite naturally assumes that politicians and their contributors look out for one another, that those who give, get—whether that means access, influence or, in a perfect world, the occasional tax break disguised as a great benefit for the general public. It doesn't matter much

whether it was soft or hard money that persuaded politicians to embrace, say, a relaxation of federal emissions standards to allow car companies to build gas-guzzling, pollution-spewing sport utility vehicles. It doesn't matter whether it's hard or soft money that either holds up or encourages tort reform. What matters is that money—plain old money—seems to inspire politicians to action in ways that mere letters, common sense or even election results do not.

So, were I among those who spent a blissful night in the Lincoln Bedroom a few years ago, or if I were an oil baron—er, energy-services provider—who has invested heavily in Texas crude in hopes of drilling the country a new one, I'd be delighted to hear Mr. Lazio and Mrs. Clinton debating hard versus soft. I'd welcome the earnest editorials filled with insider jargon. And I'd get a kick out of pundits beating each other up over small differences.

What would have really worried me, however, was the few minutes religious lefty Michael Lerner recently spent on the PBS show *NewsHour*. Asked about the significance of Joseph Lieberman's place on the Democratic ticket, Mr. Lerner went on a mild rant about the Senator's refusal to question the way in which power is organized in today's America.

Luckily, the moderator cut him off before he frightened investors overseas.

If I were an  
energy-services  
provider who has  
invested heavily in  
Texas crude, I'd be  
delighted to hear  
candidates debating  
hard versus soft.

JOE CONASON

## Please Ignore Warnings Of Dire Nuclear Peril

Aside from embarrassing the Justice Department and the F.B.I., the release of Wen Ho Lee marks the conclusion of yet another once-horrifying scandal now relegated to a fat file under the heading of "Oh, Never Mind." There the voluminous clippings about what not long ago was deemed the "worst national security breach since the Rosenberg case"—by knowledgeable unnamed sources—will rest for eternity next to such other recent classics as Waco, Travelgate, Filagate and, of course, the soon-to-be-completed Whitewater case.

In all of these instances, the public was persistently misled by sloppy reporting and idiotic commentary in the national media, but the Wen Ho Lee and Whitewater episodes are strikingly similar. Each began with an overblown investigative report on the front page of *The New York Times* that later turned out to be wrong about critical facts, and each was then hyped into hysteria by editorials and columns on that paper's opinion pages, notably in essays by the influential William ("Old Unreliable") Safire.

Amnesia is epidemic in the news business, but readers of this space are probably familiar with the awful record of the *Times* editorial page and of Mr. Safire in their handling of Whitewater and related topics. The presumption of guilt that suffused *Times* commentary on that subject violated the paper's venerated standards, with the worst examples to be found in Mr. Safire's fantasies of wide-ranging felonious conspiracies that never existed and predictions of imminent criminal indictments that never materialized.

Any day now, the independent counsel will file a final report on Whitewater which will have to concede, amid any partisan insinuations of wrongdoing, that Bill Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton committed no crimes. That same concession already has appeared in the independent counsel's final reports on Travelgate and Filagate, as Mr. Safire dubbed the two subsidiary non-scandals.

Meanwhile, *The Times* left Whitewater behind like a bad memory and moved on to a story considerably more disturbing than the alleged concealment of an ancient rural-development scheme: the



WILLIAM SAFIRE

supposed sale of defense secrets to China in exchange for contributions to the Democratic Party and the Clinton Presidential campaign.

The original investigative stories about "Chinagate" that appeared in *The Times* were not quite that blunt, but the implication was clear. First came a series that suggested (wrongly, as it turned out) a major Democratic contributor had been willfully permitted to breach security in assisting Chinese rocket launches. (Those stories garnered a Pulitzer Prize.) Then came the saga of Wen Ho Lee, which brought forth a Congressional investigation and an outpouring of calumnies from Mr. Safire about a White House that had sold out American security for the sake of Chinese gold.

"Our nuclear genie is out of the bottle," wrote the *Times* columnist in his usual ominous and pseudo-authoritative voice, urging that Americans "keep in mind Beijing's grand design: Use Asian fund-raisers to influence White House policy to sell China advanced computer and missile technology.... Thanks to the down-loading of our secrets, American cities will be less safe in two years from they were at the height of the cold war."

In that column and several which followed, as well as in his appearances on NBC's *Meet the Press*, Mr. Safire continued to draw a frightening connection between campaign contributions and lax protection of bomb and missile technologies. He stopped just short of accusing the administration of outright treason, while clearly suggesting that Wen Ho Lee had been treated with excessive leniency because of the President's desire to maintain a "strategic partnership" with China.

Fortunately, there came a point where the analogy between the Whitewater and Wen Ho Lee stories broke down. *Times* news editors conscientiously published a front-page investigation which showed that the premises of Mr. Safire's columns (and its earlier articles on Mr. Lee) were false. While the Chinese military has somewhat improved its nuclear capability, little or none of that improvement was likely a consequence of espionage. Security in the national laboratories may have been too lax, but that is an endemic problem in atomic research that can be traced at least as far back as the Reagan administration.

Just as important, no evidence has been discovered that shows a connection between Clinton administration policies toward China and campaign contributions from Chinese-Americans or foreign nationals from Asia. The proven illegal donations and the poor screening of donors who entered the White House were bad enough. Prosecution have ensued where they were warranted. But the ill-founded innuendo about "Chinagate" and the selling of national secrets has no foundation in fact.

Which is why, during an election year when Republicans are desperately seeking issues with which to denigrate the Democrats, you don't hear much about what was touted not so long ago as the worst national-security scandal of the late 20th century. It turns out that Wen Ho Lee is just about as comparable to the Rosenberg and Whitewater is to Watergate.

Ill-founded  
innuendo about  
'Chinagate'  
and the selling of  
national secrets  
has no  
foundation  
in fact.



JOSH BENSON AND GREG SARGENT

## Will Lazio's New Jihad Make a Martyr of Hillary?

Rick Lazio, grinning, crouched to embrace a group of children at an elementary school in Rochester, N.Y., the morning after his first debate with Hillary Rodham Clinton.

"Thank you very much for all these hugs," he exclaimed. "I love the hugs! It makes me feel great! I love you! I love you all! I'm getting all kinds of hugs today. Any more hugs? Thank you very much for these hugs. I'll be back soon. You guys work hard in school, O.K.? You guys do well in school, you can have any job you want. Any job, O.K.?"

He strode out of the school, hand-in-hand with a little boy.

Later that day, Mr. Lazio clambered onto a wooden picnic table before a crowd of supporters in Fulton, N.Y., a depressed industrial town. With about a hundred restive locals buzzing about his feisty debate performance, Mr. Lazio spoke gravely about his opponent's out-of-state roots. He assailed her "hypocrisy" on soft money. The time had come, he yelled, to "fire back."

"The campaign really started yesterday—last night!" he declared.

Mr. Lazio's transformation, in just several hours, from simpering guidance counselor to savage orator mirrored the metamorphosis in his campaign. By sharpening his attacks on Mrs. Clinton, Mr. Lazio hopes to dispel the perception that he is running a relaxed and ineffectual campaign.

While his more energetic pose has delighted core supporters, Mr. Lazio's top advisers are worried that the new strategy carries a grave risk—one that could cost him the election. They are afraid that Mr. Lazio's newfound aggression will allow Mrs. Clinton to slip into a role she has played to great effect in the past: Hillary the Martyr.

"I don't know if it's a role she plays or whether it's just the way the electorate perceives her," said Assemblyman Phil Boyle, a long-time friend and close advisor to Mr. Lazio. "Certain attacks on her evoke sympathy, and we need to be wary of that."

"It's a morality play," added Kieran Mahoney, a top strategist for Governor George Pataki. "[Mrs. Clinton's] strategy in a nutshell is to duck all criticism, legitimize it, otherwise, by painting herself as some body whom evil forces want to stop because of all the good she will do."

Mr. Lazio's advisers are well aware that

Mrs. Clinton has ensnared many Republicans in this trap before. When the First Lady is attacked, she rises in the polls; voters stop viewing her as an ambitious opportunist and start seeing her as an aggrieved and noble victim. It was this dynamic that gave rise to her candidacy in the first place—she was proposed as a candidate after she stood by her cheating husband during the impeachment crisis and was roundly assailed by Republican critics.

The Lazio campaign already has reason for concern. Their vigorous assaults on Mrs. Clinton are re-awakening sympathies that vanished once she became a carpathagging candidate for Senate. Since the debate, polls have shown that some undecided voters—including those who dislike the First Lady—disapproved of Mr. Lazio's sharp assaults and now are drifting in her direction.

Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, for one, was fully aware of the perils of running against Hillary the Martyr. When Mr. Giuliani was gearing up to run against Mrs. Clinton in 1999, his top advisers—including Adam Goodman, his media adviser, and Rick Wilson, his chief strategist—spent a year studying the First Lady's career and compiled a detailed analysis of the roles she had played in politics through the years. Frank Luntz, Mr. Giuliani's pollster, convened focus groups in part to gauge how these various political personas were received in Mrs. Clinton's new home state.

"She plays different roles," said Mr. Wilson. "She plays the national scold, which is always 'You're not spending enough money on my cause *dijour*.' She plays the smartest woman in America, often articulated as 'I spent 30 years studying...' She plays the schoolmarm—'My motives are much more pure than anyone else's.' But in the wake of Lewinsky scandal, she saw how personal martyrdom led to political empowerment."

### AN INVISIBLE SHIELD?

In Mr. Wilson's view, it is the martyr role that holds the greatest peril for her opponent. "A reason she's running for Senate right now is because she was wronged by us evil Re-

publicans in 1999, and there was a belief among her advisers that her martyr role had created an invisible shield around her," he said. "They thought no one could ever go negative on her."

Mrs. Clinton's skill at morphing into a sympathetic character is clearly a source of frustration to Mr. Lazio's supporters. "Lazio treats her as an equal, and now everyone suddenly complains that he was too hard on her," griped Michael Long, chairman of the New York State Conservative Party, which endorsed Mr. Lazio. "I think he has to watch out for it."

The dynamic was apparent in the press room during the Buffalo debate. Mr. Lazio's advisers had hoped that new accounts of the debate would be dominated by Mr. Lazio's soft-money challenge. In the press room, that moment was greeted by a sudden burst of keyboard clattering, as reporters chronicled the unexpected gesture even while grumbling that it was a "stunt." But a similarly



Rick Lazio may have gotten a chuckle out of his attacks on Hillary Clinton, but his aides worry that the new strategy may create sympathy for the First Lady.

deafening clatter greeted another moment: when debate moderator Tim Russert aired pictures of a drawn and exhausted Mrs. Clinton defending her husband at the height of the Lewinsky scandal.

What's more, some viewers were put off when Mr. Lazio left his podium and walked toward Mrs. Clinton, a gesture that took away from the substance of the Congressman's argument.

Still, there's no question that other voters were delighted to see someone—in this case, Mr. Lazio—stick it to Hillary. Take, for instance, Mr. Lazio's campaign stop at a farm in upstate Madison County, where he addressed some 50 dairy farmers perched on bales of hay. Taking questions from some of the locals who had gathered to wish him well, Mr. Lazio answered haltingly on questions about genetic modification of crops. "I'm still learning about that," he said, as a group

stated for American Indian-owned businesses. ("I'm not sure I have a solution for you on that. How about we'll talk more about it later?") When a local Republican tried helpfully to restart the dialogue by asking when the next debate was, Mr. Lazio turned beseechingly to a nearby aide.

"It looks like our farmers have gone silent on us," said Mike St. Leger, the Madison County G.O.P. chairman, looking out at the stolid gathering.

### HARVESTING VOTES

But when Mr. Lazio brought up the debate, the crowd came alive—and so did Mr. Lazio. He told the locals he was appalled by the idea that someone from Arkansas, Chicago and, worst of all, Washington wanted to represent them. He told them how "fearful" he was to New York.

"I don't see anyone from Washington working out here on these farms," Mr. Lazio observed, before basking in a hearty round of handshakes and backslaps.

All this campaign-trail energy has Mr. Lazio's aides confidently predicting that he'll be able to avoid the Hillary-as-martyr snare. "It won't be easy for Mrs. Clinton to fall back into the role of victim this time," said one senior adviser to Mr. Lazio. "You know we won the debate when the other side is complaining how tough Rick Lazio was. It's like the losing team complaining that the other team ran up the score."

For his part, Mr. Lazio dismisses the idea of a backlash to his Hillary-bashing. "Since the debate," Mr. Lazio told the *New York Daily News*, "we have seen I don't know how many thousands of people, and I haven't had one person say anything to me about that."

Except, of course, for the little girl in the Rochester elementary school who complimented a picture-perfect press opportunity by asking why he had been "fighting with Mrs. Clinton" at the debate, or the high school student on Long Island who asked him the next day to explain why he was "defensive and negative" that night in Buffalo. And Mr. Lazio's question-and-answer sessions with the press since the debate have been dominated by questions about whether or not he has been too "mean" to Mrs. Clinton. ("I think New Yorkers want someone in the Senate who is a fighter," is the most frequent answer.)

"What Lazio is trying to do is establish that he's really a macho man," said former Mayor Ed Koch, a supporter of Mrs. Clinton. "He confuses gravitas with machismo. But gravitas relates to thoughtfulness and substance. He's not coming across as thoughtful or substantial. He's not a bad guy at all. He's a nice guy, but the way he's thrashing about, he comes across as just silly."

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY M. HARRIS FOR THE NEW YORK OBSERVER



## NEW YORKER'S DIARY



BRUCE FEIRSTEIN

### Re: Second Senate Smackdown

**M**emo to: Hillary (Pantsuit) Clinton, and Rick (The Paper Boy) Lazio  
From: Vince McMahon, chairman, New York League of Already Decided Voters  
Re: *Gladiator II, The Rematch*

Dear Hill and Rick:  
Well, we caught the first debate. We tuned in, we turned on. We were psyched, we were pumped, waiting for some major-league U.S. Senate gladiatorial debate action. We were—to use my trademark phrase—"Ready to Rumble."

And, to put it bluntly (which is, of course, the only way I know how put it), we were mightily disappointed.

Sure, there were some sparks. And some Bush-league pyrotechnics. But listen up, people: This is the real-life version of *Survivor*. And although you get credit for trying, nobody scored a decisive smackdown; nobody delivered the see-you-at-Nassau Coliseum-for-a-sold-out-pay-per-view-rematch kind of steel-cage death match that today's discerning audience demands.

You know what I mean? O.K., let me spell it out for you: With both sides declaring victory, there was no tectonic shift in the polls. All 26 Empire State voters who were undecided before the debate remain so; there was no discernible movement among those in comas or on life support, and the rest of us pretty much just wish we could vote tomorrow and get the damn thing over with already.

So allow me—the guy who taught Jesse Ventura everything he knows about moving the body electorate—to offer a few tips, criticisms and suggestions in order to amp up your next encounter.

FIRST, HILLARY, Let's face it, Hill—you got trouble. Entire forests have been pulped to explain why so many women still resent you, when it's fairly simple: They came to New York, struggled to find a job, got hit on by guys at the office, suffered through a billion blind dates, scrimped for an apartment and fought for respect, while you waltzed in here with a sense of entitlement just slightly larger than the land mass of the 32 upstate counties.

The antidote? Instead of defending yourself over not being a New Yorker, just start acting like one. Pepper the following phrases into your speeches: "Am I right, or what?" "Gotta problem with that?" "Let's take it outside!" "Sez who?"

Just think how differently the Tim Russert right-wing conspiracy exchange might have gone if, instead of doing a road-show Bill Clinton

(bite the lower lip, appear hurt), you'd snapped back: "Mea culpa this, pal." (Personally, I would have smacked the media monkey over the head with a folding chair. Keep this in mind for later in the campaign. As we say in New York: It couldn't hurt. And it might help.)

A few other specifics:

1) Dump the Newt Gingrich references. He's old news, it's a little too transparent. You'd do better asking Little Ricky what he's done about electric rates on Long Island.

2) Next time the Rickster thrusts a piece of paper in your face, just sign the damn thing. You'll look spontaneous and self-assured; you can always wriggle out of the agreement off-camera. (And never ever go ironic, congratulating someone on their performance. It only highlights your own.)

3) I lost count how many times you talked about "my travels around the state." You're running for Senate, Hillary. Not the head of the automobile club. Remember: New York isn't just a physical location. It's a state of mind. Got it? Now get outta here, and start practicing with those folding chairs.

MR. LAZIO: Ricky, Ricky, Ricky, what are we gonna do with you? It's not just that you don't sound Senatorial. But by the fourth time you used the phrase "Let me tell you..." you began to sound like a salesman working the lot at Sunrise Hyundai. "Lemme tell you, you want the undercoating. You want the convenience light group. You want the clear coat. And lemme tell ya, pal. You want the V-8 with the tow-package tranny."

With this in mind, try dropping some of these phrases into your public discourse. They will help to lend an air of gravitas to your cause: "Elmira"; "Rochester"; "Kingston"; "foreign policy"; "Oswego"; "gross domestic product"; "minimum wage"; "Poughkeepsie" (pronounced *Poc-kip-see*—it's a city in upstate New York).

Then, of course, there's the Hillary problem. On the one hand, Rickster, you have to attack. But on the other, you really don't want to bash the Hill too hard. Because—despite your campaign manager's game plan of going brutally negative in the last three weeks—it won't work, and will most certainly backfire. Let me put it like this: The voters want to punish Hillary. Don't do it for them and bring out the sympathy vote.

And finally, one last piece of advice: Play it a little lighter. Let the media do the heavy lifting for you. Is Hillary misusing Air Force planes to ferry around big-ticket donors? You bet she is. Are the Clintons still selling the Lincoln Bedroom? Of course they are. But don't get mad. Get laughs. Simply announce that the Lazio campaign is guilty of providing free transportation on the Long Island Rail Road, and really big-ticket donors stay absolutely free in the FBI's Mafia Chieftain Sweat-Out Suite at the Islandia Hampton Inn, conveniently located just off the scenic Long Island Expressway, with cable in every room, a free all-you-can-eat brunch and a complimentary copy of *Newsday* under your door every morning.

(And if you get asked about Alec Baldwin's recent statement that he's leaving the country if George W. is elected, there's only one proper response: That pretty much swings the vote in New York. I hear the pollsters are now predicting a Bush landslide.)

SO THAT'S IT ON CAMPAIGN 2000 FROM YOURS TRULY, VINCE McMAHON. Let's work on those body slams and practice with those folding chairs.

But I do leave you with one important question: Were Tip O'Neill alive today, do you think he would have said all politics is local, or trivial?

#### SMILES

THERE ARE SMILES THAT MAKE ME NERVOUS.

THERE ARE SMILES THAT DRIVE ME BATS.

THERE ARE SMILES FOR SHOW-BIZ ETHERALS.

WHEN THE BACKLERS BLESSOPLY KILLED CATS.

THERE ARE SMILES FOR MYOR GULLINI.

WHEN HE DOES A CAMELO IN HEAD.

BUT THE SMILE RICK LAZIO-GIVE LIZIE.

IS THE SMILE THAT MADE GOTTHAL GIG.

WH. VINS DRETFE





"YOU CAN'T GET TOO HYSTERICAL WHEN YOU'RE DEALING WITH A MASSIVE LEFT-WING CONSPIRACY TO CONTAMINATE NEW YORK'S SENATE ELECTION"

PHOTOGRAPHY  
PRESERVATION

RICHARD BROOKHISER

## First Lady Wants Us As Her Consolation Prize

In Anthony Trollope's Palliser novels, one of the subplots is how can Phineas Finn, the young Irish politician, stay in Parliament? He begins in an Irish pocket borough, which is in the gift of a gouty Anglo-Irish earl. Once he has made friends in the Whig party establishment, they find him an English pocket borough that is a chattel of the party elite. But then a reform bill passes; popular sentiment, not influence, is to decide elections. Phineas must find a third constituency.

The  
National  
Observer

This is still the British system, though voters, not peers, now make the final choices. Local issues in parliamentary districts count for next to nothing. The party machinery decides which candidates run where, and can always find a seat in a pinch for a deserving figure who is new to the scene, or a veteran who has unaccountably lost.

Who can say that it is a bad system? On average, it probably works as well as ours. But it happens not to be ours. Hillary Clinton, after years at her husband's side, has decided that she wants a seat of her own. But instead of going to Britain, where they would know how to give her one, she has come to New York.

The Buffalo, N.Y., debate between Mrs. Clinton and Representative Rick Lazio made the contrast plain since she announced, plainer still. She has a briefing-book knowledge of New York State—just like the diplomats, generals and C.I.A. men who, after spending a few years in South Vietnam, would come back to L.B.J. and tell him what it was really like on the ground. A few questions stumped her: Would her health-care plan have decapitated New York City's teaching hospitals? *Hum-mana hum-mana hum-mana...* Her accent stumped her most of all. Mr. Lazio speaks in vowels that are identifiably from some part of New York State (I would say "a dull part," but this thing of darkness I, like Prospero, own as mine). Mrs. Clinton sounds like the electronically generated voices you encounter on telephone menus.

Even as she has the knowledge base and the field markings of an outsider, she has the manner of someone who thinks she deserves to become an insider simply by showing up and offering herself to us. She has something that is very good for us, and she is pleased ("happy" would be too strong) to give it to us, and she knows how pleased we will be to receive it. She recalls the well-bred ladies of another century who went into the slums to offer the gaping inhabitants contraceptives and cocoa.

We have a federal system, with states and Congressional districts, because the country is geographically large and temperamentally diverse (it was so even in 1776). We want politicians to have spent real quality time in their constituencies, because it helps them understand what is going on there, and because it allows their constituents to feel akin to the

people who represent them. It's hard enough maintaining either the local knowledge or the sense of connection once our representatives go off to Washington; harder still if they've come from Illinois via Arkansas.

Mrs. Clinton does not understand this because she is not a politician—never has been, never aspired to be one. She has spent her life being an activist, a lawyer and a political spouse. The people who fill those roles can do a lot for good or ill, but they are not office holders. Imagine Ralph Reed, Norman Siegel and Nancy Reagan in the Senate, and you will understand the contrast.

Mr. Lazio has problems of his own. He has been campaigning as if his name were Rick Lazio-o. He is said to be arrogant to his staff. (What does he have to be arrogant about?) He needs to do his homework on upstate, which is where the election will be decided. In a state as big as New York still is, the politicians from the Southern Tier have to bone up on Suffolk County, and vice versa. His ideology is a contrast to Mrs. Clinton's, but a pale one. Her attempts to link him to Newt Gingrich have flopped—Mr. Gingrich is as remote a figure now as Chester Arthur. It's too bad for Mr. Lazio that he wasn't more like Mr. Gingrich: Newt gave him access so that the wimpy Republicanism of the Northeast would have a voice. Mr. Lazio remains what he was in 1994, a Pataki Republican, in favor of saving wildlife and killing fetuses.

The ideological differences he does have with her are in his favor. Mrs. Clinton talks about her concern for children, but she is content to leave them at the mercy of a public school system that more and more parents are desperate to flee. Her solution is to shrink class size, which means hiring more teachers to do the same job they are now doing. Mr. Lazio supports vouchers, which would allow Mrs. Cumberbatch and Mrs. Aziz to send their daughters to private schools, just as Mrs. Clinton sent Chelsea to Sidwell Friends. No, come to think of it, Chelsea did go to some public schools—in Little Rock.

Why are we even having these discussions? Even under the British system, Mrs. Clinton would be damaged goods. Her one foray into policy making was her health-care plan of evil memory, which elected a Republican Congress and put her husband on the defensive for the six remaining years of his administration. Hardly a glittering recommendation. Didn't the Brits tend to give egg layers like that obscure colonial governorships rather than seats in Parliament?

In the American system, we are her consolation prize. Bill got his tail caught in the wrong crack of the celebrity machine, and we are the price for her loyalty. Off the Oval Office is a bathroom sink, the Starr report told us, where the President would deposit inconvenient effluvia. It helped him deal with the side effects of his passions. If we save his wronged wife by giving her one of our Senate seats, New York will become another bathroom sink.



# Is Hillary Clinton Glowing?

**CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1**  
 it's definitely audible, even snoring. Where Mr. Lazio's Main-Stream Express, blares Willie Nelson's "On the Road Again," the Hillary camp seems to be humming, ever so softly, an impromptu tune that goes something like: "God, she might actually win." For all the talk of high negatives and low enthusiasm, her problem with Jewish voters and white women and male chauvinists; her hesitant campaign style, her unwieldy campaign staff, her ever-hungry campaign coffers, there do seem to be some blades of green grass peeking through the frozen tundra of a year below 50 percent. She still is a Democratic candidate, this still is a Democratic state, she might actually win.

"It has nothing to do with her," said Democratic consultant Hank Sheinkopf. "It's the Gore-Lieberman halo effect." Well, perhaps one ought give her *something* for showing up and taking shots these past two years, but there is no minimizing the Gore-Lieberman halo—effect, which may at last have made New York safe for a Sula Ararat-snooching Democrat. "I endorse everything he just said," Mrs. Clinton said during a recent visit she made with the Vice Presidential candidate to the Mark Twain School for the Gifted and Talented in Brooklyn. She was seconding Mr. Lieberman's innocuous answer to an innocuous question from a young student, but also succinctly summarizing her campaign's philosophy of outreach to Jewish New Yorkers.

The campaign seems, too, to be preening

a bit, as if trying on a brand new suit of cohesion, wearing a sense that, at last, the trains are running on time—or at least that the Washington dispatchers and the New York dispatchers finally have coordinated their immetables. While such contentment frequently grows from the very notion that the campaign will be ending in a matter of weeks and it may very well end victoriously, considerable credit is also given to the presence in New York of Patti Solis-Doyle, the First Lady's longtime White House scheduler. Described as "sharp" both by those who mean the word as a compliment and those who do not, Ms. Solis-Doyle has been a functional part of the campaign from its inception, but became an official part of it just before the Democratic National Convention. Planted just outside the war room at the campaign headquarters on Seventh Avenue, Ms. Solis-Doyle enjoys the complete trust and confidence of the candidate, and therefore a level of participation in the campaign that a top official described as "total."

Then there is the fact that Mrs. Clinton, being a Clinton, has, at least up until this point, been finding remarkably good fortune in her enemies. This fortune will persist as long as the Lazio campaign seems to be laboring under the belief that New York swing voters can be pounded into hating Mrs. Clinton. It was, ironically enough, at substantive points of the debate that Mr. Lazio came off best and Mrs. Clinton came off worst. Those substantive points emphatically did not include the one in which Mr. Lazio seemed eager to skate over the economic hardship of upstate

New York, while Mr. Clinton seemed eager to live right in it. At the time, one could only wonder why the words "Mario Cuomo"—which remain, fairly or unfairly, synonymous with "economic blight" to many upstaters—failed to pass Mr. Lazio's lips.

## RUN SILENT, RUN DEEP

But in the debate, as throughout the campaign, when the First Lady does not say, simply does not hurt her. Although there remain many serious questions as to this public policy maven's positions on matters of public policy, particularly as they relate to New York, it seems increasingly clear that she is never going to have to answer any of them. Indeed, the single most salient question of the debate was among the least remarked: "In 1993-94, you proposed a health care bill that was very controversial in this state." Mr. Russert asked, as he called up a visual graphic quoting Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's verbally graphic concerns about the Clinton plan's ramifications for teaching hospitals in New York. "Why did you propose cutting the number of doctors by 25 percent and the number of specialists by 50 percent?" The question pierced the heart of Mrs. Clinton's record and her rationale, and she did not even try to answer it.

Likewise, at a press conference after the last of the four African-American churches in Queens that Mrs. Clinton visited on the morning of Sept. 17, a television reporter called her on her exceedingly relevant fact that, while Mr. Gore's economic populism played very well in many parts of the country, it might pose a problem for a candidate running in a tightly contested race in New York, where a couple can earn \$75,000 and still find themselves struggling. The reporter asked Mrs. Clinton what she would consider to be a middle-class income in the state of New York. "How do you define a wealthy family in New York? Two parents and two kids; household income is what?"

"If there is an official county flower in Cattaraugus, Mrs. Clinton could tell you what it is, where it comes from and how it grows. But the amount of money it takes for a working family to get by?"

"I don't think it's useful to talk about that," she said, before switching to a passage of her patter.

And why should she think it's useful? She's a Democratic candidate, it's a Democratic state, she just might win.

(Although in attacking Mr. Lazio's trillion-dollar tax scheme, the Clinton campaign ought to stop citing quite so insistently the conclusions of the Fiscal Policy Institute, which was founded in significant part, and is still funded in significant part, by the labor unions, such as Local 199 and UNITE, which strongly support Mrs. Clinton.)

Perhaps, above all, the Clinton camp's happy time is being whistled because of the sense that, in the end, moderate suburban women will come home to Hillary.

"It's the Supreme Court, stupid." That was the quote on the plastic shopping bags distributed by NARAL at the Democratic National Convention in Los Angeles, and it is the root of the argument being given to women by pro-choice activists in New York, by way of convincing them that Mr. Lazio has no business labeling himself pro-choice while linking himself to a Presidential candidate

who counts Justices Antonin Scalia and Clarence Thomas among his Supreme Court favorites. It has to be the root of the argument. Pro-choice advocates cannot help but to have a hard time, after all, that Mr. Lazio opposes for-profit abortion, because Mr. Moynihan, among other prominent Democrats, does the same. And they cannot hammer too hard on the fact that Mr. Lazio supports such restrictions as parental notification for minors seeking abortions, because although Mrs. Clinton does not acknowledge it, she also has done the same. So they will be lining up on the Supreme Court, and they will be hitting a hard

## LAZIO'S SHADOWS

When pro-choice protesters shadow Mr. Lazio on the campaign trail—or "bird-dog" him, as Mrs. Clinton put it—they carry a sign that features a large black-and-red question mark and the question "Would you oppose anti-choice judges?" This year, also the gist of an ad, produced by Mr. Sheinkopf, that constituted a modest \$50,000 cable-TV ad buy made in July and targeted to Long Island, and it will be the gist of more ads to come, presuming that no soft-money deal is struck (a safe presumption). It will be the gist as well of telephone calls to multitudes of women identified in the past 10 months. "In the next six weeks, we'll be making tens of thousands of phone calls," said Robert Jaffe, deputy director of NARAL New York. Those phone calls, too, will be the product of phone calls that the organization started making in February, off lists purchased from former New York Gov. independent and Republican women, aged 24 to 49.

"We don't ask the Hillary-or-Rick question," said Mr. Jaffe. Instead, voters—contacted in part by volunteers and in part by a telemarketing firm called Telefund—have been asked whether they are supporting Vice President Al Gore or Governor George W. Bush. They have then been asked whether they consider themselves to be pro-choice. If not, the call ends. If so, the call continues, and if the voter indicates that she grants some considerable weight to the issue in the voting booth, she is in for major follow-up in the form of direct mail and more calls.

Not that they're doing all this for Hillary. Indeed, in this case, the *pro forma* independent-expenditure-outfit's plea of non-cooperation with a specific campaign actually has the ring of truth: the NARAL New York effort began when Mayor Rudolph Giuliani was still in the race, and the organization had no plans to make an endorsement in the U.S. Senate race but did hope to affect local races, at least in the long term. "This is a project that will bear fruit over a long period of time," said Manhattan State Senator Eric Schneickman, who depicted the effort as the pro-choice movement's attempt to make of its constituency the multi-purpose battering ram that the National Rifle Association has so effectively made of its own. "Once they find someone who's with them on their issue, they don't let them go."

In the short term, though, there is one major beneficiary of all this independence, and she's definitely a Democrat.

On a recent weekend morning, a Lazio campaign plane was to swoop over the beaches of Long Island. NARAL New York had planned to tag right behind it, with a plane tailed by the message: "Be aware: Rick Lazio is not pro-choice."

Both planes were grounded due to inclement weather. But before the election, they will no doubt be going right back up again.

# The Campaign This Week

AUG. 9-AUG. 15, 2000



IN THE FIRST DEBATE BETWEEN RICK LAZIO AND HILLARY CLINTON ON SEPT. 13, MODERATOR TIM RUSSERT PLAYED A TAPE OF MRS. CLINTON FAMOUSLY OFFENDING HER HUSBAND ON THE TODAY SHOW. MR. RUSSERT ASKED MRS. CLINTON IF SHE REGRETTED "MISLEADING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE." VISIBLY SHAKEN, MRS. CLINTON SAID "UM" 23 TIMES AS SHE EXPLAINED THAT SHE HAD BELIEVED WHAT HER HUSBAND TOLD HER. LATER, MR. LAZIO CHALLENGED MRS. CLINTON TO SIGN A PLEDGE TO BAN SOFT MONEY FROM THE RACE: "SIGN IT! RIGHT NOW!" HE DEMANDED. MRS. CLINTON DEMURRED. LATER THAT WEEK, AT A G.O.P. CAMPAIGN STOP IN ROCHESTER, N.Y., A SECOND-GRADER ASKED MR. LAZIO, "WHY WERE YOU FIGHTING WITH MRS. CLINTON?"

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



THE NEW YORK OBSERVER

54 EAST 64TH STREET  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10021  
(212) 755-2400

## LAZIO'S CHEAP STUNT

Why do spontaneous gestures during political debates always seem so well-rehearsed? Because they are exactly that, scripted in the war room and practiced in a mock studio setting. In his debate with Hillary Clinton, Rick Lazio followed his instructions carefully, and responded as prompted, by self-righteously demanding that Mrs. Clinton sign some meaningless agreement about campaign finance. Most viewers understood that they were watching a cheap stunt, one unworthy of a first-class debater or, for that matter, a would-be Senator.

Hollow gimmicks may be useful when running for a Congressional seat on Long Island, but they are not appropriate in a campaign that will end with a new U.S. Senator occupying Daniel Patrick Moynihan's seat. No doubt Mr. Lazio's handlers hoped to show that their candidate, whose desire has been called into question, is committed to running an energetic, aggressive campaign. Instead, the gesture only emphasized Mr. Lazio's lack of gravitas. Can anybody imagine Mr. Moynihan or Robert F. Kennedy or Jacob Javits or Robert Wagner stooping to such tactics?

The sham challenge should have been brought to an abrupt end the moment Mr. Lazio stepped away from his podium and toward Mrs. Clinton. That's when the gimmick was transformed into something more threatening. While Mrs. Clinton obviously was in no danger of becoming a latter-day Charles Sumner, the Massachusetts Senator who was nearly beaten to death on the Senate floor more than 100 years ago, Mr. Lazio almost seemed to be physically challenging the First Lady—a breach of debate etiquette, to put it mildly. Tim Russert, the debate's moderator, ought to have intervened and directed Mr. Lazio to return to his lectern. That's the best way to deal with naughty schoolboys.

Mr. Lazio's stunt was designed to call attention to the inside-baseball issue of soft money. Mr. Lazio says he will not accept soft, or unregulated, campaign contributions, and he sought to have Mrs. Clinton sign a pledge to renounce such contributions, too. Unfortunately, Mrs. Clinton responded by playing tit-for-tat, noting correctly but somewhat lamely that Mr. Lazio is the beneficiary of soft-money fund-raising conducted by right-wing activist groups around the country. She should have said: "Congressman, you're behaving like a used-car salesman trying to unload a lemon on an unsuspecting customer. Is that how you expect to get things done for New York?"

Mr. Lazio can't do anything about his boyish looks and voice. But he should have used the debate to show that he is a mature legislator ready for the big time. Instead, he relied on campus high jinks.

## WATCHING OVER THE OVERSEERS

For many years, it was a sad fact of life in New York that two-bit political hacks in poor neighborhoods regarded local schools as sources of patronage and power. All too often, district superintendents or school board members were caught handing out jobs or contracts not to educators, but to political cronies unfit for employment elsewhere. Chancellors have had to step in on several occasions to override particularly corrupt school boards, which help run elementary and intermediate schools in each of the city's 32 school districts. In some cases, the local district superintendent—hired by the elected members of the school board—acted like a minor-league potentate, concerned mostly with the distribution of petty favors in hopes of moving to higher positions in the political world.

Thanks to a series of scandals, local school boards have been stripped of much of their hiring powers, and bad superintendents have been replaced. Now, Schools Chancellor Harold Levy wants to ensure that local district superintendents get some help in rebuilding public confidence in local schools. He has appointed five legitimate educators to serve as senior superintendents to watch over the district superintendents, who are about to be given new powers over hiring and contracting. The supervisors all have experience as district superintendents themselves, so they understand the problems and challenges from the ground up. If the system works as it should, the senior superintendents will serve as mentors for district superintendents, helping them on educational and financial issues as teachers and students are subjected to new, tougher standards.

And if a district superintendent isn't up to the job, the chancellor presumably will have a first-hand account—and will act accordingly.

## JACK ROWE

Having successfully presided over the merger of the Mount Sinai and New York University medical centers, Dr. Jack Rowe is leaving academia to become the chief executive officer of Aetna Insurance. He will leave behind a valuable legacy.

Both as the head of Mount Sinai and then as president of the combined Mount Sinai-N.Y.U. Health, Dr. Rowe demonstrated that he has the rare ability to blend the financial and management side of health care with an understanding of medicine and patient care. He also understood early on the changes that were taking place in medicine—during his time at Mount Sinai, he reached out beyond Manhattan to affiliate the hospital with clinics and private practices, thus enlarging the institution's reach and broadening its patient population. And he showed his appreciation for the demands of consolidation during the Mount Sinai-N.Y.U. merger.

We wish Dr. Rowe the best on his new assignment, knowing that he has performed a great service to the institution he led, and to the field of medicine.

## QUOTE / UNQUOTE

“THE COMMUTER DOESN'T WASH HIS HANDS. THEN THEY GO OUT AND GET SOMETHING TO EAT.”

John Hernandez, a restroom attendant at Grand Central Terminal.



YOU PROBABLY THINK I'M PARANOID.  
THAT'S WHAT THEY WANT YOU TO THINK.

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



# Is Hillary Glowing? Lazio's Performance Slides Women Voters

Mrs. Clinton's Team Is Having First Happy Moment!  
Her Campaign's Even Preening in Wake of Debate;  
Rick Lazio's Base Is Energized, But Hers Is Optimistic

BY TISH DURKIN

"We wanted to see how this whole soft-money thing shakes out," said Kelli Conlin, executive director of the National Abortion Rights Action League of New York.

"I actually got a letter from Rick Lazio demanding that the minute Hillary signs the pledge, we must cease and desist any electoral efforts on behalf of the candidate."

As is known to anyone who watched, read or heard about the debate held in Buffalo, N.Y., on Sept. 13, the "soft-money thing" to which Ms. Conlin referred was the specter of Representative Rick Lazio waving a piece of paper that he termed the "New York Freedom from Soft Money Pact" into the milingly appalled face of Hillary Rodham Clinton, who declined to sign it. Mrs. Clinton refused to forego the use of unrestricted funds raised and spent by political

parties as opposed to political candidates, unless and until Mr. Lazio provided proof that he had called off the well-funded independent-expenditure dogs braying on

his behalf. Ever since, the moment has been hailed as one of the two when undecided voters, particularly women, could be heard sliding from "maybe" to "no" on the Lazio meter. (The other moment, of course, was when moderator Tim Russert played clips of Mrs. Clinton on the *Today Show*, and Mr. Lazio, rather than hit a home run by playing the gentleman, struck out by playing the



HILLARY CLINTON

bully.)

But if it comes to fruition, what Ms. Conlin was hinting at is a hope of much greater importance to Team Hillary than the hope that women will remember Mr. Lazio as a fellow who doesn't know how to treat a lady. The hope is that voters will get to know Mr. Lazio as a fellow who doesn't know how to treat some women on the issue of choice.

Ms. Conlin said her organization will spend approximately \$500,000 to identify, educate and turn out pro-choice female swing voters in the state's suburban battle-

**Hillary the Martyr?**  
Greg Sargent and Josh Benson,  
Page 8.

NEW YORK SEPTEMBER 25, 2000

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NEW YORK THE OBSERVER



# Gore's MTV Culture War

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

there were "X-rated jokes told with the Vice President of the United States sitting there, with the Vice President hopeful sitting there." And, added Ms. Cheney, "it's quite amazing to me that they would go to such an event, a real X-rated event, on the very day that they are condemning people for marketing X-rated materials to our kids."

Ms. Cheney was picking up where she had left off a day before the concert, when she had spoken at a Senate hearing that had been arranged to discuss a newly released Federal Trade Commission report which concluded that adult-oriented entertainment was often marketed to teenagers and children. Mr. Gore and Mr. Lieberman responded to the F.T.C. report by devising a plan that gave Hollywood six months to get its act together or face regulation. But when eight of the entertainment-company executives invited to attend the Senate hearing did not show, Washington went on the attack—and though the discussion was supposed to be limited to marketing, the criticisms often extended to content, with Ms. Cheney specifically taking Mr. Weinstein to task for not showing up, and for the film *Kids*. This, even though Miramax—no doubt sensitive to Mr. Weinstein's active role in the Gore-Lieberman campaign—had responded to the F.T.C. report by rushing out voluntary revisions of its marketing guidelines.

Then, hours before the D.N.C. concert, Republican National Committee chairman Jim Nicholson stood in front of Radio City Music Hall and accused the Gore-Lieberman ticket of hypocrisy for taking a stand against Hollywood then taking money from such show-business guys as Messrs. Weinstein, Sykes and Wenner.

In these NC-17 days, "X-rated" is a term that conjures up the 70's, Marilyn Chambers, and, by association, the stiff, uncomfortable Nixon administration. And in using that term no less than three times to describe the D.N.C. concert, Ms. Cheney, for better or worse, appeared to be recycling the stale but, thanks to William Safire, more clever strategy of Spiro Agnew's reference to the "effete corps of impudent snobs" in the media who were opposing the Vietnam War. Or maybe she was channeling Dan Quayle's criticism of the "cultural elite" who saw no problem with *Murphy Brown* being a single mother.



Rolling Stone publisher Jann Wenner with Al and Tipper Gore at the Democratic National Convention concert at Radio City Music Hall on Sept. 14.

Ms. Treciokas, Mr. Leguizamo declined to comment on the matter. "We're not going to further the Republican agenda," said Ms. Treciokas. She added that "The Democratic party should not be implicated in this. John is a New York comedian and he went off-book. It's subject to interpretation what one person thinks is funny."

Indeed, according to Mr. Wenner, who was sitting a seat away from the Vice President, Mr. Gore "did not appreciate [Mr. Leguizamo's] performance. I can tell you that." But he added, "The rest was fine."

league assholes really love that."

Ms. Midler tried to move on, but the crowd caught her allusion to George W. Bush's remark about *New York Times* reporter Adam Clymer, and reacted enthusiastically.

Ms. Midler beamed, "I'm so excited at the prospect of electing Al and Joe," she said. "They're going to roll up their sleeves and dig us out of this cultural morass that we've been in for so many years. I know you find this very hard to believe, but I personally cannot wait for the day when it is socially un-

they gave it to the wife of the vice presidential candidate to blurt out. If they were really trying to make an issue out of it, it would be coming from George or from Cheney himself."

The gathering of three of the Eagles, Don Henley, Timothy B. Schmit and Glenn Frey, was another high point, but, truth be told, the trio's three-song set, which included Mr. Henley's "Boys of Summer," as well as "Peaceful Easy Feeling" and "Desperado" evoked a sexy, nostalgic mood that seemed more in tune with Bill Clinton than Mr. Gore. (Could this have had something to do with the video camera person—what team were they on anyway?—catching Hillary Clinton looking like a dead mackerel during their performance.) The Eagles may be serious old men now, consigned to the VH-1 playlist, but you look in their eyes and you know they once did all the decadent things that rock 'n' rollers did. And if MTV had come along a decade earlier, they would have been all over it.

In that sense, you could say that Mr. Clinton was the MTV president, and Mr. Gore, if he's elected, will be the VH-1 candidate. The group that followed Ms. Midler, the geezer brigade of Crosby Stills & Nash, seemed more Mr. Gore's speed as did Paul Simon and his very large band, which looked like Mr. Simon had picked them up at the U.N. cafeteria. They knew their stuff, but took things a bit too seriously.



MTV Networks Chairman Tom Freston (center) shows CBS Television chief Les Moonves and Viacom president Mel Karmazin around the MTV Music Awards on Sept. 7.

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



Whatever it was, Ms. Cheney seemed to be trying out the latest version of portraying the media as a worthwhile, glamorous enemy—a gambit with which they have a history of tremendous success.

Except: that was then and this is now. And now is a vertically integrated, entertainment-oriented world, where, as VH-1's Mr. Sykes said, "the MTV generation are becoming parents." It is also where one of MTV's ground-floor guys, Robert Pittman, is about to become the chief operating officer of AOL-Time Warner, which will place him in a considerably powerful position in the Fourth Estate as overseer of CNN and the house that Henry Luce built, Time Inc. Now is also a place where Viacom owns both MTV, which has helped Eminem's current, controversial album sell more than 6 million copies, and William Paley's Tiffany Network, CBS, home of *Survivor*.

And, ironically, now is a time where the notably conservative media mogul Rupert Murdoch, on whose Fox News Channel Ms. Cheney made her "X-rated" comments, appeared on the Gore-Lieberman concert program as one of the event's vice chairs. Mr. Murdoch's spokesman, Howard Rubenstein, confirmed that Mr. Murdoch's News Corporation was a "major contributor" to the event, although he said he did not know how much that major contribution totaled. Then he explained why: "News Corp. is not a hard-line right-wing, monolithic organization. They're a company with diverse opinions. This reflects the company's diverse opinions," said Mr. Rubenstein, adding, "News Corp. has contributed to both Republicans and Democrats."

So, while a number of the Democrats involved in the Sept. 14 concert agree that maybe Mr. Leguizamo's shtick crossed the line of taste, they can't quite square what happened that night with Ms. Cheney's comments. Robert Zimmerman, a D.N.C. member and a co-chair of the event told *The Observer*: "The off-color comments at Radio City were not relevant to anyone except a few people from the far Right who wanted to exploit it. I don't think anyone's going to hold the Gore-Lieberman team accountable for anyone who showed poor taste at the event." Mr. Zimmerman also said that he suspected that Ms. Cheney was trying to "exploit the fears and tensions that people have" and "to create a cultural warfare."

And, referring to Ms. Cheney's leading the National Endowment for the Humanities during the Reagan and Bush administrations, he added, "as off-color as some of the comments were at Radio City Hall, I don't think that anything is as obscene as Lynne Cheney's record in the performing arts community or in America's culture."

Rolling Stone's Mr. Wenner, who spoke to *The Observer* by phone on Sept. 19, opined that if Ms. Cheney "thinks the concert was an X-rated show, then she's someone from the frontier circa 1890. And probably even further back than that." Mr. Wenner explained that, "There was one thing that crossed the line in terms of what you do in public in front of a sitting Vice President, which was [John] Leguizamo's [remark], but all it was was tasteless. It really wasn't X-rated. And it wasn't funny." Through his spokeswoman,

REPRODUCTION  
PROHIBITED

The *Post* had reported that Bette Midler's performance had caused some wincing, and at one point, the video cameras that were projecting the event onto a large video screen for people in the cheap seats caught Mrs. Gore at a moment when she seemed to be rolling her eyes. But Mr. Wenner disputed this, saying that, after the show, Mrs. Gore immediately sought out Ms. Midler to tell her how much she enjoyed the show. "I paid close attention to what Bette was doing and went through her dialogue with her early in the day," said Mr. Wenner. "I mean, Lieberman leaned over to me and said, 'I loved that.' He was laughing his head off, first, at Bette in general, but [then] at her specific routine, which was barbed at him but in a very gentle, nicely humored funny way."

Anyone who followed Mr. Leguizamo, as Ms. Midler did, would have seemed gentle in comparison, especially since Mr. Leguizamo introduced the performer as someone who had "appeared in more bathhouses than Ed Koch." And, after his subsequent joke, which dealt with the origin of Mr. Koch's "How Am I Doing?" slogan, Mr. Leguizamo proclaimed that he loved Mr. Koch so much, "I'd let him do me!"

But Ms. Midler calmed things down by coming out and performing "The Rose" before she started getting saucy. Stalking the stage, wearing a Jabberjaw grin, Ms. Midler noted that there were a lot of politicians in the house. "It's not like the old days," she said, though "You know they're very well behaved nowadays. In the old days a girl could count on getting hit on by Bob Packwood. I kinda miss those days."

After the rim shot, Ms. Midler continued, "I know you're all relying on me to do Bush and Dick jokes, but I want you all to know that I would never ever

want to embarrass the Vice President and his running mate under any circumstances, even though I recently took a flying leap into the vat of moral decay known as prime-time network television." The crowd offered up a knowing laugh and Ms. Midler's smile broadened. "Yes, Joe Lieberman is smiling at me now," she said, "but just wait until sweeps. He's going to be coming after me with a broom. They're re-editing my pilot so that the word 'rat' appears across my bosom hundreds of times during the episode. That's sure to guarantee me tons and tons of press. Yes, those major-

there were a few moments at the beginning of the concert when Mr. Gore gave the impression that he and Mr. Lieberman were running in a post-ironic age. One came when Mr. Gore gave the crowd the Top 10 list he just had read on that day's taping of *Late Night with David Letterman*. The subject was rejected campaign slogans, and number four was "With Joe Lieberman on the ticket, you get all kinds of fun new days off," adding "Joe and I will work for you 24-6." The laughter that followed was a big release. Mr. Gore, or his daughter the comedy writer, or Mr. Letterman's writers, had hit the perfect pitch with that joke, one that said, we've all been around long enough in this country to get it.

The big finale came when all of the participants—Julia Roberts and Matt Damon and Salma Hayek joined all of the musicians onstage to sing to the Gores and the Liebermans, CSN's "Teach Your Children." "I was just so touched by that last moment," said Mr. Wenner. "This rock 'n' roll generation assembled on the stage delivering this message to the candidate. Because he's like them. He's that same age, same generation, same outlook. To me, there was a real importance to the show, beyond the money, which is obviously the paramount thing, but with this message that these artists as a group stand for something. For a set of values. And that the Vice President stands with them."

Then again, save for Lenny Kravitz and maybe Sheryl Crow, and people like Ms. Roberts and Mr. Damon, a lot of the artists up on that stage are perceived as dinosaurs, who are in the process of giving up their last antediluvian roar. The new kids on the block, the people racking up platinum albums today, like Eminem and Rage Against the Machine, Limp Bizkit and even that little Lolita Britney Spears were not present. And whether Mr. Gore and Mr. Lieberman and his supporters like it or not, those artists are the controversial future. And their royalties are funding Mr. Gore's royalty.

No wonder, Jimmy Buffett—right before the final number—told the crowd, "Thank you for our phony baloney jobs." That was then, however, and Mr. Gore is campaigning for now, a moment he may not quite fully comprehend as well as those who feted him at Radio City Music Hall.

acceptable to tell this one in public."

Then she proceeded to tell three mildly bawdy jokes. The best of which was about the john who complained to a prostitute named Clementine about her \$100 fee by noting that "for heaven's sake, the Dutch bought the entire island of Manhattan for \$24."

"That's right, replied Clementine, but Manhattan just lies there," Ms. Midler also did the one about making a pass at the grocery store bag boy by telling him, in the parking lot, that she had an "itchy booty." The reply: "I'm sorry lady, I don't know one Japanese car from another."

Aside from Mr. Leguizamo's comments, that was as X-rated as things got, and quite frankly, if you'd polled anyone in the room that night, Ms. Midler would have come away as the pinnacle of the evening when it came to entertainment. Which is why Mr. Wenner dismissed Ms. Cheney's comments as "just opportunistic gamesmanship, the level of sidewalk press conference sniping." He added that "the signal they don't take that very seriously is

If Lynne Cheney  
thinks the concert was an  
X-rated show, then she's  
someone from the frontier  
circa 1890.

—John Wenner



September 21, 2000

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 2000

## NEAL TRAVIS NEW YORK

# H'wood has 'soft' spot for Hill

IT'S no wonder **Hillary Rodham Clinton** refused to sign **Rick Lazio's** proffered contract during their debate the other night. When it's a matter of raising "soft" money, Hillary's as hard as they come — as witness the "beds for bucks" scandal at the White House and Camp David.

I've just received a copy of an invitation to a Hollywood fund-raiser Sept. 28 at the home of **Barbara and Marvin Davis**. It's a dinner, \$5,000 a couple, and could easily net \$1 million for "New York Senate 2000," which is the euphemism they use for Hillary's campaign war chest.

This would appear to be potentially the richest payday for any out-of-state candidate anytime, anywhere. But even worse, there is a glaring suggestion of quid pro quo here: **President Clinton** has agreed to be the guest of honor at the Davis' "Carousel of Hope" gala in Beverly Hills Oct. 28.

The annual event, which benefits childhood di-

abetes, is always a wonderful night and raises millions. But I don't think I'll be the only one wondering whether Bill's attendance is a return favor for the Davis' throwing a fund-raiser for his wife exactly one month earlier.

"Marvin and I are very proud and happy that President Clinton will be attending the Carousel of Hope, which for 22 years has been fighting this dreaded disease," Barbara says. "We are sure that President Clinton's presence will be inspiring to everyone."

Whatever, the resentment against fat cats of any stripe (including the out-of-state money for **Mayor Rudy** when he was still going to be the Hillary-slayer) interfering in our election is palpable.

The law doesn't allow foreigners to contribute to American politics; maybe we should have a similar rule to prevent the interstate trafficking in campaign moolah for local candidates.

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



# Clintons off the hook, but not innocent

DREHER from Page 7

that, while in prison, Webster Hubbell received lucrative business contracts from the Riady family and other Clinton supporters. It looked for all the world like an attempt to buy his silence.

A 1996 recording of a prison phone call between Hubbell and his wife has Mr. Hubbell promising not to "raise those allegations that might open [the investigation] up to Hillary." He also says, "So, I need to roll over one more time."

Without Hubbell's full coopera-

tion, which he withheld, it is very hard to put together a case on direct evidence that the lum-mox was rewarded financially for taking a fall for Bill and Hillary. But the suspicious contracts and the tapes are part of the record — and they aren't flattering to Mrs. Clinton.

In a similar vein, the independent counsel's office earlier failed to find criminal misconduct in the matter of the missing Rose Law Firm billing records, which detailed Mrs. Clinton's work on another fraudulent real-estate deal.

Someone in the White House just happened to find them almost two years after they had been subpoenaed. The records contradicted Hillary's sworn testimony in which she claimed she hadn't worked on the deal.

The counsel's office couldn't find a criminal conspiracy, though, so there were no indictments. But only fools and paid Clinton shills would truly believe those records just happened to be misplaced.

This is how the Clintons work: on the shady side of the law, covering their tracks as best they

can, and counting on cultish cronies for protection.

Hillary may want to "move on," and talk about issues, but her character is an issue — and always will be. We now have credible allegations that the whorish White House has been renting out the joint to the first lady's campaign donors.

A list of guests with the dates of their stays would clear up the question of impropriety. But days drag on with the promised list still unforthcoming — no doubt stuck in the same preposterous limbo that the billing records were.

There's probably not anything indictable in that, either, but don't you get sick of it all the same?

"I'm just glad it's over," Hillary said yesterday. Oh, please. With the Clintons, this stuff is *never* over.

You want six more years of it?



**PRESIDENT CLINTON**

Protected by cultish cronies.

On second thought, forget the exorcist. What we really need is a majority of New York voters to decide this fall that they've had enough.

E-mail: [dreher@nypost.com](mailto:dreher@nypost.com)

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



# NEW YORK POST

America's oldest continuously published daily newspaper

## Hillary Dodges a Bullet . . .

**H**illary and President Clinton skirted criminal prosecution in the Whitewater case yesterday when Independent Counsel Robert Ray said he could not find sufficient evidence to prove their guilt beyond a reasonable doubt.

They must be thrilled.

But Ray's statement hardly means the first lady and her husband emerge from the six-year probe with clean hands.

Or that Hillary deserves to be New York's next senator.

Quite the opposite.

For starters, Ray blasted the White House for delaying the probe, which cost taxpayers some \$60 million. He cited the Clintons' failure to provide important evidence, such as Mrs. Clinton's Rose Law Firm records, which remained "missing" for 18 months and then mysteriously appeared. And he noted the Clintons' fondness for filing "unmeritorious" legal claims, a tactic seemingly meant to throw the probe off course — and costing taxpayers a bundle.

More important, Ray left numerous troubling questions unanswered. Like:

■ What *did* happen to those billing records?

■ What *was* Hillary's role in the scheme by Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan to deceive bank examiners, as

federal regulators concluded it had? And why *did* Hillary claim 99 times that she couldn't recall her work for Madison?

■ Why did a document, apparently prepared by Hillary, value Whitewater property at \$400,000, when the government got only \$38,000 for it six years later?

■ Why *was* a Madison Guaranty cashier's check — found in the trunk of a car following a tornado in 1997 — made out to "Bill Clinton" for \$27,600, when Clinton testified that he "never borrowed any money" from the S&L?

■ Why *was* a second check — from the trustee account of the Clintons' Whitewater partner, James McDougal — made out for the exact amount needed to pay off a \$27,600 loan? Why did it contain the notation "Payoff Clinton"?

Bill Clinton, only the second president ever impeached, continues to face the possibility of an indictment over the Monica mess. And he may be disbarred.

Hillary, the only first lady ever subpoenaed by a grand jury, seems luckier legally. But the would-be senator has established a pattern of deceit — Travelgate, Filegate, Cattlegate — that almost makes her husband look honest.

That record might be just enough to sway voters come November.

## . . . And Plays the Victim

**W**hich is it, Hillary — "Carol Brady" or "Xena, Warrior Princess"?

GOP Senate candidate Rick Lazio finds himself under attack for what Hillary's campaign called a "menacing" approach during last week's debate.

Lazio's "terrifying" gesture: He crossed the stage and challenged the first lady to sign a "no soft money" pledge.

Several of her media allies promptly accused Lazio of "bullying" her. Clinton's own spokesman actually complained that Lazio had "invaded Hillary's personal space."

Oh, puh-leeze.

The notion of Hillary Clinton as a fragile feminine flower in need of protec-

tion from an awful hulking brute like Rick Lazio is too ridiculous to consider.

As Lazio notes, there's an insidious double standard at work here: "The idea . . . that you can't make a point forcefully because you're a man and the person you're making the point with is a woman — I just think that's sexist."

In Mrs. Clinton's case, it's particularly outrageous.

But then, throughout her career she has presented herself as whatever the situation calls for: a fighting feminist confronting the male establishment or a poor, besieged female who's being picked on because she's a woman.

She can't have it both ways.

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESIDENT



# Lazio gives ultimatum to Mrs. Clinton

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 2000 / PAGE A3

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



Rick Lazio holds agreements from 14 independent groups to halt advertising against Hillary Rodham Clinton. AP

## Allows 72 hours to meet terms on soft-money ban

By Steve Miller  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

ALBANY — Rep. Rick Lazio, displaying a sheaf of signed statements that would eliminate the use of soft money from New York's Senate campaign, yesterday issued an ultimatum to his opponent, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

"I'll give her 72 hours to respond," Mr. Lazio said, addressing a group of newspaper editors and reporters at a conference here. His aides handed the press copies of the statements, signed by 14 groups Mrs. Clinton had claimed were major soft-money supporters of the Lazio campaign.

"This, ladies and gentlemen, is a test of character for Mrs. Clinton," the Long Island Republican said.

Mr. Lazio asked his opponent to collect promises from 13 of her own soft-money donors — including the AFL-CIO and the American Federation of Teachers — to close all soft-money accounts, refrain from opening any new soft-money accounts and call on all groups outside the campaigns to stop running ads.

"I am prepared to do that," Mrs. Clinton responded an hour later, addressing the same collection of journalists. "We're going to have to look at everything, but there are some groups we can't control."

Soft money refers to the unlimited contributions that can be indirectly injected into a campaign through groups outside a candidate's official campaign. The candidates themselves must rely on hard money, which is limited and regulated by federal election laws.

The soft-money issue arose during the Clinton-Lazio debate last week when Mr. Lazio ceremoniously presented Mrs. Clinton with a statement, which he pre-signed, that was titled "New York Freedom From Soft Money Pact."

When he asked her to join him, she said, "Well, I would be happy to — when you give me the signed letters."

Yesterday, he gave her the letters and his campaign immediately issued a press release declaring: "Lazio Calls Hillary's Soft Money Bluff."

Mr. Lazio called it a "defining issue."

"Now we have eliminated any smoke screen that might be left," he said. "We don't need a law in Washington to do the right thing."

A mutual agreement would make the high-profile Senate race even more special; it would become the first major campaign to use a self-imposed form of campaign finance reform. Mr. Lazio is a supporter of Arizona Sen. John McCain's plan to ban all soft money from elections.

The Lazio campaign said Tuesday that it had closed its "Friends

of Rick Lazio" soft-money committee, which the Clinton campaign had criticized.

Mr. Lazio's fund held less than \$87,000, according to federal records. But since January 1999, it raised almost \$390,000 and spent just over \$300,000.

Mr. Lazio warned that if Mrs. Clinton fails to secure the signatures to hold up her end of the deal, "we will have to fight fire with fire."

Lazio campaign operative Mike Murphy said the 72-hour window is inflexible.

"We were given the list of groups to get signatures from and did it quickly," Mr. Murphy said. "She can do that as well."

Included on the list of off-limits donors as dictated by the Lazio campaign are the National Abortion Rights League, the Sierra Club, Planned Parenthood and the Democratic National Committee.

Mrs. Clinton's largest political-action donor group has been organized labor, which accounts for almost one-third of her \$685,000 in donations from such groups.

These organizations are not covered by the soft-money ban.

Several conservative groups initially refused to take themselves out of the soft-money donor group, including the American Conservative Union, which said it has allocated around \$7 million to the Lazio-Clinton race in the form of ads that attack the first lady.

If the soft-money ban takes effect, the ACU has agreed to remove the ads, which began airing last week.

"The line has really changed in the last four days," said ACU spokesman Ian Walters. "This has really turned into a major issue and it became clear that with all the other groups signing, our refusal would obfuscate the effort."



# The Washington Times

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THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 2000 ★ R ★★

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## Chief's former offices raided

### Georgia agents seize Few records

By John Drake  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Agents with the Georgia Bureau



Robert W. Ray

## Ray closes book on Whitewater

By Jerry Seper  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A six-year, \$52 million investigation into a questionable Arkansas land deal involving President Clinton and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton ended yesterday with independent counsel Robert W. Ray declaring there was "insufficient evidence" to bring charges against the couple.

Called the "Whitewater investigation" because of its ties to a real estate development on the banks of the White River in the Arkansas Ozarks, the probe netted 14 convictions or guilty pleas, including

those of a sitting Arkansas governor, Jim Guy Tucker; Whitewater Development Corp. business partners James and Susan McDougal, and onetime Associate Attorney General Webster L. Hubbell, a law partner of Mrs. Clinton's at Little Rock's Rose Law Firm.

In an announcement just seven weeks before the Nov. 7 presidential election, Mr. Ray said the lengthy probe, which had focused on accusations that the Clintons obstructed justice and gave false testimony, was "now closed."

### Evidence to charge Clintons 'insufficient'

"This office determined that the evidence was insufficient to prove to a jury beyond a reasonable doubt that either President Clinton or Mrs. Clinton knowingly participated in any criminal conduct," Mr. Ray said in a six-page statement.

Mr. Ray also said there was "inconclusive" evidence about the disappearance of Mrs. Clinton's law firm billing records, which vanished after the 1992 election and mysteriously surfaced in the White House living quarters in

1996 — 18 months after the first lady received a subpoena for the documents. He said it could not be determined whether "any person, including Mrs. Clinton, knowingly or willfully possessed the billing records with the intent to obstruct justice."

Though Mr. Ray's office has now closed the Whitewater probe, prosecutors are still considering the possibility of an indictment of Mr. Clinton on charges of perjury and obstruction of justice in the Monica Lewinsky scandal once he leaves the White House in January.

see RAY, page A11

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



# FROM PAGE ONE

## OLYMPICS

From page A1

— medals that would have drawn them even with the Americans in the gold count.

The Australian 4x200 freestyle relay team, led by O'Neill, was heavily favored going into that race.

But the American women — Samantha Arsenault, Diana Munz, Lindsay Benko and Thompson — edged the Australians. They set an Olympic record of 7 minutes, 57.80 seconds, just beating the Australians and breaking the old mark by more than two seconds. The victory gave the American women four golds in two days.

The victory also gave Thompson another piece of history and put a golden finish on games that began with a bit of tarnish.

Thompson created controversy before the games with a provocative, topless pose (her fists covering her breasts) in Sports Illustrated. She finished last night as the winningest female swimmer ever.

The victory gave Thompson seven golds for her career, one more than German Kristin Otto. All seven of those golds came in relays. Her only individual medal was a silver in the 100 freestyle at the 1992 Barcelona Games.

"People shouldn't say anything about that," Munz said. "Who else has seven gold medals? That's incredible. She's the best anchor swimmer there's ever been."

Said Thompson: "I'm not thinking about gold medals. I'm trying to take these events day by day."

Hyman considered quitting competitive swimming in May because of sinus and performance

problems. She had used an underwater fish-kick style that was banned in 1998. Hyman, forced to change her style, fared badly. U.S. coach Richard Quick talked her out of quitting, she qualified for the Olympic team and improved greatly at the pre-Sydney training camp.

"To come this far since May is really a credit to my support people," she said. "There are so many people who supported me, and it's been their love and prayers that got me here."

She won in the best race of her life. She had never broken 2 minutes, 9.08 seconds in the event coming into the games. But she led O'Neill by a body length before winning and discovering her astonishing time. "Oh, my God," she mouthed over and over.

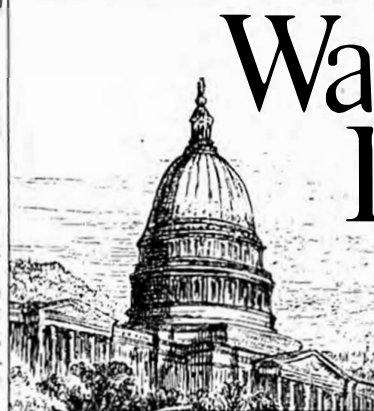
Australians finished second in both races, and the pressure they felt to win gold in a swim-crazed country was apparent.

Michael Klim felt as bad as his mates on the women's team. The outspoken Australian finished fourth in the 100-meter freestyle, behind gold medal winner Pieter van den Hogenband of the Netherlands, Alexander Popov of Russia and — the crowning embarrassment — American Gary Hall Jr.

Klim and Hall warred before the games. Hall predicted the Americans would "smash them like guitars," and Klim called Hall a "drug cheat." When the Australians defeated the U.S. team in 800-meter freestyle relay on Tuesday, the swimmers mocked Hall by strumming on imaginary guitars.

Klim said last night he gave it "my best shot."

• The article is based in part on wire service reports



## TODAY'S HEADLI

**Vietnam memorial conference**  
Nebraska Republican, and Rep. Jo Democrat, announce legislation to Education Center for visitors to the Location: Steps of the Lincoln Mem 202/224-4224.

**Energy hearing — 1 p.m.** — Th Committee holds a hearing to seek officials and affected businesses at witnesses include Energy Secretary Environmental Protection Agency a Federal Energy Regulatory Commis Rayburn House Office Building. Co,

## PRESIDENT CLINTON

Travels to Flint, Mich., to highlight several model programs that provide access to information technology for people with disabilities and increase their ability to get a job and acquire new skills.

## VICE PRESIDENT GORE

**10:30 a.m.** — Discusses energy independence, Burch Oil, 45370 Clarke's Landing Road, Hollywood, Md.

## ECONOMIC REPORTS

**8:30 a.m. — Bureau of Labor Statistics** releases a report on unemployment insurance claims for the week. Location: 200 Constitution Ave. NW. Contact: 202/606-5902.

**2 p.m. — Treasury Department** issues the Treasury statement for August 2000. Location: 15th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue NW. Contact: 202/874-9890.

## FEDERAL AGENCIES

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own conclusions about that." The first lady, at a meeting of

a \$300,000 loan made by Little

such a quid pro quo to



## RAY

From page A1

Investigators also are continuing to examine the White House's failure to search and produce subpoenaed records, including e-mail messages that were lost, and they are working on an appeal by Tucker — convicted in the first Whitewater trial — of his conviction for conspiracy and mail fraud, which is pending before the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals.

In March, Mr. Ray concluded the FBI files investigation, saying there was "credible" evidence that Mrs. Clinton or senior White House officials were involved in seeking the FBI files of Republicans. In June, he wrapped up the investigation into the White House travel office firings, saying that there would be no indictments, but that he found "substantial evidence" Mrs. Clinton played a role in the dismissals.

The White House, which had vilified Mr. Ray's predecessor, Kenneth W. Starr, reacted immediately — and politely — to the news.

The White House portrayed the report, which did not clear the Clintons of suspicion, as vindication.

"Robert Ray is now the latest investigator to complete an examination of the transactions to the Whitewater Development Corp. and conclude that there are no grounds for legal action," said White House spokesman Joe Lockhart, adding that similar conclusions had been reached over the past "several years."

Mr. Lockhart told reporters the decision to close the investigation should "certainly" put the entire Whitewater matter to rest, for both the first lady and the president. He said the probe took "a significant amount of time and money," but he would "leave it up to the American people to make up their own minds on whether this was a useful exercise."

Mr. Clinton, as he walked through the White House Rose Garden with Italian Prime Minister Giuliano Amato, ignored questions by reporters on the Ray statement. Asked Tuesday about the investigation, he said prosecutors determined two years ago "there was nothing to any of that stuff that has just been coming out now, a year and a half later, so I think people are capable of drawing their own conclusions about that."

The first lady, at a meeting of

## JAIL TIME

The 14 persons convicted in the Whitewater investigation:

- Webster L. Hubbell, Hillary Rodham Clinton's former law partner, pleaded guilty to three felonies — tax evasion, mail fraud and concealment by scheme.
- Former Arkansas Gov. Jim Guy Tucker was found guilty by a jury of conspiracy and mail fraud and pleaded guilty to conspiracy to defraud the Internal Revenue Service. He is appealing the two jury verdicts.
- Clinton Whitewater partner James McDougal was convicted by a jury of 18 felonies in the collapse of his savings and loan. He died in prison.
- Susan McDougal was convicted by a jury of four felonies and released from prison in 1998. She also served a year and half for refusing to answer grand jury questions in the Whitewater probe. Her trial for criminal contempt of court ended in a hung jury. It was not retried.
- Former Little Rock judge David Hale, who said he was pressured by President Clinton to make a fraudulent \$300,000 loan to a company controlled by Mrs. McDougal, pleaded guilty to two felonies.
- Little Rock appraiser Robert Palmer pleaded guilty to conspiracy.
- Christopher Wade pleaded guilty to two felonies.
- Stephen A. Smith pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor.
- Larry Kuca pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor.
- Little Rock lawyer John Haley was guilty of a misdemeanor.
- Businessman William Marks was guilty of a felony.
- Neal T. Ainley, a former banker, pleaded guilty to two misdemeanors.
- Charles Matthews was guilty of two misdemeanors.
- Eugene Fitzhugh was guilty of a misdemeanor.

The Washington Times

newspaper executives in Albany, N.Y., said she was "glad that this is finally over."

"I think that most New Yorkers and Americans had made up their minds a long time ago about this. Now everybody can move on."

The Whitewater investigation, begun in 1994 by special prosecutor Robert B. Fiske and later by Mr. Starr, focused on accusations that the Clintons knowingly participated in criminal conduct related to Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan Association, the Little Rock, Ark., thrift owned by the McDougals. The thrift failed in 1994 at a cost to taxpayers of \$73 million.

Mr. Ray said the Whitewater investigation focused on accusations — but found insufficient evidence — that:

- Mr. Clinton gave false testimony when he told a jury in the McDougal-Tucker trial he never borrowed any money from Madison or caused anybody to borrow any money for his benefit. The investigation targeted a Nov. 15, 1982, Madison check made out to "Bill Clinton" that had been found in the trunk of a car in July 1997 after a tornado.

- Mr. Clinton gave false testimony when he told the Tucker-McDougal jury he did not know of a \$300,000 loan made by Little

Rock banker David Hale to Susan McDougal.

- Mr. Clinton knowingly gave false testimony at the McDougal-Tucker trial when he denied knowing how Mrs. Clinton's Rose Law Firm had been hired by Madison to represent the thrift in matters before state regulators.

- Mrs. Clinton knowingly made false statements to the Resolution Trust Corp. regarding the relationship between Madison and the Rose Law Firm, as well as her own work related to Madison.

- Mrs. Clinton was involved in an effort to obstruct the Whitewater investigation by withholding relevant evidence or information in connection with Rose Law Firm billing records.

Mr. Ray also said investigators examined the employment of Mr. Hubbell by supporters of the president following his resignation from the Justice Department to determine if he had been paid "hush money" for his silence in the Whitewater investigation.

He said the evidence was insufficient to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that contracts Mr. Hubbell received "constituted a criminal quid pro quo." He also said there was no evidence to show the president or the first lady was involved "in any effort to provide such a quid pro quo to Hubbell."

## WHITWATER PROBE ENDS

Key events in the Clinton investigation:

**Jan. 12, 1994:** Under pressure, President Clinton asks that a special prosecutor be named to investigate his Whitewater land dealings.

**Jan. 20:** Attorney General Janet Reno selects Robert B. Fiske Jr. as special prosecutor.

**May 6:** Paula Jones files a lawsuit, saying Mr. Clinton sexually harassed her in a Little Rock, Ark., hotel room three years earlier while she was a state clerk and he was governor.

**Aug. 5:** After Congress reauthorizes the defunct Independent Counsel Act — and Mr. Clinton signs it — a panel of three federal appeals court judges appoints former Bush administration Solicitor General Kenneth W. Starr to take over Mr. Fiske's investigation.

**Aug. 17, 1995:** The Clintons' former business partners, James and Susan McDougal, and Arkansas Gov. Jim Guy Tucker are indicted by the Whitewater grand jury on fraud and conspiracy charges.

**Jan. 4, 1996:** Carolyn Huber, a longtime Clinton aide, finds billing records from Hillary Rodham Clinton's law firm, which handled some Whitewater-related affairs.

**Jan. 27:** Mrs. Clinton makes a four-hour appearance before a Whitewater grand jury.

**March 22:** Mr. Starr begins an investigation into whether a presidential aide lied about Mrs. Clinton's role in the firings of seven employees in the White House travel office.

**April 28:** Mr. Clinton gives videotaped testimony for the Tucker-McDougals trial.

**May 28:** Tucker and the McDougals are convicted. Susan McDougal refuses to cooperate with Mr. Starr's investigation and later serves 18 months for contempt of court, then begins serving part of her two-year prison term for fraud.

**June 21:** Mr. Starr starts investigating the Clinton White House's gathering of hundreds of FBI background files of appointees from past Republican administrations.

**Nov. 5:** Mr. Clinton is re-elected.

**May 27, 1997:** The Supreme Court rules Mrs. Jones can pursue her lawsuit while Mr. Clinton is in office.

**Dec. 19:** Monica Lewinsky is served with a subpoena to appear at a

deposition for the Jones suit and to turn over gifts from Mr. Clinton.

**Jan. 7, 1998:** Miss Lewinsky signs an affidavit for the Jones case saying she had no sexual relationship with Mr. Clinton.

**Jan. 12:** A confidante of Miss Lewinsky, Linda Tripp, gives Mr. Starr's office tapes she made of conversations between herself and Miss Lewinsky.

**Jan. 16:** A court panel gives Mr. Starr authority to investigate Lewinsky matters.

**Jan. 17:** Mr. Clinton testifies in Mrs. Jones' lawsuit and denies a sexual relationship with Miss Lewinsky.

**Jan. 26:** Mr. Clinton declares publicly, "I did not have sexual relations with that woman . . . I never told anybody to lie."

**April 1:** In Arkansas, U.S. District Judge Susan Webber Wright dismisses Mrs. Jones' lawsuit.

**April 30:** Webster L. Hubbell, who pleaded guilty in 1994 to defrauding the Arkansas law firm where he worked with Mrs. Clinton, is charged with evading taxes on income he received from Clinton friends who sought to assist him after he resigned as associate attorney general.

**Aug. 6:** Under immunity from prosecution, Miss Lewinsky testifies to the Starr grand jury.

**Aug. 17:** Mr. Clinton undergoes more than four hours of questioning before the grand jury. He then says in a televised speech, "I did have a relationship with Miss Lewinsky that was not appropriate."

**Sept. 9:** Mr. Starr delivers his report on the Lewinsky matter to Congress, telling House leaders he has found "substantial and credible information . . . that may constitute grounds for impeachment."

**Nov. 13:** Mr. Clinton agrees to pay Mrs. Jones \$850,000 to drop her sexual harassment lawsuit, with no apology or admission of guilt.

**Nov. 13:** Mr. Hubbell is indicted again, this time charged with 15 felony counts accusing him of fraud, perjury and "corruptly impeding" federal banking regulators' investigation of many of the original Whitewater allegations.

**Nov. 20:** Mr. Starr's ethics adviser, Sam Dash, resigns, objecting to Mr. Starr's testifying before Congress in support of impeachment report.

**Dec. 11:** The House Judiciary Committee approves impeachment articles that accuse the president of

perjury in the Jones deposition, perjury in his grand jury testimony and obstruction of justice in the Jones case. A fourth article approved Dec. 12 charges perjury in Mr. Clinton's responses to the committee's questions.

**Dec. 19:** Mr. Clinton is impeached by the House on two articles of perjury and obstruction of justice.

**Jan. 7, 1999:** Impeachment trial begins in the Senate.

**Feb. 6:** Clips from the videotaped testimony of Miss Lewinsky, presidential friend Vernon Jordan and White House aide Sidney Blumenthal, as well as videotaped testimony from Mr. Clinton, are played publicly at the Senate trial.

**Feb. 12:** The Senate acquits Mr. Clinton.

**April 12:** Judge Wright, the Little Rock judge who oversaw the Jones case, finds Mr. Clinton in contempt for his "intentionally false" testimony about his relationship with Miss Lewinsky. She later orders him to pay \$90,000 in penalties.

**June 30:** On the last day before the Independent Counsel Act expires, Mr. Hubbell pleads guilty to a felony and a misdemeanor.

**Oct. 18:** Mr. Starr steps aside. The three-judge panel names one of his assistants, Robert W. Ray, to finish the investigation.

**March 16, 2000:** Mr. Ray concludes the FBI files investigation, saying there was no credible evidence that Mrs. Clinton or senior White House officials were involved in seeking the FBI background files of Republicans.

**March 19:** Mr. Ray says in a television interview that filing criminal charges against Mr. Clinton in the Lewinsky case is still an option.

**June 22:** Mr. Ray wraps up the investigation of the White House travel office firings, saying there would be no indictments, but that he found "substantial evidence" that Mrs. Clinton played a role in the dismissals.

**Aug. 17:** Mr. Ray assembles a new grand jury to determine whether Mr. Clinton should be indicted after he leaves office for his conduct in the Lewinsky scandal.

**Sept. 20:** Mr. Ray announces the completion of the original Whitewater investigation, saying there was "insufficient" or "inconclusive" evidence to warrant any charges against the Clintons.

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION





Thursday, September 21, 2000

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION

# Clintons won't be charged in land deal

## Whitewater evidence is called 'insufficient'

By Kathy Kiely  
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — The six-year Whitewater investigation that indirectly led to President Clinton's impeachment ended Wednesday with a prosecutor finding there is not enough evidence to bring charges against the president or Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Independent counsel Robert Ray found that the evidence was "insufficient to prove to a jury beyond a reasonable doubt that either of them committed any criminal offense" in connection with a series of Arkansas real-estate transactions.

But Ray, who inherited a multifaceted probe into alleged wrongdoing at the Clinton White House from Ken Starr last year, said he is continuing to investigate the White House's failure to provide "this and other investigations" with relevant evidence, including e-mail.

Ray's statement comes as Hillary Clinton is locked in a tight Senate race in New York with Republican Rep. Rick Lazio. The first lady, whom Starr subpoenaed to testify before a grand jury in 1996, told reporters in Albany: "I'm just glad that this is finally over."

White House press secretary Joe Lockhart hailed Ray's statement as a vindication for the Clintons.

Allegations that the Clintons benefited from sweetheart deals in connection with Whitewater, a failed Arkansas resort, led to the appointment in 1994 of an independent counsel to investigate the president.

The \$52 million probe was expanded into other matters, including the affair with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky that resulted in Clinton's impeachment on obstruction-of-justice charges.

The Senate acquitted Clinton. But Ray is considering whether to bring an indictment against the president after Clinton leaves office in January. The president also faces a disbarment proceeding in Arkansas this fall.

Starr's Whitewater investigation resulted in the convictions of a dozen people, including the Clintons' former Whitewater partners, James and Susan McDougal, and former Arkansas governor Jim Guy Tucker. James McDougal died in 1998.

Ray said the evidence failed to prove that:

- The White House tried to stop bank regulators from investigating problems at Madison Guaranty, a savings and loan owned by the McDougals.

- The president lied when he said he knew nothing about fraudulent loans arranged by the McDougals.

- The Clintons bought silence from the first lady's ex-law partner, Webster Hubbell, by finding him jobs.

Ray said the evidence was "inconclusive" as to whether the first lady or her aides hid billing records from her legal work on a related land deal. The records turned up in the White House residence in 1996, 18 months after investigators subpoenaed them.



USA Today Thursday September 21, 2000

## **Electionline**

### **Lazio, Clinton campaigns to meet on 'soft money'**

Senate candidates Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rick Lazio agreed Wednesday to try to eliminate the influence of outside groups and big cash donors on their race in New York. Lazio, a Republican, told reporters Wednesday that he had pledges from 14 independent groups to agree to halt their ads against Clinton, a Democrat, if she agrees to shut down committees that are raising unlimited "soft money." Clinton said she was encouraged by the development and would ask her campaign staff to meet with Lazio's. They agreed to have a meeting within 72 hours.

Also Wednesday, a *New York Times*/CBS News Poll showed Clinton taking a 9-point lead over Lazio.

— Kathy Kiely

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# In Poll, Mrs. Clinton Makes Gain Among Women From the Suburbs

## Voters Say Lazio Came Across as Too Tough in Initial Debate

By ADAM NAGOURNEY  
with MARJORIE CONNELLY

Voter attitudes toward Rick A. Lazio have turned markedly more negative since June, with suburban women now moving solidly toward Hillary Rodham Clinton and many New Yorkers saying Mr. Lazio came across as harsh and inexperienced in his debate with Mrs. Clinton last week, according to the latest New York Times/CBS News poll.

The survey, which began last Thursday and was completed on Tuesday night, suggested deterioration in Mr. Lazio's standing at the time that most politicians believe that voters are beginning serious consideration of the choice before them in the race for Senate.

Mrs. Clinton now has a 9-point lead over her opponent, with 48 percent to Mr. Lazio's 39 percent. The remaining voters are undecided or are supporting minor-party candidates.

In the last Times/CBS poll, taken in June, Mrs. Clinton had a 5-point lead over Mr. Lazio, who had just entered the race.

When the undecided voters were encouraged to express which way they were leaning, and their probable votes were added to the totals, Mrs. Clinton broke the 50 percent barrier in the most recent poll, something of a milestone in this race, leading Mr. Lazio by 51 percent to 41 percent.

The poll was taken starting the evening after the debate in Buffalo, an encounter that seems to have enhanced Mrs. Clinton's standing, at least for the time being. Nearly half of the poll respondents who saw the debate pronounced Mrs. Clinton the winner, a perception that Mrs. Clinton's advisers acknowledged could fade with time.

Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Lazio are to meet in at least two more debates, and Mr. Lazio had, as of Aug. 23, the last federal reporting date, \$10.2 million in campaign funds to finance television advertisements attacking an opponent who Mr. Lazio's advisers

## After the Debate

Voters who watched the Sept. 13 debate were asked:

Who won the debate?

|         | MEN | WOMEN |
|---------|-----|-------|
| Clinton | 43% | 51%   |
| Lazio   | 41  | 26    |

Was either of the candidates too aggressive in the debate?

|         | MEN | WOMEN |
|---------|-----|-------|
| Clinton | 4%  | 5%    |
| Lazio   | 53  | 56    |
| Neither | 39  | 32    |

Those with other answers are not shown.

Source: New York Times/CBS News Poll

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Continued on Page A29



# The New York Times

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## The Whitewater Verdict

In a brief and businesslike statement, the independent counsel Robert Ray said yesterday that the six-year investigation into Whitewater had produced "insufficient" evidence to justify criminal charges against President and Hillary Rodham Clinton. But while the statement came as a great relief to the White House, Mr. Ray's terse legal judgment does not excuse the White House's long record of obfuscation in the Whitewater matter, including its clumsy meddling with official inquiries and its failure to produce relevant records in a timely manner.

After tidying up some loose ends, Mr. Ray will turn his full report over to the three-judge panel that oversees his office. It should then be released so that the public can draw its own conclusions. In the meantime, Mr. Ray is to be commended for resisting any temptation to convey his private thoughts about these tangled events or otherwise politicize his conclusions in the final weeks of Mrs. Clinton's Senate campaign in New York.

Earlier this year, in a report on the so-called Travelgate case, involving the firing of seven White House employees, Mr. Ray likewise found no ground for prosecution. But he had been openly critical of Mrs. Clinton's sworn statements that she had nothing to do with the dismissals. Mrs. Clinton can probably be thankful that Mr. Ray avoided similar commentary in this case. The flat tone of yesterday's statement is a plus for her, and is unlikely to affect her growing lead over Rick Lazio, her Republican challenger, as reflected in the latest New York Times/CBS poll.

The Clintons themselves are largely responsible for the late delivery of Mr. Ray's statement. From the day that questions were first raised about

their relationship to Madison Guaranty, an Arkansas savings and loan that went bust at a cost of more than \$70 million to the American taxpayers, and their political confederates in the White House and the executive branch went to puzzling lengths to hobble legitimate investigations. Instead of candidly laying out the facts of the matter, the Clinton apparatus instead stonewalled the investigators and defamed the Clintons' critics. All this gave rise to suspicions that the Clintons had something to hide, and prolonged the investigation.

Mr. Ray said his office had investigated at least seven separate criminal allegations involving the Clintons, including the mysterious matter of the Rose Law Firm billing records, which detailed Mr. Clinton's legal work on behalf of the failing savings and loan. In each case, he found that there was insufficient evidence to prove that the Clintons were involved in any crime related to Madison Guaranty or other aspects of Whitewater, or that they had committed perjury or otherwise obstructed justice.

Even in advance of the full report, there are obvious lessons to be learned. One is that full disclosure from the outset would have been much the wiser course for the Clintons. Another is that the public is poorly served when senior executive branch officials try to control legitimate inquiries into matters involving the president. In that regard, Congress's decision to allow the independent counsel act to lapse has left the job of investigating executive misbehavior to the Justice Department — an agency, as recent experience shows, that is ill suited to pursue misdeeds elsewhere in the executive branch. Congress will need to devise some sort of independent mechanism to deal with investigations of potential criminal conduct by the nation's senior federal officials.

## Speedier Trains

On days when gridlock paralyzed Newark International Airport this year, Continental Airlines resorted to putting some of its short-flight passengers

blame for the continued skepticism facing rail travel. Its failure last fall to launch the Acela Express service between New York City and Boston





Representative Rick A. Lazio said he had obtained pledges from 14 political groups to stay out of the Senate race if Hillary Rodham Clinton renounces soft money. They have been wrangling for weeks over the issue.

Associated Press

## Mrs. Clinton's Rival Issues New Challenge

By RANDAL C. ARCHIBOLD  
with CLIFFORD J. LEVY

ALBANY, Sept. 20 — Representative Rick A. Lazio, trying to put Hillary Rodham Clinton on the defensive over her campaign finance practices, declared today that he had obtained pledges from 14 political groups to stay out of the New York Senate race if Mrs. Clinton renounces soft money.

Mr. Lazio pointed out that Mrs. Clinton had demanded agreements from these groups, which had vowed to defeat her, before she would stop raising soft money, which can be donated in unlimited amounts. Now, Mr. Lazio contended in a speech here, she had no choice but to abide by her promise.

Mrs. Clinton responded that she was now more willing to discuss an agreement banning soft money from the contest.

But the two campaigns quickly fell into squabbling over the details, and could not even agree on the terms of a meeting. At the same time, the chairman of the Republican State Committee, William D. Powers, indicated through a spokesman that he would not abide by any agreement prohibiting spending in the race by committees and groups outside the two campaigns.

Mrs. Clinton's aides seized on Mr. Powers's position as evidence of their belief that Mr. Lazio's allies would not abandon their efforts to defeat her.

### Lazio tries to put the first lady on the defensive over campaign financing.

Neither the state Conservative Party, which is running a soft money ad critical of Mrs. Clinton, nor the state Republican Party, which has also run critical soft money ads, were listed in the agreement.

The first lady, who spoke an hour after Mr. Lazio at the meeting, said she was willing to sign an agreement pending a close review of the letters. In response to a question on whether she was now willing to give up soft money, she replied, "I am prepared to do that, and I'm very encouraged by what I heard."

"I obviously didn't hear about it until I landed here in Albany," she continued, "and I'm going to ask my campaign immediately to meet with his and figure out if what he's offered is compatible with the request I've been making for months, and we'll get to work on that right away."

Later, she added, "we're going to have to look at everything, but certainly if we make an agreement to do away with soft money, I assume it

will include everything. Now obviously there are groups that we have no direct control over that you will have to ask to abide by whatever agreement you reach, but we will look at the whole range of issues that are raised by this."

Mr. Lazio has released the letters while facing questions about his tactics in the debate last week in which he approached Mrs. Clinton's lectern and gestured for her to sign a pledge banning soft money. Mrs. Clinton and her advisers have pushed the notion he was overbearing, a view that Mr. Lazio has dismissed as "sexist," though his campaign was growing concerned that the message behind his gesture was being lost.

During a question-and-answer session with the journalists' group, the New York State Associated Press Association, Mr. Lazio explained today why he was pressing the issue.

A New York Times/CBS News poll released today found that two-thirds of the respondents liked Mr. Lazio's proposal. Respondents tended, though, to question the candidates' motivations, with some suggesting that both wanted to keep the campaign finance system the way it is.

"I think there are a lot of things polls do not pick up," Mr. Lazio said. "Campaign finance reform is a proxy issue for people's belief in the political system, that people are being trustworthy and truthful."

Tonight, Mr. Lazio's campaign manager, Bill Dal Col, showed up at Mrs. Clinton's headquarters in Midtown Manhattan, saying he wanted to negotiate an agreement immediately. His counterpart on the Clinton campaign, Bill de Blasio, met him at the doorway of the headquarters and told Mr. Dal Col that he would be happy to talk on Thursday morning.

Posing for the cameras, their aides urging them on, the two men then argued for several minutes over whether reporters should be allowed into such a meeting. Mr. Dal Col said they should, saying that the public had a right to know the views of the two campaigns. Mr. de Blasio suggested that allowing reporters in would turn the meeting into a circus.

The confrontation tonight capped several weeks of wrangling between the two campaigns over the issue of soft money, the largely unregulated contributions raised by political committees. Soft money is not supposed to be used to help candidates, but in recent years, the parties have spent it in ways — typically commercials — that are clearly an effort to assist their candidates.

The campaigns have also fought over spending by advocacy groups independent of the parties, particularly conservative ones that are committed to defeating Mrs. Clinton.

Mr. Lazio, at a conference here organized by a statewide journalists' association, released 14 letters from independent groups that promised not to raise or spend soft money on his behalf as long as Mrs. Clinton did the same.

"This, ladies and gentlemen, is now a test of character for Mrs. Clinton," Mr. Lazio said.

Mrs. Clinton requested the letters from the groups this month as a condition of her abiding by a challenge she issued in May for the candidates to abstain from such money, which advocates of campaign finance reform say taints politics with contributors trying to buy influence.

Mrs. Clinton, after learning of the letters, said she was prepared to sign a pledge against soft money, but questions swiftly arose about the terms under which the 14 groups would stay out of the race. For example, one of the groups, the Conservative Leadership Pac, said it would not spend soft money in the race, but would reserve the right to spend hard money — contributions subject to limits and strictly regulated by the Federal Election Commission.

Mr. Lazio, who has used the campaign finance reform issue to question Mrs. Clinton's trustworthiness, said his offer stood for 72 hours, but vowed not to open soft money accounts. Mrs. Clinton has raised several million dollars in soft money.

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



# Voters Now See Lazio Less Favorably

Continued From Page A1

ers argue is ripe for attack. Mrs. Clinton reported \$7.1 million in campaign funds available in her August report.

And there is, as aides to both candidates noted yesterday, plenty of time left, in a contest that will not end for six weeks, particularly given the relatively large number of voters who remain undecided.

If history is any guide, most of those voters are likely in the end to favor Mr. Lazio, the way they would choose a challenger over an incumbent, because Mrs. Clinton is already so well known that voters have solidly formed opinions about her.

The Times/CBS News poll sketched an electoral landscape that, as of today, seems daunting for the four-term Republican congressman from Suffolk County who, like Mrs. Clinton, is running for statewide office for the first time.

Potentially of most concern to Mr. Lazio is the growing support for Mrs. Clinton among a group of voters that has been worrying the first lady's advisers: suburban women. Mr. Lazio was leading among those voters by 43 percent to 36 percent in June. Now, she has the support of 54 percent of suburban women, compared to 38 percent for Mr. Lazio.

Similarly, Mrs. Clinton has the support of 56 percent of women in all areas of the state who describe themselves as moderate. In June, she and Mr. Lazio were tied among those voters.

Among the reasons for Mrs. Clinton's improved standing with those female voters, the poll findings suggest, was the aggressive posture Mr. Lazio struck toward Mrs. Clinton at the debate in Buffalo. That episode has clearly emerged as a watershed in this campaign, since it was the first time so many viewers had an opportunity to view a candidate whom most people did not know be-

## How the Senate Poll Was Conducted

The latest New York Times/CBS News poll of New York State is based on telephone interviews conducted Sept. 14-19 with 1,611 adults throughout the state. Of those, 1,212 said they were registered to vote. Interviews were conducted in either English or Spanish.

The sample of telephone exchanges called was selected by a computer from a complete list of exchanges across the state. For each exchange, the telephone numbers were formed by random digits, thus permitting access to both listed and unlisted numbers. Within each household one adult was designated by a random procedure to be the survey respondent.

The results have been weighted to take account of household size and number of telephone lines into the residence, and to adjust for variations in the sample relating to geographic region of the state, race, Hispanic origin, sex, age and education.

In addition, the questions about voting preferences in the 2000 election for United States Senate are based on the responses

of 1,066 "likely voters." Likely voters are those who say they are registered, intend to vote in November, and voted in 1996 or 1998, further weighted so that those who reside in New York City make up 31 percent of the entire state, which is the city's typical share of total ballots cast on Election Day.

In theory, in 19 cases out of 20 the results based on such samples will differ by no more than three percentage points in either direction from what would have been obtained by seeking out all adult residents of New York State. For smaller subgroups the potential sampling error is larger. As an example, for likely voters in the suburbs surrounding New York City it is plus or minus seven percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting any survey of public opinion may introduce other sources of error into the poll. Differences in the wording and order of questions, for instance, can lead to somewhat varying results.

fore the summer.

Mr. Lazio attacked her at almost every question, and at the end, he walked over to her lectern, demanding that she sign a piece of paper renouncing the use of soft-money campaign contributions.

Among women who watched the debate, half of the poll respondents said that Mr. Lazio did not display the requisite maturity and experience to serve in the United States Senate. Half also said that Mrs. Clinton had won the debate, compared to just 26 percent who said Mr. Lazio won.

Men who watched the debate had a more favorable reaction to Mr. Lazio's performance. Still, over all, 54 percent of respondents who viewed it said that Mr. Lazio was too aggressive, compared to just 4 percent who said the same thing about Mrs. Clinton.

"It was the aggressiveness" Mr. Lazio showed during the debate Marie Harvey, 75, a medical secretary

from New Hyde Park who had been undecided, said in a follow-up interview, "that did it for me. I had never heard him speak for any length of time before that. I thought Lazio should have come out with more of his background in Congress instead of attacking her husband's actions. I was surprised that Hillary Clinton displayed so much poise and control during the debate."

According to the poll, Mr. Lazio's difficulties go beyond women voters. Respondents who now hold an unfavorable view of Mr. Lazio have nearly tripled, to 28 percent, since 10 percent in the last poll, while his favorable rating is 33 percent, up from 26 percent in June.

Four in 10 respondents describe Mr. Lazio as conservative, a 13-point jump since June, suggesting that Mrs. Clinton has achieved some success in linking Mr. Lazio with conservative members of Congress, like former Speaker Newt Gingrich. There has also been a sharp jump in the number of voters who believe Mr. Lazio is spending more time attacking his opponent than explaining his positions, and more voters believe that he is running a more negative campaign than Mrs. Clinton is. That might complicate any attempt by Mr. Lazio to turn up the volume of his attacks, as he is planning to do over the next six weeks.

The poll was conducted among 1,212 registered voters, of whom 1,066 were characterized as likely to vote. It has a margin of sampling error of plus or minus three percentage points.

The Times/CBS poll also found that in the presidential race in New York, the Democrat, Al Gore, is leading George W. Bush, the Republican, by nearly two-to-one. That, too, is unwelcome news for Mr. Lazio, since it almost certain means that Mr. Bush will not devote time or money to this state, and that the Democratic turnout could be particularly high for Mr. Gore. In a contest roughly analogous to this one, when Robert F. Kennedy moved from Massachusetts to New York State and ran for Senator in 1964, Mr. Kennedy won in no small part because Lyndon B. Johnson was elected president with a 2.4 million vote margin in New York.

Mrs. Clinton is now doing extremely well in New York City, with about 70 percent of the vote. A strong showing there is essential for any Democrat running for statewide office. By contrast, upstate, the Republican stronghold in New York, Mr. Lazio has the support of about half the voters, which is probably below what a Republican candidate needs to win a statewide race.

Mr. Lazio's advisers disputed the findings of the Times/CBS poll, and said their own polls showed the race to be tighter. They said they were pleased with the candidate's performance to date and confident of his victory. "I hope Mrs. Clinton believes this poll," said Mike Murphy, Mr. Lazio's consultant. "She's in for a big surprise on Election Day."

Mrs. Clinton's pollster, Mark Penn, said the findings reflected his polls, and asserted they represented a rebuke to the way Mr. Lazio has conducted his campaign. "It shows that the voters rejected the campaign of insults that Rick Lazio launched almost since the moment he entered the race," Mr. Penn said. "I think further it shows that people are finding out more about Lazio and more about his record."

The dynamics of the election have clearly shifted since the last Times/CBS poll, in June, when Mr. Lazio first stepped both into the race to replace Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, and into a statistical tie with the first lady. The change over the summer has largely been to Mrs. Clinton's benefit, though her successes would appear, in no small measure, to be a consequence of difficulties Mr. Lazio has encountered.

Mrs. Clinton remains where she has been for much of the year, hovering with between 45 and 49 percent of the vote, with about one-third of the voters expressing an unfavorable opinion of her.

By contrast, Mr. Lazio is no longer the little-known quantity he once was, and that might not be entirely to his benefit. At 28 percent, his unfavorable rating is nearly as high as Mrs. Clinton's, which is 32 percent. And the poll found that 46 percent of New Yorkers say that Mr. Lazio cares "about the needs and problems of people like yourself," double what that was in June, while 56 percent said they believed Mrs. Clinton cares about their problems.

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



## Who Favors Whom for Senator

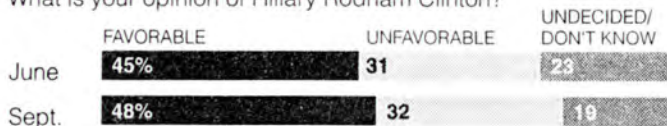
|                   | Latest poll |       | Change in voter opinion since June |       |
|-------------------|-------------|-------|------------------------------------|-------|
|                   | CLINTON     | LAZIO | CLINTON                            | LAZIO |
| TOTAL             | 48%         | 39%   | +4%                                | 0%    |
| New York City     | 71          | 18    | +4                                 | -4    |
| N.Y.C. suburbs    | 43          | 48    | +11                                | -2    |
| Rest of the state | 35          | 48    | 0                                  | +2    |
| Men               | 43          | 44    | +2                                 | 0     |
| Women             | 52          | 34    | +5                                 | -2    |
| Suburban men      | 34          | 57    | +7                                 | -1    |
| Suburban women    | 54          | 38    | +18                                | -5    |
| All Protestants   | 47          | 40    | +1                                 | -2    |
| White Protestants | 30          | 58    | +4                                 | -2    |
| All Catholics     | 42          | 45    | +4                                 | 0     |
| White Catholics   | 35          | 51    | +2                                 | +2    |
| Jews              | 64          | 18    | +2                                 | -1    |
| Republican        | 15          | 76    | +2                                 | 0     |
| Independent*      | 35          | 48    | +4                                 | +2    |
| Democratic        | 78          | 10    | +4                                 | -1    |
| Liberal           | 71          | 19    | +4                                 | +1    |
| Moderate          | 49          | 38    | +7                                 | -3    |
| Conservative      | 25          | 61    | -4                                 | +4    |

\*Independent includes minor parties.

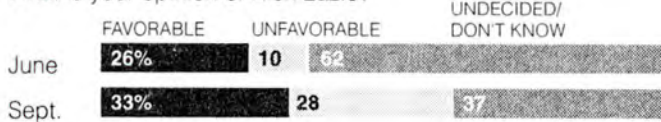
Based on statewide telephone polls of 1,066 likely voters in September and 1,187 likely voters in June in New York State.

## How Opinions Changed

What is your opinion of Hillary Rodham Clinton?



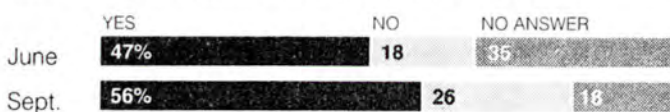
What is your opinion of Rick Lazio?



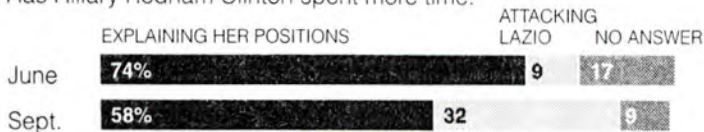
Does Hillary Rodham Clinton have the right kind of experience?



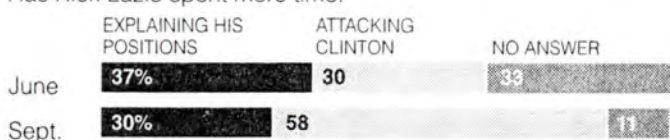
Does Rick Lazio have the right kind of experience?



Has Hillary Rodham Clinton spent more time:



Has Rick Lazio spent more time:



Based on telephone interviews conducted throughout New York State June 4-10 with 1,384 registered voters and Sept. 14-19 with 1,212 registered voters.

PHOTOCOPY  
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NYT  
 Tuesday September 21, 2000

# The Whitewater Verdict

In a brief and businesslike statement, the independent counsel Robert Ray said yesterday that the six-year investigation into Whitewater had produced "insufficient" evidence to justify criminal charges against President and Hillary Rodham Clinton. But while the statement came as a great relief to the White House, Mr. Ray's terse legal judgment does not excuse the White House's long record of obfuscation in the Whitewater matter, including its clumsy meddling with official inquiries and its failure to produce relevant records in a timely manner.

After tidying up some loose ends, Mr. Ray will turn his full report over to the three-judge panel that oversees his office. It should then be released so that the public can draw its own conclusions. In the meantime, Mr. Ray is to be commended for resisting any temptation to convey his private thoughts about these tangled events or otherwise politicize his conclusions in the final weeks of Mrs. Clinton's Senate campaign in New York.

Earlier this year, in a report on the so-called Travelgate case, involving the firing of seven White House employees, Mr. Ray likewise found no ground for prosecution. But he had been openly critical of Mrs. Clinton's sworn statements that she had nothing to do with the dismissals. Mrs. Clinton can probably be thankful that Mr. Ray avoided similar commentary in this case. The flat tone of yesterday's statement is a plus for her, and is unlikely to affect her growing lead over Rick Lazio, her Republican challenger, as reflected in the latest New York Times/CBS poll.

The Clintons themselves are largely responsible for the late delivery of Mr. Ray's statement. From the day that questions were first raised about

their relationship to Madison Guaranty, an Arkansas savings and loan that went bust at a cost of more than \$70 million to the American taxpayers, they and their political confederates in the White House and the executive branch went to puzzling lengths to hobble legitimate investigations. Instead of candidly laying out the facts of the matter, the Clinton apparatus instead stonewalled the investigators and defamed the Clintons' critics. All this gave rise to suspicions that the Clintons had something to hide, and prolonged the investigation.

Mr. Ray said his office had investigated at least seven separate criminal allegations involving the Clintons, including the mysterious matter of the Rose Law Firm billing records, which detailed Mrs. Clinton's legal work on behalf of the failing savings and loan. In each case, he found that there was insufficient evidence to prove that the Clintons were involved in any crime related to Madison Guaranty or other aspects of Whitewater, or that they had committed perjury or otherwise obstructed justice.

Even in advance of the full report, there are obvious lessons to be learned. One is that full disclosure from the outset would have been much the wiser course for the Clintons. Another is that the public is poorly served when senior executive branch officials try to control legitimate inquiries into matters involving the president. In that regard, Congress's decision to allow the independent counsel act to lapse has left the job of investigating executive misbehavior to the Justice Department — an agency, as recent experience shows, that is ill suited to pursue misdeeds elsewhere in the executive branch. Congress will need to devise some sort of independent mechanism to deal with investigations of potential criminal conduct by the nation's senior federal officials.

# Speedier Trains

On days when gridlock paralyzed Newark International Airport this year, Continental Airlines resorted to putting some of its short-flight passengers on Amtrak trains. Such pragmatic improvisation made sense, but also raises the question why anyone would choose to fly from Newark to Baltimore or Providence in the first place. At a time when the nation's air traffic system is strained to its very limits, it is a question gaining added urgency.

Congress could enhance Amtrak's ability to ease the burden on the nation's congested skies and highways by passing the High Speed Rail Investment Act before it adjourns next month. The bill would enable Amtrak to issue \$10 billion in bonds over the next decade for capital expenditures in designated high-speed rail corridors. States would provide some matching funds and bondholders would be paid in tax credits, at a cost to taxpayers of \$3.3 billion over 10 years.

blame for the continued skepticism facing rail travel. Its failure last fall to launch the Acela Express service between New York City and Boston on schedule deprived high-speed rail boosters of a working success to justify investment in other high-speed corridors. Amtrak did cut the trip down to four hours from five, but delayed the introduction of the sleek new trains that will travel at speeds of up to 150 miles per hour. That service is now expected to begin within the next two months and should cut the trip down to three hours, the length at which downtown-to-downtown train service becomes preferable to negotiating congested airports, as evidenced by Amtrak's service to Washington. Amtrak commands twice as large a market share on that route as it does on the longer run to Boston.

Eighteen of the 20 most congested airports nationwide are in cities on designated high-speed rail corridors. The time has come for Congress and

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# After 6 Years, Whitewater Probe Closes

## Probe of Clintons' Land Deal Is Closed

### Ray: Whitewater Evidence Lacking

By BILL MILLER  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The six-year-long Whitewater investigation, a central part of the costliest independent counsel probe ever, drew to a quiet close yesterday when independent counsel Robert W. Ray declared that the evidence was insufficient to show criminal wrongdoing by President Clinton or first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

In a six-page statement, Ray said he could not prove the Clintons knowingly engaged in crimes or knew about any illegalities stemming from their business dealings in the 1970s and 1980s in Arkansas. Evidence also was lacking to show they lied to investigators or tried to obstruct justice, Ray said.

"This Office determined that the evidence was insufficient to prove to a jury beyond a reasonable doubt that either President or Mrs. Clinton knowingly participated in any criminal conduct," said Ray, who succeeded Kenneth W. Starr last October.

Since the 1992 presidential campaign, the Clintons have had to contend with questions that began with their 1978 investment in the failed Whitewater real estate development and expanded to include other aspects of their business dealings. Eventually, the president bowed to congressional demands for the appointment of an outside counsel, a

See **WHITEWATER**, A14, Col. 1

THE WASHINGTON POST

A14 THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 2000

WHITEWATER, From A1

move that launched one of the most controversial investigations in American history.

The probe has cost more than \$52 million and has grown far beyond the original mandate to include such matters as the firing of White House travel office workers and the acquisition of FBI files on Bush White House employees. Both of those probes ended without criminal charges being filed.

Ray will continue to investigate whether the president should be prosecuted after leaving office for making false statements about his relationship with former intern Monica S. Lewinsky. Ray is also considering the White House's failure to produce e-mail records subpoenaed by investigators.

But the closure of the Whitewater probe allows the Clintons to put a major part of the investigation behind them, and Ray's staff has been trimmed to 15 lawyers, less than half its size at its peak.

Ray said he was unable to definitively solve one of the central mysteries of the Whitewater investigation: how Hillary Clinton's long-subpoenaed billing records from the Rose Law Firm surfaced in the White House residence in 1996. The records reflected her legal work for Whitewater business partner James B. McDougal on another real estate development, Castle Grande, which she told investigators she could not recall.

The independent counsel's office interviewed hundreds of people to try to determine how the records reappeared, but Ray's statement said the evidence "was insufficient to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that any person, including Mrs. Clinton," intentionally withheld or lied about the records.

Yesterday's outcome has been known for more than a year, since Starr announced there would be no more prosecutions involving Whitewater. Still, Ray's statement was greeted with relief by the White House and by Hillary Clinton's Senate campaign, which had been concerned about the impact of Ray's statement in the height of the election season.

As it turned out, Ray's statement was critical of the White House in only one respect: He accused officials of delays in turning over evidence and of waging "unmeritorious" legal challenges.

"Robert Ray is now the latest investigator to complete an examination of the transactions related to Whitewater Development [Corp.] and conclude that there are no grounds for legal action," said White

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PRESERVATION

House spokesman Joe Lockhart.

Hillary Clinton told reporters that she was "just glad that this is finally over."

Ray will report his findings under seal to the judicial panel that oversees independent counsels, and eventually much of that will become public, but not for at least three months after the report is submitted. The report itself has been a work in progress for several years. It is expected to be a detailed account of the Clintons' business dealings in Arkansas and could include assessments more damaging than the statement Ray issued yesterday.

A special prosecutor, Robert B.

Fiske Jr., began the first Whitewater criminal investigation in January 1994. Starr took over that August, reviewing not only the Clintons' involvement in Whitewater while Clinton was governor, but also the failure of Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan, which was owned by McDougal.

Madison's collapse cost taxpayers \$73 million, and investigators looked into whether money from Madison was used to prop up the Whitewater investment.

From the start, the Clintons denied wrongdoing. Both were interviewed on numerous occasions by the in-

dependent counsel's office and by federal regulators. In January 1996, Hillary Clinton spent four hours before a federal grand jury in Washington, marking the first time a first lady had been subpoenaed before such a panel.

All told, 12 people were convicted in the probe, including former Arkansas governor Jim Guy Tucker; McDougal and his wife, Susan; and former associate attorney general Webster L. Hubbell, a onetime law partner of Hillary Clinton's.

In the core Whitewater matter, the independent counsel's office sought to determine whether the Clintons had a role in illegal financial activities and whether they later attempted a coverup. Among other things, the office investigated whether the presi-

dent lied during testimony in the McDougals' 1996 fraud trial when he denied any knowledge of a fraudulent \$300,000 federally backed loan to Susan McDougal during the 1980s. Roughly \$50,000 of that money went to benefit Whitewater. The loan was never repaid.

Ray said evidence was lacking to show that Clinton knew of the loan or that his testimony about it was "knowingly false."

Ray's statement also dealt with questions surrounding more than \$700,000 in consulting fees paid to Hubbell by Clinton allies after Hubbell left the Justice Department in 1994. Investigators tried to determine whether White House aides and Democratic Party fundraisers sought to



# The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

## The End of Whitewater

**I**NDEPENDENT COUNSEL Robert Ray announced yesterday that he was closing the Whitewater investigation that has framed Bill Clinton's presidency with no charges against either the president or Mrs. Clinton. Whatever one thinks of Mr. Clinton, Kenneth Starr or the scandals that have bedeviled this administration, no one can take satisfaction that a criminal investigation that resulted in no case against its primary subjects spanned almost the entire length of a two-term presidency.

The Whitewater scandal left a powerful mark on Mr. Clinton's presidency. The land deal was a minor issue in the 1992 campaign and morphed into a larger one during Mr. Clinton's first year in office. The word "Whitewater" came to refer not simply to the deal itself but to a tangle of several different matters, some with only loose connections to the others. This mess was deposited into the laps, in succession, of independent counsels Robert Fiske, Mr. Starr and Mr. Ray. More issues—involving the White House travel office, FBI files and finally Monica Lewinsky—were added. The assortment took the rest of Mr. Clinton's presidency to resolve. Now, with only four months remaining before Mr. Clinton leaves office, Mr. Ray has finally declared that "the evidence was insufficient to prove to a jury beyond a reasonable doubt that either President or Mrs. Clinton knowingly participated in any criminal conduct" involving Whitewater or Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan or alleged related coverups.

Beyond saying that he will not prosecute, Mr. Ray offers no new information about what investigators found. For that, and hence for the ability to evaluate the Clintons' behavior, we will have to wait for Mr. Ray's final report. This cannot be filed until some residual litigation involving former Arkansas gover-

nor Jim Guy Tucker is completed and Mr. Ray's investigation of a White House failure to fully search its e-mail databases is done as well. Even with Whitewater now closed, in other words, the questions that gave rise to the probe will remain unaddressed publicly until after Mr. Clinton has left office.

There is plenty of blame to go around for the way Whitewater came to hang over Mr. Clinton's terms in office. The probes may have been more extensive than necessary to make the required determinations. The White House's withholding of such information as Hillary Clinton's billing records took up valuable time, and the non-cooperation of witnesses like Susan McDougal delayed investigators' ability to get to the core of their mandate. The independent counsel law also played a destructive role, creating in Mr. Starr's office an institutional address for any allegations that arose throughout Mr. Clinton's presidency, however unrelated they were to the office's reason for being. Congressional and other critics were meanwhile quick to presume all of the worst allegations true.

The sad result was that what began as a discrete set of public integrity questions involving conduct that predated Mr. Clinton's time in office hampered that tenure as few could have imagined when the Whitewater land deal first came to public attention. Mr. Ray's statement brings a welcome end to this part of the saga but leaves an unresolved question. We plainly still haven't figured out how as a society to deal with increasingly frequent charges of misconduct on the part of presidents and other senior officials. If an independent counsel isn't the answer—the law has been allowed to lapse—and if self-policing by an administration doesn't satisfy, either, what does?

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PRESERVATION



# Oxford, I love you, but give me Park Avenue

An Arkansan dining in a Miami, Fla., sushi bar recently met a British photographer who nonchalantly mentioned that President Clinton has bought a home in Oxford, where he'll be a lecturer when he leaves office.

"I did know that there was a story floating around about that," a White House spokesman says.

Talk started even before reports of first daughter Chelsea Clinton's intention to study at Oxford next year.

The spokesman says the senior Clinton has not bought a home in Oxford, nor does he have plans to teach at the school.

It is true, though, that America's first couple is looking for yet another home away from home.

Clinton and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton are looking for a Manhattan apart-

ment, perhaps as a second convenient location during Mrs. Clinton's bid for the United States Senate.



BY CARRIE  
RENGERS

## Advice for Chelsea

You'd better start watching the British TV soap *EastEnders*, Chelsea, and get ready for English eccentricities and an endless repertoire of American jokes. For American students, life at Oxford requires more than just swotting up on chosen subjects.

"I never did understand a lot of the pop culture references," says Max Stites, a senior at Claremont McKenna College in Claremont, Calif., who spent 1998-99 at Mansfield College, Oxford. "I mean, the constant references to *EastEnders* and plays on Radio 4 — what on earth were they talking about? Totally over my head."

"There was a little making fun of my accent, and things like that, which did make me a bit self-conscious in a way I had never been before," says Caroline Meckler, a Columbia University student who spent a year at Exeter College in 1997-98. "But I would just laugh off the American jokes."

Ashley Jackson, academic adviser for the junior year abroad program at Mansfield College, agrees that the persistent American stereotype occasionally causes problems for the visitors: "Oh, yes, the old preconception that all Americans are very naive — but, of course, that is completely not the case."

Geoffrey Tyack, director of the Stanford Program in Oxford, cites more serious problems: "Some of the British students expect Americans to be very rich, yet half of Stanford's students are actually on scholarships."

It's not just the students who cause difficulties for the American visitors. Large, wealthy American universities, such as Harvard and Stanford, where Chelsea is a student, pride themselves on their modernity. Oxford instead regards its traditions, some established centuries ago, as a benchmark for excellence.

"Oxford isn't always the easiest place to get along with," Tyack says. "It doesn't go out of its way to make new students feel

See TRAILS on Page 6E

## Trails

• Continued from Page 1E

welcome. Things like the complicated and time-taking library procedures can cause problems, particularly with students who are very impatient. But the university is finally beginning to move into the 20th century, and maybe even the 21st.

"Undoubtedly, Oxford is becoming a more international university, and the strong American presence has definitely helped this," Tyack says.

Meckler says, though, "You get none of the concern over political correctness the way you do on American campuses."

Americans such as Bill Bradley, Naomi Wolfe, not to mention Chelsea's father, have all spent part of their education in Oxford.

"If Chelsea wants to come here, she is more than welcome," Tyack says, "as long as I don't have to deal with the security."

## Please, no more!

So have you had it with Clinton and news of his administration? Then you must check out:

[www.sendcoffee.com/fun/presidential.html](http://www.sendcoffee.com/fun/presidential.html)

"While we wait for the 20th of January 2001, the Day of Renewal, this page ... will count down the days till Bill Clinton leaves office," the site says.

For instance, as of this writing, there are "4 Months, 0 Days, 3 Hours, 36 Minutes, 45 Seconds" left in the Clinton administration.

The page, sponsored by the owners of a Richmond, Va., coffee company, reloads every 30 seconds.

So it's now "4 Months, 0 Days, 3 Hours, 36 Minutes, 15 Seconds" and counting.

## Quote of the DAY

"January 5, Washington, D.C. It is an act of will to become re-engaged in the impeachment morass. I am infected by a rampant case of beyond-the-Beltway 'Who gives a crap?'"

— ABC's Ted Koppel, quoting from his 1999 professional diary, which he recounts in the new book *Off Camera: Private Thoughts Made Public*

has there been any closure or clarity?"



# Whitewater investigation ends

## WHITEWATER: The land and the lawyers

### INDEPENDENT COUNSELS



PRESIDENT CLINTON



HILLARY CLINTON

ROBERT FISKE JR.



KENNETH STARR



ROBERT RAY



OTOS: Arkansas Democrat-Gazette and Associated Press

Arkansas Democrat-Gazette/KIRK MONTGOMERY

BY PAUL BARTON  
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

WASHINGTON — Saying he found insufficient evidence of criminal conduct on the part of President Clinton and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, independent counsel Robert Ray brought the 6½-year investigation known as Whitewater to a close Wednesday.

The case, which sprang from questions about Clinton's 1978 invest-

ment in some Ozark Mountain land and his connections to a now-defunct Little Rock institution known as Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan, has kept Clinton's presidency under a fog of criminal

allegations and rattled Arkansas' social and political establishment.

It led to the conviction and resignation of Gov. Jim Guy Tucker as well as the imprisonment of such associates of the Clintons' as former Associate Attorney General Webb Hubbell and their partners in Whitewater, James and Susan McDougal.

Critics complained that it led to

See RAY, Page 8A

**TEXT** of Robert Ray's comments. Page 8A.

**THE INVESTIGATION** by the numbers. Page 8A.

**EXCERPTS** from White House briefing. Page 8A.



# Ray

Continued from Page 1A

needless harassment of many more who were innocent and helped paint Arkansas as politically incestuous.

The saga also kept Washington inflamed with partisan exchanges and extensive congressional hearings, Democrats accusing the case's other dominant figure, former independent counsel Kenneth Starr, of being on an ever lengthening and ever more costly witch hunt against the first family.

Since January 1994, federal investigators have spent more than \$52 million.

But Wednesday, Ray announced that "except for limited pending matters, the Madison Guaranty/Whitewater investigation is now closed."

While his findings end the legal threat against Mrs. Clinton — and remove a potentially fatal blow to her campaign for a Senate seat from New York — the president's field is not yet clear.

Clinton faces possible indictment on perjury and obstruction-of-justice charges related to the Monica Lewinsky case when he leaves office in January. A disbarment case against him is pending in Arkansas.

Ray, who succeeded Starr 11 months ago, issued a six-page summary of findings Wednesday that reviewed seven major allegations in regard to the Clintons, Whitewater and Madison Guaranty that the independent counsel's office has been examining since 1994.

The subjects ranged from whether Clinton had given false testimony in the 1996 financial-fraud trial of James and Susan McDougal to whether Mrs. Clinton had obstructed justice by withholding billing records on legal work she had done for Madison Guaranty in the 1980s.

On all seven issues, Ray said, he had found evidence "insufficient to prove beyond a reasonable doubt" criminal conduct.

Ray's report is to be turned over, under seal, to a three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. That won't happen until the last legal moves in Tucker's case conclude and an investigation of the White House response to subpoenas is complete, Ray said in his statement. The court could then take months to review it before deciding whether it should be released.

At the White House on Wednesday, Clinton declined to comment, but others said Ray's findings should

## By the numbers

GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE

**\$27,500** As in the Office of the Independent Counsel had spent \$52 million through Sept. 30, 1993, according to the most recent accounting. That's about \$27,500 a day.

**42** As in the office employed 10 full-time attorneys, two part-time attorneys, 13 paralegals and 17 secretaries or other administrative staff as of June 30. Salaries ranged from \$122,400 for independent counsel Robert Ray to \$18,555 for the lowest-paid clerk.

**78** As in the number of FBI agents who were detailed to the office as of May 4, 1999, the most recent date for which such information was available. The FBI pays their salaries.

**18,554** As in the total square feet of the independent counsel's offices in Washington; Little Rock, Alexandria, Va.; and New York as of June 30. Annual rent totaled

\$816,420. The Little Rock office closed in August.

**\$294,169** As in the amount spent by the office on computers — and \$1,484,377 on computer services and maintenance — through June 30.

**66** As in the number of consultants or other advisers hired by the office since its inception on Aug. 5, 1994. Mnemonic Systems Inc., which provides technology and services to assist justice-system investigations, has been paid the most, \$2,841,038 through June 30. Nichols Research of Huntsville, Ala., bought Mnemonic Systems in 1998.

**\$98,424** As in the amount paid for travel and lodging for 210 witnesses.

**\$4 mil** As in \$4,393,923, the amount the office estimates it spent investigating the Monica Lewinsky matter between Jan. 15, 1998, and Aug. 31, 1998.

have surprised no one.

"I think we will leave it to the American people to make up their minds about whether this was a useful exercise," presidential spokesman Joe Lockhart said.

Congressional Democrats held the six-year investigation up to ridicule.

"On the scale of justice, this report is several years late and millions of dollars overweight," said Sen. Patrick Leahy of Vermont, ranking Democrat on the Senate Judiciary Committee.

"No other prosecutor in the country would have spent six years on a wild-goose chase like this."

But Rep. Asa Hutchinson, R-Ark., a member of the House Judiciary Committee, noted the convictions of Tucker, the McDougals and others and said it was wrong to characterize Whitewater as fruitless.

"It's misleading to say nothing has resulted from a multiyear and very expensive investigation," he said.

Whitewater first became a national topic in the 1992 presidential campaign, when questions surfaced about the Clintons' involvement in the failed land deal. Clinton was then running for his first presidential term.

Later that year the agency investigating the collapse of Madison Guaranty, the Federal Resolution Trust Corp., sent a referral to the Justice Depart-

ment that said the Clintons had been "potential beneficiaries" of illegal activities at the savings and loan.

In December 1993, Clinton turned over Whitewater-related documents to the Justice Department, which had threatened to subpoena them.

A month later, at Clinton's request, Attorney General Janet Reno appointed Robert Fiske Jr. as a special prosecutor to look into Whitewater. A variety of matters came to be included under that rubric, such as the suicide of Vincent Foster, deputy White House counsel.

In August 1994, political tensions around the investigation were heightened when Congress and Clinton reauthorized the defunct Independent Council Act and a panel of three federal judges put Starr, who had served in the Reagan and Bush administrations, in charge.

The Clintons and the McDougals bought the Whitewater land development as equal partners in 1978, borrowing \$203,000 to pay for 220 acres in the Ozarks of Northwest Arkansas. They intended it as a vacation time share. It was the McDougals' idea, but they never made the Clintons share in the cost of keeping the project alive.

Four years later James McDougal bought Madison Guaranty. Barely two years after that, federal regulators be-

gan to question transactions at the institution, the questions growing until it was shut down in 1989.

Following are the major allegations that Ray said he found insufficient evidence to support:

■ That Clinton knowingly falsely testified in the 1996 trial of the McDougals and Tucker that he "never borrowed any money from Madison."

■ That Clinton also gave false testimony about his knowledge of a \$300,000 federally backed loan that former Pulaski County Municipal Judge David Hale made to Susan McDougal; some of the money went into Whitewater.

■ That the president testified falsely about Madison Guaranty's retention of the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock.

■ That Mrs. Clinton knowingly made false statements to the Resolution Trust Corp. about the relationship between Madison Guaranty and the Rose firm, where she was a partner.

■ That Mrs. Clinton took part in an effort to obstruct justice by withholding information in connection with billing records of the Rose firm.

■ That the president's supporters' employment of Hubbell after he resigned from the Justice Department amounted to a criminal quid pro quo to ensure his silence about Whitewater matters.

■ That the White House and Treasury Department officials obstructed justice by trying to influence Resolution Trust Corp. referrals to the Justice Department.

While the length of the Whitewater investigation has been a major point with critics, Ray blamed some of that on delay "caused by the White House and others involving both the production of relevant evidence and the filing of legal claims that were ultimately rejected by the courts."

Ray's statement lacked two things, Susan McDougal told The Associated Press — a clear declaration of innocence for those investigated and an apology.

"After they've gathered all of the evidence, all the documents they said they couldn't find, all the testimony they said they didn't have — I answered every question at my trial — they still cannot come back as men and say there is no guilt here."

Her attorney, Mark Geragos told the AP that "Susan spent about 21 months in prison for absolute, complete nonsense these people concocted. She told them there was nothing there. A dirty little secret of the criminal justice system is somebody's life can be trashed and you come back years later and issue a press release saying, 'Oops, sorry.'"

"They didn't even say, 'Oops, sorry.'"



## Hillary Clinton says she's glad it's finally over

BY KEVIN FREKING  
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

WASHINGTON — It was a good day for Bill and Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Robert Ray released his summary of the Whitewater investigation Wednesday. It did not exonerate the Clintons, but it did the next best thing, stating that there was insufficient evidence to charge the president or first lady with any criminal conduct.

"I'm just glad this is finally over," Mrs. Clinton said at a meeting of The Associated Press editors in Albany, N.Y., as she continued her campaign for the U.S. Senate. "I think most New Yorkers and most Americans had made up their mind a long time ago about this."

While it may be over for the first lady, it is not quite over for the president.

A grand jury was impaneled in July to consider whether

See CLINTONS, Page 8A

## Clintons

• Continued from Page 1A

Clinton should be indicted on charges stemming from the Monica Lewinsky investigation. Ray has said he will make his decision soon after Clinton leaves office on whether to ask the grand jury to indict Clinton.

Clinton also faces disbarment proceedings in Arkansas.

Wednesday, the president ignored a question about Whitewater as he strolled through the White House Rose Garden with Italian Prime Minister Giuliano Amato.

"I don't think he's surprised," White House spokesman Joe Lockhart said. "We had reports going back over several years that reached these conclusions. ... I don't think he's got any outward sign of relief, because this conclusion was reached in 1996."

In his summary Ray did not specifically say the Clintons were innocent of any wrongdoing. He repeatedly said the evidence was "insufficient to prove beyond a reasonable doubt" that the president or first lady committed a crime.

Political analysts said Ray's findings will do little to assist Mrs. Clinton in New York, where she is running a tight race with Republican Rick Lazio.

"It won't affect it a lick, not a half of a lick," said Stuart Rothenberg, a well-known political analyst in Washington. "People already have a strong impression of Hillary Clinton. This is just ancient history."

"I don't see where she gets any kind of bounce from this," added Jennifer Duffy, an analyst with the Cook Political Report. "I think people have sort of made up their minds about what they think of Whitewater."

Duffy said Mrs. Clinton did not have much to gain Wednesday from Ray's report, but she did have much to lose. "They have got to be breathing a sigh of relief," she said.

Officials at Lazio's campaign did not return telephone calls.

On Capitol Hill the report led to very little discussion, said Rep. Asa Hutchinson, R-Ark.

"Quite frankly, it's almost a non-event, simply because Judge [Kenneth] Starr sat in the Judiciary Committee [during impeachment proceedings] and announced that no

charges would be brought against the president and first lady, and as he phrased it, there was no evidence of wrongdoing," Hutchinson said. "The greatest disappointment is it took two years to file a report."

Hutchinson said most observers believed the biggest question to be addressed by Ray's findings was whether there would be anything damaging to Mrs. Clinton's Senate bid.

"From what I've seen, he did not get into any details that might be embarrassing. He just offered his conclusions, which is the way a good prosecutor works," Hutchinson said.

Rep. Marion Berry, D-Ark, a former agriculture liaison for the president, said he heard no talk of Ray's report among his colleagues. "I have been over at the DNC for a couple of hours this afternoon, and nobody mentioned it there at all," he said.

He called the investigation shameless and partisan.

"There's no question about it, it was a classic instance of taking petty politics too far," he said.

Many of the president's friends said much the same.

"Six years of investigating White-

water at the cost of \$52 million when there was nothing there but rumor and innuendo was really a waste of taxpayers' money," said Skip Rutherford of Little Rock. "The independent counsel law is gone. Future presidents, whether it's Al Gore or George Bush, thanks to what President Clinton went through, won't have to go through something like this."

Former U.S. Sen. David Pryor of Arkansas agreed that the six-year investigation was motivated by politics.

"It was a sad episode, but ultimately, our system worked," he said.

Pryor is now the director of the Institute of Politics at Harvard University. He believes most Americans do not want to see Ray pursue a case against Clinton after the president's term is complete.

"I don't know whether Mr. Ray wants to indict the president or not, but I don't think there is any stomach for it from the American people," Pryor said. "They want to get on with their lives, and they want the Clintons to get on with their lives."

Information for this article was contributed by The Associated Press.



# Political Animals Club to hear from governors

BY MICHAEL ROWETT  
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

Two Southern governors will talk politics Monday with the Political Animals Club of Little Rock.

Mississippi Gov. Ronnie Musgrove and Tennessee Gov. Don Sundquist are the featured speakers at the club's breakfast meeting at the Riverfront Hilton in North Little Rock. Musgrove and Sundquist will be in Little Rock for the Sunday-Tuesday annual meeting of the Southern Governors' Association.

Gov. Mike Huckabee will introduce his two gubernatorial colleagues at the meeting, said Bob Lyford of Little Rock, club chairman and general counsel for Arkansas Electric Cooperatives. Members of the general public who want to attend the meeting can do so as the guest of a club member, Lyford said. Admission to the event is \$10 per person.

The breakfast buffet opens at 6:45 a.m. and the program is scheduled to start at 7:20 a.m., Lyford said.

Musgrove, 43, a Democrat, was

voted governor by Mississippi's House of Representatives in January after failing to capture a majority of the popular vote in the November 1999 election. Musgrove, then the state's lieutenant governor, led Republican Mike Parker by 8,343 votes and with two minor-party candidates in the race, Musgrove ended up with 49.6 percent of the vote.

Because Parker refused to concede, the Mississippi Constitution required the House, controlled 86-33 by the Democrats, to decide the election.

Musgrove succeeded two-term Republican Gov. Kirk Fordice, the Magnolia State's first GOP chief executive since 1874. Musgrove's election was viewed as a major Southern victory for the Democrats, who also wrested the Alabama and South Carolina governor's mansions from the GOP in 1998.

Sundquist, 64, a Republican, was elected governor of Tennessee in 1994 and was re-elected with 69 percent of the vote in 1998. He previously served as a U.S. representative from 1983-85.

# Cheney to stop in Springdale, chat with workers, attend fund-raiser

BY DOUG THOMPSON  
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

**SPRINGDALE** — Republican vice presidential hopeful Richard B. Cheney will speak to employees of Engineering Systems Inc. of Springdale at 9:30 a.m. today before attending a private fund-raiser.

Cheney and his wife, Lynne, are scheduled to attend the private fund-raiser at 11:30 a.m. at the Springdale home of businessman Gary C. George.

Cheney, 59, of Austin, Texas, is scheduled to speak on Social Security reform during his appearance at Engineering Systems, a statement from his campaign office said.

Cheney is the running mate of Gov. George W. Bush of Texas.

Bush and his Democratic opponent, Vice President Gore of Carthage, Tenn., have opposing views on Social Security. Bush wants to give individual taxpayers

the option to invest a small percentage of the money normally paid in Social Security taxes. Gore has publicly said Bush's plan would endanger the finances of the Social Security system.

Cheney's visit comes 12 days after his Democratic counterpart, Sen. Joe Lieberman, D-Conn., visited Little Rock and Fort Smith. Lieberman, 58, of New Haven, Conn., talked about what a Democratic administration could do for business and education during his Sept. 7 visit. Lieberman also made a brief Little Rock stop a few days ago.

This is Cheney's second visit to Arkansas since being named Bush's choice for vice president.

Cheney appeared with Bush on

July 28, at a Springdale political rally held shortly after his selection by Bush as running mate. Lieberman's Sept. 7 visit was his first since he joined Gore's presidential ticket.

After the fund-raiser, the Cheneys will fly to Cape Girardeau, Mo., and make a brief stop at the airport. That evening, the Cheneys will fly to St. Louis for a speech at the airport followed by a reception.

Cheney was defense secretary for former President George Bush from 1988 to 1992. Cheney has lived in Texas since being named chief executive officer for Halliburton Co. in 1995, but comes from Casper, Wyo. He served as a U.S. representative from Wyoming from 1979 to 1988.



# 4th District sees rivals in PAC fray

## Ross, Dickey camps trade fund-raising fire

BY BILL SIMMONS  
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

The Mike Ross campaign for Congress in the 4th District emphasized Wednesday the fact that U.S. Rep. Jay Dickey has not signed a Common Cause contract to reform campaign finance. Ross has signed it.

"Everyone should ask Jay Dickey why he hasn't signed the Common Cause pledge and what's he trying to hide?" said Ross spokesman Kris Schultz.

Ross, a Prescott businessman, is the Democratic nominee, seeking to unseat Dickey, a Pine Bluff businessman who is a Republican. Dickey seeks a fifth term in the seat.

Common Cause has said it sent the contract to 1,300 federal candidates and asked them to return signed copies by Friday. Ross is the only Arkansas name reported among the signers.

Dickey spokesman Jim Harris said Tuesday that Dickey hadn't signed it for two reasons:

■ It didn't apply to political action committee funds. Dickey thinks dealing with PAC donations is crucial to reform, Harris said.

■ A search of Dickey campaign records showed that Dickey hadn't received a copy. One can't sign what one hasn't received, Harris said.

Schultz had a ready response Wednesday for part of Harris' defense of Dickey: "To help Jay out, we have faxed him another copy of the pledge," she said.

She said the reason Dickey hasn't signed the contract may be that Dickey is "trying to hide his record."

"He consistently opposes campaign finance reform and has received tens of thousands of dollars from pass-through PACs and an undisclosed amount from stealth PACs," Schultz said.

Dickey has mentioned many times that during his congressional career he has not accepted PAC funds. Ross has accepted them.

The Dickey campaign responded Wednesday by releasing two documents Dickey sent to Ross this summer.

One was a letter July 17 in which Dickey told Ross that "many who are watching your campaign have decided that its motto should be 'Putting Party and PACs first.'"

"You have emphatically stated that you will take PAC money in this campaign," Dickey's letter told Ross. "In the spirit of

See 4TH, Page 10B

## 4th

• Continued from Page 1B

trying to discuss issues, would you please explain how doing this helps the 4th District folks and why you are doing this? And do you believe that the majority of the people in the 4th District want you to take PAC money?"

The other document was a statement June 14 in which Dickey said he would "like to challenge my opponent ... to refrain from taking money from special interest groups called PACs."

"Nothing that I know of more frustrates and discourages the average citizen like having the perception that the candidate or the elected official has a higher loyalty to organizations, particularly special interest groups."

Earlier this week, Schultz defended Ross' acceptance of PAC contributions. Ross won't unilaterally disarm, she said.

On Wednesday, she challenged Dickey's claim that he doesn't accept PAC money.

"The truth is he has accepted thousands of dollars from leadership PACs that raise money from groups such as the American Insurance Association PAC, Glaxo Welcome Inc. PAC, and Phillip Morris Co. Inc. PAC to name a few," Schultz said.

She said Ross supports the elimination of "soft money," which is used by the political parties and others to influence the outcome of elections through advertising and by other expenditures. Ross also believes that all television advertisements in political races should be "treated the same under law," Schultz said.

"Dickey has consistently voted against meaningful campaign fi-

nance reform," said Schultz, referring to Dickey's record as "dismal" and citing a number of votes cast by Dickey as she argued that he is trying to "divert attention from the truth."

Harris said the Ross camp's handling of the issue twists reality. "What part of 'Jay Dickey doesn't take PAC money' does Mike Ross not understand?" Harris said. "Jay lives campaign finance reform by not taking money from political action committees. Campaign finance reform is Jay Dickey's issue. Jay is one of only 17 House members who won't take PAC money."

Harris said that when the Dickey camp receives unsolicited PAC contributions, "they are immediately sent back."

"Mike Ross' hands are dripping with the green ink from all the cash special interest PACs have given him. For him to say he is for campaign finance reform after taking more than \$404,000 from special interest political action committees is ludicrous," Harris said.

He said a Washington, D.C., fund-raiser last week raised more than \$300,000 for Ross, and, therefore, "How could anyone take him seriously on this issue?"

The Dickey camp also disputed the Ross camp's assessment of Dickey's voting record on campaign finance legislation, saying that Dickey had co-sponsored legislation for full disclosure of contributions and another measure that "bans all soft money spending by political parties and requiring full disclosure by independent groups."

"If Ross had done his own research rather than allowing his masters in Washington to think for him, he would have found Jay's real record on campaign finance reform," Harris said.



New York Post

Wednesday  
September 20, 2000

## Hill hurdles W'water as sleepover list looms

By BRIAN BLOMQUIST  
*Post Correspondent*

WASHINGTON — Independent counsel Robert Ray today plans to clear Hillary Rodham Clinton of criminality in the Whitewater affair— just as the White House releases a list of sleepover guests from the last two years.

The first lady and White House officials have already acknowledged that some of contributors to her Senate campaign will appear on the list of people who've stayed overnight in the Lincoln Bedroom or visited Camp David. The list is expected to include about 500 names.

Ray's Whitewater statement, which will run several pages, is expected to say there was "insufficient" evidence to indict Clinton on allegations that she lied about her lost-and-found Rose Law Firm billing records, as well as insufficient evidence to support allegations that she lied about legal work she did on the controversial Castle Grande project in Arkansas.

The release of the sleepover list and the Whitewater statement, though unrelated, could serve as a reminder of Clinton's scandal baggage just six weeks before the Senate election.

Asked about the timing of the Whitewater statement, President Clinton said yesterday, "I think people are capable of drawing their own conclusions about that... I think it's pretty obvious."

Sources close to Ray wondered whether the White House was playing games by planning to release the sleepover list on the same day the Whitewater statement is going out.

The Whitewater statement will contain Ray's conclusions, but it is not the final, detailed report on Whitewater. The report goes to a federal three-judge panel, where it will remain under seal for at least three months — after the election.

It's been no secret for months that Ray, who took over the Whitewater probe that began in 1994, was not going to indict the first lady over Whitewater.

Ray's investigation has focused specifically on whether the president or the first lady lied to federal banking investigators who prepared a report critical of Mrs. Clinton in 1996, Senate investigators who completed their Whitewater report in 1996, and investigators with the independent counsel's office who have prosecuted other players involved in the Arkansas land deal.

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION

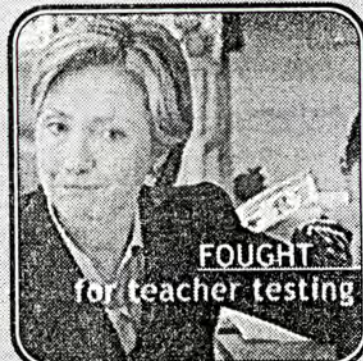


**TITLE:** "Stand Up"  
**LENGTH:** 30 seconds  
**PRODUCER:** "Team Hillary" (Mandy Grunwald, Mark Penn and the ad firm of DeVito/Verdi)  
**AIRING:** Statewide

**SCRIPT:** Announcer — "They tried to get her to back down on teacher testing. She wouldn't. They tried to make her give up after health-care reform failed. She kept working. They tried to silence her in China, but she spoke out for women's rights as human rights. They criticized her book about children. She took the proceeds, nearly a million dollars, and gave it to children. All her life, Hillary has stood for what she believes in — for better schools, better health care. Now, she'll stand up for us."

**VISUALS:** Clinton in a classroom, talking to kids as the words "fought for teacher testing" appear on the screen. Clinton is then shown comforting an elderly woman in a hospital, with the words "worked to expand health coverage." The first lady is shown speaking at an international women's conference in China, with the words "spoke out for women's rights." Her book, "It takes a Village" is shown along with the words "gave nearly \$1 million to children's causes." The final shots in the ad are of the first lady on the campaign trail.

**ACCURACY:** While all of the claims about what Clinton



## ADWATCH

accomplished or attempted to accomplish are true, it is unclear who the mysterious "they" are. The ad also air-brushes over Clinton's role in the collapse of health-care reform.

**ANALYSIS:** This ad skillfully portrays Clinton as someone who is courageously fighting the good fight along the ramparts, all the while being opposed by a group referred to only as "they." By saying she's being attacked by this powerful straw man, Clinton almost looks like a victim — a role that traditionally has helped rally voters to her side. But is it really fair to lump together the Chinese government with the foes of her health-care plan?

**RESPONSE:** "The vast right-wing conspiracy rides again. The reality is, Mrs. Clinton does actually have a record on several of these issues, and it is a disastrous one."

— Lazio spokesman Dan McLagan Robert Hardt Jr.



PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION

# She'll Leave the Light On

## Does New York state want a senator who has turned the White House into a high-rent Motel 6?



**BOB  
McMANUS**

**T**HEY slapped handcuffs on one Paul W. Adler last week. Hidden federal microphones had caught him in a candid moment, talking about what politicians sometimes talk about.

Adler is chairman of the Rockland County Democratic committee. He's also a high-order Friend of Hillary, having been present at the creation of her U.S. Senate candidacy.

You know, it's true: Birds of feather *do* flock together.

Adler, according to federal prosecutors, swiped \$375,000 via fraud, extortion and bribery. A surreptitiously obtained tape quotes him as saying he had not become Rockland County Democratic Party boss "to lose money."

"If you can't help your friends, then why get into some of these positions?" the feds say he said.

It's hard not to imagine just such a question hanging in the air way back when, as Hillary's \$100,000 cattle-futures jackpot was being arranged.

Just as it is impossible not to notice that Adler isn't Hillary's only good friend in New York.

That's what the "soft-money" debate is all about.

"Soft money" describes special-interest contributions to mostly unregulated groups meant to be spent on behalf of — but technically not *by* — a given candidate.

At the end of the day, soft money is about friends helping friends — with reciprocity obligations a given.

It is true that both Rick Lazio and Mrs. Clinton have soft money at work for them.

But it's one thing to spatter a little slop on your shoes as you push up to the hog-trough.

It's something else to hop right into the sty and wallow in the

soft-money muck.

Access to the White House — and not *just* for sleepovers — has been a salable commodity for two terms now.

Thus it's no surprise to learn that bedrooms at the White House and Camp David are for sale on behalf of Mrs. Clinton's ambitions, too.

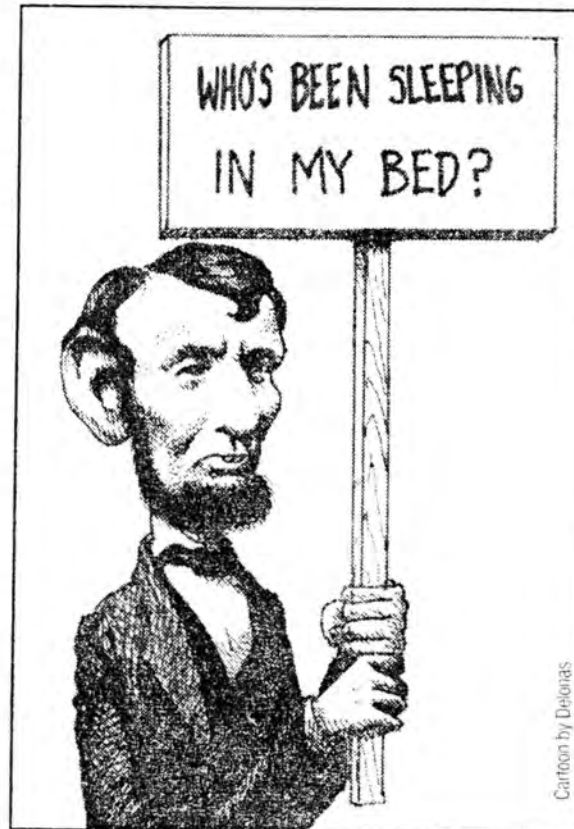
Just as it's no surprise that word of this latest scandal comes not from New York's newspaper of record, which seems to have

known all about it — but from Matt Drudge, the Peck's Bad Boy of Internet journalism. (Hillary has friends *everywhere*, but Drudge is not one of them.)

Nor is it a shock that the White House won't release a list of sleepover "guests" — in the sense that gold-card-on-the-barrel-head hotel patrons are "guests" — in anything vaguely resembling useful form.

The press office virtually tied a rock to that photo of Lazio shaking hands with Yassar Arafat and flung it through a window here at The Post — but that same press office is belligerently stonewalling on the sleepovers.

Why? Because to tell the truth would embarrass the big-bucks soft-money folks — and the First Hostellers themselves.



Cartoon by DeJonas

More of a mystery is this: Why are Lazio's folks letting Mrs. Clinton off the hook?

When Hillary's campaign wanted to embarrass Lazio for not releasing his tax returns, they had an Uncle Sam impersonator at the candidate's every public appearance.

The gimmick was dead-on for the 6 p.m. local news — and Lazio coughed up the returns.

Maybe Lazio could put an Abraham Lincoln look-alike on the road?

"Who's been sleeping in my bed — and *when*?" Honest Abe would demand to know.

He'd have a point.

The White House has turned into a high-rent Motel 6 for the electoral benefit of Hillary Rodham Clinton. This suggests a shockingly miscalibrated moral compass for the woman who would succeed the estimable Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

In a more perfect world, Moynihan would say so himself; maybe he will, presently.

Until then, it could be useful to recall words from an Oct. 25, 1996, Post editorial: "A second Clinton administration would be mired in scandal from Day One. Voters would do well to remember 1972. Despite his landslide victory, Richard Nixon's second term was a study in government paralysis lasting from his inauguration until Watergate caused [his resignation]."

And that was *before* the presidential perjury.

It is fair to say that Hillary Rodham Clinton brings a fair amount of her own baggage to this campaign. New York may have dodged a bullet with Paul Adler's indictment, but who knows how many other "friends" are orbiting Hillary?

Indeed, who knows how many one-time Clintonistas will be talking — candidly, to prosecutors — once Bill's fingers are off the levers of power?

Tired of all this?

Hey, who isn't?

E-mail: mcmanus@nypost.com



# The Washington Times

PAGE A6 / WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 2000 ★

## Lazio responds

Rep. Rick Lazio said yesterday that it was "sexist" to portray his behavior during a recent Senate debate with first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton as too aggressive.

During last week's debate, the Republican left his podium and strode over to Mrs. Clinton's side of the stage brandishing what he said was a contract to ban so-called "soft money" from the campaign. She declined.

Mrs. Clinton's spokesman, Howard Wolfson, called Mr. Lazio's behavior "menacing," while the first lady shrugged it off, saying "the thing that probably prepared me best in dealing with things like that was having two younger brothers."

Yesterday, Mr. Lazio responded.

"The idea that somehow that there's a double standard because you're a man or a woman, and you can't make a point forcefully if you're a man, and the person you're making the point with is a woman, I just think that's sexist," he said during a campaign stop in Buffalo.

The Lazio campaign also announced yesterday that it is closing its "Friends of Rick Lazio" soft-money committee. The Clinton campaign had called the committee a symbol of Mr. Lazio's "hypocrisy" in light of his call for a ban on soft money.

• Greg Pierce can be reached at 202/636-3285 or by e-mail (Pierce@twtdmail.com).

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



# LAZIO RIPS 'SEXIST' CRITICS

**Says he's being held to double standard**

By GREGG BIRNBAUM  
in Buffalo and

ROBERT HARDT Jr. in N.Y.  
GOP Senate candidate Rick Lazio yesterday said the criticism he's faced after confronting Hillary Rodham Clinton near the end of last week's debate is "sexist."

"I think the idea that somehow there's a double standard because you're a

**Campaign**  
★ 2000 ★

man or a woman and that you can't make a point forcefully because you're a man and the person you're making the point with is a woman — I just think that's sexist," Lazio said while campaigning in Buffalo.

Lazio was referring to his "soft-money" challenge to Clinton last Wednesday when he walked over to his Democratic rival's podium and repeatedly asked her to sign a campaign-finance-reform pledge.

After the hour-long debate in Buffalo, Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson said Lazio appeared "menacing" during the confrontation while other Clinton supporters complained that the Long Island congressman had "invaded Hillary's personal space."

Lazio said the attacks on him are off base.



**WINGING IT:** Rick Lazio (above) partakes of a Buffalo wing yesterday in the so-named city, while Hillary Clinton (right) attends opening ceremonies for a pediatric emergency room at Montefiore Hospital in The Bronx.

AP (above), Rick Dembow (right)

"I just think the idea that men and women have different standards in contemporary life is wrong," Lazio said.

"I think the notion is sexist."

"Maybe it was just a little too New York for the other side," he said at a later campaign stop in Syracuse.

Wolfson ridiculed Lazio's defense, saying: "Poor Rick. Let me be the first to offer him my support."

Lazio also said he

thought Clinton had asked him to come over to her side of the stage.

"I believe she actually invited me over," said Lazio.

But a review of a transcript of the debate shows that Clinton never called Lazio to her podium.

Lazio also spoke about The Post's revelation yesterday that the first lady has spent several nights at the Trump Tower home of director Steven Spielberg when the moviemaker has been away.

"She's obviously free to stay with whoever she wants to stay with," Lazio said.

"My point is about her relationship with Hollywood, her friendships with Hollywood people, that that compromises her ability to make independent judgments, whether it's about the quality of content coming out of Hollywood or whether it's her insatiable appetite for soft money coming out of Hollywood."



PHOTOGRAPHY  
PRESERVATION



## Sid Has It Wrong — Hillary's No Lady

•Sidney Zion has it wrong — Hillary Clinton deserves no special treatment because she is a "lady" ("No Way To Treat a Lady," Op-Ed, Sept. 15).

The Clintons have been fighting dirty from Day One. There are no good reasons for Rick Lazio not to try to beat them at their own game. After all, she has the full resources of the White House at her disposal, giving her an enormous advantage over her opponent. Mr. Lazio is a brave man indeed.

**A.L. Deglas**  
Valley Stream

**THE ISSUE:** The Lazio-Clinton debate.  
**What Sidney Zion said:** Lazio should have gone easier on Clinton.

•No, Mr. Zion, Hillary is no lady. Remember, it was she who said she wasn't going to be labeled a Tammy Wynette type, sitting home and baking cookies.

If she can't take the heat, she should get out of the political kitchen. It's no place for crybabies.  
**Art Wainwright**  
St. Johns, Mich.

•Why should Mrs. Clinton be treated like a lady? This is a dogfight,

and gender should not be a factor.

**Tony Valente**  
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

•Hillary Clinton is a long way from being a lady.

New Yorkers have always prided themselves on being sophisticated. If they actually elect Mrs. Clinton, they will negate that image. Instead, they will have a new image: New York rubes.

**Cris Lafferty**  
Seattle, Wash.

**E-MAIL ADDRESS:** letters@nypost.com or **WRITE** to The Editor, The New York Post, 1211 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10036. Please include your name, address and daytime phone number. No unverifiable letters will be published. The Post reserves the right to edit and condense all letters.

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# Lazio Says Debate Critics Are Sexist

By RANDAL C. ARCHIBOLD

SYRACUSE, Sept. 19 — Representative Rick A. Lazio today issued his strongest rebuke yet to critics of his debate tactics, saying it was "sexist" to suggest he should not have walked over to Hillary Rodham Clinton's lectern in a challenging manner.

Mr. Lazio, the Republican Senate nominee, said the criticism of his tactic during last Wednesday's debate in Buffalo suggested that "you can't make a point forcefully if you're a man and the person you are making a point with is a woman." He said, "I just think that that's sexist."

Mr. Lazio, responding to suggestions from Mrs. Clinton and her aides that he was overbearing, said a "double standard" was at play. In his remarks, Mr. Lazio suggested that he would not have faced such criticism if his opponent were a man; Mrs. Clinton's advisers have argued that he would not have tried such an unusual televised confrontation if he were running against a man.

During the debate, Mr. Lazio walked over to Mrs. Clinton's lectern, waving a sheet of paper and demanding that she sign a pledge abstaining from using unregulated campaign contributions known as soft money. She declined. Mrs. Clinton's advisers have portrayed his actions as bullying and likely to alienate women.

And Mrs. Clinton and her campaign have sought to encourage that reaction among women. In a speech Monday, the first lady portrayed Mr. Lazio as yelling, pointing his finger and invading her space. "I knew I was going to share a stage," she said, "I didn't think I was going to have to share a podium."

Mrs. Clinton's advisers moved today to take advantage of what they saw as a misstep by Mr. Lazio at the debate, releasing a new advertisement that portrayed Mrs. Clinton as something of a victim, fighting against forces that have tried to defeat her on issues like health care.

"Today the political world was rocked by the bizarre accusation that Rick Lazio has been the victim of sexism," said Mrs. Clinton's campaign communications director, Howard Wolfson. "Poor Rick. Let me be the first to offer him my support."

But Mr. Lazio, as he has traveled across the state in the last several days, has repeatedly been questioned about his actions by journalists and occasionally by some of the people he has visited, like schoolchildren. Today, after touring a Buffalo information technology firm, he was asked by a reporter to respond to Mrs. Clinton's remarks on Monday, and in doing so went beyond his usual reply that he had done nothing wrong during the debate.

"I think the idea that somehow, you know, men and women have different standards in contemporary life is wrong," Mr. Lazio said.

Later, questioned again, he did not use the word "sexist" but reiterated: "I think there ought to be a fair, level playing field, that we should have the same expectations whether you're a male or female, that we ought to be held to the same standard. And that's what I tried to do."

Mr. Lazio also said his tactic was necessary to force Mrs. Clinton to



Associated Press

Representative Rick A. Lazio, campaigning yesterday in Rochester. He defended his actions in confronting Hillary Rodham Clinton in a debate.

address his pledge to ask all independent groups to cease supporting his candidacy by such means as advertising and mailings if Mrs. Clinton agrees to give up her soft money.

Today, Mr. Lazio said he had disbanded a state political action committee, Friends of Rick, and returned the \$75,000 in donations it had received. Mrs. Clinton's camp had classified the group as a soft-money PAC, though Mr. Lazio said none of the money went toward supporting his Senate candidacy.

Mr. Lazio's aides, apparently concerned that news of his remarks would overtake his plan to use today's upstate visit to emphasize high technology as a route to statewide prosperity, sought to portray Mrs. Clinton as hypocritical.

By midafternoon, his campaign office had sent an e-mail message pointing reporters to an article in the September 1999 issue of Brill's Content magazine on how Mrs. Clinton dealt with the press as the first lady of Arkansas. The article includes a

1990 photograph of Mrs. Clinton pointing her finger at the Republican candidate for governor, Tim McRae. She had interrupted his news conference to castigate his criticism of Bill Clinton, then governor, for extensive out-of-state travel.

"Mrs. Clinton obviously feels that the first candidate debate was a little too New York for her," said Bill Dal Col, Mr. Lazio's campaign manager. "But she should realize that what's good for the goose is good for the gander, and she can't give a spirited performance in Arkansas and then play the victim when things don't go her way in New York."

Mrs. Clinton's campaign declined to comment on the article.

Mr. Lazio went on to a celebration of the opening of his Syracuse campaign headquarters and a reception here by the New York State Aftermarket Association, a trade group of auto parts dealers.

Mrs. Clinton did not discuss the debate today as she campaigned in the Bronx.

THE NEW YORK TIMES NEW YORK WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 20, 2000

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



## POSTOPINION

# White House for \$ale

## State dinner or Hillary fund-raiser?



**DICK MORRIS**

**S**UNDAY's official State dinner at the White House was nominally held to honor Indian Prime Minister Atai Bihari Vajpayee, but Hillary seized the opportunity to reward donors, curry favor with New York political reporters and stroke Empire State politicians.

Brazen in her use of the dinner to reward her friends, the first lady turned the official reception for the leader of the world's largest democracy into a dinner for her campaign.

Even a cursory examination of the guest list reveals the following links between her campaign and those who were wined, dined and feted:

### Big Donors:

**Take Their Money and Run**  
**Elizabeth Bagley**, wife of **Smith Bagley**, heir to RJ Reynolds fortune, held a big Nantucket fund-raiser for Hillary. The Bagleys have given \$100,000 in soft money and almost \$20,000 combined to other Hillary-related causes.

**John Catsimatidis**, Red Apple supermarket magnate, hosted a fund-raiser for Hillary which raised \$500,000.

**Jeffrey Lynford**, gave \$1,000 to Hillary and \$1,000 to the Democratic National Committee Services Corporation.

**Al Franken**, comedian, taxi voice, gave \$2,000 to Hillary.

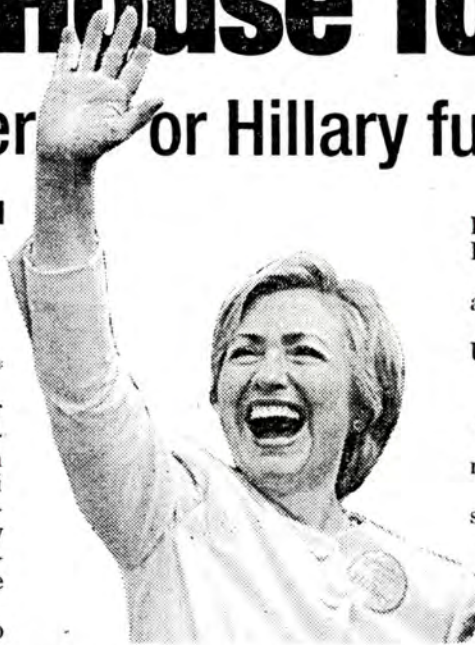
**Ted Tetzlaff** and **Howard A. Tullman**, held a fund-raiser for Hillary in Chicago last June that raised \$300,000.

**Barbara and Martin Fife**, former deputy mayor, longtime Democratic activist who gave \$2,500 to Hillary and the Democratic National Committee

**Christie Brinkley** gave \$15,000 in soft money.

**Carol Kolsky** gave Hillary \$1,000.

**Neel Lattimore**, Hillary's former press secretary who is now spokesman for the Video Games trade association, gave \$1,000



**Harvey and Kathleen Sloan**, longtime Democratic fund-raisers

**Robert and Laura Sillerman** gave more than \$40,000 to Hillary committees.

### Media People:

#### Get Favorable Coverage

**Mort Zuckerman**, Publisher, New York Daily News

**Richard Berke**, New York Times political reporter

**Frank Rich**, Times columnist

**Matt Cooper**, political reporter for Time magazine

**Susan Page**, political reporter for USA Today, and husband, **Carl Leubsdorf** of the Dallas Morning News

**Nina Totenberg**, National Public Radio

**Geraldine Laybourne**, CEO of Oprah's Oxygen Media

**Gwen Ifill**, Washington Week in Review

**Ronald Insana**, CNBC

**Sheila Mahoney**, VP, Cablevision

**Roxanne Roberts**, Washington Post

**Kevin Chaffee**, Washington Times

**Star Jones**, Clinton supporter and daytime talk-show host

**Renee Chenault**, NNC anchor

### N.Y. and Labor Contacts:

#### Keep 'Em Energized

**Jeff Soref**, leading New York gay activist (and a good guy) and head of Empire State Pride Agenda

**Bhairavi Desai**, staff organizer, New York Taxi Workers Union

**John Sweeney**, president, AFL-CIO

**Rick Diegel**, political director, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers

**Brian K. Bond**, director, Gay and Lesbian Victory Fund

**Ian Rosenberg**, Long Island University

### Campaign Staff and Advisers: Give 'Em A Night On the Town

**Mandy Grunwald**, Hillary's media adviser

**Michael Sheehan**, political advisor and Clinton debate coach

**Neera Tanden**, Hillary's campaign policy director

### Scandal Figures:

#### Keep 'Em Happy... and Quiet

**Roger Altman**, former assistant Treasury secretary, whose role in the Whitewater investigation has been questioned. Ray's report is due out soon.

**Eric Holder Jr.**, deputy attorney general and Janet Reno's keeper. Makes sure no special prosecutors or independent counsels get appointed.

**Don Fowler**, former Democratic National Committee chairman, recently accused of soliciting funds from trial lawyers in return for Clinton veto of tort-reform bill

### A Publisher for Her Memoirs?

**Sydney Weinberg Miner**, VP, Senior Editor, Simon and Schuster

**Carolyn Reidy** and **Michael Selleck**, Simon and Schuster trade division

Undoubtedly, each of these worthy invitees is closely tied to the intricacies of U.S.-India relations, but one can't help wondering if their connection to Hillary, her campaign, her fund-raising, and her political needs had somewhat more to do with their invitations.

This gross misuse of the White House should trigger sharper questioning about Hillary's use of the Lincoln Bedroom and Camp David to reward her supporters. Her lame defense that she is entertaining "friends and supporters" is inadequate, especially in view of the fact that she was not there much of the time. The White House should release the names of all guests and the dates of their overnight stays.

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



*Richard Cohen*

## ... Harrying Hillary

NEW YORK—Hillary Clinton's chief problem, her own strategists will tell you, is her inability to tell New Yorkers why she is running. After her debate with Rick Lazio last week she should no longer have that predicament. She's running to get away from Tim Russert and all he represents.

Russert is among the best broadcast journalists we have—a great and industrious reporter and, almost always, a fair questioner. So it is a gauge of how poisonous Washington has become that he could ask Hillary—as her campaign chooses to call her—if she regrets “misleading the American people” about her husband's infidelity.

Not since the old Saturday night fights has TV seen such a low blow. How did Hillary “mislead” the American people? For that, Russert went to the videotape and Hillary's January 1998 “Today” show interview with Matt Lauer. The interview occurred just six days after the Monica Lewinsky story broke. Hillary denied that her husband had carried on with a White House intern and famously attributed the scandal to “a vast right-wing conspiracy.”

But at the time, Hillary did not know the truth. No one has ever doubted her about that and, indeed, in his new book, “The Breach,” my colleague Peter Baker reports that Bill Clinton ultimately dispatched his lawyer, David E. Kendall, to tell his wife what really happened. That was Aug. 13. “Only after Kendall laid the foundation did Clinton speak directly to his wife,” Baker writes.

As for the “vast right-wing conspiracy,” there was one. With funding from Richard Scaife, the American Spectator set out to dig up dirt on Clinton. Its story about his womanizing prompted a certain “Paula” to come forward and denounce the magazine's reference to herself. She had never been Bill Clinton's girlfriend, Miss Jones said, but instead had been sexually harassed by him. That charge, later thrown out in court, led ultimately to Clinton's having to testify to his private life. He lied—but to questions irrelevant to his job.

I have never excused Clinton either for his Oval Office shenanigans or, more important, for lying under oath. But his prosecution-cum-persecution became a pogrom by self-appointed journalistic and congressional moralists. It hardly mattered to them that Paula Jones's unsub-

stantiated charge of boorish behavior wound up as an inquisition in which the privacy of innocent people—What crime did Lewinsky, her mother or her friends commit?—was violated. Clinton's behavior was scandalous, but no threat to you and me. Not so that of his congressional and journalistic Torquemadas. In the cause of moral purity, they would throw the Constitution itself onto the fire.

Russert's question provided Lazio with the perfect chance to prove he is a *mensch*, not a mouse. But instead of saying, “Hold on a minute, Tim,” he virtually squealed his approval and got in an elbow of his own. To her attempt to link him to Newt Gingrich, he responded, “Mrs. Clinton, you of all people shouldn't try to make guilt by association.” In one sentence, he failed both English and logic.

Hillary, too, did not distinguish herself. Instead of using Russert's question to exhibit some real emotion, she said, “Well, you know, Tim, that was a very . . . painful time for me, for my family and for our country”—as if they were all equal to her. She was momentarily flustered, but a moment later she was back on message: “I didn't cast the votes that Newt Gingrich asked me to cast.” I think you could feed her through a shredder and she would come out right on message.

In the end, though, Hillary was the winner. Russert and Lazio once again turned her into a victim. She became the first woman in world history to be held accountable for her husband's cheating and, worse, for believing him. As for Lazio, his pugnacious ways, his process-server's strut across the stage to demand that Hillary sign a soft-money agreement she hadn't read, showed he is more bully than bright. In a typical assessment, Jeanne Kreuder, who was polled by the Buffalo News, likened Lazio to a “used car salesman.” The polls pronounced Hillary the winner.

In the end, the question that Hillary can't answer was answered for her by Russert and Lazio. She is running for the Senate in New York because she is running away from the legions of decency in Washington, not to mention a husband who hurt her so badly not even a country-western song could describe the pain. That may not be a good reason to run for the Senate in a state where she never lived, but if you watched the debate, you'd understand. She's seeking asylum.



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# Digest

THE NEW YORK REGION

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NEW YORK

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## **Mrs. Clinton Chides Lazio For Tactics During Debate**

Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday made a broad appeal for women to support her Senate campaign, casting her Republican opponent, Representative Rick A. Lazio, as a bully in last week's debate.

Mrs. Clinton, addressing a fundraising luncheon in Manhattan for Democratic women in the State Legislature and Congress, concentrated on issues considered important to women.

Most pointedly, however, she took the opportunity to criticize Mr. Lazio's debating tactics. Many of Mrs. Clinton's supporters said they found Mr. Lazio to be pushy and disrespectful during their debate in Buffalo, bullying her in a way he would not have bullied a male opponent.

"There is a big difference between raising your voice and raising up the quality of education in our schools," Mrs. Clinton said. "There is a big difference between pointing your finger and reaching out your hand to improve the quality of life for the people who need health and good jobs."

Mr. Lazio denied being disrespectful.

"People want to know that you're going to fight for New York, that you're not going to be a pushover in the Senate," he said.

*Dean E. Murphy (NYT)*

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 2000

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## **The New York Times**

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



JOHN TIERNEY/The Big City

## A Vote to Let Candidates Do the Math on Education

**W**ITH education supposed to be the crucial issue, both New York candidates for the Senate are busy visiting schools and promising large sums of money. The figures sound impressive, but it might be useful if the candidates paused at the schools' blackboards long enough to work on a few problems:

*Rick, a candidate for United States Senate, has proposed a total of \$98 billion in new federal spending on education over the next decade. His opponent, Hillary, has proposed a total of \$130 billion.*

*If there are 69 million students in America from kindergarten through university level, how much does each candidate propose to spend on each student per year?*

If Rick fulfills his promises, the government will spend a grand total of \$142.02 per year more on each student. Hillary's proposals would mean an additional \$46.39. That will probably not loom large to anyone who has paid a tuition bill.

It's not that Rick Lazio and Hillary Rodham Clinton are fiscal conservatives. They're proposing hefty budget increases. But the federal government provides a mere 9 percent of the money spent on education in America, so the increases don't make much difference. National politicians love to talk about schools, but the bills are paid by parents and local and state governments.

*The average New Yorker sends \$5,676 to Washington in taxes each year. Washington sends \$4,840 back in spending programs. If there are 18 million New Yorkers, how much are they losing? And is there any reason they would want to give*

*Washington another excuse to spend their money elsewhere?*

In all, the state gets back \$15 billion less than it sends to Washington each year, as computed by Jay H. Walder and Herman B. Leonard of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. New Yorkers pay above-average taxes and get below-average returns, so on the whole they would be better off with tax cuts than with new spending programs.

But the state doesn't do badly in all areas. While New York ranks 48th in its per capita share of the military budget, it benefits from programs aimed at poor people. Because of its high poverty rate, it ranks first among states in its per capita payments from welfare programs, and it also does relatively well on education programs aimed primarily at the poor.

**W**HEN it comes to overall federal spending on education, New York gets the 16th-highest per capita share, according to calculations by Dr. Walder. So there's something to be said for the enthusiasm of Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Lazio: if Washington is going to spend money, New York is better off having the money spent on education than on most other things.

But while New York is getting a little more than its share of the education pot, you have to remember who filled the pot. New York ranks 13th in the per capita share of taxes paid. So even when Congress sends some educational dollars this way, New York is essentially just getting back its

own money, minus a few expenses in Washington.

Still, breaking even isn't bad, especially for city dwellers who look to Washington for redressing economic inequalities. Using federal tax collectors can be the most effective way to transfer money from affluent suburbanites to inner-city students, as New York City officials have found after fighting losing battles in Albany to redistribute the suburbs' wealth.

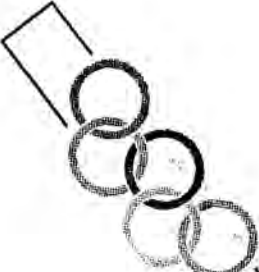
"The city schools often fare better in Washington than in Albany," said Stephen Allinger, the executive director of the office of intergovernmental affairs for the city Board of Education. "Some of the federal programs aren't fair to New York, but in general federal aid is far more focused on need than state aid is."

In theory, then, New York City could benefit if Mr. Lazio or Mrs. Clinton persuaded Congress to shift spending to education from the many programs that enrich other states. But that will be hard to do, given the most stubborn math problem of all.

*The 1.4 million inhabitants of North Dakota and South Dakota pay a total of \$6 billion in annual federal taxes. The 18.2 million inhabitants of New York pay \$103 billion. Suppose the money is pooled and stacked on a table in a Senate committee room. New York's two senators want to spend it on education. The four senators from the Dakotas want to spend it on agricultural assistance.*

*What are the odds that wheat farmers will be driving new John Deere tractors next spring?*





NEW YORK POST TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 2000

# THE SYDNEY OLYMPICS



**Chelsea Clinton**

## No butts

SMILING **Chelsea Clinton** is a huge celebrity hit at the Sydney Olympics, and her first response to a reporter's question beat her dad in the diplomatic stakes. No butts about it, clever Chelsea seems to have learned from Bill's bumbling over the inhalation question. "I've never smoked a cigarette in my life," she said at the launch of an anti-smoking campaign.

PHOTOCOPY

BY [illegible] JON



## First lady's trips cost taxpayers \$1 million

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign trips to New York aboard government aircraft have cost taxpayers more than \$1 million, according to White House records that congressional Republicans released yesterday.

The data show the first lady took 93 such trips from June 1999 through August at an estimated cost of \$1.22 million. Her campaign reimbursed \$184,995, or 15 percent of the total, records show.

Mrs. Clinton, Democratic nominee in the U.S. Senate race in New York, flies on government aircraft at the request of the Secret Service. She reimburses the government the same way presidential candidates do: at the rate of a first-class commercial ticket. That is well below the actual cost of her travel. For example, a C-20, on which she sometimes travels, costs an estimated \$3,705 per hour to fly.

The practice is legal but has been criticized by Republicans.

The flight figures come amid questions about whether supporters of the first lady's Senate bid were rewarded with overnight stays at Camp David or the White House and with trips on government aircraft.

The White House is preparing to release a list of guests who stayed at the White House and Camp David but not the dates of their stays, spokesman Jake Siewert said yesterday.

The Clinton administration was criticized after President Clinton's 1996 re-election campaign for inviting big donors to spend the night at the White House, though he denied accommodations were offered as rewards for contributions.

There are no plans to release names of those who have traveled on the first lady's aircraft, officials said, prompting criticism from the campaign of Rep. Rick Lazio, her opponent for Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's Senate seat.

"It's shenanigans like this, toying with the truth, that cause Mrs. Clinton such severe credibility problems," said Dan McLagan, a Lazio spokesman.

The first lady, campaigning yesterday in Manhattan, refused to comment.

"I'm just happy to be here talking about the issues," she said after speaking at a \$300,000 fund-raiser for New York Democratic elected women.

Lissa Muscatine, candidate Clinton's White House spokeswoman, said travel costs for any guest



Hillary Rodham Clinton

***"It's shenanigans like this, toying with the truth, that cause Mrs. Clinton such severe credibility problems."***

—Dan McLagan,  
spokesman for Rick Lazio

not on official business with the first lady must be reimbursed. Her campaign must reimburse the Treasury for the travel costs of her campaign staff, for example.

New York Assemblyman Michael Bragman and his family hitched a ride to Washington on the first lady's plane in December, according to Bragman spokeswoman Laura Pechaitis, who did not know if the travel was reimbursed.

Mr. Bragman has not donated to the first lady's campaign but is one of her more prominent upstate New York supporters.

The White House has provided the first lady's travel information under pressure from Rep. Jim Kolbe, Arizona Republican. He is chairman of the House subcommittee that oversees White House spending. In March, he held a hearing on the first lady's travel and directed the White House to provide monthly expense reports.

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



# Inside Politics



Compiled by Greg Pierce

## The gambling issue

Although campaign spin doctors ignored it, a new issue emerged from last week's debate between Republican Rep. Rick Lazio and Democrat Hillary Rodham Clinton, New York Times columnist William Safire writes.

"The debate [for a U.S. Senate seat from New York] revealed that Clinton favors gambling interests, ostensibly to stimulate jobs near the Canadian border. Lazio opposes helping the growth of gambling; it undermines families, corrupts public officials, ruins lives by hooking gambling addicts and enshrines something-for-nothing in place of the work ethic," Mr. Safire said.

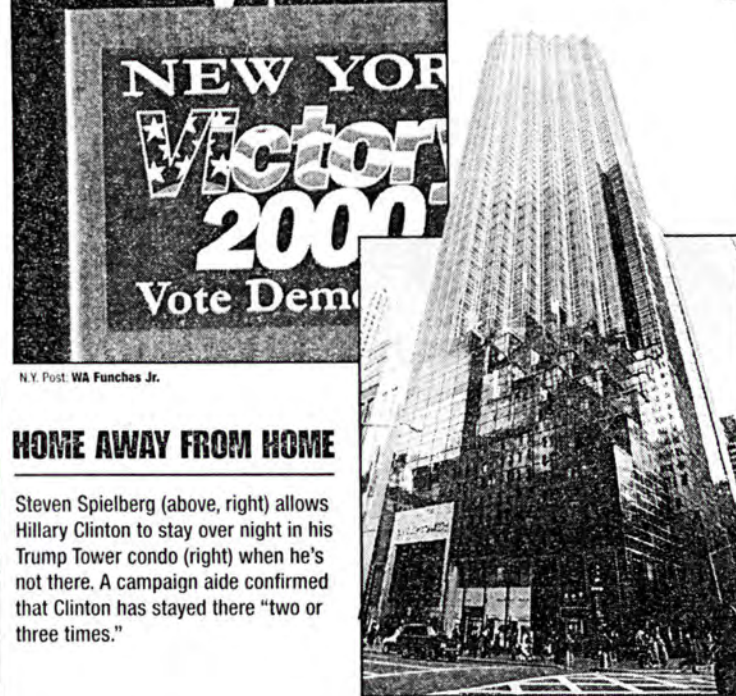
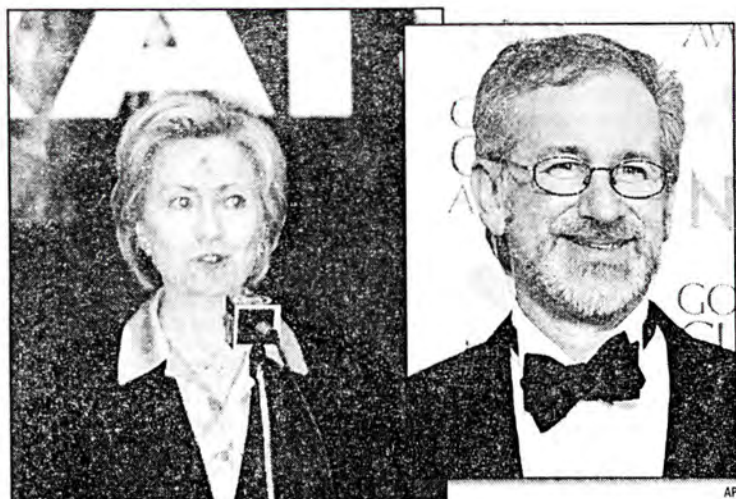
"Here is a moral issue. Following Hillary's lead, New York Democrats would adopt Mississippi's fiscal policy and thereby rake in heavy contributions from casino operators. That sleazy prospect gives Lazio the opening to emphasize how gambling most exploits those in poverty; how 'slots for tots' can lead to lifetime addiction; and how his opponent is selling out the poor and the young."

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



# HILLARY'S CRASH PAD

## Sometimes stays at Spielberg condo



N.Y. Post: WA Funches Jr.

N.Y. Post: Bolivar Arelano

### HOME AWAY FROM HOME

Steven Spielberg (above, right) allows Hillary Clinton to stay over night in his Trump Tower condo (right) when he's not there. A campaign aide confirmed that Clinton has stayed there "two or three times."

**S**OMETIMES, Steven Spielberg's condo in Trump Tower beats out Chappaqua for Hillary Rodham Clinton.

The first lady has overnighted several times at the Oscar-winning director's lavish home on Fifth Avenue instead of schlepping back to her house in Westchester.

A Trump Tower resident tipped off Campaign Buzz that Hillary has spent several nights in Spielberg's three-bedroom, multimillion-dollar home, which features stunning views of Central Park.

Spielberg spokesman Andy Spahn confirmed that Hillary has stayed in the condo at least "two or three times," and that she's also gone there to rest during the day when there's rare campaign downtime.

"They've been friends for seven or eight years," said Spahn, adding that Spielberg has never been at his home when Clinton borrowed the apartment.

Spielberg's place is not the only Manhattan apartment that Hillary has borrowed, but tight-lipped Clinton aides refused to discuss the Trump condo or the location of any of her other crash pads.

Rick Lazio is about to get some more "gravitas."

Moving to shed any lingering perception that he's less than a heavyweight, Lazio on Thursday is set to deliver a major speech to the respected Council on Foreign Relations.

The Republican Senate candidate will be following in some big footsteps at the think tank, including Henry Kissinger, George Soros, Bill Gates, Madeleine Albright, Kofi Annan — and even Bill Clinton.

Lazio's aides wouldn't reveal the speech's specifics.

Hillary is making big news — in Australia.

The first lady has raised eyebrows down under by writing to Australian officials last week demanding they take action against several suspected ex-Nazis



living in the country.

"Hillary Clinton has become involved in a campaign to embarrass Australia during the Olympics," reads the lead paragraph of an article in the Herald Sun newspaper, one of the country's largest publications.

New York Jewish officials said they are grateful Clinton lent her support to an effort to draw world attention to four former Nazi officers who are being protected by the Australian government, including suspected Latvian death-squad member Konrads Kalejs.

"I hope the Australian government will take action so that international criminals like Mr. Kalejs will be brought to justice and forced to pay for their crimes," the first lady wrote to Rabbi Zev Friedman, of the Maimonides HS on Long Island, who is heading up the campaign to pressure Australia.

Lazio had the chance last weekend to make a personal pitch for his plan to eliminate the "marriage tax" to people who might care about it most — newlyweds.

During a firefighters parade through Tarrytown, Lazio passed by a church where a wedding was about to begin and spotted the bride and groom standing outside with their wedding party.

"We're gonna take care of the 'marriage penalty' so don't worry about that," Lazio told the surprised-looking bride and groom, who must have had other things on their minds beside the federal tax code.

## Hill run hatched during Bill's trial: book

By VINCENT MORRIS  
Post Correspondent

**WASHINGTON** — Hillary Clinton's secret plan to move to New York and run for Senate was hatched in the middle of her husband's impeachment trial, according to a new book.

She spent four hours at the White House with the president's chief of staff, Harold Ickes, on Feb. 12, 1999, poring over demographics and ignoring the president when he walked in and began to talk about his impeachment woes.

The book says the president sat at a table with Hillary and Ickes, who were eating lunch and talking New York politics, and tried to join the conversation by mentioning his strong showing in Herkimer County in the 1992 and 1996 election.

Peter Baker's book "The Breach," published yesterday, also reveals how strongly Ickes pushed for Clinton's resignation during the impeachment crisis.

It says Ickes tried to line up senior Democrats in Congress, plus influential White House friends like union leaders, and then met with AFL-CIO President John Sweeney to push the idea of a presidential resignation, the book says.

"Let's wait and see, Harold," Sweeney said, when the two men dined at the Washington Hilton Hotel. "Let's see how this unfolds."

Baker, a Washington Post writer, was a leading Sexgate reporter.

At least one of the people mentioned in his impeachment book — ex-Republican Rep. Bob Livingston of Louisiana — is disputing its charge that he once wavered in the drive to impeach Clinton.

Livingston, now a lobbyist, wrestled over impeaching Clinton and came around to the idea after learning about allegations from Juanita Broaddrick that Clinton raped her in 1978, the book says.

"It's not true. [Livingston] never wavered for a moment," former Livingston press secretary Mark Corallo told The Post yesterday.

Among other revelations, the book says:

■ Sexgate prober Kenneth Starr investigated 21 women linked to Clinton.

■ Hillary Clinton shot down a plan to avoid impeachment by letting the president stay in office but strip him of his pension for five years — mainly because she was the main breadwinner and didn't want to support him.

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION





**RICK LAZIO**  
Gets endorsement.

## Lazio on board with LIRR union

By GREGG BIRNBAUM  
and MAGGIE HABERMAN

Rick Lazio grabbed a transportation workers union endorsement yesterday, while Hillary Rodham Clinton needed her Republican rival for getting *this close* to her at their debate.

"I knew I was going to share the stage — I didn't think I was going to have to share a podium," Clinton joked during remarks to a mostly female audience at the state Democratic Party's women's luncheon at the Sheraton Hotel.

Clinton was referring to a dramatic moment toward the end of last week's televised face-off when Lazio approached her to demand she sign a pledge to ban soft money from the Senate race.

"There's a big difference between raising your voice and raising up the quality of education in our schools," Clinton told the crowd.

"There's a big difference between, you know, pointing your finger and reaching out a hand to improve the quality of life for people who need health care and good jobs."

Clinton also cast doubt on the kind of U.S. Supreme Court nominees Lazio would back, saying her opponent "will have to wait until he's told what he's supposed to do by whatever leadership he is currently beholden to."

The Democratic fundraiser collected \$300,000, some of it in soft money.

At Penn Station, Lazio appeared with transportation union boss Mike Canino, who said of Clinton, "New Yorkers simply cannot afford to take a chance on someone who has to learn on the job."

"We don't need this railroad in Arkansas, we need it in New York," Canino added.

Lazio, who rode the Long Island Rail Road to Manhattan from Babylon, said he was honored to have the support of the 3,200-member United Transportation Union. Most are LIRR workers.

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



## Off the track



By Tim Dillon, USA TODAY

**Don't ask, don't tell:** Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala escorts Chelsea Clinton in Sydney.

## Chelsea smiles, but won't speak

SYDNEY — This was supposed to be **Chelsea Clinton's** official coming out, representing America as a member of the U.S. delegation to the Olympic Games. But, as with debutantes of old, down here Chelsea can be seen but never heard.

Look but don't touch, and don't expect answers to questions. Those are the instructions to the media following Clinton around for the seven days or so she'll be here with the delegation, headed by Health and Human Services Secretary **Donna Shalala**. It's the first daughter's first solo trip as an "official" American, but she's just as off limits as ever.

The Australian press people are a bit disappointed. "Speak up, Chelsea," demanded *The Daily Telegraph*, describing her as **President Clinton's** "little girl."

But Clinton isn't a little girl anymore; she's 20, and on leave from Stanford University to help Dad by filling in while Mom — first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton** — runs for the U.S. Senate in New York.

So why is she here? To smile for the cameras, and she's very good at that. On Friday, she toured the Sydney Opera House, posing and waving for photographers on a veranda overlooking the harbor as a boatload of tourists below shouted hellos.

No one asked her nosy questions, such as "What's with the new boyfriend, Chelsea?" Shortly before leaving for Sydney, news broke that she is dating a White House intern, Stanford classmate Jeremy Kane. Instead, she got softballs like "How do you like Sydney?" and "What do you think of the Opera House?" No answer.

On Saturday night, she was at swimming events. The entourage also is scheduled to take in men's gymnastics, and women's soccer, basketball, softball and beach volleyball on Sydney's famed Bondi Beach.

USA Today

Monday

September 18, 2000

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



## NEAL TRAVIS' NEW YORK

### Final Bill of fare

THE White House days have dwindled down to a precious few for **President Clinton**. The weekend's state dinner (for the prime minister of India) was the last scheduled for Bill's term, so he used the occasion to have some of his closest friends and best supporters come by.

The heavy New York contingent included **Mort Zuckerman**, union boss **John Sweeney**, **Denise Rich**, **Roger Altman**, **John** and **Margot Catsimatis**, and **Harvey** and **Kathy Sloane**. **Hillary** and her mom were there, and everyone remarked on what a great job daughter **Chelsea** had been doing at the Olympic Games in Sydney.

### Bob is bogus Bush

WITH so much at stake in the president wannabes' debates, **Al Gore** and **George W. Bush** are prepping hard. I understand that the Clintons' high-powered lawyer **Bob Barnett** (who played the **Rick Lazio** role in **Hillary's** debate rehearsal) has been drafted to perform as Bush in Gore's practice sessions. I do hope Bob is doing it out of friendship, rather than billing his regular hourly rate.

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



# Museum Ceremony Links Past, Present

*Clinton on Hand at Constitution Center*

By DEBBIE GOLDBERG  
Special to The Washington Post

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 17— Under a glorious blue sky, President Clinton put his signature on a metal girder that will form the foundation of the National Constitution Center, not far from where the original document was signed 213 years ago today.

Also signing the beam was newly naturalized American citizen Susan Yuh of South Korea, who was one of 72 immigrants who took the oath of citizenship as part of today's groundbreaking ceremony.

"These young immigrants represent our future, our steadfast belief that we grow stronger with diversity," Clinton told the crowd.

While the degree of diversity in America today would probably astound the country's founders, Clinton said, it is "a product of their own handiwork."

The National Constitution Center was established by Congress in 1988 as an independent, nonpartisan organization charged with increasing awareness and understanding of the Constitution.

Underscoring the need for such a museum, a poll two years ago by the center found that while only 2.8 percent of teenagers surveyed could name the chief justice of the United States,

almost 95 percent knew Will Smith played the Fresh Prince of Bel Air on television.

The \$105 million museum, which will be built in the heart of Philadelphia's historic district, is scheduled to be finished in time for the 215th anniversary of the original signing of the Constitution on Sept. 17, 2002. The museum is being financed by government and private funds.

Clinton was flanked on the podium by a who's who of Pennsylvania politicians, including Republican Sens. Arlen Specter and Rick Santorum, Philadelphia Mayor John Street and former mayor Edward Rendell.

Specter, noting that Clinton was wearing a "Hillary button" as he arrived from a fundraising event for his wife's New York Senate race, drew laughs when he said the president was working hard for his wife's election because he is "anxious to join the Senate Spouse's Club."

Specter also cited the protections guaranteed by the Constitution and praised Clinton for questioning the treatment of Wen Ho Lee, the former Los Alamos scientist who was freed last week after spending nine months in jail on charges that he misused nuclear secrets. Specter said Congress will look into "how a man can be a threat to national security one day and walk out a free man the next."



BY PAUL J. RICHARDS—AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE

**President Clinton joins 72 immigrants who took the oath of citizenship as part of groundbreaking ceremony for the National Constitution Center in Philadelphia's historic district. Museum is scheduled to open in 2002.**



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PHOTOGRAPHY  
TION



# Hillary buddy's bubble bursts

## High-riding Rockland deal-maker nailed with bribe charge

When Hillary Rodham Clinton began thinking last year about running for the Senate, one of the first people she called was veteran New York state Democratic Party operative Paul Adler.

Using his position as the party chairman for Rockland County — a key suburban voting area in the upcoming election — Adler developed a close working relationship with the first lady.

The 42-year-old insider with a checkered résumé soon became a close ally and key backer of Clinton's candidacy.

"He is a large personality," said one Rockland County official. "He was a major, major player in the county, and he was becoming a major player in the whole state."

He seemed at the top of his game last October when Clinton spent an evening at his home as part of her statewide listening tour.

But while Adler had the ear of the first lady, the FBI was listening to local leaders who claimed he was a palm-greasing politico corrupting the planning board.

Over the following year, Clinton's campaign shifted into high gear, and Adler became a constant presence at her side whenever she visited the county.

The Post reported just last Monday that he was on a short list of possible replacements for Judith Hope as the statewide Democratic Party leader.

But his new status as a rising star turned out to be incredibly short-lived, even by the harsh standard of modern politics.

That very afternoon, federal prosecutors announced a blistering criminal complaint charging Adler with bribery, extortion and mail fraud stemming from allegedly shady land deals in Clarkstown, where he lives.

The feds said Adler sold out his position, his business clients and his own party by taking secret payoffs and flat-out bribes to sway his town planning board.

U.S. Attorney Mary Jo White said Adler was caught on wiretaps discussing the dirty deals he made to try to gain town approval of a housing tract development for a father-son real-estate team.

On one of the tapes, Adler allegedly agrees to get a board member a job in the state attorney general's office if that member

By DEVLIN BARRETT

helps push through the development.

"I know what I've gotta do here," Adler is quoted as saying on the tapes. "I made a promise, and we're gonna keep the promise."

The attorney general's office told investigators that it gave the board member, identified by sources as John Kain, a job interview as a favor to Adler, but never offered him a position.

The feds said Adler's deal-making went well beyond political negotiating, and he began using his office as a way to feed his bank account — to the tune of over \$370,000.

But, unbeknownst to Adler, sources said, Kain began secretly working for the FBI almost immediately after Adler allegedly first offered him a bribe.

On paper, the 15-month case built against Adler looks damning: extensive wiretaps, and both developer Israel Herskowitz

**The very afternoon a report put him on the short list to become state party chairman, feds announced a blistering criminal complaint charging Adler with bribery, extortion and mail fraud.**

and his son Yosef have pleaded guilty to bribing Adler.

After being caught on tape bribing a town board member, Yosef began cooperating with the feds, providing them with detailed descriptions of their allegedly underhanded business moves.

Adler has been in hot water before — but always emerged clean enough to re-enter politics.

"He's had many brushes with the law," sighed one associate who knows him well.



**BEHIND THE SCENES:** Democratic Party insider Paul Adler (right, with tie) has been a close ally of Hillary Rodham Clinton in Rockland County since the first lady began campaigning for the Senate.

heart deal for the renovation of a lower Manhattan building that overbilled the state by \$20 million.

Adler fought the case and won an acquittal in state court. The two men tried with him, a real-estate developer and a former state official, were acquitted of the most serious charges but convicted of lying to state authorities.

Adler also ended up being called as a witness in another trial — this time a payroll-padding case against a carpenter's union official. Adler said he was only called in the case because he worked as a union investment adviser who could identify documents.

Then, in the early 1990s, he became a spokesman for Pyramid Companies, a development group that builds megamalls throughout upstate New York.

Pyramid has come under fire from a wide range of

opponents, as some suburban residents try to fight the spread of mall sprawl and traffic congestion.

Environmentalists charge that the company destroys wildlife and threatens public health by building on scarce wetlands or waste dumps that need toxic-cleanup work.

Pyramid was sued last year by O.J. Simpson "Dream Team" lawyer Johnnie Cochran, who accused the company of trying to keep blacks from shopping in a mall Pyramid operates near Buffalo.

Adler left Pyramid in 1993, but the company has resurfaced in the newest charges. Federal prosecutors say Adler secretly collected \$135,000 from Pyramid through a bogus company while Pyramid was trying to build the Palisades Center mall in Rockland County.

Authorities charge Adler illegally hid the fact that he was on Pyramid's pay-

roll while lobbying fellow Democrats to approve the mall plan.

Investigators say Pyramid was unaware of Adler's alleged shell-company shenanigans.

Adler's lawyer, Murray Richman, blasted federal investigators for charging his client with crimes that could earn him 10 years in prison if convicted.

"They're making it a crime to engage in politics," Richman fumed. "Where is the crime in this complaint? Helping your friends? That's politics! It makes no sense!"

Richman said Adler was not even remotely connected to some of the land deals described in court papers, and accused critics of spreading lies about Adler to try to help themselves.

"It's clear that someone is spreading this stuff," he said. "But it's just not true. It's misinformation."

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



## Campaigns 2000



**CAMPAIGN TRAIL:** Gore, who takes his treadmill aboard Air Force Two, here jogs on his family's Tennessee farm. AP

# Prez race: survival of the fittest?

## How Al & W. stay trim on the trail

By VINCENT MORRIS  
Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — The two men running for President are also running to burn off fat.

Between stump speeches, fund-raisers and coast-to-coast travel, George W. Bush, 54, and Al Gore, 52, devote a little time each day to their bodies.

"Al Gore agrees with Thomas Jefferson that a sound body makes for a sound mind," says the vice president's spokesman, Chris Lehane.

Bush runs almost every day, usually in a hotel exercise room, though he'll sometimes go for a longer run outdoors when he's not traveling, according to spokeswoman Karen Hughes.

Candidates know that energy, athleticism and a trim appearance translates well to voters, who may associate a politician's physical health with their overall mental well-being.

Democrat Bill Bradley learned the hard way that a weak heart is unnerving to voters. His loss to Gore during the winter primary season can be attributed to many factors, not least of which was his shaky ticker woe.

In the presidential contest, both Gore and Bush arrived in above-average health.

Bush was a cheerleader at Yale, throwing his energy into the pep squad when it became clear that he had not inherited the natural athleticism of his father — a great baseball player.

But Bush runs often and — since swearing off excessive boozing at age 40 — has managed to stay in great shape.

Even when campaigning, he runs three or four times a week, about four miles each time. He even competed in a marathon about 10 years ago. The governor also uses free weights to build strength in his upper body.

Gore is fairly athletic. At Harvard, Gore played football, not excelling but competing at a Division I level.

In 1997, Gore ran a marathon, and a year ago he climbed Mt. Rainier with his son, Al III, who is a powerful, albeit slow, 230-pound linebacker for Sidwell Friends School in Washington.

When Gore has time and is not traveling, he likes to go on long runs with Frank Hunger, his brother-in-law and one of his most trusted friends.

Mostly, he jogs on a treadmill or uses a Stairmaster — recently putting in 30 minutes on the machine at 5:30 a.m.

Lehane said a treadmill is often carried aboard Air Force Two or up to his hotel room.

In addition, Lehane said the vice president works his biceps with a routine of curls, his shoulders with a sideways exercise called "butterflies," his chest muscles and his triceps.

Gore also makes time for sit-ups and push-ups, although most reporters traveling with



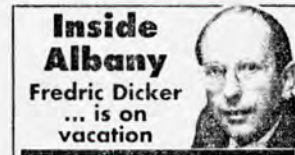
**IN THE RUNNING:** Bush generally uses a treadmill, but he'll often take his longer runs outdoors. AP

him now agree that his voracious appetite and hectic schedule have added a few unwelcome pounds.

The two running mates, Dick Cheney and Sen. Joe Lieberman, have a mixed record.

Cheney, 59, is overweight and underwent heart bypass surgery several years ago after enduring a string of heart attacks. It's unclear how much exercise he gets, and his staff did not return calls seeking comment.

Lieberman, 58, is a regular runner who often jogs in Connecticut with his wife, Hadassah.



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Campaign 2000

# RICK ISSUES AD STICKING TO TAX PLAN, NOT HILLARY

GOP Senate candidate Rick Lazio shifted his strategy yesterday, releasing his first major "issues" ad — touting his tax reduction package and mentioning Hillary Rodham Clinton only in passing.

Over three months into his campaign, the 30-second spot, titled "Plan Revised," is the first Lazio television commercial to focus almost entirely on promoting his views on a single broad-and-butter topic.

Previous Lazio ads have slammed the first lady's trustworthiness, ripped her campaign tactics and positions on the issues, or provided a biographical sketch of the Long Island congressman and his voting record.

The commercial hits the airwaves after criticism — even from Republican ranks — that Lazio hasn't been talking about the issues enough or offering a vision for the future.

The candidates have been squabbling for weeks over the price tag of Lazio's tax plan — with the Republican hopeful estimating it would cost \$776 billion over 10 years, while Clinton claims it would easily surpass \$1 trillion.

"I find it surprising that he would put out an ad on his tax program when every independent analysis by newspapers and other experts clearly finds that it doesn't

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.  
and GREGG BIRNBAUM

add up," Clinton said, after speaking at four black churches in Queens.

"I'm just surprised that he would be advertising it," she said.

Campaigning on Long Island and in New York City, Lazio defended the new ad and the tax plan, which he released last month, noting it would allow most people to deduct the payroll tax when they are calculating their gross income.

"What doesn't add up is the fact that she's in favor of taxing people on income they've already paid taxes on," Lazio said.

"I guess she's against ending the marriage penalty, too," said Lazio, after appearing at an Irish festival at Port Washington last week.

In its only attack of Clinton, Lazio's ad says, "I note my opponent, Lazio, offers a plan for job creation, not a tax plan."

Lazio spokesman Tom McLagan said the quotation will spend more time going over Clinton on the issues.

"We will continue to work with Mrs. Clinton every day of the week," McLagan said.

Along with campaign events in The Bronx and Long Island, Lazio also walked along Avenue J in Midwood, a neighborhood teeming with Orthodox Jewish residents.

The congressman — who munched on a hot dog with sauerkraut at the Essex Deli — was joined by George Klein, an Orthodox Jew who is a major Republican fund-raiser.

The two candidates are battling fiercely over the Jewish vote, considered a key block in the November election.

Clinton began her day by speaking at the Race for the Cure, a women's footrace along Central Park devoted to breast cancer research.

The first lady spent most of her morning in Queens, where she was warmly received at the four churches she visited.

At Maroonatha Baptist Church in Queens Village, the congregation went wild when the Rev. Charles Mazon said of Clinton, "She'll be the first woman president."

## ADWATCH

TITLE: "Plan Revised"  
DURATION: 30 seconds

WHERE SHOWN: Statewide

PRODUCED BY: The Murphy, Pintak, Gaulier, Hurdome Agency.

TEXT: Announcer — "Rick Lazio, he's one of us. Unlike his opponent, Lazio offers a plan for job creation, not just a promise."

"Tax cuts on investment to create jobs. Tax credits to help families pay for college. No more marriage penalty. And the Lazio plan ends double taxation by letting you deduct your payroll taxes off your tax return. Lazio still reserves more than 75 percent of the surplus to protect Social Security and Medicare. "Rick Lazio. Trust him to fight for you."

VISUALS: Standard all-American campaign-trail images, opening with Lazio walking on a beach with one of his daughters. Then he's shown speaking at a microphone, on a farm, meeting cheering supporters, walking at a parade with his wife, Patricia, and greeting an elderly woman.

ACCURACY: The ad accurately highlights some of Lazio's key economic and tax-cutting proposals. But, despite what the commercial says, Hillary Rodham Clinton also has put forward a plan. The ad makes no mention of the cost of Lazio's program — perhaps because that's been Clinton's biggest knock against it.

ANALYSIS: It's something of a surprise to see a Lazio ad that focuses on a traditional campaign issue like tax-cutting. For Lazio, engaging in a debate on the "issues" is tantamount to playing on Clinton's home turf. This is not what Lazio wants the race to be about, so his campaign might be moving to repair damage done by Team Hillary's all-out assault on his economic plan. Lazio also must have decided he really does have to be more to voters than just the anti-Hillary.

CLINTON RESPONSE: "I find it surprising that he would put out an ad on his tax program when every independent analysis by newspapers and other experts clearly finds it doesn't add up." — Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Gregg Birnbaum



# Elections now just 'Munster' mush

LIKE it did many New Yorkers who detest Hillary Clinton and Rick Lazio, last week's primaries offered me only bad news: Grandpa! Al Lewis had lost.

The final numbers aren't in yet, but the result is clear: "Grandpa" Al Lewis, the only palatable alternative to Twoedlum and Tweed-dumber had lost the Green Party senate primary to an unknown upstart organic farmer named Mark Dunau.

Bummer, right? I mean, for months, I had gone along happily with the knowledge that on Election Day, I could vote "Grandpa" and old my head high that I didn't see the cloving Democratic carpet-bagger or the smug Republican jewel boy.

After all, I've always been impressed with Lewis — and not just because he was "Grandpa" on "The Munsters" TV series.

Beyond the 90-year-old Lewis' obvious gifts as a thespian is a committed progressive activist who despises Hillary and Rick as much as I do. And who could forget his raucous, Nader-esque, \$2,000 campaign for governor in 1998 that raked up 53,000 votes?

Yet he lost his party's Senate pri-



mary. Now I was stuck without a candidate.

I tracked down Lewis and found him as I always find him: smoking a big cigar without a care in the world. I wondered if he regretted his loss.

"What's the smallest measurement of size? A dram?" he said. "I don't have the tiniest dram of regret about losing. This wasn't like 1998 when I campaigned all over the state. I did nothing — NOTHING — in this campaign. Should I be upset?"

Of COURSE he should be upset! I'm upset! The man who has exorcised Lazio as "an Al D'Amato wannabe" and Hillary as a "shameless" and "selfish" corporate lawyer "whose only constituency

can be found in the Fortune 400 [sic]" will be smoking a cigar on the sidelines on Election Day.

Lewis graciously threw his support (such as it is) to Dunau — "because there's no 'None of the above' line on the ballot," he said — and recommended I do the same.

I wasn't sure. Let's face it, when you're voting Green, you never know what you're going to get — a militant "Save the Perch" activist or a self-righteous member of People for the Ethical Treatment of Crabgrass. So I checked out Dunau's Web site, www.ruralparty.com, which is so earnest that even the picture of his daughter makes her look like that kid from "Les Misérables."

But I warmed up to him quickly. How can you not like a guy who walked the length of Long Island in support of local agriculture? I mean, the only way Rick Lazio would walk from Montauk Point to the Brooklyn Bridge would be if fat cats were dangling checks from all the Long Island Expressway overpasses. The only way Hillary would do it is if she could worm her way into a Joe Lieberman photo op.

And best of all, Dunau's not a

total wacko. He supports sensible things like a ban on imports of produce grown with chemicals that are banned in the United States and changing the regressive Social Security payroll tax because it does not cover any income over \$72,000 (sounds good to this under-\$72,000 wage-earner).

"I'm the only candidate who gets dirty for a living, who has hands-on experience with the struggles of working people," he said.

"The federal government is a government of the corporations and by the corporations," he said. "Rick Lazio and Hillary Clinton are two corporate myrmidons."

Myrmidons? I had to look it up: it's a politically correct, gender-free way of saying "unthinking henchmen."

OK, I liked Dunau's energy, but I still wasn't sure I could back anyone who thinks people should be free to use drugs in their own house, opposes NAFTA and, frankly, uses words like "myrmidon."

So I pulled out my ultimate litmus test — "Are you now or have you ever been a vegetarian?" — and Dunau, a meat-eater, passed.

Hillary and Rick, you just lost my vote again.

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letters@nypost.com

## Don't Be Fooled, Hillary Clinton Will Do Nothing To Help Our Kids

•I'm disgusted at the sight of those two pompous hypocrites, Al Gore and Hillary Clinton, posturing as champions for children and minorities ("Lazio proves to be a formidable foe," Sept. 14).

What a crock. As evidenced by their mean-spirited resistance to school vouchers, Gore and Clinton are a clear and present danger to the well-being of our children.

Any black or Latino parent who votes for either Hillary Clinton or Al Gore is *muy loco*.

**Emily Santiago**  
Chester, N.J.

•If Hillary really wants to improve children's education, she should start it in her own backyard — Arkansas.

She does not need to travel to New York to perform public service. Unless, of course, her real motive is power and a need for public adulation. **Latifa Jones**  
Long Island City

•When are people going to stop calling Hillary the first lady? She ditched that title when she decided she liked New York better than where she was.

And in the unlikely event that she makes the Senate, who knows when she will ditch that, too? Wake up, people. **Lois Bentley**  
Scotch Plains, N.J.

•With all due respect, can't Hillary beat Rick Lazio some \$30 million later without Joe Lie-

**THE ISSUE:** Hillary Clinton's Senate campaign.



**Hillary Clinton** AP

berman bailing her out? Does she really believe Jews will vote for her because Lieberman says so?

The people of New York should send her packing. **Jeremy Wise**  
Lockport

•What do we have here? Recently, upon the quietest of cat's feet and at full taxpayer expense, our illustrious, globe-trotting first lady, Hillary Clinton, flew into Denver for the day to pick up some money for her U.S. Senate bid.

I find it beyond curious that she chooses to gallivant anywhere she likes for funds when her rival, Rick Lazio, is ethically content to stay in New York.

**John Teeter**  
Castle Rock, Colo.

•I am an Arkansan who would like to tell the people of New York that Hillary Clinton has never done a thing for the people of Arkansas.

Our schools are still ranked near the bottom in the nation. Neither she nor her husband cared anything about anyone but themselves.

I strongly recommend that New Yorkers look very carefully at her "record" before considering voting for her.

**Betty Criswell**  
Little Rock, Ark.

•I would like to see The Post publish a *nice* story about Hillary Rodham Clinton. She has all the positive attributes of a senator.

New Yorkers, please vote for one of Wellesley College's finest students. Vote for Hillary Rodham Clinton for U.S. Senate.

**Jeff Morrissey**  
Greenfield, N.H.

•The flim-flam capital, Hollywood, is giving millions of dollars to Hillary Clinton to flim-flam the voters of New York. That will fail. New Yorkers are too smart for that. We will repel the alien invader.

**Max Cooper**  
Forest Hills

•I'm thinking about contributing enough of my annual bonus to Hillary to earn a night in the Lincoln Bedroom. Does anyone know how much I have to give to have Hillary serve me breakfast in bed?

**Chris Wigert**  
Manhattan

.....

PHOTOGRAPH BY  
PATRICK M. HENRY



## INSIDE THE BELTWAY

By John McCaslin

### Grey Poupon?

Nancy Reagan's former press secretary, Elaine Crispen, says she's "curious" after reading that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton might have offered overnight stays at the White House to her Senate campaign supporters.

White House spokesman Joe Lockhart, repeating last week that it's not uncommon for political supporters of President and Mrs. Clinton to slumber at the White House, promised to prepare a list of recent guests.

"The president and the first lady, over the last 7½ years, have always welcomed their friends and supporters and political officials from around the country, prominent members of the arts community, to stay at the White House," says Mr. Lockhart.

"Within that group, there certainly have been people who, as their friends, have supported them financially."

A number that as long as three years ago stood at 938.

"This may be excess in over-nighting," this column was told by Mrs. Crispen, who spent eight years in the Reagan White House.

"I hope Joe Lockhart, when he prepares his list, will provide the dates of the visits of these friends and future friends — people that the Clintons are getting to know — and the expenses for these people."

Mrs. Crispen adds: "Every month Mrs. Reagan sent a bill to their private accounting office to pay for every cup of coffee they drank, every pork chop they ate, every lamb chop that their family members ate when they were visiting, and that friends that were not on official business ate."

"I will be curious to see who is paying for all of these visits — for the coffee, the dinners, the soft drinks, the liquor they may order up to their rooms."

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



### Not a tea party

Was Republican Rep. Rick Lazio too hard on Democrat Hillary Rodham Clinton during their Senate debate last week in Buffalo, N.Y.? That was the question put to top advisers for each campaign in an appearance yesterday on ABC's "This Week."

"Oh, not at all," said Mike Murphy, the top strategist for Mr. Lazio. "As a matter of fact, we're very happy to debate and we can hardly wait for more. We think Rick did really well and this soft-money issue is a big issue. Mrs. Clinton's campaign spent a million dollars a week in negative soft-money ads. We're trying to set a national example here with this pledge. She's running from it. So campaign finance reform with Rick Lazio, a pro-McCain-Feingold kind of guy, versus Mrs. Clinton is a big issue."

Mr. Murphy added: "Now, you

know, you never know how these debates — you put a microscope on them. But the fact is, these polls are all saying the same thing. It's a tied race. It's going to be very close. But we think Rick really broke through as somebody who's tough, able to deliver for New York. I mean, this isn't high tea. This is a New York Senate race about who's going to be a tough, effective advocate for the state. He made that case very well."

Clinton adviser Mandy Grunwald, naturally, saw things a little differently.

"This is about issues, not insults. And I think the polls today, which have Hillary still ahead 48-43, show that people don't like that kind of nastiness, that he really did go too far," Mrs. Grunwald said.

"And it wasn't about the issues. This wasn't a debate about issues. He took a really nasty approach, trying to go at character. And I think he's had the same problems with that that, frankly, George Bush has had. People don't like that kind of thing. They really want to talk about the issues and I think that's what Hillary's focused on."

## Inside Politics



Compiled by Greg Pierce

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PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION

## CHRIS MATTHEWS

**H**illary Clinton is a politician. She may prefer a less modest job title — “life-long advocate for children” is one favorite — but all that was ended by last Wednesday’s TV debate with Rep. Rick Lazio, New York Republican.

Thanks to her hour of public inspection, shared with her New York rival, the first lady deserves the title of Democrat. Finally, after two decades of deriving power from her husband, she seeks it directly from the electorate. She asks not for applause for her good deeds, but for votes that will put her in the U.S. Senate.

To attain this higher elevation, Hillary has taken an extraordinary step for someone so personally and professionally guarded. She has exposed herself.

Why did she mislead the country by saying her husband’s relationship with a White House intern was cooked up by a “vast right-wing conspiracy”? NBC’s Tim Russert asked.

“Obviously, I didn’t mislead anyone,” she answered with senatorial calm. “I didn’t know the truth.”

Why did she push a huge national health care plan that threatened New York’s teaching hospitals? Mr. Russert demanded.

“We did attempt to reform our health care system,” she answered, again with neither sweat nor squirm. “As everyone knows, that was not successful.” She took specific blame for having failed to adequately help the teaching hospitals “six, seven years later.”

And so it went for her share of the full 60 minutes. We saw a first lady acting anything but, taking on the moderator’s tough questions, accompanied by the relentless jabs of a Republican opponent unafraid to let fly at every opening.

Isn’t democracy great? With all its flaws, it offers something unavailable from any other form of gov-

## Hillary goes legit

ernment: the occasional chance to demand a personal, public accounting of those who would rule us.

For 20 years, beginning with Bill Clinton’s election as Arkansas governor, Hillary avoided this reckoning. She refused to discuss her



cases at the Rose Law firm while publicizing her selection as “one of America’s top 100 lawyers.” She refused to admit any role in the firing of White House travel office staffers while seeking

the patronage their departure would make possible. She denied access to her national health care deliberations while demanding public adoption of their results.

Those desiring a damage report on the Hillary first ladyship should consult David Gergen’s new book, “Eyewitness to Power.” The top Clinton adviser describes in excruciating detail the national dysfunction that descends from a White House under divided command. Better than anyone before, Mr. Gergen illustrates how Hillary’s political power would rise with each new episode of Bill’s sexual weakness.

“It became obvious that the stories had privately humiliated Mrs.

Clinton,” he writes of the Paula Jones matter, “and her husband was deep in her doghouse. I sensed he was in no mood — and no position — to challenge her on anything. We were heading into the most important months of the health care fight with a president who was tiptoeing around the person in charge.”

This is no way to run a presidency. It is certainly no way to build a new national health care system for the country. Had Mr. Clinton tapped a Cabinet member, such as the seasoned professional Donna Shalala, secretary of health and human services, to ramrod the top domestic mission of his presidency, the debacle of 1993 and 1994 might have been avoided. He did not, insider Mr. Gergen reports, because his wife wanted the job.

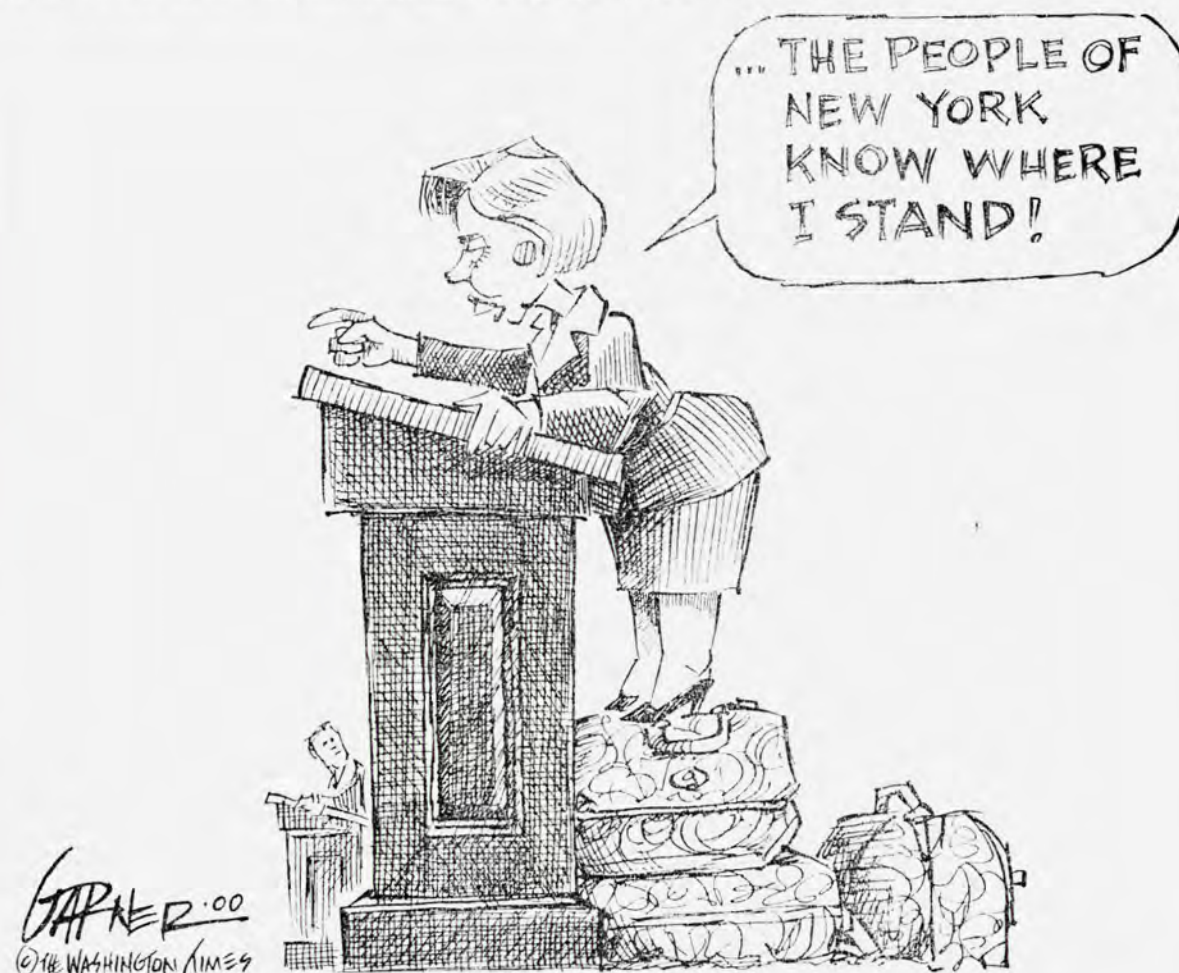
Now Hillary is seeking power the right way: from the ballot. On Tuesday she won the Democratic nomination. On Wednesday, she tested her wits, brains and passion for public service in the primetime arena. You don’t have to believe everything Hillary said, especially her claim to be a committed disciple of fiscal conservatism, a “New Democrat,” to believe her current pursuit of power is far more savory, and certainly more honest, than her last.

Win or lose, both Mrs. Clinton and the country will be better for her gutsy quest to win power over public policy openly and legitimately: not from a morally weakened spouse but from a democratically empowered electorate.

**Now Hillary is seeking power the right way: from the ballot.**

Christopher Matthews is a nationally syndicated columnist.









Chelsea Clinton promotes a smoking prevention initiative aimed at Australian girls.

AP

### Chelsea chips in

Chelsea Clinton is a private citizen, Donna Shalala is a U.S. Cabinet minister. Guess which one drew the crowd?

The president's daughter stepped out of her car and was quickly surrounded by Australian children and their parents at an appearance in Richmond, Australia, to promote a smoking prevention initiative aimed at Australian girls.

"I had a good time in Sydney," Chelsea said as she autographed soccer balls and even a boy's green soccer jersey.

Later, at the end of a press conference in this Melbourne suburb, Chelsea did a first on her Olympics trip: she answered a reporter's question.

"I've never smoked a cigarette in my life," she said when asked if she had a smoking history.

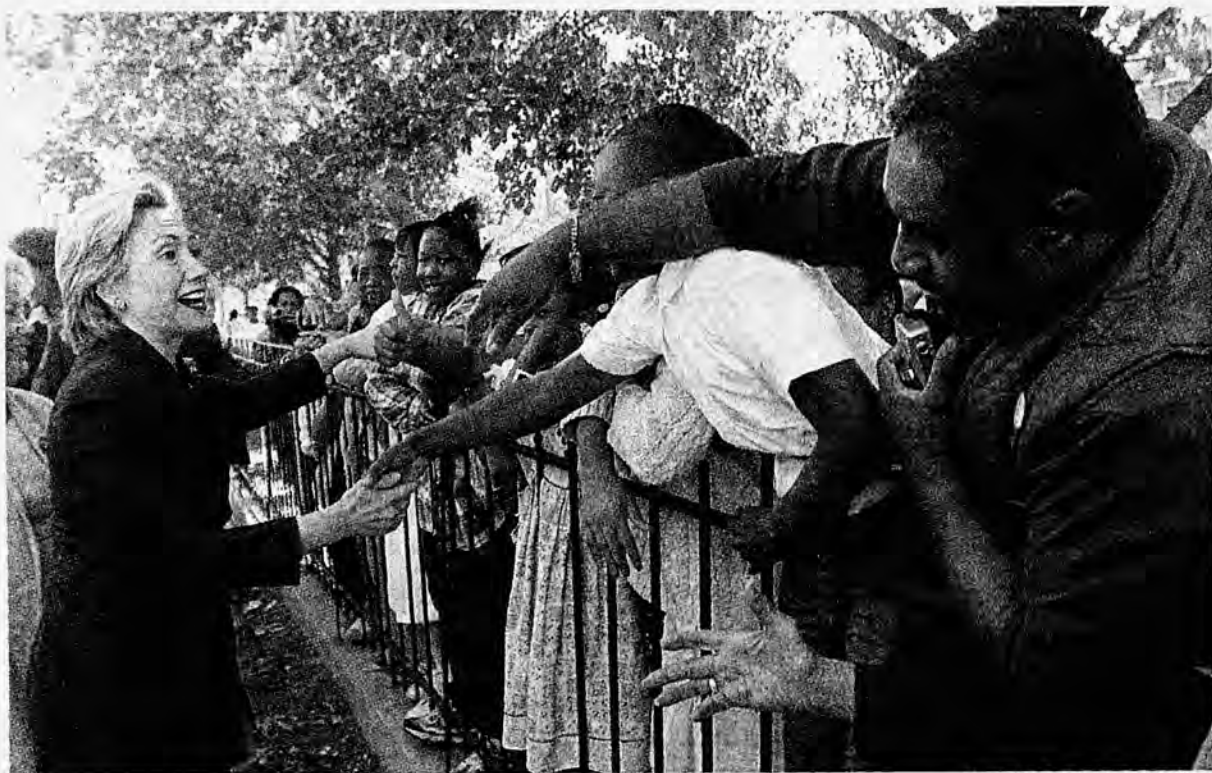
PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



# The New York Times

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MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 2000



PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION

James Estrin/The New York Times

Hillary Rodham Clinton campaigned yesterday after attending services at the First Baptist Church in Queens.

## Mrs. Clinton Works Hard on Her Spontaneity

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

Hillary Rodham Clinton had just finished holding a news conference at an Upper West Side park in Manhattan the other morning and, with a glance at the rather large audience in front of her — reporters, Secret Service agents, aides, even a few citizens who had found their way past the security ropes — she burst forth with an invitation:

“Come on, guys, let’s go get some coffee!” she said.

And so the first lady of the United States led the bustling clump of peo-

ple along a stone path to an empty outdoor restaurant at the 79th Street boat basin, chattering at every step of the way. “How’s your daughter?” Mrs. Clinton asked a radio reporter. She invited fellow strollers to join her in a song. She sought out passers-by walking dogs. When she got to the restaurant, she summoned everyone to join her at her table, amid the cameras, boom mikes, and men in suits with guns.

Hillary Clinton’s permitting her-

self to be part of such an uncontrolled environment would have been inconceivable when she came to New York as a candidate 15 months ago. At the start of her journey from the protection of the White House to the exposure of being a candidate, Mrs. Clinton was cloistered and choreographed. She went weeks without uttering anything that might be taken as even vaguely daring, and scurried from all but the least threatening campaign situations.

But on this bright and sunny September morning, Mrs. Clinton spent

MORE, A MAGAZINE FOR BABY BOOMER women, increases its frequency to ten issues a year. — ADVT.

Continued on Page A27



# The New York Times

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 2000

## Mrs. Clinton Is Working Hard on Her Spontaneity

Continued From Page A1

30 minutes making small talk with the restaurant manager, and confidently if vaguely answering questions from reporters. It was all a little awkward and a little forced, but still, she was as cheery and chirpy as a camp counselor.

Mrs. Clinton has come quite a distance since the often tense and scripted-to-the-minute days of her listening tour last year. She is much more likely to linger to shake a hand, as she has observed her husband do for the last 20 years. She is comfortable giving a campaign stump speech and taking questions from voters and reporters, and she shows a flash of the knife when attacking her opponent, Representative Rick A. Lazio, though not quite as much as some of her advisers might like.

Yet for all her efforts to portray herself as a happy campaigner — the presumably spontaneous display at the boat basin came when Mrs. Clinton had expected renewed examination of her political skills — the first lady enters the last two months of this campaign still, in many ways, a distant and enigmatic public figure.

If she is easy in some settings, as when she strolled happily through an energetic crowd at a fair in Chappaqua Saturday afternoon, her eyes shaded by metallic-blue tinted sunglasses, she can be tense and stiff in more formal campaign settings.

In the debate last week, for example, Mrs. Clinton came across, in the view of one Democratic county chairman, as a tense and cheerless lawyer. That is precisely the kind of perception her advisers have been battling to erase since she began traveling the state.

And the debate was not an aberration. Her speeches, like the one she gave at the Democratic National Convention in August, tend to be delivered with the flat accent of the Midwest, where she grew up, with her voice modulating between two tones. It is not uncommon at Mrs. Clinton's formal speeches to hear the rustle of conversation rising from the back of the hall before the first lady reaches the last page.

And that is the essential complication of the first lady as candidate. Mrs. Clinton's political advisers like to argue that many voters who meet her walk away remarking that she is, expectations to the contrary, a warm and genial person. But that very reaction is in its own way damning: evidence that her public perception remains, for many New Yorkers, the cool and aloof president's wife.



Megan Keefe got Hillary Rodham Clinton's support at the Wayside Diner in Buffalo after last week's debate. James Estrine/The New York Times

Mrs. Clinton, who has been repeatedly urged by her husband to come across as enjoying the daily grind of the campaign, said in an interview that for all the difficulty she has experienced in the last year, she believes that she is entering the final part of her campaign a relaxed and confident candidate, albeit one running for office for the first time.

"When I started, I didn't know what to expect," Mrs. Clinton said. "I'd been around for campaigns for about 40 years, but I had never done it myself. I didn't know if I would be good at it, and I didn't know if I would like doing it. I really like it."

Still, the first lady says that she has found campaigning for herself more difficult and complicated than she ever expected. She said her experience campaigning on behalf of other candidates for office, which is how she spent much of her first seven years in White House, had not prepared her for what it was like to be a candidate in New York.

"I had never understood how different it was to step across the line from supporting a surrogate to being an actual candidate," Mrs. Clinton said. "Maybe that sounds strange. But all of a sudden, you're the person who is answering the questions. I'm not speaking on behalf of Bill Clinton and Chuck Schumer or Al Gore. I'm speaking on behalf of myself."

"I've often said to myself, of all the free advice that I willfully dispense

to people, I'd like to take some of it back. It's a lot harder than it looks."

Mrs. Clinton's friends say she was not prepared for the extent to which any phrase that she uttered could be turned against her as a candidate, since that did not happen when, for example, she campaigned on behalf of Charles E. Schumer in the 1998 race for Senate. "People are always looking for a way to distort or take out of context," she said. "Especially in this campaign, where everybody knows there's a lot at stake."

Mrs. Clinton is surely not the first candidate to have made that discovery, but friends say that she found it unnerving, and it served to reinforce what has always been a dominant trait: her sense of caution. And while she is not as muted as she once was, Mrs. Clinton today is still able to speak for hours without saying a sentence that finds its way to the television news or into a newspaper.

There is, without question, an element of calculation in Mrs. Clinton's recent attempt to present herself as someone who finds joy on the campaign trail. A friend of the Clintons said Mr. Clinton has counseled his wife that voters note when candidates appear to be enjoying themselves on the campaign trail.

That is no longer the case, at least for public consumption. Yesterday, as she campaigned in Queens at black churches, she danced with the choir at two of them, waded into

almost every crowd she saw, and even greeted an audience of parishioners with the very un-first-lady-like salutation, "Rock on!"

Her personality aside, Mrs. Clinton has encountered other obstacles. Celebrity surely has its benefits, but the first lady campaigns through a blanket of reporters and Secret Service protection, which tends to complicate nearly everything she does.

Finally, Mrs. Clinton has the same problem that Al Gore does, which is that, inevitably if unfairly, her campaigning skills are judged against the standard set by President Clinton. "I've watched him over the years," she said, "and he gets an enormous amount of enjoyment out of it. He loves meeting people, and the experience of being in crowds. And I find it to be very exciting and interesting, and even touching."

Differences remain. A few weeks ago, the two Clintons attended the State Fair at Syracuse, where thousands of people turned out to see a sitting president and first lady. Both Clintons joyfully took off shaking hands. Mr. Clinton on one side of the road, Mrs. Clinton on the other, and they kept at it for hours.

As it grew late, Mr. Clinton was still shaking hands, stopping to talk and listen, bursting with energy. Off to the side, not 10 feet away, Mrs. Clinton was done for the day. She stood alone, arms folded, waiting for him to join her in the motorcade.

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



# Rick had no choice but to go for blood

**R**ICK LAZIO'S fans are drying their tears and straightening their ties. The boy is still in the game.

He was blowing it big-time, as Lazio himself might have put it. And he may lose still. But on Wednesday night, in his debut debate with Hillary-no-last-name, Rick Lazio finally took a gamble.

Diligently — some would say mercilessly — he put his opponent on the defensive.



**ANDREA PEYSER**

And he held her against the ropes until the hour wound down.

Using scripted flourishes that dominated the first lady's rehearsed gimmicks, Lazio invaded her physical space.

He scolded Hillary for her part in the national health-care debacle, for her dishonest role in protecting her husband's behind. And he challenged Hillary to sign a pledge to ban soft money from the campaign. Cute stunt.

Hillary made Lazio's gambit effective. Afraid or simply outmatched, she failed to veer from the safety of her rehearsed lines long enough to take command of the debate.

When Lazio held out a no-soft-money pledge for her to sign, she stared at the paper as if it were a poisonous snake, and seemed ready to crawl under the podium.

She looked ready to cry. Lazio had pierced the armor and drawn blood.

And it could backfire.

As tough as New Yorkers pretend we are, we still can't argue with human nature. Emotionally, it can be tough to watch a lady get bruised.

But Lazio's gamble was worth taking.

The consensus among pundits yesterday was that neither side won many votes. The candidates were equally guilty of sidestepping discussion of the issues. Still, I didn't have to look far to find some of those sought-after folks in the "undecided" column who were moved by the fireworks.

"I was really struck by how she avoided answering direct questions," said Mike Pearlstein of Brooklyn, a computer-company worker. "She just didn't look like she was up to it."

"Until the debate, I wasn't

See PEYSER on Page 24

# Rick had no choice but to go for blood

PEYSER from Page 6

going to vote for Lazio. I thought he was too conservative. But now I'm going to vote for him." Former Republican Sen. Al D'Amato thinks Lazio's floundering campaign has finally found its legs. "I think the campaign seemed to be slipping in many respects. It was critical for Rick Lazio to establish himself as somebody people could count on as a fighter," said D'Amato, who thinks those who say Lazio lacks "gravitas" are "full of baloney."

"It was absolutely essential to prove he can handle Hillary Clinton. He assured his supporters he had the stomach and stamina and willingness to go toe-to-toe with her. I think now he is more electable." Lazio managed to impress more than fellow Republicans. "I'm theoretically part of Hillary Clinton's base. I'm a feminist, I'm pro-choice and a progressive," said Merle Hoffman, president of the Choices Women's Medical Center in Queens.

"I was pleasantly surprised with Lazio," said Hoffman, who remains undecided. "He seemed to be well-prepared and presented himself as a regular New York guy who is not afraid of Clinton."

Hillary Clinton can't have it both ways. She can't present herself as a fierce fighter for women and children, and then run in tears when things don't go her way. Though she may regret it now, Hillary was a shrewd player in her husband's administration. If it weren't for Hillary, Bill Clinton could not have succeeded in lying to the American public about what he was doing in the Oval Office.

Until Wednesday, Hillary has avoided questions about her role in the Sexgate mess, unwilling to paint herself either as a manipulator or a dupe. If she wants to be taken seriously as a candidate for elected office, she can't run crying from the questions forever. People like Merle Hoffman are waiting. "She hasn't gotten me in all the years I've watched her," Hoffman said. "I wasn't seduced. I wasn't moved. She didn't get me in that debate."

NOT RECORDED  
PHOTOGRAPH

New York Post

Friday September 15, 2000





**MEDIA STAR:** Hillary Clinton, surrounded by reporters in Buffalo yesterday, says Rick Lazio's debate play didn't do anything to alter their differences on issues. AP

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

# Hillary: Soft-\$\$\$ 'stunt' childish

A day after their dramatic televised face-off, Hillary Clinton and Rick Lazio yesterday continued their heated debate — with the first lady saying her GOP foe pulled a “stunt” by challenging her to forgo soft money.

Campaigning upstate, Lazio said it was appropriate for him to walk over to Clinton's podium in the middle of the debate and repeatedly press her to sign his “Freedom from Soft Money Pact.”

“Last night, she evaded and wiggled out of a commitment to ban soft money,” Lazio said at a campaign stop in Fulton.

“I think it just goes back to the basic issue of character and trust.”

Speaking outside a diner in south Buffalo, Clinton dismissed Lazio's debate tactic.

“I'm sure that they'll prepare him with another stunt and he'll do it and then at

By Maggie Haberman  
and Gregg Birnbaum in  
Buffalo and Robert Hardt  
Jr., in New York.

the end of the day there will still be a big difference on the issues,” she said.

“The thing that probably prepared me best in dealing with things like that and what I saw last night was having two younger brothers,” she said.

Lazio has promised to renounce all unregulated “soft money” and call on independent groups not to spend money in the race if Clinton will do the same.

Clinton aides said they'll agree to the pact only if several conservative groups — that have raised millions of dollars for anti-Clinton advertising this fall — agree to stay out of the race.

In an interview on NY1 last night, Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson said

Lazio appeared “menacing” when he walked over to Clinton in the debate.

“He's not a nice guy. He looked senatorial in the tradition of Bobby Knight,” said Wolfson, referring to the fired Indiana University basketball coach.

Lazio spokesman Dan McLagan said voters should expect the type of testy exchanges they saw Wednesday night.

“This isn't high tea. It's the Senate race in New York and New Yorkers want someone who will fight for them,” McLagan said.

Clearly energized from his debate performance, Lazio told reporters in Buffalo: “If you fire at me, you're gonna expect to get fired back at.”

Visiting a second-grade class at a new charter school in Rochester, Lazio was asked by little Victoria Fagan, 7, if he really wanted Clinton to “sign that piece of paper” — a reference to the soft-money pledge.

“I really, really did,” responded a smiling Lazio.

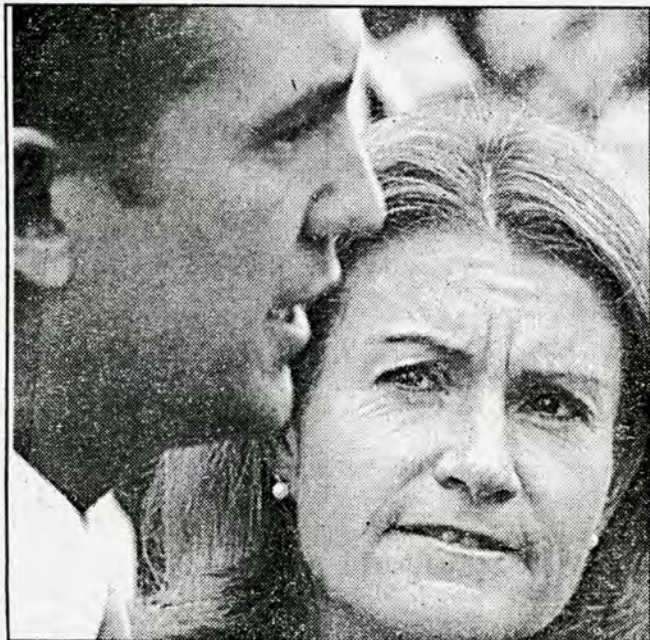
Clinton also denied her campaign donors have been offered overnight stays at the White House in exchange for contributions.

“We have friends and supporters come and spend time with us and spend the night with us,” Clinton said.

“I really don't see what is news about that,” she said.

Lazio said the White House should release the names of all overnight guests.

“If there's no wrongdoing that would be very, very obvious,” he said.



**FIGHTING WORDS:** Rick Lazio, campaigning in Rochester with wife Pat, says he won't back down from Hillary Clinton. AP

■ **Rick Lazio,**  
**contender / Editorial:**  
**Page 32**  
■ **Reviewing the Rick-**  
**Hill show / Post**  
**Opinion / Page 33**



# Bush-basher gave Dems dollars

**Page  
Six**

[www.pagesix.com](http://www.pagesix.com)

By RICHARD JOHNSON  
with Paula Froelich  
and Chris Wilson

GAIL Sheehy, who claimed this week that George W. Bush might suffer from dyslexia and attention deficit disorder, denies she is biased even though she has donated \$3,550 to Democrats since July 1999.

The Vanity Fair writer said on Fox News Channel this week: "I wrote this [Bush] piece and I stand behind it. It is totally pinned down. One hundred percent!"

Sheehy was reimbursed by Vanity Fair for most of the money she gave to Democratic candidates and causes. "She was really just buying tickets to fundraising events to get close to people she was writing about," Vanity Fair spokeswoman Beth Kseniak says.

Federal Election Commission records obtained by NewsMax.com show that Sheehy gave \$1,000 to the ill-fated presidential campaign of Bill Bradley while she was re-

searching a profile on the former senator.

When she was researching a story on the aborted match-up between Rudy Giuliani and Hillary Clinton, Sheehy gave \$300 to the New York State Democratic Committee, while Hillary Clinton's Senate campaign got another \$500 directly.

"It was a good way for Gail to get access to Hillary Clinton," Kseniak tells PAGE SIX. Giuliani was holding press conferences and making public appearances, so Sheehy didn't make any contributions to Republicans. "But Hillary Clinton had much more restricted press access," Kseniak says.

Sheehy was at the time also writing a book about the first lady, "Hillary's Choice," which posited the theory that Hillary's marital troubles might stem from the fact that she had an unloving father. It was not, as NewsMax.com

claims, "a puff piece."

The only political contributions Sheehy made that were not reimbursed were a total \$750 to Emily's List, a fundraising operation apparently dear to Sheehy's heart which seeks to elect more women — mostly Democratic women — to public office.

Sheehy, who is married to New York magazine founder Clay Felker, failed to donate any money to the GOP while researching her story on George W. Bush. "She got exposed to Bush on the back of the campaign plane," Kseniak explained.

Media ethicists prefer that reporters keep their political leanings secret. In 1998, Steve Brill, founder of Brill's Content, was rebuked for donating to the Democrats at the same time he was attacking Independent Counsel Ken Starr.



PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 2000

**NEAL TRAVIS**  
**NEW YORK**

# Bill & Hill to take Manhattan

NO matter what happens to **Hillary** in her Senate race, it appears she and **Bill Clinton** will be taking a pied-a-terre in Manhattan when they leave the White House in January. I understand the first couple has asked their friend **Bill Fugazy** to use his real-estate connections in what is going to be a rather difficult apartment hunt.

The normally loquacious Fugazy wouldn't comment yesterday, but people close to him assure me that he is, indeed, trying to find a pad suitable and secure enough for the Clintons to use when they come into town from Chappaqua.

It's worth noting that in a current New York magazine survey of prominent New Yorkers, several suggest Bill and Hillary absolutely must have a Manhattan presence. (It's pretty simple — this is where the money is and where the media deals are made.)

I understand that Fugazy is using fellow Forum Club members like **Lew Rudin, Don-**

**ald Trump** and **Steven Fisher** to find a nice rental for the Clintons. (Rudin has done similar duty for several past mayors; I'm sure Trump would love to install the couple in one of his trophy buildings.)

Later on, when the Clintons have cashed in on book deals and \$60,000-a-pop speaking engagements, they'll be able to buy a Manhattan condo of their own. Co-ops would appear to be out of the question. I don't think any board would want the security headache that goes with former presidents.

On a related front, Old Homestead steakhouse owner **Marc Sherry** has already thrown down the welcome mat to the future Manhattanites. Marc has actually roped off a table and permanently reserved it for Bill, and has printed up a presidential menu. Of course, there's a promotional gimmick tacked on — a "Clinton Special" of outside Kobe beef portions, lobster and cheesecake has been added to the regular menu.

PHOTOCOPY  
prohibited



## Campaign ★ 2000

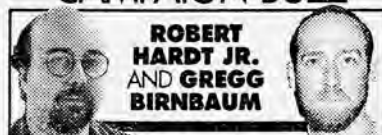
# Top aides can't even vote here

**C**AMPAIGN aides are working their hearts out for Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rick Lazio — but several top staffers won't be able to cast a ballot for their bosses because they aren't registered to vote in New York.

That means that, on Rick's side, his campaign manager (Bill Dal Col), his media guru (Mike Murphy) and his spokesman (Dan McLagan) all are hoping their votes won't be needed on Nov. 7.

Two-thirds of "Team Clinton" — the media crew that makes Hill-

## CAMPAIGN BUZZ



ROBERT  
HARDT JR.  
AND GREGG  
BIRNBAUM

ary's ads — are also registered out of state (political maven Mandy Grunwald and pollster Mark Penn).

Hillary's campaign manager, Bill de Blasio, lives in Brooklyn and is registered to vote in New York —

which is good, since he's running for City Council next year.

While the first lady's communications director, Howard Wolfson, has moved to the Upper East Side from Washington D.C., he didn't switch his registration in time to vote in Tuesday's Democratic primary.

Wolfson, like other New York residents, has until Oct. 12 to register for the general election.

Hillary may be out stumping today with Democratic vice presi-

dential nominee Joe Lieberman, but Lazio is poised to launch a whirlwind round of appearances with liberal and conservative Jews.

It kicks off on Sunday, when Lazio will meet with Jewish supporters at events in Riverdale and Brooklyn.

On Monday, he'll address the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism. He will also attend the Jewish Week forum on Tuesday.

Plans are in the works for him to pay his respects soon to two powerful Rockland County rabbis who lead separate Hasidic flocks — and

control thousands of votes.

"We're paying attention to the entire Jewish community," said one Lazio source.

It was hardly the end of the week, but Hillary and her inner circle had a post-debate dinner at a T.G.I. Friday's in Buffalo on Wednesday night.

Hillary, who was a little tired after her hour-long face-off with Rick, was cheered by her dinner companions who included Wolfson, Grunwald, Penn and Bob Barnett, the Washington lawyer who played Lazio in the debate preparations.

Just two more debates are slated between Hillary and Rick, but El Diario and Bloomberg Radio are trying to get them to agree to a fourth showdown next month.

The event would focus on "critical issues facing all New Yorkers, but in particular Latino New Yorkers," according to a letter mailed to both candidates this week.

The sponsors have yet to hear from either candidate, but are hopeful that the heavy amount of media coverage from Wednesday's debate will help land them.

The next debate, slated for Oct. 8, will be moderated by WCBS-TV's Marcia Kramer. WNBC's Gabe Pressman, dean of the city's political press corps, will emcee the third face-off.

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



Friday September 15, 2000

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NEW YORK POST

NEW YORK POST

## NEW YORK POST

America's oldest continuously published daily newspaper

### Rick Lazio, Contender

**T**here were several defining moments in Wednesday night's face-off in Buffalo — Rick Lazio's campaign-finance challenge to Hillary Rodham Clinton being only the most dramatic.

But first, a little bit about Buffalo.

Everything that went wrong 30 years ago in America's industrial Midwest went wrong in Buffalo, too — and then some. New York's second-largest city — and Erie County, in which it resides — have bounced back, big-time, but they still have a way to go.

Right now, there are two hot-button issues in Buffalo and its environs: an illegal teachers' strike and casino gambling — seen as a potential boon to the local economy. Politicians who say the wrong thing about either risk disputationous public reactions — and wouldn't *that* have been embarrassing Wednesday evening.

Both Lazio and Clinton were asked to take such risks.

Lazio did.

Clinton did not.

Her moment came with this question: "The teachers unions have endorsed you. [Do] you support their current job action, even though it's illegal?"

Said the first lady: "I do not believe that [the strike's] appropriate. But the larger issue is, what are we going to do about education?"

Appropriate? No, the issue is this: Are teachers, even teachers who belong to rich and powerful unions, bound by the law? When they break it, shouldn't they be called to account?

Said Lazio: "I'm opposed to teachers striking." And he's right, of course.

Then came *his* test: "Just two days ago, another billion-dollar casino project was approved on the Canadian side [of the border]. This will bring 12,000 jobs to the Canadian economy . . . Why not have a casino built on *this* side?"

"Well, frankly, I don't believe that it's a good idea for us to be building casinos," said Lazio.

On the merits, he may or may not be right. But make no mistake about this: He *believes* he's correct — but he didn't win any votes in Erie County by saying so.

So how about that! A little character pops up in a political debate. (Mrs. Clinton, for the record, said she'll leave casinos to the "judgment" of local residents. How's *that* for guts?)

It's not likely that a lot of minds were changed by Wednesday's debate. The polls say that people feel very strongly — pro or con — about Mrs. Clinton, and that the election will be decided by a very narrow band of undecided voters.

In that respect, New York got its first good look at Lazio. He took the fight to the first lady, rocking her on her heels with his demand that she sign a campaign-finance reform pledge.

We're not sure how what Lazio proposed would work. Indeed, all spending-limitation schemes eventually will fall victim to human ingenuity and the First Amendment.

But the simple act of proposing it knocked Mrs. Clinton for a loop.

The moment established Lazio as a guy who's not likely to wilt under pressure — *and* raised the prospect that, at some point, she just might.

Mrs. Clinton said yesterday that she thought she did well in Buffalo because, having had two younger brothers, she was prepared for Rick Lazio.

Cute. We expect that being married to Bill Clinton has prepared her for answering questions about White House fund-raising sleepovers, too.

In any event, this seemingly endless race is approaching the top of the stretch, with Rick Lazio showing common sense, conviction and character.

He's a contender, to say the least.

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## POSTOPINION

# Reviewing the Rick-Hill Show

## Stagecraft Scores

THE VIEW FROM UPSTATE  
DONN ESMONDE

**BUFFALO**  
HE walks, he talks and he can chew gum while doing both. And, we found out Wednesday, he can do a lot more than that. He can go eyeball-to-eyeball with Hillary Rodham Clinton. In fact, get right into her face.

This is no small thing, for a couple of reasons. One, Clinton is formidable — huge smarts and plenty of backbone. Two, by giving as good as he got in the first mano-a-mano combat between the two, Rick Lazio showed he's more than an empty

support, but door-knobs and wooden statues are not preferred company. Not when 10 percent of the populace hasn't yet made up its mind and needs more than a doorknob to get them to the voting booth.

Until Tuesday, most New Yorkers had never seen Lazio in action. For all most folks knew, he was no deeper than a puddle. He was somebody who, when flushed out of the brush, would be blasted by a policy-wonk first lady with a stratospheric IQ.

Uh-uh. In this view, Lazio gave at least as good as he got. Maybe better. And the defining moment of the night, the picture that will stick long after the words on health care and school vouchers and tax cuts fade away, was all Lazio's.

It came near the end, to a question from the audience about soft money. Soft money is campaign donations that go to special accounts. It lets supporters write checks for way more than the \$2,000 individual limit. Clinton gets a lot of soft money, and Lazio (who's raising about as much cash as she is) gets his share.

Lazio is pushing the issue. Clinton hasn't bitten. But he was waiting Tuesday night.

When the question was asked,



Hillary Clinton looks aghast at Rick Lazio's Freedom from Soft Money Pact. AP

Lazio just happened to have in his pocket a "contract" that would ban soft money. He pulled it out, walked across the stage and challenged her to sign. Backed on her heels, physically and figuratively, she refused. Point, Lazio.

The soft-money question was asked, not coincidentally, by Mark Hamister, Buffalo businessman and Republican supporter. Hamister reportedly gave \$13,500 to Republican County Executive Joel A. Giambra's campaign last year. He headed the transition team that

gave Giambra a short list of top-level job candidates. And he asked a question that Lazio was salivating for. Granted, the whole thing was a gimmick, an act designed to embarrass. It looked real. That's what counts.

Maybe it won't be the campaign's defining moment. Maybe it wasn't the equivalent of Ronald Reagan's "there you go again" line that finished off Jimmy Carter as president. But, at least on this night, it knocked the wind out of Clinton.

And it did something else.

It tossed the cardboard cutout in the trash. And put some flesh behind the Pepsodent smile.

Donn Esmonde writes for the Buffalo News, where this article first ran.

## No Way To Treat a Lady

JIMMY Cannon said, "Never shoot craps with a guy named Doc, and never eat at a place called Mom's." If he were here today, he'd advise the Republicans to never challenge Bill Clinton on character and never mention Monica Lewinsky to his ever-loving first lady.

Rick Lazio listened to different voices in his debate with Hillary Clinton. His corner, Cannon would say, instructed him to come out swinging, run the broad against the ropes and never stop until she drops five points in the Zogby poll.

The trouble with this is that nobody takes a punch better than Hillary. If Bill is the rope-a-dope king of the world, she is the queen of victimhood.

When she stood by Bill in the darkest days of Monica, her popularity soared. Rudy Giuliani, who looked like an easy winner, turned into a basket case, his crime-fighting career a fast 10-point loser against the loyal wife.

But the moment Hillary became a politician, the sympathy vote went out the window. Suddenly, Rudy was back on top, and all we heard about was Hillary's "negatives" in the polls.

When Rudy's prostate kicked in, at the same time as his great good friend turned up on the sidewalks of Manhattan, the back room in the Oval Office was out — and so was Giuliani.

The received opinion was that the Republicans were better off. Rick Lazio, the clean-cut guy from Suffolk, had none of Rudy's baggage, and would beat Hillary, the carpetbagger.

"Rick opens with 45 percent," GOP leaders said. They hated Rudy, who had backed Mario Cuomo against George Pataki in 1994, and they were delighted that one of their own was now in the race.

The trouble was that Rick couldn't get over 45 percent either. His campaign relied only on the anti-Hillary vote, and because he had never run a state-wide campaign, he looked like an amateur.

This was supposed to change with the debate, when Kid Lazio's corner told him to slug it out until the referee stopped the fight at the bell in Buffalo.

The ref, Tim Russert, tried his best. He hit Hillary with Monica in mid-fight: "Will you apologize to the American people for misleading them" by denying that Bill had yakahoola with Lewinsky in the Oval Office? (Russert and the rest of the Beltway media mavens have never forgiven the American people for refusing to destroy Bill Clinton over Monica.)

Hillary handled it perfectly. "I was misled," she said. Unless Russert believed that she knew all about Lewinsky, he was clearly out of bounds with the question.

But it energized Lazio, who (like most who think Clinton should have been tossed out of office for the Monica affair) had that look — the look that says, "Who could possibly vote for a Clinton?"

Only the American people, who give Bill an approval rating of 55 percent, more than any other American president in his last six months.

I make no brief for Hillary, however much it sounds that I do. There are plenty of good reasons to oppose her, including her terrible record on health care and her support for the Palestinians.

But morality won't do it. Neither will Lazio's transparent hustle on campaign financing, with his move in the debate.

It was no way to treat a lady, particularly a first lady, who loves to take a punch.



SIDNEY ZION

## MEDIA WATCH

### The Times' Crusaders Blink

FOR a group of people that are so obsessed with the pervasive influence of soft money on political campaigns, Howell Raines and the folks over at the Times editorial page somehow seem to have missed the most important part of Wednesday night's debate between Rick Lazio and Hillary Clinton.

In its editorial evaluating the debate, the Times touched on the candidates' exchanges on health care and education, over Monicagate, carpetbagging, the environment and the upstate economy.

But what about that dramatic exchange over campaign-finance reform — a topic with which the Times editorial page has been obsessed for many, many months now?

Sure, the Times scribes noticed the part when Lazio walked over to Mrs. Clinton and "dared her to sign a pledge to swear off soft money." But the Times editorial toed the Hillary line on this encounter, labeling it "the evening's theatrical coup."

That it was. But why didn't the Times go on to mention the fact that Mrs. Clinton refused to sign what Lazio called the "Freedom From Soft Money Pact," which would have called on outside groups to stop running ads for either candidate?

That's quite surprising. Back on Jan. 5 — before most normal people were paying any attention to the race — a Times editorial noted "Mrs. Clinton's apparent deter-

mination to introduce the soft-money abuses pioneered by [her husband's] 1996 re-election campaign as a regular feature of New York politics."

Indeed, the paper complained, Hillary "seems intent on evading federal limits on a candidate's fund-raising by channeling huge chunks of unregulated soft money to a special 'victory fund' set up by the Democratic Party to help pay for a portion of her television ads."

Concluded the Times nine months ago: "Mrs. Clinton should forswear soft money."

Back then, the Times warned that Mrs. Clinton "has exacerbated fears of a fall campaign run in large part outside the normal federal limits by aggressively channeling big, unregulated soft-money donations."

Swearing off soft money, as the Times demanded, is exactly the challenge leveled by Lazio Wednesday evening — and promptly blown off by Mrs. Clinton.

Her reluctance to take the pledge is cynical, but understandable: Giving up soft money would cost her the practical benefits of her public-employee-union endorsements, just for starters. But for the Times to give her a pass is more than cynical.

In all fairness, as Election Day approaches, the Times' intricate campaign-finance editorials need to carry a label — like on cigarette packages: "WARNING: These conclusions and prescriptions apply only to candidates we happen not to like."

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ASSOCIATED PRESS

David S. Broder

## What Stature Gap?

BUFFALO—The first televised debate in the New York Senate race proved two things. The “stature gap” between Hillary Rodham Clinton and her challenger, Rep. Rick Lazio, is smaller than many Democrats would wish. And, second, it is going to be harder for the first lady to step away from the legacy her husband has left than it has proved to be for Vice President Gore to declare himself “my own man.”

Mrs. Clinton did not wilt or falter in the 60-minute interrogation, and she managed at least a half-dozen times to remind viewers that Lazio, who wants very much to be seen as a moderate Republican, was a “deputy whip for Newt Gingrich.”

But she found herself thrown frequently on the defensive—mainly because of questions stemming from her role in the White House these past 92 months. Moderator Tim Russert began with a quotation from retiring Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, whose seat she is hoping to win, to the effect that the health care plan she and the president submitted in 1993 would have had devastating consequences for New York and its array of great teaching hospitals. She tried to wriggle out, but Lazio seized the opening to say that “no New Yorker” would ever have made such a proposal.

Later, in a moment that made the people sitting around me in the studio audience wince in sympathy, Russert played the tape of the “Today” show interview in which the first lady denied her husband had an affair with Monica Lewinsky and blamed a “vast right-wing conspiracy” for the charges. After talking about how “painful” that episode had been for everyone, she tried the Gore approach: “I’m standing here running for the Senate,” she said—not the man whose lies she accepted and passed on to the public.

But Lazio, who was the aggressor most of the evening, is using Mrs. Clinton’s history as a defender of the president to back up his charge—trumpeted in a new flight of ads—that “you can’t trust” what she says. Or, as he put it in the debate, she thinks “it only matters what you say when you get caught.”

The debate showed that the first lady has a mastery of domestic policy issues and that her many months of travel throughout the Empire State have equipped her with a store of examples of how the programs she supports would be of use in local com-

munities. But the hope that Democrats had expressed that Lazio would look inept and outclassed by this polished, articulate world figure was not borne out in the debate. There is a boyish quality to the Long Island congressman’s face and voice. But he made his points clearly; his sentences flowed; and he appeared as knowledgeable about policy as you would expect an eight-year veteran of the House to be.

Two polls taken just before the debate showed Mrs. Clinton with a microscopic lead in the race, based largely on greater agreement with her on the issues. But the Quinnipiac University survey found her lagging behind Lazio in ratings on trustworthiness, likability and experience.

She is a polarizing figure, while Lazio is not. And that poses a real threat to her winning the race. Sen. Charles Schumer, the Democrat who will become the senior senator from New York with Moynihan’s retirement, said recently that “on her best day, Hillary can’t get more than 45 percent of the people to say they want to vote for her.” To win, he said, she has to find additional voters who are motivated by a dislike for Lazio.

Her effort to do that—at least as it showed in the debate—rests largely on linking him to Gingrich. But Lazio neither looks nor talks like a Gingrich clone. He sounds like what he is—a native New Yorker who has shaped his politics and positions to his sense of what his New York constituents expect.

The debate ended on a note of total absurdity, with Lazio proclaiming that he has refused “soft money” contributions to his campaign and thrusting a paper at Mrs. Clinton in which both would promise to “forswear” those six-figure contributions from corporations, unions and wealthy individuals. She backed away, insisting that he first get letters from conservative groups pledging they would not make “independent expenditure” attacks on her.

It was 100 percent malarkey on both sides. “Soft money” goes to political parties, not individual candidates, and there’s no way any candidate can shut down truly “independent expenditures.”

But for 55 of the 60 minutes, both these candidates showed themselves ready to give New York—and the nation—a helluva race.

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PRESERVATION



## REVIEW & OUTLOOK

### What Has She Done?

Bill Clinton has always asked an awful lot of his followers and of his public—a lot of forgiveness, a lot of faith and a lot of forbearance. Now his wife has gone up the New Jersey turnpike, parked herself just outside the fat city of Manhattan campaign contributors and is asking the people of the state of New York to anoint her as the one who succeeds Daniel Patrick Moynihan into the U.S. Senate.

Chutzpah, to use a word heard in the Hillary Clinton-Rick Lazio debate Wednesday night, is nothing new in politics. But someone should ask: Just what has Hillary Clinton done to deserve this honor from the people of New York? Other than sheer celebrity, what qualification does she have to be a U.S. Senator? Mrs. Clinton cited “my 30 years of experience” and, ahem, “my last eight years in the White House.”

Yes, by all means review those years and that experience. Where does one start?

Debate moderator Tim Russert started with Jan. 27, 1998, when Mrs. Clinton on the “Today” show blamed her husband’s impeachment problems on a “vast right-wing conspiracy.” Her denials of the Monica Lewinsky allegations recalled her 1992 appearance on “60 Minutes” denying the Gennifer Flowers allegations. Her explanation Wednesday: “Obviously I didn’t mislead anyone. I didn’t know the truth.”

We now know that at that time Dick Morris reported to the President that an internal poll concluded a mere apology for the Lewinsky affair would not make it go away, to which the President replied: “We’ll just have to win it then.” Mrs. Clinton’s “right-wing conspiracy” statement was the first salvo in the Clinton counteroffensive. If she didn’t understand what was going on here, she ought to be defeated for naïveté. She isn’t naïve. Mrs. Clinton was serving in full knowledge then as political bagman for her husband, and, of course, she declined Mr. Russert’s invitation to apologize to the critics who have proved to be right about the Presidential lie.



**Hillary Clinton**  
*Her 30 years  
don't add up*

The “most influential rating” of course came when she was back in Arkansas. Soon, probably before the election, Independent Counsel Robert Ray is going to release his final report on the long-running investigation into the Clintons’ Whitewater land dealings and Hillary Clinton’s Arkansas law work. Having worked strenuously to delay and stonewall this investigation, Mrs. Clinton’s camp will of course complain about its timing. But Mrs. Clinton is the one who descended on New York out of the blue and now expects its people to let her represent them for six years in Washington, waving “30 years of experience.” Well, then let’s have New York’s voters review and judge what she’s done over that period.

In 1977, at the age of 30, she joined Little Rock’s Rose Law Firm. Her husband was Governor. A year later she has turned a \$1,000 investment in cattle futures into a \$100,000 profit, under the guidance of Jim Blair of Tyson Foods. The following year the Clintons and Jim and Susan McDougal form Whitewater Development Co. to engage in real estate transactions. Three years later Jim McDougal buys Madison Savings & Loan, which quickly runs into problems with federal regulators, who attempt to close it down.

In March 1985 Hillary Clinton starts receiving a \$2,000 a month retainer from Madison, and in April she submits a recapitalization plan to the Arkansas Securities Commission. In October that year Hillary starts legal work for McDougal’s Castle Grande land deal. This is the work for which Mrs. Clinton’s billing records vanish for years, until they suddenly appear on a table in the White House in January 1996. After testifying before a grand jury about the long-gone billing records, Mrs. Clinton announces, “I, like everyone else, would like to know the answers about how those documents showed up after all these years.”

We hope the Clinton corner doesn’t start twitching if we describe that comment as certifiably bizarre. And put the question: Just how much of this sort of “experience” are the people of New York expected to swallow to elevate Mrs. Clinton into the Senate of the United States, and just how many similar experiences are they going to have to learn to live with over the next six years?

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What has she done (cont.)

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Seeking to buttress her résumé, Mrs. Clinton has lately been bragging about all the influence she had behind the scenes in "my eight years in the White House." She does not mention coups such as insisting that the Attorney General be female, which tarnished the reputations of two upstanding women and left the Justice Department under control of Janet Reno. Any such behind-the-scenes influence was studiously denied after her one on-camera effort, the Health Care Task Force. This policy debacle did more than anything else to elect a Republican Congress in 1994. The other result was a major lawsuit in which district Judge Royce Lamberth levied fines of \$286,000 for the White House's attempts to cover up its efforts to keep secret the meetings of Mrs. Clinton's Task Force.

In another example of résumé padding, her campaign Web site ([hillary2000.org](http://hillary2000.org)) makes the claim, heard originally when she entered the White House, that "she was named one of the Top 100 Lawyers in America by American Lawyer Magazine." In its June 8 issue this year, the National Law Journal, which in fact puts out several lists, reports that Mrs. Clinton "brags she was once chosen as one of the 100 'top' lawyers in the country." In fact, says NLJ, they (not American Lawyer) included her in a list of "influential" lawyers due to her connection with the Rose Law Firm, "whose billing records she famously misplaced."

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Rick Lazio may be no Pat Moynihan, but then, no one is, not even Joe Lieberman. But by all accounts Mr. Lazio has served his constituents honorably in the House, and he is at least entitled to say, as he did Wednesday, "Somehow it only matters what you say when you get caught. Character and trust is about well more than that." The political parsons are now tut-tutting that he was too tough on poor Mrs. Clinton, but it seems to us that he accomplished his strategic aim of showing himself to be someone who can play in her league.

For our money, the most revealing moment of the debate was when Mrs. Clinton, waving the Gingrich card, said that Rep. Lazio "voted to shut the government down." What vote, we wondered, was that? In the 1995 crisis, Republicans voted out a bill, albeit one Mr. Clinton had threatened to veto, that would have kept the government open. While Mr. Clinton managed to blame the Republicans, the fact is that it was his signature on the veto message that closed the government, created the crisis and opened the door of the Oval Office to Monica.

This exchange, we thought, captured the essence of the Hillary Clinton candidacy. Senator Clinton would represent the perpetuation of the myths of the Clinton Presidency, a vindication of its lies large and small, and an absolution of her husband's moral and ethical standards.

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESS



## Hillary subdued after debate with Senate foe Lazio

By Steve Miller  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BUFFALO, N.Y. — An hour after Wednesday's Senate debate with opponent Rep. Rick A. Lazio, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton was holding court with her staff at the TGI Friday's restaurant in the downtown Radisson hotel.

It wasn't pretty.

Her subdued dinner table betrayed what pundits are calling a draw but what others said was a launching pad for Mr. Lazio, the four-term congressman from Long Island and former assistant district attorney.

"If there were many of the undecided people watching," said Bill Cunningham, a former adviser to Democratic Gov. Mario Cuomo, "they now have a reason to check into Rick Lazio. People all over the state saw the front page of the newspapers, of Lazio standing next to Hillary. He's now officially on equal

see DEBATE, page A11

## DEBATE

From page A1

ground with her."

Predebate polling found 7 percent of voters declaring themselves undecided.

Each side has asserted victory in the meeting, touting unscientific polls. Mrs. Clinton's team pointed to a poll conducted for WCBS and the New York Daily News of 274 registered voters who watched that found that 49 percent said she fared better compared with 36 percent favoring Mr. Lazio.

However, the newspaper's own panel of media experts gave Mr. Lazio the edge, 57 to 50, in a grading system based on the candidates' presentations.

For its part, the Lazio campaign sent out a news release touting the results of an MSNBC Internet poll of 18,700 viewers that showed he won 67 percent to 24 percent.

In a statement, Clinton campaign manager Bill de Blasio lauded the WCBS preliminary poll.

"Once again, the voters have decisively chosen Hillary's campaign of issues over Rick Lazio's campaign of insults," he said, ensuring that the verbal volleys will not likely die down soon.

Hillary fans and staff yesterday disparaged Mr. Lazio's dramatic move of approaching the first lady's lectern and attempting to hand her a contract that would forbid the use of "soft money" for the rest of the campaign.

Members of the media raked Mr. Lazio for being aggressive in his fight for the Senate seat being vacated by Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan. Some even said his tactic turned off female voters, who viewed his combativeness on the issues as an attack against a woman.

Mr. Lazio said simply: "We New Yorkers don't back down from a fight."

Mrs. Clinton, for her part, told

her backers she was relieved: "It was my first debate, and I feel like I survived."

Pollsters are already clicking the numbers on the longer-term effect of the debate.

"I thought the state was enriched by it," said pollster John Zogby. "There is now no doubt that Lazio belongs in the race and could be a senator. He answered questions of who he is without being defensive. The whole debate documents how close the two are in the polls."

Dr. Lee Miringoff of the Marist College Institute for Public Opinion saw the debate as a draw. He said while Mr. Lazio came on very strong, "Hillary couldn't get away from her past but Rick Lazio couldn't get to his future."

The name "Gingrich" was uttered 10 times between the two candidates during Wednesday's skirmish.

Television here led with the story sharing an enthusiasm for the debate with every newspaper in the state. Most broadcasters referred to it as a rather brutal battle.

Moderator Tim Russert, who was criticized during some political talk shows for his pointed questions for the first lady, called it "fun and feisty."

The debate coalesced Mr. Lazio's efforts to paint Mrs. Clinton as an outsider — a non-New Yorker who is simply there because of her connections. A new ad by the American Conservative Union began running in limited markets this week labeling Mrs. Clinton the carpetbagger:

Announcer: "In New York, all babies like these have something in common."

(On screen: single baby, wearing Yankee baseball cap.)

Announcer: "They've lived here longer than Hillary Rodham Clinton..."

Mrs. Clinton will likely spend the next 6½ weeks trying to star-

outside of the story but, inevitably, responding in kind when attacked by her opponent.

Her campaign did not return calls for this story.

And as she sought to distance herself from her husband's scandals, the Clinton administration announced it would soon release a list of overnight guests at the White House and the Camp David presidential retreat in response to suggestions that Mrs. Clinton traded visits for contributions to her Senate campaign.

"As soon as that list is ready and I have a chance to review it, I will

make it available," White House spokesman Joe Lockhart said. That may take a few days, but the sooner the better, Mr. Lockhart said, "so that this story can go away."

Reporters sought the list to compare it with rosters of Mrs. Clinton's political supporters.

The Clinton administration was criticized after the 1996 reelection campaign for inviting big donors to spend the night. Republicans in Congress, along with some less partisan critics, complained that the practice dulled the majesty of the White House.

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## Lazio vs. Clinton

After Wednesday night's face-off in Buffalo, moderated by NBC's Tim Russert, we now know beyond a doubt why Hillary Rodham Clinton has done her level best to evade the press. Mrs. Clinton, confronted by the toughest questions and challenges of her brief political career, chose to ignore and evade the most pointed queries. She filled time rather than directly answer such questions as to why her health care plan proposed to ration health care — it was just “a starting point,” she finally offered lamely. She failed even to address Republican candidate Rick Lazio's scathing critique of her input into Arkansas's educational system, which he said was nothing less than “a disaster.”

By contrast, Mr. Lazio was forceful, frank, and assured, proving himself to be a formidable candidate, whether explaining his education plan, which provides vouchers for children in failing schools (Mrs. Clinton opposes vouchers), or standing fast in his belief, expressed in a summer fund-raising letter, that “the first lady embarrassed our country.” It seems the man actually has convictions.

The evening's most theatrical moment was the signature gambit in which Mr. Lazio challenged Mrs. Clinton to join him by signing a letter renouncing the use of soft money in the campaign. But the most riveting drama of the hour-long debate came after Mr. Russert played a clip of Mrs. Clinton's infamous 1998 “vast right-wing conspiracy” interview on NBC's “Today Show.” There, she declared categorically that her husband had not conducted an adulterous liaison in the White House — or, rather, that “That is not going to be proven true.”

Said Mr. Russert: “Regrettably, that has been proven true. Do you regret misleading the American people? And secondly . . . would you now apologize for branding people [who criticized the president's conduct] as part of a vast right-wing conspiracy?”

Clearly, a quick recitation of the New York state bird, tree and motto wasn't going to get her out of this one. Mrs. Clinton mechanically activated victim-mode, cranking out a story of “pain,” and “perspective” — “We're going to have to wait until those books are written,” she said, proving she hasn't set foot inside a bookstore lately — and the desire to “go forward in a united way.” And whatever that means, it doesn't include an apology; indeed, Mrs. Clinton, when pressed, once again indicated that criticism of her husband came from pure political pique. “But you mentioned trust,” she continued. “And, you know, I'm standing here running for the Senate. I didn't cast the votes that Newt Gingrich asked me to cast,” she said, changing — stripping? — gears as she sought an exit line.

Newt Gingrich? Is he running? Mrs. Clinton mentioned the former speaker of the House at least a half a dozen times over the hour-long debate, like an ancient totem to give herself a phony courage. And Mr. Lazio responded. “Mrs. Clinton, you of all people shouldn't try to make guilt by association. Newt Gingrich isn't running in this race. I'm running in this race. Let's talk about my record.” He's right. As exciting a match-up as Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Gingrich would make, it is indeed Rick Lazio who is running for Senate. And after his excellent performance Wednesday night, that should have Mrs. Clinton running scared.

The Washington Times - Editorials  
Friday September 15, 2000

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# The New York Times

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 2000

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James Estrin/The New York Times

Howard Wolfson, with Hillary Clinton's press secretary, Karen Finney, says the office is "not a peace room."

## Another Clinton War Room, Ready for Battle

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

It is a windowless, unmarked room on the third floor of an office building across the street from Madison Square Garden. The shabby office, five flights down from Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign headquarters, is scattered with desks, computer terminals, televisions, hanging cable wires and telephones. There is at least one campaign official posted there 24 hours a day, monitoring the television news, wire services, newspapers, the Internet and, ultimately, the campaign activities of Representative Rick A. Lazio.

At the direct request of Mrs. Clinton and one of her longtime advisers, James Carville, the signature cam-

paigned tactic that helped President Clinton win the White House has quietly found its way to the campaign for Senate in New York. Mrs. Clinton has opened what in 1992 was called a war room by Mr. Clinton's advisers, though her aides this time have pointedly declined to use that name, because it might remind voters of what some consider an unseemly side of the Clintons.

Whatever it is called, the result is a political boiler room teeming with about a dozen people who research Mr. Lazio's background and record, write Mrs. Clinton's policy pronouncements and, most important, seek to influence the news coverage of Mrs. Clinton's campaign for Senate, mostly through an insistent bar-

rage of e-mail messages intended to advance the first lady and undercut Mr. Lazio.

Mrs. Clinton asked that it be created after her campaign was engulfed for three days in July by a charge that she voiced an anti-Semitic slur against a former colleague in 1974, and Mrs. Clinton's aides debated how to deal with publicizing her denial.

Howard Wolfson, who had been Mrs. Clinton's ubiquitous spokesman and who is an advocate of aggressive and fast-paced politicking, was dispatched from the eighth floor to run the operation with Neera Tanden, the campaign's policy director.

Yesterday, standing outside a diner in South Buffalo where Mrs. Clin-

Continued on Page A28

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Associated Press

Representative Rick A. Lazio took his New York Senate campaign to a charter school in Rochester yesterday. Hillary Rodham Clinton greeted people in South Buffalo.



James Estrin/The New York Times

## Another Clinton's War Room, Ever Ready for Political Battle

Continued From Page A1

ton was greeting voters, Mr. Wolfson could be heard on his cellular phone overseeing the production of a "Debate Scorecard" that compiled newspaper reports on voter reactions to the Senate debate on Wednesday, in an effort to show that some viewers thought that Mrs. Clinton had won. The, um, whatever room — "Well, it's not a peace room," Mr. Wolfson said archly — had the scorecard in reporters' e-mailboxes before lunch, when the campaign calculated that reporters were making judgments about post-debate articles.

For a campaign that has been criticized by Democrats for being factionalized and as slow as an ocean

Mr. Wolfson, who is intensely competitive, reacted glumly upon learning about Mr. Lazio's high-tech operation. He noted that Mrs. Clinton's campaign had managed to get a response out to Mr. Lazio's debate performance before the candidates even walked into the studio. It was called a pre-buttal edition.

This is, in truth, more than a matter of games that campaign consultants play. There are some implications that are broader than the efficiency of both candidates in getting out their positions and undercutting their opponents.

Candidates tend to benefit when the public — and, not insignificantly, other politicians and the news media — perceive that they are running a strong, confident campaign. Until the

fort as "lots of people high-fiving each other and towel-snapping and feeling really good about themselves while Rome burns."

On the other hand, Mrs. Clinton's advisers were wary of drawing too much attention to the operation, for fear that it would underline the Clintons' reputation of being bellicose. Mr. Carville, in particular, has written the book on the war room — or, more precisely, the movie, since the one he set up with George Stephanopoulos in 1992 was the subject of a documentary. He even set one up in Israel when he served as consultant to Ehud Barak when Mr. Barak was elected prime minister in 1999.

"The War Room has become sort of a trademark," Mr. Carville said yesterday, discussing its latest in-

testament to what Mrs. Clinton's aides view as one of their bigger accomplishments: within two hours of Mr. Lazio's offering up his tax plan, Ms. Tanden prepared a detailed response that used Congressional cost estimates to argue that he was drastically understating its cost. That assertion was backed up by a number of critical newspaper and magazine articles.

Similarly, Mrs. Clinton's aides were visibly relieved on Tuesday night when the primary returns showed that Mrs. Clinton had won 82 percent of the vote over an unknown challenger, Mark McMahon, a Manhattan surgeon. A double-digit showing by an unknown challenger could have been seized by Mr. Lazio as

reporter writing a story on the race.

The most visible edge of the effort is the use of e-mail. On any given day, the two campaigns dispatch a dozen e-mail messages each, spotlighting negative information about the opponent, or highlighting some new proposals about each campaign. In a sort of political incarnation of "Spy vs. Spy," both campaigns have managed to sneak their way onto their opponent's e-mail list — aides to Mr. Lazio and Mrs. Clinton declined to reveal how, or what address they were using — which guarantees an even faster and more furious exchange.

"It's amazing to me how much everything has changed since 1998 because of e-mail," said Michael

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**letters@nypost.com**

## Rating the Great Debate: It's Lazio By a Knockout

•I was wondering what Mrs. Clinton had to offer New York. After watching the debate with Rick Lazio, I am not wondering anymore ("Hillary Ducks," Sept. 14).

How can she talk about issues when she has no experience? She has not done a single thing for New Yorkers. It seems to me she wants to buy the election.

**Owen Kelly**  
Astoria

•Your "Hillary Ducks" headline leaves no doubt about The Post's lack of objectivity and your bias in reporting the news.

Who would sign a document without the opportunity to read it first?

**Irving M. Fogel**  
Manhattan

•I learned some things about Mrs. Clinton while watching her debate Rick Lazio in Buffalo.

Hillary seemed to be acting. She appeared stiff and wooden as she stood there spewing campaign promises, while Lazio displayed confidence by articulating his speech well and remaining focused on the discussion.

Hillary's main weapon to attack Lazio was merely the fact that he is a Republican.

**Deborah L. Winkler**  
Massapequa Park

•Why is it that when Rick Lazio makes remarks about Mrs. Clinton's policies, it is considered an "attack," but when Mrs. Clinton remarks about Lazio's policies she is "sticking to the issues"?

**Matthew Viola**  
Chestnut Ridge



•Rick Lazio's performance was not that great.

His attacks on Hillary over campaign finance wouldn't have played that well among the general population. Most people seem to think "soft money" is cash that is not coins.

**Gary Enright**  
Washington, D.C.

•The debate between Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rick Lazio was entertaining and enlightening.

Ms. Clinton's attempt to distinguish herself from her opponent by saying she's "for clean air" was particularly amusing.

The message of such platitudes is clear: "I really don't care why you vote for me — just vote for me."

**Joe Picchiotti**  
Riverdale, Iowa

•Hillary Clinton is looking for a shortcut to the presidency by running for the U.S. Senate.

She'll wipe her feet on the backs of the hard-working people of New York in order to make a run for the White House. Let's give Hillary her walking papers.

**Camille Belfield**  
Staten Island

•One of my concerns as a citizen and a registered voter in New York

is that if Mrs. Clinton couldn't handle the many "affairs" going on in her own home, how could she handle the affairs involved in representing the people of New York in the Senate?

**Patricia Cunningham**  
Staten Island

•OK, which is it? Is Hillary Clinton a powerful and intelligent lawyer who is trying to leverage the access to the people and money she was able to get as first lady, or does she want to earn her Senate seat as a martyr, playing the victim who was cheated on in a marriage?

**Tish Ferguson**  
Point Pleasant, N.J.

•Hillary Rodham Clinton seemed to be one confused lady while debating Rick Lazio.

She must have thought she was debating Newt Gingrich, she brought up his name so much.

**Hazel O. Edwards**  
Houston, Texas

•Rick Lazio did just great at the debate. Did Hillary think that Rick was going to play dead for her?

He did what he had to do — nailed her on truth and honesty.

**Joe Licari**  
Maspeth

•"I didn't mislead anyone. I didn't know the truth," Clinton said.

More accurately, the Clintons don't know what "truth" is. They think truth is a perpetual word game. It all depends on the meaning of "anyone." She didn't mislead "anyone," because she misled everyone.

**Steven Santora**  
St. Thomas,  
U.S. Virgin Islands

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## Electionline

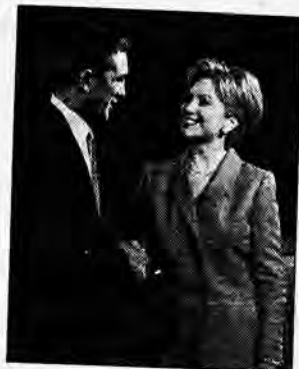
### Lazio's debate tactics might have backfired

Supporters of Republican Rick Lazio and Democrat Hillary Rodham Clinton continued debating Thursday over which candidate for a U.S. Senate seat in New York won the candidates' debate Wednesday.

Lazio defended his aggressive demeanor from critics, including a second-grader in Rochester who asked, "Why did you fight with Mrs. Clinton?"

The congressman told the child, "We were talking about our different ideas."

To reporters, he said: "This is a race for the Senate. People expect plain talk."



By Richard Drew, AP

**Beforehand:** Rick Lazio and Hillary Rodham Clinton.

The debate could be crucial because polls show the race is neck and neck. In the state's two biggest cities, the first debate raised ratings at the NBC stations that aired it live. In New York City, the ratings were more than double the average for that hour; in Buffalo, they more than tripled.

Undecided voters interviewed by several newspapers, including USA TODAY, said Lazio's aggressiveness was a turnoff. A *New York Daily News*/WCBS-TV poll of 274 registered voters who watched the debate found that 49% said Clinton did a better job; 36% said Lazio did better.

— Kathy Kiely

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# Rating Hillary-Lazio

**T**here are two ways to view Wednesday night's televised debate between the woman from Westchester and the congressman from Long Island.

**The Democratic View:** Hillary! won hands down. She played Rick Lazio like a drum—an appropriate choice, since he's all noise on the outside and hollow on the inside.

**The Republican View:** Hillary, Schmilary. Lazio did what no man has done before: He challenged her—on the soft-money pledge—and she backed down. He's a winner.

Well, there are a few other ways to look at it, one of which was not to look at it. I couldn't resist. It was such a novel concept that I watched it twice.

A decisive victory for Lazio? No. He held his own. We learned something about his record as a member of Congress. He spoke knowledgeably about the problems of his home state and his plans for addressing them.

I wouldn't call it a draw, at least not a clean one. Both sides scored points for substance, although Hillary's responses had a more scripted feel. She was more "together" and more articulate than Lazio, but that was to be expected. She's been grooming herself for just such a moment far longer than he has, including stints as Bill's gubernatorial attack dog and presidential debate coach.

I don't share the view of some pundits that Lazio came on too strong. Anything less than what he gave would have branded him a wuss.

Mrs. Clinton copped some free sympathy points when, at long last, someone challenged her previous remarks about the prospects of impeachment for a lying, scheming, philandering president and the vast, right-wing conspiracy she said had been dogging his every step for the past quarter-century.

Initial reaction to moderator Tim Russert's decision to raise the specter of Monica Lewinsky at a debate between two candidates for the U.S. Senate was somewhat critical. What, the home folks might ask, did that have to do with the price of eggs?

Well, she couldn't avoid the issue forever, although she'd done a pretty fair job of it to that point. The fact of the matter is that there never was a vast, right-wing conspiracy, or even a narrow, middle-of-the-road one, against Bill Clinton. If anyone has caused him any harm, it's the man in his mirror.

Thanks to Russert, the victimization of Hillary! has now played itself out and she can move on. He did her a favor.

If the first lady was slighted in any way, she did it to herself when she weaseled out of signing a pledge to renounce the soft money she's spent so much time raising in

## Meredith Oakley



her cross-country junketing at taxpayers' expense.

Lazio caught her off guard when he brandished the pledge, which he has signed, and again when he approached her with it, and for once her derisive humor didn't save her bacon.

No way is Hillary! going to eschew soft money.

Prior to the event, independent analysts opined that Lazio had far more at stake than Mrs. Clinton, primarily because neither his name nor his record is as well known as hers. He is, after all, one of 31 U.S. House members from the state of New York.

One analyst, the Quinnipiac University Polling Institute's Maurice Carroll, suggested that Lazio had to prove he can fight "in the heavyweight division."

He did.

As for Mrs. Clinton, Carroll said: "She doesn't have to do much of anything except not screw up."

Ah, well, for all her Little League experience, even Hillary! can't hit it out of the park every time.

I haven't seen any post-debate polls yet, but those leading up to the event showed the little-known congressman and renowned first lady in a dead heat after three months of campaigning.

A Marist College poll gave Mrs. Clinton 50 percent and Lazio 49 percent. A Quinnipiac poll gave her a five-point lead, but there's overlap in the poll's statistical 3.5 percent margin of error.

By the way, despite the 50-49 split in this Marist survey, generally there seems to be about an undecided factor of about 7 percent.

According to the Rothenberg Political Report, she's doing extremely well in New York City, but she's faltering in Upstate New York, and Lazio's been consistently outdistancing her in the suburbs.

The two contenders plan to debate a couple of more times. This was a good first run, but in future, Hillary! would do well to loosen up a bit and not be afraid to veer from her prepared remarks, and Lazio would do well to organize his thoughts a little better and hit a little harder on issues.

In other words, she needs to get away from her script and he needs to get one.

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



# YOUR PURR-FECT HOROSCOPE

by Felicity

## HAPPY BIRTHDAY, SCORPIO!

As a Scorpio, you're a power-loving and passionate character. YES!

Intense is your middle name. And your no-nonsense, take-charge attitude helps you to hang in there like a savvy cat stalking its prey. No doubt that savvy Scorpions, born under the eighth sign of the Zodiac, do it their way, all the while wearing a Cheshire Cat grin.

- Why you're the cat's meow: Like a feline fuzzy, you can be creative, cuddly and



Hillary Clinton

affectionate to the max. After all, you are oh-so sensual, super sensitive and very, very deep.

- What makes you catty: Ouch! Your little secrets and sassy wit can hurt big-time—just like a scorpion's sting. And oh, those Mommy Dearest temper tantrums (which can stem from the green-eyed monster) cause both cats and humans to flee fast and far.
- Purr-fect matches: Other emotionally compatible water signs (like Cancer and Pisces) can touch your heart and tender-loving soul.
- Cat-loving Scorpions: Hillary Clinton

## SCORPIO (Oct. 24–Nov. 22)

Be Trusting. October is the month to check out the L word. Tap into your intuitive side and don't be a scaredy cat. Just let go of your inhibitions and encourage the world and your favorite cat(s) to keep the household purring! Great days: 27, 28

## SAGITTARIUS (Nov. 23–Dec. 21)

Seize the Month. There's no need for the Archer to curl up and wait. It's happening now! That's right, money and romance are yours for the pouncing. But share happy days with your devoted puss, who has been there during the best and the worst of times. Great days: 2, 3

## CAPRICORN (Dec. 22–Jan. 20)

Reap the Rewards. Hey, all that goat-like discipline is finally paying off (literally!). Yep, share big bonuses while opportunity knocks. Translation: Cats need perks, too. So frown on Scrooge-like behavior and splurge on cool cat treats and toys. Great days: 4, 5

## AQUARIUS (Jan 21–Feb. 19)

Don't Clam Up. If you want to keep the peace, share your feelings during the Full Moon on October 13. Speaking of communication, how well do you connect with your cat? Tune in to your kitty in the great outdoors, the way nature-loving Thoreau would have. Great days: 3, 30

## PISCES (Feb. 20–March 20)

Handle Your Stress. The bad news is, legal stuff may be pending. It's best to do nothing until after the Full Moon on October 13. A purr-fect diversion? Use your imagination, Fish! Actually, tending to a fish tank will keep you and kitty entertained and de-stressed. Consider it. Great days: 9, 10.

## AIRES (March 21–April 20)

Count to Ten. The Full Moon on October 13 wreaks havoc on your nerves. Rather than have a major Ram crisis—be childish. Play couch potato with the cat. You know, snuggle up with kitty and watch back-to-back sitcoms to tickle your funny bone. Repeat as needed. Great days: 17, 18

## TAURUS (April 21–May 21)

Be Cool. Where partnerships are concerned, the cat may be let out of the bag (so to speak) this month. Chill. Hint: Watch Animal Planet to see how wild cats handle shaky situations, and then do as they do, but in Bull style. Great days: 14, 21

## GEMINI (May 22–June 21)

Enjoy High Energy. It's not like you, Gemini, to lack drive. And this month you'll be super-motivated, thanks to energizing Mars in your horoscope. Why not save some oomph for the cat? Or if kitty is game, add another feline to your household. Great days: 16, 20

## CANCER (June 22–July 23)

Stir It Up. Feeling blah in the romance department? You can burst past that plateau around the New Moon on October 27. Meanwhile, play Mother Hen to your beloved kitty, because soon you're going to have human love—not feline—on the brain. Great days: 18, 19

## LEO (July 24–Aug. 23)

Be Playful. Do you feel on edge this month? If high anxiety is affecting you, don't roar mighty Lion. Relax and spend more quality, Mr. Rogers-type time with kitty. Translation: Bring out the interactive cat toys and play one-on-one. Great days: 20, 21

## VIRGO (Aug. 24–Sept. 23)

Go Do It! (See Gemini.) Yes, marvelous Mars gives you an extra surge of whopping energy, too. That means work (yeah, your favorite thing) gets done on the job and at home. It's a good time to set up a cat tree (or move it) in the purr-fect place (like a typical Virgoan) for your feline prince or princess. Great days: 22, 23

## LIBRA (Sept. 24–Oct. 23)

Take a Breather. It's time you stop to smell the roses and forget pruning. Kick back and enjoy a purr-fect, lazy Libra day. Team up with an easy-going cat (or two) and do whatever it takes to unwind your body and overly analytical mind. Great days: 24, 25



PHOTOCOPY  
PREMIUM



## Clinton's "Buddy"

President Clinton's Internet access password is "Buddy," the name of his pet, *The Bark* magazine reports. Editors there spotted him typing the first dog's name while affixing his e-signature to a bill making e-signatures legally binding.

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President Clinton already registered in New York so he can vote for his wife in the U.S. Senate race this fall, but Pulaski County Circuit Clerk Carolyn Staley just last week received Clinton's official cancellation of his Arkansas voter registration. "As you may have read," Clinton wrote, "I am now registered to vote in New York state."



# Spoiling for a Fight in Buffalo

Watching on TV, Hillary-Haters Root for That Other Guy

By DANA MILBANK  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Let us now review a few fun facts about Buffalo.

The Blizzard City averages eight feet of snow each winter and sometimes gets double that. Its steel industry is kaput, and its beloved Buffalo Bills have lost four Super Bowls. Its best-known cultural contributions to the world are Genesee Cream Ale and spicy chicken wings; its main political achievement was hosting President McKinley's assassination.

To put it gently, Buffalo has often been found lacking. And that makes it the perfect setting for tonight's debate between Hillary Clinton and Rick Lazio. Their New York Senate race has so far been a dud.

This was to be a clash of titans, a referendum on the Clinton era. Instead, titan Rudy Giuliani disappeared, and his replacement has been smiley and banal. Hillary, meanwhile, has hidden behind handlers and news releases.

The result is the bland leading the bland. They

See DEBATE, C14, Col. 1



BY JIM MCKNIGHT—ASSOCIATED PRESS  
Hillary Clinton greets supporters after the debate.

C14 THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 2000

M2 DM VA

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PRESERVATION

STYLE

## The Clinton-Lazio Brew-haha

DEBATE, From C1

bicker about such weighty issues as whether Lazio's handshake with Yasser Arafat is more responsible than Hillary's hug of Suha Arafat or Bill Clinton's clasp of Fidel Castro's hand.

But tonight is different. For the first time there is hope Clinton and Lazio can rise from this dreary campaign and begin to slug it out in earnest. It's about time; the partisans are spoiling for a fight. For the Clinton antagonists, particularly, this is a rare chance to draw blood from a favorite demon. Years of anti-Clinton anger can finally be released.

Hillary-haters are not disappointed. Tonight, Lazio calls her "beyond shameless," and delivers a pledge banning soft money right to the flustered candidate's podium, as if serving a subpoena. Lazio even tags her with the worst epithet of all: He accuses Clinton of being "positively Clintonesque." Now *that's* low.

Supporters of both candidates, after hibernating through the campaign so far, arrive 90 minutes before the debate, armed with posters, air horns and strong lungs. Wayne Brown, a local salesman, carries a sign that says "Clinton for Change," with hammers and sickles instead of the "C's." Like many here, Brown, a Rush Limbaugh fan, isn't a Lazio guy, per se. He would vote for a ham sandwich running against Clinton. "I know I'm anti-Hillary, but I don't know enough to know whether I'm for Lazio," he says.

Nearby, Michael Powers is busy heckling a Clinton supporter: "Come on, did the union give you paid vacation for this? You got paid to come! They're from Arkansas." He surreptitiously places a Lazio sticker on a Clinton supporter's back. His wife, Shiela, waves a sign that says "Mrs. Clinton does not speak for me!" while Michael yells himself hoarse with a chant of "Hillary go home!" "I'm personally offended by her coming to New York," he explains. "Every-

thing Hillary does is for Hillary." Nearby, a man blasts his air horn and bellows "Whitewater!" and "Vince Foster!"

Just before the debate, while the Clinton backers disperse, a couple of hundred Lazio fans retreat to the nearby Hyatt hotel ballroom to watch the combat on big-screen TVs. (The debate was held in a television studio that held only about 350 people.)

It becomes immediately apparent that this crowd is less pro-Lazio than anti-Hillary. After all, they've hated her for eight years; they've known the New York congressman only a few months. "My vote's an anti-Hillary vote," says Brooks Jennings, as he watches the debate and drinks a beer.

But the enemy of Jennings's enemy is his friend, and Lazio wastes no time cutting up Clinton. When she links his name with Newt Gingrich, Lazio turns on her fiercely. "You, of all people, shouldn't try to make guilt by association." The Hyatt ballroom erupts.

The Lazio fans in the ballroom don't seem to care much about the nitty-gritty of the debate. His response to a health care question gets no reaction at all. The room is silent as Clinton talks about hospital funding and tax credits. Lazio's discussion of the "dairy compact" and the Buffalo economy doesn't do much for them, either.

But when Clinton talks about "my last eight years in the White House," as if she were the president, the crowd begins to murmur. When she utters the familiar line about "large, risky tax schemes," the Lazio fans give a contemptuous laugh. And when Lazio trumpets that "I don't think we need that Little Rock record in the Big Apple," the Buffalo Republicans, though they live closer to Cleveland than the Big Apple, whoop and pump their fists.

And then, the Clinton-hater's Holy Grail: Debate moderator Tim Russert plays the old "vast-right-wing-conspiracy" interview in which she insisted that the allegations about White House intern Monica Lewinsky were "not going to



BY ED BETZ—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Amy Tuckman watches the debate in Commack, N.Y.

be proven true." The crowd laughs. Hearing the right-wing conspiracy line, Joel Dombrowski, drinking a beer in the back, shouts, "Here I am, it was me, I did it!" When Clinton responds that it "was a very painful time for me," a woman in the audience pretends to play a violin, while Dombrowski shouts: "And your girlfriend!"

Clinton is clearly struggling now; someone in the audience makes the noise of a falling bomb. "I didn't mislead anyone," she is saying on the screen. "I didn't know the truth." Dombrowski shouts as if he's ringside: "Oh, she's on the ropes!" Clinton talks about "using all my contacts" to help New York; the Lazio crowd howls.

After an hour of this blood and gore, Dombrowski is satiated. True, Russert didn't ask the questions he sent in, including one about whether the first lady wears "boxers or briefs." But Dombrowski's not complaining. "It was a watershed," he says, recalling the moment when Russert played the right-wing-conspiracy interview. "Her face drained. You could see it physically. She really got shook."

Dombrowski and this crowd have been waiting a long time to shake up Hillary Clinton. "Hey," he says, sipping his beer. "Welcome to New York."



NATION

The Washington Times

# FROM PAGE ONE

## Clinton sleepovers questioned

ASSOCIATED PRESS

The White House is considering media requests for names of overnight guests after suggestions yesterday that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton offered overnight stays at the White House to supporters of her Senate campaign.

"We're reviewing the requests," said deputy White House spokesman Jake Siewert.

The senior spokesman, Joe Lockhart, confirmed that political supporters have stayed at the White House, but dismissed the notion that the first lady did anything improper.

"The president and the first lady, over the last 7½ years, have always welcomed their friends and supporters and political officials from around the country, [and] prominent members of the arts community, to stay at the White House," Mr. Lockhart said. "Within that group, there certainly have been people who, as their friends, have supported them financially."

Mrs. Clinton is seeking the Senate seat being vacated by retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, New York Democrat. Some of her largest contributors have also given to other Clinton campaigns and causes, including the president's 1996 re-election campaign, his legal defense fund and his planned post-presidential library.

The Clinton administration drew fire after the 1996 campaign for inviting big donors to spend the night at the White House. Republicans in Congress, along with some less-partisan critics, complained that the practice dulled the majesty of the White House.

"The Lincoln Bedroom was never sold," Mr. Clinton said in 1997, when the White House released a list of 938 guests who had spent the night at the White House to that point in the Clinton presidency. The names did include political supporters, as well as entertainment luminaries and old Clinton friends.

The renewed interest in overnight guests followed a report yesterday from Internet columnist Matt Drudge.

## LAZIO

From page A1

has already been notable for its acrimony. They are running to succeed Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat, who is retiring.

Mr. Lazio stood firm — and even frowned — when challenged by the first lady on his stances on health care and Social Security.

And when he got his turn to speak, he gave as good as he got.

Mrs. Clinton attacked the Long Island congressman's supposed allegiances to former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, saying Mr. Lazio voted against 200 health care groups on the patients' bill of rights in favor of Mr. Gingrich's wishes.

"Chutzpah," Mrs. Clinton called it disparagingly. "He tells us he's a moderate mainstream member of Congress. . . . Well, he voted to shut government down, and he voted for the biggest education cuts in history. He stood with Newt Gingrich, he stood with the Republican leadership."

Mr. Lazio fired back: "Mrs. Clinton, you of all people shouldn't try to make guilt by association. . . . Mr. Gingrich isn't in this race, I'm in this race."

Last night's event was moderated by NBC's "Meet the Press" host and Buffalo native Tim Russert, along with two local reporters. A studio crowd of 300 persons submitted questions before the event and the network solicited other questions via e-mail over the past several weeks.

The pair fielded a total of 12 questions, often restating what their ads and press statements have said. Health care, education reform and job training, for example, have been the cornerstones of Mrs. Clinton's message.

"Hillary was talking very solidly and substantially," Clinton pollster Mark Penn said after the debate. "I think [Mr. Lazio] attacked her. He called her an embarrassment. But we were happy



U.S. Senate candidates Rick Lazio and Hillary Rodham Clinton stand at their podiums before the start of their first debate last night.

with the way things went."

Mr. Russert appeared to stun the first lady by showing a series of video sound bites from 1998, when Mrs. Clinton defended her husband amidst reports he had sexual relations with intern Monica Lewinsky.

"Obviously, I didn't mislead anyone," she said. "I didn't know the truth and there's a great deal of pain associated with that. That was a very painful time for me, for my family, for our country."

"My husband admitted that he misled the country as well as his family."

Mr. Lazio didn't hesitate to seize the situation after noting that his opponent called the effort to find the truth a "vast right-wing conspiracy."

"The first lady embarrassed the country," he said.

Other questions pertained to the health of the upstate New York economy, the future of Medicare and the inclusion of prescription drugs in that program and a strike by teachers in Buffalo.

The two did not shake hands at the end of the debate. Mr. Lazio walked to the front row of the audience and hugged his wife, while

Mrs. Clinton shook hands with Mr. Russert.

Mr. Lazio then met reporters and offered his view of his poll ratings, which have been slipping in recent weeks.

"The only poll I care about is in November," he said, smiling. "I expect a lot to change between now and November."

"The state was enriched by this and it was a draw," said pollster John Zogby. "Lazio went on the offensive and that's what he needed to do. And Hillary was good on the issues."

Added Laird Robertson Jr. of Buffalo: "It was great television, great politics." He said he has supported candidates from both parties in the past. "I was surprised at his aggressiveness. He stated his case well and finally fought back."

Supporters of both candidates said their candidate won.

"She refused to be swayed by the little guy, Lazio," said Dorothy Usher Betz, who chairs the Madison County, N.Y., Democratic Committee. "He acted intimidated. He wasn't smooth."

Others thought Mr. Lazio won.

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



# First lady, Lazio clash over 'truth'

N.Y. candidates debate health care, economy

By Kathy Kiely  
USA TODAY

BUFFALO — The first president's wife to run for public office found out Wednesday night that doing so means answering for the sins of her husband.

In a feisty U.S. Senate campaign debate against Republican Rep. Rick Lazio, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton was confronted with a 20-month-old videotape of herself defending President Clinton against charges that he had an affair with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky. Debate moderator Tim Russert of NBC asked her whether she had any regrets for "misleading the country."

"Obviously, I didn't mislead anyone," said Clinton, whose husband did not confess the relationship until seven months later. "I didn't know the truth. And there's a great deal of pain associated with that."

Lazio was asked in turn about a fundraising letter in which he says the first lady "embarrassed the country." He answered: "I stand by that fundraising letter. I stand by that statement." He accused Clinton of "blaming others every time you have responsibility."

The exchange captured the fierce tenor of a 60-minute debate that drew more than 100 journalists to western New York from as far as Europe to watch a key episode in a historic Senate campaign. It was the first of at least three planned debates.

When their showdown was over, Clinton and Lazio did not shake hands. Lazio headed straight to his wife, Patricia, who was sitting in the first row of the audience. Clinton shook hands with Russert and other journalists on the panel of questioners.

President Clinton watched the debate live via satellite at the White House. He wished his wife luck immediately beforehand and talked with her by phone for nearly 15 minutes after it was over.

A usually mild-mannered congressman from Long Island, Lazio, 42, went on the warpath from the start. He called the Clintons' 1993 plan to remake the nation's health care system "an unmitigated disaster" and said an education overhaul she helped promote when her husband was governor of Arkansas resulted in higher costs and lower student test scores.

"I don't think we need that Little Rock record in the Big Apple," Lazio said.

Clinton, 53, returned fire, saying Lazio is guilty of "chutzpah" for trying to portray himself as an independent within his party. "Time and time again, he stood with the Republican leadership and Newt Gingrich," she said.

Lazio bristled at Clinton's attempt to link him with the controversial former House speaker. "Newt Gingrich isn't running in this race. I am running in this race," he said. Seeking to link her to her husband, he said, "You of all people should not try to make guilt by association." He also characterized one of her rhetorical



Pushing a deal: Rick Lazio tries to get Hillary Rodham Clinton to sign a pact against using "soft money" contributions.

cal flourishes as "positively Clintonesque."

Though Clinton wasn't a pushover, even she seemed taken aback by Lazio's aggressiveness. At one point, the congressman walked over to her podium waving a "pact" he said she should sign against using unlimited campaign contributions funneled through political parties. Cameras caught Clinton staring wide-eyed at Lazio as he wagged his finger at her.

Lazio said Clinton has been raising "bucketfuls from Hollywood" and demanded that she renounce the practice. Clinton said she would, but only if Lazio obtained signed cease-fire pledges from outside groups that have mounted television, telephone and mail campaigns against her.

She called Lazio's attempt to get her signature "a wonderful performance."

The candidates also tangled over the economic status of western New York, a swing region in the upcoming election. Lazio accused Clinton of trying to portray it as "a vast economic wasteland." Clinton said Lazio was ignoring problems of a region that has been left behind by the economic boom. She said she would use the experiences and contacts she gained during "my last eight years in the White House" to find solutions for the region's economic problems.

Both candidates were asked what the government should do for thousands of workers exposed to radioactivity and toxic materials while working for government contractors during the Cold War, as revealed by USA TODAY this month. But they avoided the question and used it as an opportunity to attack each other's positions on the environment.

For both candidates, the debate presented an opportunity to make a breakthrough in a contest that has been deadlocked for months. Clinton and Lazio each get more than 40% in the polls, but neither has been able to break the 50% mark.

Until now, Clinton has been the biggest issue in the campaign, and Lazio seems anxious to keep it that way. Hours before the debate, his aides unveiled a tough advertisement charging that her ads lie about his record on education. The Lazio ad concludes: "Clinton: You just can't trust her."

The Lazio campaign was equally aggressive behind the scenes. As the debate was going on, they peppered reporters with 11 e-mails bannering "truth" to rebut various assertions Clinton made. More than an hour passed before the Clinton campaign sent out its own "rebuttal" e-mail.

Nearly 80% of likely New York voters who responded to a recent survey said they planned to watch the debate. It was shown live on NBC stations in New York state and re-aired nationally later in the evening on MSNBC.

# Viewers: 1st round to 1st lady

But congressman gets credit for accomplishments

By Martha T. Moore  
USA TODAY

WHITE PLAINS, N.Y. — When Rep. Rick Lazio challenged Hillary Rodham Clinton to accept a ban on unlimited "soft money" contributions in the New York Senate race, David Glovin leaned forward and said, "That's a strong play."

But when Lazio walked over to Clinton's podium and tried to push a written agreement into his opponent's hands, Glovin, 41, a manager at an employer services company, and seven other suburban New York voters burst into laughter.

"Oh, cute," said Willie James, 54, a retired IBM employee. "Sight unseen, you don't sign a document like that."

Lazio didn't get Clinton to sign — and he didn't win the debate in the eyes of eight voters, all from the pivotal Westchester County suburbs north of New York City, who watched Wednesday night's debate at the request of USA TODAY.

All eight said they thought Clinton won the debate, and all four who were undecided before the debate said it made them more likely to vote for Clinton in the hotly contested race that's considered too close to call.

Lazio "had his chance to step up, and he didn't," said Paul Campion, a stockbroker and undecided voter. "We have to vote for someone who can fill Sen. (Daniel Patrick) Moynihan's shoes, and based on tonight, I don't think he can."

Nevertheless, after hearing Lazio list legislation he's sponsored to promote affordable housing and aid the disabled and cancer victims, Campion said, "If you believe what he said, he's done a lot more than I thought."

The voters — two Republicans, three Democrats, and three independents — sat down looking for information on health care, education, tax credits for college tuition, and the environment.

But mostly they wanted to see the candidates for themselves. And in a race where much of the discussion has been about Clinton, they wanted to know more about her opponent.

"He hasn't presented himself at all," James, a registered Democrat whose vote is undecided, said before the debate. Afterward, he said Lazio hadn't impressed him, fault-



On focus: A group of eight voters from the Westchester County suburbs watched Wednesday night's debate at the request of USA TODAY.



Glovin: Challenge piqued interest.



Rodriguez: Lazio "got fanned."

Jamie Arest, 26, a college student, said it "really rubbed me the wrong way" when Lazio accused Clinton of believing "it only matters what you say when you get caught."

Joe Lopane, 31, a landscape designer, said he leans toward voting for Lazio because of Clinton's newly-minted stature as a New Yorker. "It takes a little more than six months to

learn about the problems and issues in the state," he said. But he gave Clinton the edge in the first meeting. "She had more poise and more confidence."

The group criticized moderator Tim Russert, of NBC's *Meet the Press*, for asking Clinton about her statements on the president's affair. "That should not be part of the debate," said Gloria Bernhard, an employment agency owner.

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION

Home Builders Care 2000—  
Recognizing Our Nation's Home Builders

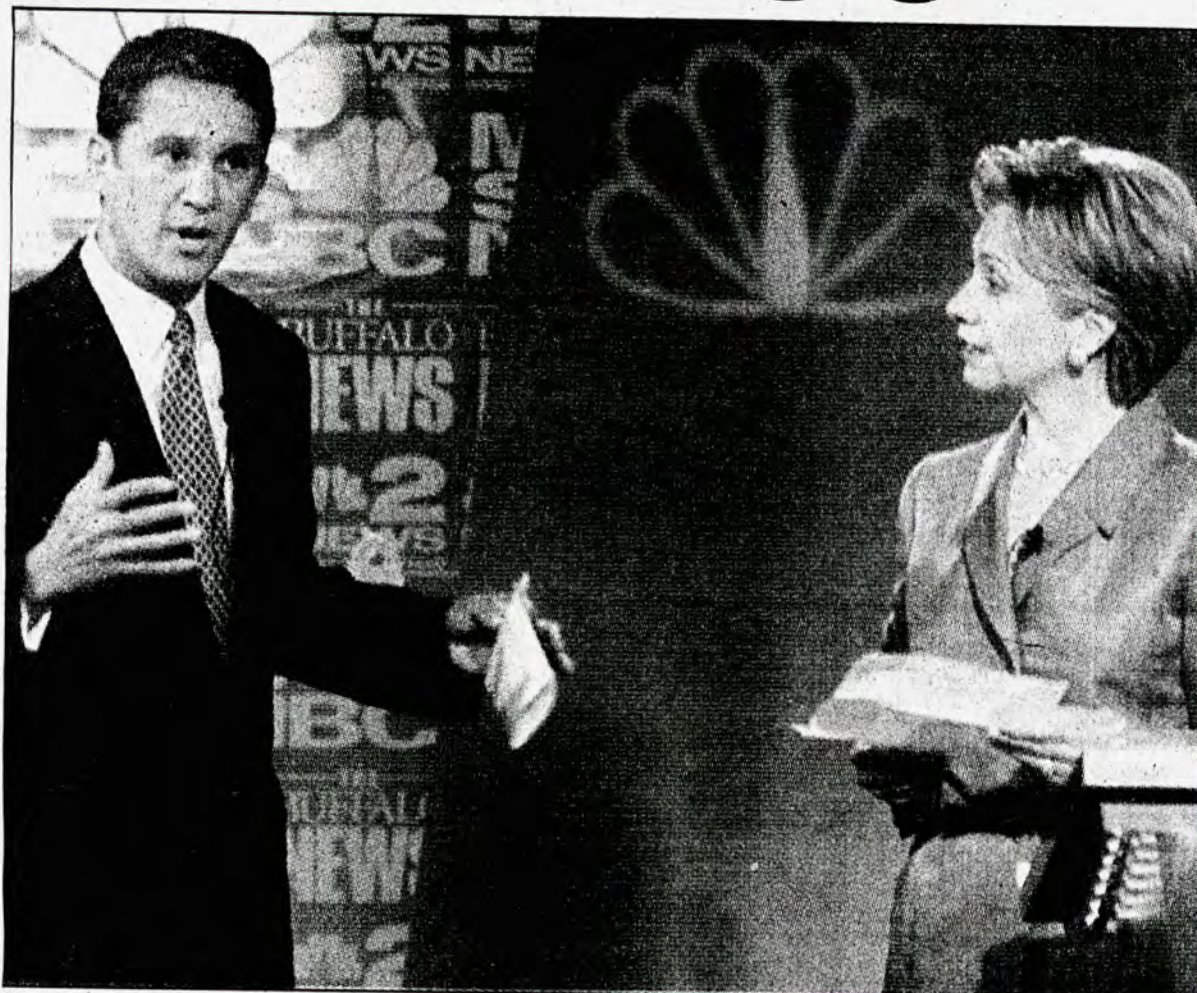
**Across the Country,  
Home Builders Care**

The Northeast Florida  
Builders Association is  
partnering with Habitat  
for Humanity—Jacksonville) to  
build a community virtually  
overnight. **Twenty-four builder members  
are constructing 100 homes in only 17  
days.** Former President Jimmy Carter  
was on the site to help build four of  
the homes.

A program of the  
NAHB  
www.HomeBuildersCare.org  
www.HomeBuilder.com



# Feisty Lazio comes out swinging



**'Just sign it'** — Senate candidates Rick Lazio and Hillary Rodham Clinton hold copies of Mr. Lazio's "New York freedom from soft money pact," which he asked her to sign during their first debate in Buffalo, N.Y.

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 2000 \*\*\*

## Hillary refuses to sign contract on 'soft money'

By Steve Miller  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BUFFALO, N.Y. — Rep. Rick Lazio, facing off with Hillary Rodham Clinton for the first time in their New York Senate battle, pulled a contract from his pocket that called for sweeping campaign finance changes.

"I'm ready to do this today," Mr. Lazio said, waving the one-page agreement that calls for an end to the use of all "soft money" and advertising funded by any group other than the campaigns.

Mrs. Clinton, not amused by what she regarded as a bit of theater, said: "I admire that, it was a wonderful performance." She declined to sign the agreement.

Mr. Lazio shot back: "I'm not asking you to admire me. Just sign it."

It was a fitting end to a feisty give and take last night that has been only hinted at in television and print ads.

The two walked into the studio deadlocked in the polls. They walked out of the 50-minute debate hot-wired to campaign fervor that

**The Washington Times**

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION

see LAZIO, page A13



Thursday  
September 14, 2000

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER

NEAL TRAVIS  
NEW YORK

## Oil-Slick Willy's dipstick trick

IF the Democrats assembling for tonight's star-studded \$5 million Radio City fund-raiser are looking a bit smug, it may be because they know that **President Clinton** has an October Surprise up his sleeve — one that is almost guaranteed to get **Al Gore** elected president and **Hillary** into the Senate.

My sources say Clinton is ready to do what he's already reported to be considering: release a sizable portion of the nation's 600 million barrels of strategic crude-oil reserves to avert this winter's heating crisis.

It's an election year, so that release — which he wouldn't OK last winter, despite the entreaties of Sen. **Chuck Schumer** — would be a hands-down winner in the Northeast, the Midwest and all the other places where heating bills could become a life-or-death issue.

Clinton only needs to issue an executive order to free up the long-held strategic reserve oil. It can be doled out to energy suppliers across the nation at a set price, perhaps 50 cents a gallon under current rates. It's a one-time fix, but politically a no-brainer, given the hardship and rage that oil at \$40 a barrel will create for everyone outside the Sun Belt states.

Economists and op-ed writers have been debating for months about whether we should use the strategic reserves to ease this winter's looming crisis. But Clinton isn't going to let measured arguments influence his decision — if Al and Hillary need help in their tight election races, he will spring the October Surprise. Count on it, and enjoy the fuel-bill savings you'll realize, even as you're chilled by the cynicism of politics.

### The Celebrity Olympics

THE athletes aren't the only celebrities assembled in Sydney for tomorrow's Olympic Games opening ceremony. **Chelsea Clinton** is scheduled to host a party for the American Olympic Committee, while **Prince Albert** is waving the flag for Monaco, and horsey **Princess Anne** is leading the British charge.

**Calista Flockhart** is expected, along with **Leo DiCaprio** and his model du jour, plus **Tom Cruise** and **Nicole Kidman**, **Arnold Schwarzenegger** and **Maria Shriver**, **Elle Macpherson**, **Paul Hogan**, **Bill Gates**, **Fidel Castro** and **Henry** and **Nancy Kissinger**.

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



# Clinton, Lazio Stage Heated First Debate in Buffalo

NEW YORK, From A1

tive style and factual command for which she is well known. But Lazio, whose abilities had been the larger question as the evening began, showed himself equal to the occasion in his grasp of issues and personal presence. At one point he strode across the stage, paper in hand, to urge Clinton to sign a pledge to forswear unregulated "soft money."

Clinton repeatedly pressed her case that Lazio is a handmaiden of "the Republican leadership" who is trying to pass himself off as more of a moderate than his record indicates. Lazio struck often against her lack of a record on behalf of New York, as well as the theme of "character and trust"—saying the first lady has a pattern of attacking and blaming others when things don't go to her liking.

In one of the debate's early dramatic moments, Clinton said Lazio's moderate rhetoric "reminds me of a word I've heard a lot over the past year: It's called 'chutzpah.'"

In rebuttal, Lazio glared at her and shot back: "Mrs. Clinton, you of all people shouldn't try to make guilt by association. Newt Gingrich isn't running in this race. I'm running in this race."

Later, that implicit reference to President Clinton was made explicit when moderator Tim Russert challenged Clinton about her trustworthiness during her early defense of

her husband in the Lewinsky scandal, when she went on television to assure people that the allegations were false and were being promoted by political foes.

Seeming to search for words, she replied that the scandal was "a very—a very painful time for me, my family, and our country," and added: "Obviously I didn't mislead anyone; I didn't know the truth. And there's a great deal of pain associated with that."

Lazio said that answer revealed Clinton's view "that somehow it only matters what you say when you get caught" and reflected her penchant for "blaming others every time you have responsibility."

In reply, Clinton said, "I've been trying to run a campaign based on issues, not insults, and we've just seen a good example of how difficult that is."

It was high theater in a race that until tonight had been bereft of drama, despite the obvious intrigue in seeing a first lady run for office for the first time. The debate comes when a variety of New York polls show the first lady with a slight lead but not drawing majority support and running not nearly as well as Vice President Gore in this Democratic-leaning state.

Despite the high profile of this race, the campaign has shown little fluidity for months, as both candidates have run on ideologically muted platforms and spent much of their



POOL PHOTO BY RICHARD DREW—REUTERS

Rick Lazio watches as Hillary Rodham Clinton makes a point during debate.

time out of public view raising money.

Both campaigns prepared for this evening on the assumption that it would be a pivotal event that could set the course for the balance of the race.

For Lazio, whose boyish face makes him look younger than his 42 years, the task was to show that he deserves to be playing in the major leagues. The debate gave him a chance to demonstrate that he is a more consequential figure than the pleasant-but-hardly-commanding

ago: to explain why she is seeking office in a state where she has never lived. In her closing statement, Clinton said she has been trying to convince New Yorkers "it's more important what I'm for than where I'm from."

She also needed, according to aides, to present herself as a reasonable and appealing figure—in defiance of the power-hungry caricature she says opponents have drawn of her.

The debate was aired on NBC affiliates around New York and carried nationally on the MSNBC cable network. Russert, NBC News's Washington bureau chief and a native of Buffalo, and two Buffalo reporters posed questions.

The most spirited policy exchanges came over health care and campaign finance. A questioner noted that even the Democrat she hopes to succeed, Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, said the Clinton plan would have hurt New York teaching hospitals and led to rationing of care. Rather than offer a direct rebuttal, Clinton said she has "learned a lot" since then and now favors an incremental approach to expanding health care access, as well as more money for New York hospitals. Even her original plan, she said, was intended only as "a starting point, a basis for argument and compromise."

Lazio said the plan, one of the few issues on which the first lady has a clear record, was "an unmitigated

disaster" that even Democrats fled from.

On campaign finance, Lazio noted that he has not raised or spent soft money—unlimited contributions from corporations, unions and individuals—something he said Clinton has done "by the bucketload." He challenged her to sign a pledge that both candidates would forswear such money from their parties and call on independent groups not to advertise in the race. She noted that she "admired" Lazio's offer but said she could not sign unless he obtained written commitments from outside conservative groups that they would stay out of the race.

Clinton's campaign, meanwhile, was hit by new charges today that donors were given overnight stays in the White House's Lincoln bedroom and at Camp David, an accusation previously made at the 1996 reelection campaign of President Clinton. White House spokesman Joe Lockhart said that supporters who have made campaign contributions have stayed at the White House, but he denied that it was in exchange for their money.

Lockhart said the White House would release a list of all guests who have stayed in the Lincoln bedroom since at least February 1999, but he could not say when it would be ready.

Staff writer Ellen Nakashima in Washington contributed to this report.



# Clinton, Lazio Battle In Buffalo

*Senate Hopefuls Stage  
A Heated First Debate*

By JOHN F. HARRIS  
Washington Post Staff Writer

BUFFALO, Sept. 13—In the first debate of their historic New York Senate race, Democrat Hillary Rodham Clinton and Republican Rick Lazio waged a fierce, hour-long argument tonight that reprised the most bitter chapters of the past eight years of Washington political history.

With a barrage of barbed accusations and bristling denials, the two candidates clashed over subjects from Lazio's role as a lieutenant in former House speaker Newt Gingrich's Republican revolution to the first lady's role in crafting President Clinton's failed 1994 health care plan and her initial protests in early 1998 that the Monica S. Lewinsky scandal was the invention of a "vast right-wing conspiracy."

The debate, in which one of the world's most famous women faced off with a previously obscure Long Island congressman, brought to life a race that had been in a long summer slumber. The evening started with smiles and a polite handshake but quickly pivoted as both candidates displayed a relentless pugnacity.

Clinton showed the coolly argumenta-

See NEW YORK, A11, Col. 1

NATIONAL NEWS | Politics

DM VA S

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14, 2000

A11

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



## Campaign 2000

Sleepover  
guests are  
nameless  
for nowBy BRIAN BLOMQUIST  
Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — The Clinton administration admitted yesterday that some fat-cat contributors to the first lady's Senate campaign have gotten overnight stays at the White House.

The White House refused to immediately turn over a list of names of everyone who has stayed at the White House since Hillary Rodham Clinton started campaigning, making it impossible to compare those names with a list of contributors.

Deputy White House spokesman Jake Siewert held open the possibility that a guest list might be released soon.

"We're reviewing the requests," he said.

Asked if any contributors to Mrs. Clinton's campaign stayed overnight at the White House or at Camp David, the presidential retreat in western Maryland, senior White House spokesman Joe Lockhart said, "Oh, sure."

"I don't know about Camp David, but the president and the first lady over the last 7½ years have always welcomed their friends and supporters and, you know, political officials from around the country, prominent members of the arts community to stay at the White House."

"Within that group, there certainly have been people who, as their friends, have supported them financially," he said.

Lockhart denied that anyone was promised a night at the White House or at Camp David in exchange for a contribution to Mrs. Clinton's campaign.

The questions were prompted by Internet columnist Matt Drudge's report Tuesday that The New York Times had been holding a story about the sleepovers.

Times national editor Andrew Rosenthal denied Drudge report.

Lockhart's admission revives one of the most embarrassing aspects of President Clinton's 1996 fundraising efforts, when big-time contributors were routinely rewarded with sleepovers in the Lincoln bedroom, coffees at the White House, rides on Air Force One, golf outings and jogs with the president.



**AGREEING TO DISAGREE:** Supporters of both U.S. Senate candidates demonstrate for their choice

## HARDBALL

Rick bids to  
stick it to Hill  
during debateBy ROBERT HARDT Jr.,  
GREGG BIRNBAUM and  
MAGGIE HABERMAN  
Post Correspondents

BUFFALO — Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rick Lazio last night faced off in a debate touching on Sexgate, which candidate has the most "chutzpah" and — most dramatically — soft-money advertising.

The highly charged moment in the first-ever showdown of the Senate rivals came when Lazio walked over to Clinton and handed her a "Freedom From Soft Money Pact" — pledging to stop running ads on his behalf if the first lady would do the same.

"Mrs. Clinton, if you agree to do this you'll be making a statement about character and trust to the rest of the country," Lazio said.

"Why don't you show some leadership?" Lazio said.

Clinton said she had made an identical proposal to Lazio this spring and that he backed away from it.

"That was a wonderful performance and you did it very well," she responded.

"If you will get signed agreements from all your friends who say they're raising \$32 million, and will not

be running so-called independent ads, will not be doing push-polling, will not be doing mass mailings that are filled with outrageous personal attacks, I think we could have an agreement," Clinton said.

"I'd like to see those signed letters from all those different groups that you have counted on to flood the state."

Clinton also gave one her most detailed responses to a question by NBC moderator Tim Russert about her claims that a "vast right-

wing conspiracy" had targeted her husband during the opening weeks of the Sexgate scandal.

"I didn't mislead anyone. I didn't know the truth," she said.

"That was a very painful time for me, for my family, and for our country."

Clinton also gave a long response to an audience question about imprisoned Israeli spy Jonathan Pollard, saying she there were "due process issues concerning the way he was sentenced."

Both candidates came out of the box running, when Clinton accused her GOP rival of having "chutzpah" — the Yiddish word for having a lot of nerve.

"Listening to the congressman's response reminds me of a word I've heard a lot about this year — chutzpah," the Democratic candidate said to Lazio's response to a health-care question.

Clinton said Lazio had often voted with former Republican House Speaker Newt Gingrich to cut federal spending, including Medicare.

Lazio responded later: "I have to go back to Mrs. Clinton's last remark because it has to redefine the word chutzpah."

"Mrs. Clinton, you of all people shouldn't try to make guilt by association. Newt Gingrich isn't running in this race. I'm running in this race. Let's talk about my issues."

About 250 people were in the audience for the feisty showdown, which was later broadcast nationally on MSNBC.

Each campaign was allowed to invite 40 supporters with the sponsors of the event — WGRZ-TV and The Buffalo News — distributing the remaining tickets.

The media crush was unprecedented for a debate over a Senate seat, with reporters from around the world covering the event.

A large "spin room" was also created in which campaign advisers spoke to reporters following the event.

The spinning began even before the debate kicked off — with the Clinton campaign distributing a six-page "pre-battle" press release entitled "Rick Lazio reality."

The showdown was the first of three scheduled debates between the candidates, the next slated for Oct. 8 on WGBS Channel 2.

Rating  
the  
debate

On a scale of 1 to 5, 5 being the best

Joseph Mercurio,  
Republican  
consultantJeff Plaut,  
Democratic  
consultant with  
Global Strategy  
GroupLee Miringoff,  
Marist  
College  
pollsterDavid Birdsall,  
Baruch College  
public-affairs  
professorJulie Sheinman,  
Stuyvesant HS  
debate and  
speech coach

## Poise/grace

|         |   |   |   |   |   |
|---------|---|---|---|---|---|
| Clinton | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Lazio   | 5 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 |

## Rhetoric

|         |   |   |   |   |   |
|---------|---|---|---|---|---|
| Clinton | 3 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| Lazio   | 5 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 |

## Sincerity

|         |   |   |   |   |   |
|---------|---|---|---|---|---|
| Clinton | 3 | 4 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Lazio   | 5 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 3 |

Command  
of the issues

|         |   |   |   |   |   |
|---------|---|---|---|---|---|
| Clinton | 5 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Lazio   | 5 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 |

## Counterpunch

|         |   |   |   |   |   |
|---------|---|---|---|---|---|
| Clinton | 1 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| Lazio   | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 4 |

## WINNER

Lazio Clinton Draw Lazio Clinton

Joseph Mercurio picks Lazio as the winner. "His closing arguments were powerful. He said substantive things... This wasn't a complete knockdown, but I think he scored the best points. This was definitely Lazio's evening."

Jeff Plaut picks Clinton as winner. "Clinton wins on points with grace under pressure... The gloves were off, there were lots of fireworks. Lazio came out swinging, but too much testosterone turns off women."

Lee Miringoff says it's a draw. "They both pitched it to their base, and nobody tried to win over any undecideds... I don't think a lot of people

changed their minds based on what happened."

David Birdsall picks Lazio as winner. "He managed to keep alive the trust agenda, vastly assisted by a format that made it very difficult for Hillary Clinton to address the issues that she wanted to address."

Julie Sheinman picks Clinton as the slight winner. "She scored points when she was asked about her husband's infidelities. The debate became human at that point... It was nasty. They were glaring at each other... They both should have made the issues much clearer."

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



# OVER 'SOFT' MONEY



**POINT TAKEN:** Rick Lazio challenges rival Hillary Rodham Clinton to "show some leadership" on soft money during their debate last night in Buffalo.

## Lazio proves to be a formidable foe

By GREGG BIRNBAUM  
Post Correspondent

**BUFFALO** — Rick Lazio showed last night that Hillary Rodham Clinton has a fight on her hands.

He's slipped in recent polls and is under fire from his own party for not campaigning with gusto, but Lazio delivered a bravura performance in the contest's first debate.

For Lazio, the face-to-face meeting was an opportunity to end or slow Clinton's hot streak — and he made the most of it.

Lazio seemed to have a ready answer at his fingertips for just about every question that came

### ANALYSIS

at him — from taxes to his fundraising letters to spy Jonathan Pollard. Reporters who cover him on a regular basis have rarely heard him so articulate.

And he came armed with a briefing book full of one-line, sound-bite-sized zingers — a standard debate weapon that Clinton seemed to have left at home.

But one of them misfired. Lazio's biggest flub came in his closing statement, incorrectly quoting former Yankee manager Casey Stengel as saying: "You

can check it out." As Bomber fans know, the Hall of Famer said: "You could look it up."

"I don't think we need that Little Rock record in the Big Apple," was Lazio's zippy comment on Clinton's education reform program in Arkansas.

The four-term Republican congressman struck a well-balanced blend of promoting his accomplishments in Congress, fending off his Democratic rival's attacks and ripping her forays into policy.

A theme he wove into the entire hourlong session was that voters should doubt Clinton's trustworthiness — perhaps most

dramatically illustrated when Lazio approached her podium to ask her to sign a no-soft-money pledge.

Lazio demanded to know why she wouldn't ink the soft-money ban as he has, since she claims she favors campaign finance reform.

Lazio managed to lightly raise the carpetbagger issue, but in an effective way that connected it to Clinton's policy work.

For instance, he blasted her 1993 health care plan by saying a New Yorker would have never proposed it because it would have hurt the state's hospitals.

As she has on the campaign

trail, Clinton tried to link Lazio to the Great Satan of New York politics — Newt Gingrich — and pounded her Republican rival for voting against new teachers' cops and health care.

But Lazio was ready, turning directly to the first lady to tell her that Gingrich wasn't running in the New York Senate race.

Clinton was persuasive and hands on when she talked about education. She cited specific schools she has visited across the state and made an effective case against private school vouchers.

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



**Is prez  
planning Oct.  
surprise?**  
**NEAL TRAVIS: PAGE 11**



Nicholson

# Splitsville for Jack & Lara

PAGE 3



Boyle

**Levy reads  
riot act to  
principals**  
**PAGE 6**

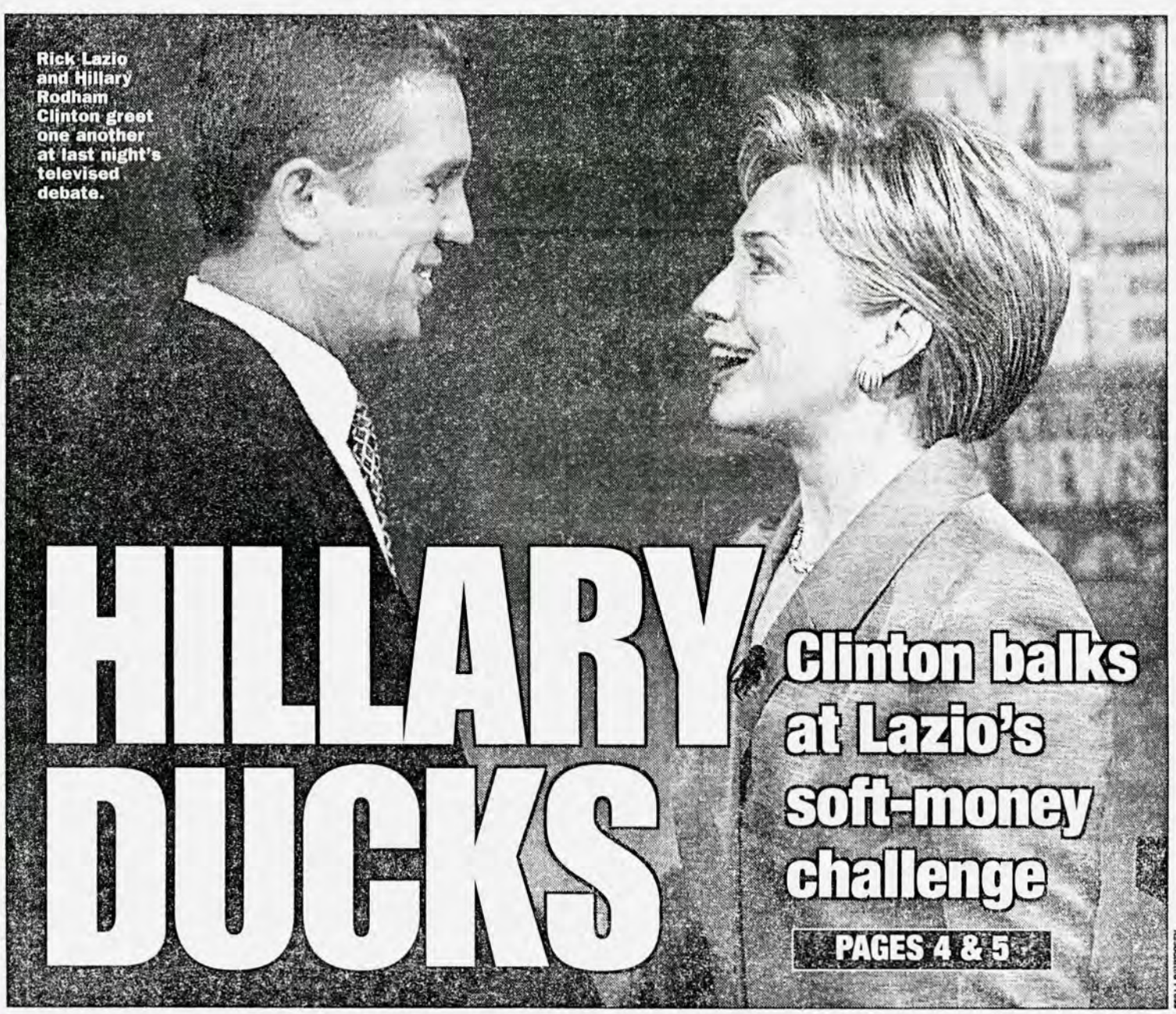
# NEW YORK POST

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**Rick Lazio  
and Hillary  
Rodham  
Clinton greet  
one another  
at last night's  
televised  
debate.**



# HILLARY DUCKS

**Clinton balks  
at Lazio's  
soft-money  
challenge**  
**PAGES 4 & 5**

**10,000 layoffs loom in J.P. Morgan takeover** **PAGES 36 & 37**

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PRESERVATION



## CAMPAIGN 2000

## Lazio, Hillary Clinton Have Heated Exchange in TV Debate

■ **New York:** The two opposing U.S. Senate candidates trade angry charges in first face-to-face meeting.

By JOSH GETLIN  
TIMES STAFF WRITER

NEW YORK—In a frequently nasty confrontation, Senate candidates Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rep. Rick Lazio traded angry charges Wednesday during a nationally televised debate. But they also touched on issues in their first face-to-face confrontation in New York's hotly contested Senate race.

The contest has been deadlocked for months, according to numerous public opinion polls, and both candidates had pledged to discuss substantial issues, such as health care, education, the environment and tax reform. Yet the discussion focused more on personal attacks.

Clinton accused her opponent of "chutzpah" for posing as a moderate and avoiding mention of his work as a deputy whip to former House Speaker Newt Gingrich. Lazio, in turn, castigated the first lady's attacks as "beyond shameless . . . positively Clintonesque. Newt Gingrich isn't running in this race. . . . I'm running."

In a theatrical high point, Lazio, a Long Island Republican, flourished a printed campaign pledge to forgo all so-called "soft money" for the duration of the campaign, urging Clinton to sign it and "stand up for character." She agreed, but demanded first that Lazio get all his "friends" who had been flooding the state with "nasty" letters about her to sign the same pledge, joking that Lazio had put on a "wonderful performance" for the TV cameras.

"In the end, I don't think either of them converted many voters out there," said New York pollster Lee Miringoff,

who runs the Marist Poll. "It was rough and combative, and I think each was playing to their respective supporters."

The hourlong debate, held at a Buffalo public television station, got off to an abrasive start, with Lazio belittling Clinton's ill-fated national health care plan, saying it would have cut funding for teaching hospitals and would be a disaster for New York. "A New Yorker would never have made that proposal," he said. "A New Yorker would have said, 'Tell it like it is.'"

Clinton conceded that her proposal had failed, but added that "we learned a lot about what we can do," and repeatedly attacked Lazio for voting to cut Medicaid funding.

Tim Russert, the host of NBC's "Meet the Press" and the moderator of Wednesday's debate, rocked both candidates with questions about character and trust. He played a taped excerpt from Clinton's 1998 appearance on NBC's "Today" show, during which she

denied that the president had lied about having an adulterous affair with White House intern Monica S. Lewinsky or covering it up. Russert then asked if she regretted "misleading" the American people.

"Obviously I didn't mislead anyone," Clinton replied. "I didn't know the truth and there is a lot of pain associated with that, and my husband has acknowledged that he did mislead the country as well as his family."

As for Lazio, Russert asked why he had refused to yank a TV ad paid for by political allies that gave the false impression that he had been photographed with New York's outgoing Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan—even after Moynihan had asked the congressman to take the ad off the air. Wasn't this an example of soft-money fakery?" Russert asked.

"I reject that," Lazio said. "That ad didn't come out of my campaign."

When they weren't clashing, Clinton

and Lazio touted their positions on education, health care, the environment, and the economic revival of upstate New York. Both said that New York, which sends \$15 billion more in taxes to Washington than it gets back, deserved more equity; both said they didn't have enough information to say whether President Clinton should pardon convicted Israeli spy Jonathan Pollard.

In his closing remarks, Lazio said character and trust were at the heart of the Senate race, adding that he has a record of achievement for New Yorkers, while "my opponent has talked and talked, and she's done nothing for New York."

Clinton borrowed a refrain from former New York Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, who like her was called a carpetbagger. "Some may think the most important issue is, who's lived here the longest," she said. "I can't pass that test. But if you want someone who will get up every day and fight for you, I can pass that test."

PHOTOCOPY  
PERMISSION



\* \* \*  
Hillary Rodham Clinton faced Republican Rep. Rick Lazio in a spirited debate. The New York Senate candidates discussed their records, campaign tactics and conflicting visions for the state during a fiery hour-long encounter. (Article on Page A28)  
\* \* \*

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



## POLITICS &amp; POLICY

## Use of Campaign-Funding Loophole Reaches New High

By TOM HAMBURGER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The invitation to join Hillary Rodham Clinton for a "New York Senate 2000" fund-raiser at a Manhattan art gallery last year came with an engraved reply card: Invitees had the option of contributing either \$10,000 or \$20,000 to attend.

Never mind that federal election law limits individual donations to \$2,000 per candidate for each election cycle. Mrs. Clinton's art-gallery event took advantage of a law that permits donors to give more if the funds are routed to a party committee, as well as to a specific candidate.

The prolific use of such loopholes by candidates in both parties to raise and spend money is just one of several developments in this year's political campaigns that have rendered Watergate-era campaign-finance reforms almost meaningless. "There is no law," grouses Scott Harshbarger, a former Massachusetts attorney general who now heads Common Cause, a reform advocacy group.

Former Federal Election Commission Chairman Trevor Potter agrees that erosions in the law have made its enforcement fall far short of the original intent.

## Lawsuit Is Filed

Yesterday, Mr. Harshbarger joined with two other frustrated reformers, Fred Wertheimer, president of Democracy 21, and Archibald Cox, the Watergate special counsel whom President Nixon ordered fired, in a lawsuit specifically asking a federal court panel to outlaw such "coordinated expenditures" with the Republican

**'There is no law,' says Scott Harshbarger, a former Massachusetts attorney general now heading Common Cause.**

National Committee and the Democratic National Committee in this year's presidential races.

Mr. Harshbarger says the suit parallels concerns about coordinated spending in Senate and House races, including the first lady's Senate race.

Mrs. Clinton's "joint committee"—just one of 25 such Senate campaign committees registered with the FEC—isn't the only fund-raising controversy confronting the first lady, who last night debated her Republican rival Rick Lazio.

Following a report by Internet scribe Matt Drudge, presidential spokesman Joe Lockhart confirmed that some donors to Mrs. Clinton's Senate campaign have

## Working the System

Here are some of the Senate candidates who have established "joint committees" with their political parties:

## Democrats

Mel Carnahan (Mo.) Dianne Feinstein (Calif.)  
Ted Kennedy (Mass.) Bill Nelson (Fla.)  
Debbie Stabenow (Mich.)

## Republicans

John Ashcroft (Mo.) Bob Franks (N.J.)  
Rod Grams (Minn.) Bill McCollum (Fla.)  
Rick Santorum (Pa.)



This ad by New York Democrats criticizing Rick Lazio to boost Hillary Clinton is the sort of television commercial such joint committees help finance.

spent the night in the White House. Mr. Lockhart quickly dismissed the notion that such stays by "friends and supporters" represented a reward for donations, saying the people who stayed over would have been invited anyway.

This year's sharpest change in campaign spending has occurred in television advertising buys for so-called issue advocacy. Spending on the issue ads—those that don't directly advocate the election of a specific candidate—is almost unregulated, and this year they have been aired at a record pace.

A study by the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia found that more than \$114 million was spent on televised issue ads by March, more than had been spent in the entire 1995-96 presidential cycle.

## Issue Ads in New York

Issue ads were deployed in New York state this year to help Mrs. Clinton's campaign. One ad, purchased by the state Democratic Party but paid for indirectly by funds from the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, shows Mrs. Clinton talking to families in upstate New York.

"It's about leadership that's on our side," the ad says. "Call Hillary. Tell her to keep fighting for children, for families, for our future."

That ad cost about \$300,000 to air, and the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee acknowledged it was reviewed by Mrs. Clinton's campaign before it aired. In general, there are limits on close coordination between parties and candidates. Proving illegal coordination has proved difficult. Democratic officials note that the law now permits consultation between a candidate and a party.

The degree of coordination on ad campaigns gets Mr. Harshbarger into a lather. Mrs. Clinton's campaign and the Demo-

cratic senatorial committee should be sanctioned by FEC, he says, for effectively "laundering illegal campaign contributions." Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee spokesman David DiMartino denies "any conspiracy to undermine federal campaign law." The Common Cause complaint, he says, is "frivolous, intellectually dishonest and utterly without merit." Mrs. Clinton's opponent, Mr. Lazio, also has a joint committee that is tied to the state Republican Party and isn't registered with FEC.

## Meetings With Contributors

This year, leaders of both parties have met frequently with potential contributors and suggested much larger donations of unregulated "soft" money, but it only rarely generates any attention.

Soft money refers to the unlimited donations that can be made to political parties for get-out-the-vote and party-building purposes.

This month, Texas Gov. George W. Bush personally canceled an anti-Gore advertisement that had been prepared for broadcast by the Republican National Committee. His decision was widely reported—but there was virtually no discussion of the obvious coordination that had taken place between the Bush campaign and the party.

Mr. Harshbarger and his allies in the lawsuit heap responsibility for the problem on a lack of enforcement by FEC and the Justice Department. FEC officials and officials from the Bush and Gore campaigns hadn't seen the lawsuit and declined to react to it yesterday.

"They are raising an issue that the commission itself failed to deal with," says Mr. Potter, FEC chairman from 1991 to 1996, who served this year as general counsel to the presidential campaign of Arizona GOP Sen. John McCain, a leading advocate of

campaign-finance overhaul. "The commission has been derelict in its duties to define what is permissible and what is not."

## Weaker Enforcement by FEC

Even FEC's staunchest defenders acknowledge a significant deterioration in the agency's effort to enforce Watergate-era reforms. There was a public flap after the 1996 campaign over allegations that President Clinton closely coordinated his presidential campaign with the advertising campaign of the Democratic National Committee. So far, no major enforcement action by either FEC or the Justice Department has taken place.

Worries about being cited for illegal coordination nearly evaporated after a U.S. District Court ruling last year cleared the Christian Coalition of charges it had illegally coordinated expenditures with the Republican National Committee. This month, FEC relied on that decision when it voted to clear the AFL-CIO of charges it closely planned the 1996 political advertising strategy with the Democratic Party.

A federal appeals court in Colorado opened another significant loophole in May, striking down limits on how much money political parties can spend directly on behalf of individual candidates. Republican leaders are considering banking on this decision, which is on appeal by FEC to the U.S. Supreme Court, to steer millions of dollars into pivotal races late in the campaign. In the past, the limit on party spending on individual House races has been capped at \$67,000.

PHOTOCOPY  
PROHIBITED



## Republicans Must Be On Their Guard In Dealing With Clinton

**T**he headline in the Sept. 6 issue of The Washington Post tells it all: "Clinton Pushes for Minimum Wage Hike."

Facing an old nemesis who has outfoxed them repeatedly, House and Senate Republicans are trying to figure out a way to avoid being taken to the cleaners by **President Clinton**. If they don't find a way to do so over the next five or six weeks, Congressional Republicans and GOP presidential nominee **George W. Bush** will

find themselves in an even deeper political hole in November.

Republican legislators insist that there'll be no government shutdown this year, and they privately guarantee that Congress will pass and the President will sign a minimum wage increase before they leave town for the November elections. Many also sound hopeful about some sort of health care legislation, particularly a patients' bill of rights.

But their optimism seems more a function of hope springing eternal than a well-conceived endgame strategy. Ultimately, they hope that Congressional Democrats will take three-quarters of a loaf on minimum

wage, health care, education and a mountain of other spending rather than risk a closed-door, last-minute deal among the President, Speaker **Dennis Hastert** (R-Ill.) and Senate Majority Leader **Trent Lott** (R-Mo.).

But Clinton may just decide that helping Vice President **Al Gore** and first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton** win their respective races

is more important than any concessions he could squeeze from Capitol Hill Republicans this year. While a shutdown seems virtually unthinkable, a period of extended hand-wringing, threatening and posturing is possible, with Congressional Democrats gaining politically from the gamesmanship.



PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION

## CAMPAIGNING

By Stuart Rothenberg

The problem for the Republicans, however, is not only that Clinton, House Minority Leader **Richard Gephardt** (D-Mo.) and Senate Minority Leader **Thomas Daschle** (D-S.D.) have shown more political skill than the GOP in framing the issues to the American public.

And it is more than the fact that House and Senate Republicans will never catch a break in the way the national media portrays any Capitol Hill standoff against Hill Democrats and Clinton. (Note that the headline I began with never conveys the impression that both parties have an agenda and that each sought to compromise to reach a final accord, only that the Republicans are standing in the way of the President's demands.)

The problems are that the Republicans are fighting on Democratic turf, they have only a skeletal agenda of their own and the public truly seems most concerned about traditionally Democratic issues.

Affluence hasn't been kind to the Republicans.

In the past, when all else failed, GOP strategists would brand the Democrats as the "tax and spend" party. That charge was usually enough to put the Democrats on the defensive and to shore up the Republican base. But that tactic no longer works automatically, since Democratic legislators and candidates don't necessarily have to tax in order to spend. They merely need to reach into the expected five-year budget surplus and move money from one plate to another.

And the surplus is so large that Democrats can even include targeted tax cuts in their plans, undercutting the Republican argument that the two parties differ fundamentally on their approach to fiscal matters.

The reason that Texas Gov. Bush is competitive in the presidential race at this point is that he has run so heavily to the center, stressing education as his top issue but also coming out with plans to spend considerable federal dollars on education and prescription drug coverage for seniors.

The Bush tax cut is one of the few GOP proposals based on the party's core philosophy, but it seems to be going nowhere. The Bush-Cheney ticket has also tried to make military readiness an issue. But without an immediate military threat from a single adversary, and with few voters showing interest in international issues, it's hard to see how military readiness will play anywhere other than among veterans' groups.

I'm not suggesting that the fault for the GOP's problems is Bush's, **Dick Cheney's** or anyone else's. Can you imagine what the polls would show if the GOP had nominated an unapologetic conservative ideologue in Philadelphia? The presidential race numbers would be truly ugly.

The President and the Democrats in Congress have staked out popular positions in a political environment that seems to support additional spending on new programs, including new entitlements. That's a recipe for Democratic success.

Republican officeholders are now expressing concern about Bush's campaign. They should, and they should also be worrying about their party's ability to hold onto the House of Representatives, and maybe even the Senate.

Bush's chances of winning the White House always rested on Gore's personal weaknesses and on the character question. If the Vice President has somehow put that issue behind him, his advantages on issues, which are shared by his party's Congressional candidates and could be magnified by next month's legislative endgame, could make 2000 into a pretty good Democratic year.



Wall Street Journal  
Thursday September 14th, 2000

## Lazio, Clinton Offer Conflicting Visions in Debate

By SHAILAGH MURRAY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BUFFALO, N.Y.—New York Senate candidates Hillary Clinton and Republican Rep. Rick Lazio met in a highly spirited debate over their records, campaign tactics and conflicting visions for representing the state.

During a feisty hourlong encounter, Mr. Lazio tried repeatedly to make an issue of his opponent's relatively brief tenure as a New York resident, while the first lady sought to portray him as too conservative for the liberal state.

The televised debate culminated in a heated exchange about campaign-finance practices, during which Mr. Lazio produced a written contract to ban the use of so-called soft money by the two candidates.

Soft money is cash that can be spent in unlimited quantities by parties on such activities as get-out-the-vote drives and issue-oriented television advertising. Waving the document at his opponent, Mr. Lazio said: "I think it's my responsibility to try and lead on this issue."

Looking amused, Mrs. Clinton praised Mr. Lazio's "wonderful performance," at

which point he left the podium and approached her. "Sign it right now," he said. "I want your signature."

The first lady didn't rise to the bait, but she had an awkward moment when moderator Tim Russert of NBC News replayed statements by Mrs. Clinton at the beginning of the Monica Lewinsky scandal, when she brushed aside allegations against President Clinton, attributing them to a "vast right-wing conspiracy."

Mr. Russert asked if she regretted misleading the American people. "This was a very painful time for me," Mrs. Clinton said. "Obviously I didn't mislead anyone. I didn't know the truth."

The stakes last night seemed higher for Mr. Lazio, a little-known Long Island congressman before entering the race against the first lady when New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani announced he wouldn't run earlier this year. Some Republicans have begun to remark on Mr. Lazio's light campaign schedule, especially in upstate New York, where GOP support is strongest and statewide contests are often won or lost. Mrs. Clinton has been barnstorming the region for months.

Still, polls released Tuesday showed the candidates running neck and neck. A Quinnipiac University poll of 803 likely voters gave Mrs. Clinton a 49% to 44% lead over Mr. Lazio, with 6% undecided; the margin of sampling error was plus or minus 3.5%. A Quinnipiac poll in June showed the two tied at 44%.

One of Mr. Lazio's biggest hurdles has nothing to do with Mrs. Clinton: the huge lead in New York that Vice President Al Gore has opened over his GOP rival, Texas Gov. George W. Bush, since the Democratic convention. If Mr. Gore maintains a big lead, Mrs. Clinton is expected to get a lift on his coattails.

In August, just after the Republican convention, Gov. Bush had pulled within five points of Mr. Gore in New York, trailing 44% to 39%, according to a Quinnipiac poll. But in a Quinnipiac poll released yesterday, Mr. Gore led 60% to 31%.

Maurice Carroll, director of the Quinnipiac poll, said Mr. Lazio needs one in five Gore voters to cross over and vote for him. "If he can't convince people to split their ticket, he's going home to Long Island," Mr. Carroll said.

PHOTOCOPY  
PERMISSION



### **Book: Clinton sent lawyer to break news to wife**

President Clinton dispatched his personal lawyer to break the news to Hillary Rodham Clinton that he had lied about the Monica Lewinsky affair, rather than break the news himself, a new book about the scandal says.

Lawyer David Kendall went to the first family's quarters in the White House in 1998 to tell Hillary Clinton that the president had lied, according to the account in *The Breach: Inside the Impeachment and Trial of William Jefferson Clinton*, by *Washington Post* reporter Peter Baker.

The book also says that former White House deputy chief of staff Harold Ickes, a key adviser, approached several Democratic Party and labor leaders about a strategy to urge Clinton to resign when impeachment seemed almost certain. Ickes declined to comment on the report. Kendall could not be reached for comment.

### **The candidates today**

- ▶ **Gore:** Manchester, N.H.; New York City
- ▶ **Bush:** Santa Ana, Pomona, San Diego, Calif.

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Written by Paul Leavitt with staff and wire reports

SP2

PROPERTY  
PRISON