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Thursday September 14, 2000

A Fierce Opening Debate

In a debate last night that put a fresh jolt of personal confrontation into the New York Senate race, Representative Rick Lazio and Hillary Rodham Clinton expressed sharp policy differences and engaged in some surprisingly tough talk about each other's trustworthiness. Both were composed and vigorous, but Mr. Lazio came across as a smoother, more aggressive performer. He attacked Mrs. Clinton's health care and education record while defending his charge in a fund-raising letter that the first lady had "embarrassed our country." But Mrs. Clinton did not fold. She countered that Mr. Lazio was waging a campaign of insults, and sought to lash him to the policies of Newt Gingrich.

Going into the debate, Mr. Lazio was rated by many analysts as having the most to gain. His biggest challenge was to come across as a figure of stature who could plausibly succeed the respected incumbent, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan. His best line came when he dismissed Mrs. Clinton's comparisons to Mr. Gingrich by turning to her and declaring: "Mrs. Clinton, you, of all people, shouldn't try to make guilt by association." It was an obvious reference to President Clinton's personal conduct. He also scored the evening's theatrical coup when he approached his opponent's lectern and dared her to sign a pledge to swear off soft money. But Mr. Lazio also ran the risk of seeming overbearing, or even rude, and he stumbled a bit when questioned about an independent campaign ad with a doctored picture of Mr. Lazio and Senator Moynihan.

For Mrs. Clinton the most awkward moment came when Tim Russert, the NBC moderator, showed a film clip of the first lady asserting that her husband's denial of an improper sexual relationship would eventually be proven correct. She was obvi-

ously uncomfortable in discussing a subject that, whether she likes it or not, has to be on the minds of voters in New York. Asked to apologize for misleading the country, her response was that "obviously I didn't mislead anyone — I didn't know the truth." She notably distanced herself from her husband's mendacity by saying that he "did mislead the country as well as his family."

Although it was a moment when she did not display her usual self-confidence, Mrs. Clinton did show that she could handle tough questions and an aggressive rival without crumbling. Mr. Lazio, for his part, showed that he could perform smoothly in high-pressure situations.

Much of the debate, which took place in Buffalo, focused on the difficulties of the upstate economy. On this subject, Mrs. Clinton probably gave a more convincing answer when she declared that drastic solutions were needed. Mr. Lazio's assertion that upstate New York had turned the corner, and his suggestion that the first lady stop denigrating the region, may come back to haunt him among voters eager for solutions to the loss of jobs in that part of the state.

Otherwise, the general themes of the debate reflected much of what the two candidates have been saying on the campaign trail. The first lady repeated her claim to be in better tune with New Yorkers on school aid, health care, the environment and taxes. Mr. Lazio seldom missed a chance to categorize himself as a real New Yorker, and he seized the initiative in depicting himself as a champion of campaign finance reform.

It was, on balance, a debate that offered an unusual combination of substance and personal ferocity. Both performances seemed to promise even hotter exchanges ahead.

Gigantic Banks, Evocative Names

The proposed takeover of J. P. Morgan by Chase Manhattan to form the country's third-largest financial services institution is the latest in a series of mergers that have wiped out many of New York's old banks. Gone as inde-

America. Chase and J. P. Morgan together account for over 90,000 employees and \$17 billion in revenue. The reigning theory says banks can survive only as part of global conglomerates that offer corporate customers every conceivable financial product. In-



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September 14, 2000, Thursday 9:13 AM, Eastern Time

SECTION: Domestic, non-Washington, general news item

LENGTH: 502 words

HEADLINE: New York senate candidates square off in first TV debate

BYLINE: Michel Moutot

DATELINE: BUFFALO, New York, Sept 13

BODY:

US first lady **Hillary Clinton** switched to full combat mode Wednesday as she squared off in her first televised debate with her rival, Republican US senate hopeful Rick Lazio.

Clinton wasted no time launching an attack against the Long Island congressman, who entered the senate race last May when Republican New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani withdrew for health reasons.

"He voted to shut the government down. He voted to cut 270 billion dollars from Medicare. He voted for the biggest education cuts in our history," Clinton said, going through Lazio's voting record in the US House of Representatives.

Clinton tried to portray Lazio as a faithful lieutenant of Newt Gingrich, an unpopular conservative former speaker of the House.

But Lazio was quick to rebut attempts to link him to Gingrich.

"Mrs. Clinton, you, of all people, shouldn't try to make guilt by association," he shot back. "Newt Gingrich isn't running in this race, I'm running in this race."

Lazio, who often portrays Clinton as an outsider trying to gain New York's senate seat to use it as a springboard to move to a higher political office, blasted Clinton's 1993-1994 attempt to reform the US health care system.

"It would have been a disaster for New York," he said. "It would have led to health care rationing. It would have destroyed teaching hospitals."

The national health insurance plan spearheaded by the first lady was abandoned by the White House after it became obvious it faced a crushing defeat in Congress.

Unfazed by the attack on her record, Clinton fired a broadside at Republican tax reduction plans that she described as "risky" and threatening to "use up all the surplus and prevent us from making the investments we should."

Mindful of the fact that education has emerged as the number one priority for Americans this election year, the first lady moved to showcase her agenda for school age children.

"I have very specific proposals about lowering classroom size, getting more qualified teachers into the classroom, starting a national teacher corps to recruit young people," she said.

But the Republican congressman, who sports a kid-from-the-next-block campaign style, swiftly launched a counterattack, bringing up Clinton's record in Arkansas, where her husband was governor before his 1992 presidential election victory.

"I agree that Mrs. Clinton has got a record on education, and it's a disaster," he shot back. "She was responsible for educational changes in Arkansas, and you know what happened? Spending went up, taxes went up, student performance went down."

Opinion polls show the two rivals are running neck and neck, with Clinton leading in traditionally Democratic New York City and its suburbs, and Lazio enjoying an advantage in upstate New York.

A second debate between the two rivals is scheduled for October 8 in New York.

The two campaigns are also exploring the possibility of a third face-to-face encounter before the November 7 balloting.

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LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 13, 2000

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AP Online

September 14, 2000; Thursday 1:34 AM, Eastern Time

SECTION: National political

LENGTH: 517 words

HEADLINE: Clinton, Lazio Face Off in Debate

BYLINE: MARC HUMBERT

DATELINE: BUFFALO, N.Y.

BODY:

He called her "Clintonesque." She repeatedly linked him to Newt Gingrich. And both candidates for the Senate accused the other of having "chutzpah."

Republican Rep. Rick Lazio and first lady **Hillary** Rodham **Clinton** faced off in their first debate Wednesday night, wielding soundbite-sized insults, New York testiness and even an actual prop.

"We New Yorkers don't back down from a fight," the Long Island congressman boasted to a crowd of 200 supporters after the hour-long debate, which aired nationally on cable.

At a post-debate rally with about 1,500 supporters at a Buffalo music hall, the first lady said she was relieved: "It was my first debate and I feel like I survived."

It turned into an often testy affair where Clinton repeatedly attacked Lazio as a disciple of Gingrich, the conservative former House speaker. Lazio, in turn, linked the first lady to the policies and peccadilloes

of her husband.

The often sharp exchanges included one in which Lazio walked across the stage to Clinton's podium and tried unsuccessfully to get her to sign a pledge to bar soft money from their campaigns.

After having his pledge waved in her face, she told him "that was a wonderful performance."

He shot back, "I'm not asking you to admire it, I'm asking you to sign it."

Lee Miringoff, head of the Marist Institute for Public Opinion, described the debate as being "very combative."

"This was really rough stuff. They were in your face the whole time," Miringoff said.

Clinton found herself being asked if she wanted to apologize to the American people for misleading them during the Monica Lewinsky scandal when she blamed her husband's troubles on "a vast right-wing conspiracy."

"Obviously I didn't mislead anyone. I didn't know the truth and there's a great deal of pain associated with that," she said.

"That was a very painful time for me, for my family, for our country," Clinton said. "It's something that I regret deeply that anyone had to go through."

Lazio responded by saying, "blaming others ... has become a pattern for my opponent."

And the congressman reacted sharply to Clinton's attempts to link him to Gingrich.

"You, of all people, shouldn't try to make guilt by association," he said. "Newt Gingrich isn't running in this race, I'm running in this race. Let's talk about my record."

He declared at one point that Clinton's education record as first lady in Arkansas was dreadful and "I don't think we need that Little Rock record in the Big Apple."

Bob McClure, a Syracuse University political science professor, said "Hillary had to prove she didn't have horns. Rick had to prove he had something between his ears. And both of them came out of the debate with something."

Both the first lady and the congressman had sought to lower expectations before the debate she saying she had never done it before and Lazio saying that while he had been in political debates, "this is a different league."

On the Net:

Rick Lazio: <http://www.lazio.com>

Hillary Clinton: <http://www.hillary2000.org>

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 14, 2000

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CNN

SHOW: CNN AHEAD OF THE CURVE 05:00

September 14, 2000; Thursday 5:01 AM Eastern Time

Transcript # 00091401V62

SHOW-TYPE: PACKAGE

SECTION: News; Domestic

LENGTH: 638 words

HEADLINE: Battle in Buffalo: Clinton and Lazio Square Off in No Holds Barred Debate

BYLINE: Linda Stouffer, Frank Buckley

HIGHLIGHT: The political war for a New York seat in the U.S. Senate continued with the battle in Buffalo last night. First lady **Hillary** Rodham **Clinton** squared off against her Republican rival Congressman Rick Lazio, in what turned out to be a no holds barred debate.

BODY:

THIS IS A RUSH TRANSCRIPT. THIS COPY MAY NOT BE IN ITS FINAL FORM AND MAY BE UPDATED.

LINDA STOUFFER, CNN ANCHOR: The political war for a New York seat in the U.S. Senate continued with the battle in Buffalo last night. First lady **Hillary** Rodham **Clinton** squared off against her Republican rival Congressman Rick Lazio, in what turned out to be a no holds barred debate.

CNN's Frank Buckley looks at some of the more engaging moments.

(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)

FRANK BUCKLEY, CNN CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): Congressman Rick Lazio and first lady **Hillary Clinton** were friendly as they met before the debate. But their political rhetoric during the clash cut through their cordiality, both candidates sprinkling New York-isms into their digs. Lazio aggressively confronting Clinton throughout the debate.

REP. FRANK LAZIO (R), NEW YORK SENATE CANDIDATE: In New York we say you've got to tell liked it is. And the way it is is that Mrs. Clinton has had two opportunities to make policy, one on health care and one on education. And on health care, it was unmitigated disaster.

BUCKLEY: Mrs. Clinton, on Lazio's claim of being independent in the House of Representatives, using an oft-used Yiddish word meaning, utter nerve.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON (D), NEW YORK SENATE CANDIDATE: Listening to the congressman's response reminds me of a word I have heard a lot of this past year, chutzpah. 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 for Medicare, he voted for the biggest education cuts in our history.

BUCKLEY: Lazio, saying Mrs. Clinton's comments redefined the word chutzpah.

LAZIO: 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.

BUCKLEY: The moderator Tim Russert, to Mrs. Clinton, about her initial response in the Monica Lewinsky scandal, asked the First Lady if she regretted misleadingly the American people.

CLINTON: 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.

BUCKLEY: The candidates exchanged differing views on issues like the struggling upstate economy, Lazio suggesting it has turned a corner, Mrs. Clinton, quoting from a series of newspaper articles about the economy.

CLINTON: Referred to my opponent as "orbiting another planet."

BUCKLEY: On education, Lazio described Mrs. Clinton's record of reform in Arkansas as a disaster.

LAZIO: I don't think we need that Little Rock record in the Big Apple.

BUCKLEY: And when Lazio pulled out a recent pledge that both candidates forego soft money, Mrs. Clinton called it a wonderful performance.

CLINTON: You did it very well...

LAZIO: I'm not asking you to admire it I'm asking you to sign it.

CLINTON: Well, I would be happy to when you give me the signed letter...

LAZIO: Right here, right here, sign it right now.

CLINTON: We'll shake on this one.

LAZIO: No, I want your signature, because I think everybody wants to see you signing something that you said you were for.

BUCKLEY (on camera): In the end, both campaigns said the opposing candidate made factual misstatements during the debate. And both sides declared victory. Voters will have the final say, and at least one more look at the candidates clashing in debate. They meet again October 8th.

Frank Buckley, CNN, New York.

(END VIDEOTAPE)

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LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 14, 2000

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The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

September 14, 2000, Thursday, Home Edition

SECTION: News; Pg. 6A

LENGTH: 838 words

HEADLINE: First lady, N.Y. rival take gloves off in debate;
Neither pulls punches: She depicts him as a tool of Newt Gingrich and he questions her credibility in
White House scandals.

BYLINE: Jill Vejnaska, Staff

SOURCE: CONSTITUTION

BODY:

Buffalo, N.Y. --- A Senate campaign that began as a polite listening tour 14 months ago turned into an old-fashioned New York-style political brawl Wednesday night, as first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton** and Republican congressman Rick Lazio held their first debate.

The candidates started out trading accusations of chutzpah and ended up pointedly not shaking hands after practically arm-wrestling at midstage over the subject of soft money. In between, things occasionally verged on mudslinging, as Clinton kept trying to link Lazio to the worst aspects of Newt Gingrich's congressional leadership.

Meanwhile, when moderator Tim Russert brought up the subject of Monica Lewinsky, Lazio was only too happy to help tie Clinton to it.

"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," Lazio said after Clinton had been forced to watch a long-ago "Today" show clip in which she blamed her husband's Lewinsky problems on a "vast right-wing conspiracy."

Said Lazio: "Blaming others every time you have responsibility, unfortunately that's become a pattern, I think, for my opponent."

Of course, Lazio was only giving as good as he'd already gotten.

"You mentioned trust," Clinton told Russert just before turning to look in Lazio's direction. "I didn't cast the votes that Newt Gingrich asked me to cast."

There was even a bit of telecast showmanship on Lazio's part for the millions of viewers watching the live broadcast on all the NBC affiliates in New York. Near the end of the debate, Lazio walked over to Clinton's podium and tried to get her to sign a copy of what he called his "New York Freedom from Soft Money Agreement."

"I admire that," Clinton laughingly told him, just after saying she would sign the agreement if and when he produced signed letters from outside groups she said were creating so-called "soft money" ads on Lazio's behalf. "That was a wonderful performance."

"I'm not asking you to admire it," Lazio cut in, while Russert essentially told them to break it up because the debate was nearly over. "I'm asking you to sign it."

Not only didn't they sign it. They didn't even shake hands afterward.

The somewhat tense standoff was symbolic of a race in which the stakes are high and every vote literally counts. Two polls released Tuesday showed Clinton barely leading by under 5 points. The outcome probably will be decided by a small bloc of undecided voters, some of whom say that Clinton hasn't made a case for herself as a representative New Yorker and that Lazio is running on little else but his local roots.

Going into the debate, many New Yorkers had complained that they didn't yet know enough about the two candidates. That may explain why four of five likely voters polled this past week said they intended to watch.

While it's too soon to say whether the hourlong encounter made up many voters' minds in this neck-and-neck race, history undeniably was made the moment the debate began inside Buffalo's public television station WNED.

Clinton is the first presidential spouse to run for public office while still living in the White House. And for all her attempts to sound like an average, albeit incredibly well-informed New Yorker --- at one point getting specific about overcrowding in one Queens school and wiring problems in another in Buffalo --- it was impossible to ignore the Secret Service agents or international press corps of approximately 150 that her presence attracted.

Or the range of public opinion.

"Hillary's only here so she can run for president someday!" a Lazio supporter yelled outside the studio, where some 150 boosters of both candidates mingled behind yellow police tape.

"And you're only here so you can get on TV!" a Clinton supporter yelled back, while a half-dozen TV news crews taped the scene.

Lazio only entered the race in late May, when Clinton's colorful Republican opponent, New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, dropped out due to prostate cancer and marital difficulties. Since then, however, the relatively unknown four-term congressman from suburban Long Island has raised nearly as much money as Clinton --- \$ 19.2 million to her \$ 21.9 million.

Meanwhile, his public profile has soared as a result of campaign ads featuring the likes of Sen. John McCain and Lazio's repeated comparisons of his own elective experience and lifelong New York residency to that of Clinton.

Or as Lazio said in his first remarks in Wednesday's debate, commenting on Clinton's failed 1994 efforts at health care reform:

"A New Yorker never would have made that proposal!"

She may be a first lady, but the next time she got a chance to talk, Clinton fired right back:

"Listening to the congressman's response," she told Russert with a smile, "reminds me of a word I've heard a lot this year. Chutzpah."

> ON THE WEB: Rick Lazio's campaign www.lazio.com
Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign www.hillary2000.org

GRAPHIC: Photo
Republican Rep. Rick Lazio and first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton** share the stage in Buffalo, N.Y., on

Wednesday night in a U.S. Senate campaign debate that was hard-hitting and sometimes sarcastic. /
RICHARD DREW / Associated Press

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Belfast News Letter

September 14, 2000, Thursday

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 18

LENGTH: 85 words

HEADLINE: FIRST POLL WIN FOR FIRST LADY

BODY:

HILLARY Rodham **Clinton** made history yesterday, becoming the only first lady to win an election as she dominated a Democratic party primary for the US Senate against a little-known New York City doctor, Mark McMahon.

While Clinton's run for the Senate has attracted national attention since early last year, the primary had gone virtually unnoticed even in New York state.

Nonetheless, the results were being monitored for possible signs of Democratic dissatisfaction with the first lady's candidacy.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 14, 2000

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THE DAILY TELEGRAPH(LONDON)

September 14, 2000, Thursday

SECTION: Pg. 28

LENGTH: 852 words

HEADLINE: Murdoch cash aims to clobber rival The latest round in the New York tabloid war is more about power, ego and image than money, reports Philip Delves Broughton

BYLINE: By PHILIP DELVES BROUGHTON

BODY:

NEW York's tabloids are on a war footing this week. The decision by the biggest of them, the Daily News, to launch a new afternoon newspaper has forced its rival, Rupert Murdoch's New York Post to take action. And, as he has done so often in his career, Murdoch is reaching into his deep pockets

hoping to defeat his opponent with price cuts.

Traditionally America's bloodiest local newspaper turf, New York is looking forward to the fight. Neither paper makes money, but in Mort Zuckerman, the owner of the Daily News, and Murdoch, you have two proud, politically-involved owners, determined to assert long-term control in the city's tabloid market.

For Zuckerman, a committed Democrat and friend of the Clintons, and the more Right-wing Murdoch, the fight is as much about power as about money.

Unlike Murdoch, Zuckerman is not a pure media mogul. He made his fortune as a property developer and later came to love the limelight afforded by owning a newspaper. He is a sort of highbrow Donald Trump, with almost as colourful a personal life.

During the Eighties, he had a long relationship with the feminist writer Gloria Steinem and he has escorted **Hillary Clinton** during her Senate campaign. His latest attempt to boost his newspaper comes after it has been hobbled by lorry drivers' strikes and a slowly declining circulation. Zuckerman had to give it a lift and when the Post's recent discussions about launching an afternoon newspaper fell through, he took up the idea.

Murdoch, by contrast, is an almost invisible character in Manhattan, appearing for the odd charity dinner, but otherwise keeping a low profile. His media holdings dwarf Zuckerman's, however, and his New York newspaper, despite being smaller than his rival's, makes much more noise. It has, for example, been stridently anti-**Hillary Clinton** from the outset of her campaign. The New York Post was also the first of Murdoch's American properties and he retains a deep, emotional attachment to it.

The latest fight for readers, says Leonard Stern, the former owner of Village Voice is not about money. "It's about image and being the publisher of a major newspaper in the world's most important city."

The Daily News's free Daily News Express came out for the first time on Tuesday afternoon, distributed around town by cheerleaders and clowns. A 40-page collection of breaking news and light features, modelled on the Metro series of newspapers, it is put together by a core of former Daily News journalists and freelancers. While companies debate the value of buying space in a free newspaper, the Daily News hopes that its new edition will boost its image as New York's true home town newspaper.

Ultimately, it hopes, it will provide a good platform for advertisers, who provide roughly 80 per cent of the main newspaper's revenue. The Post took pre-emptive action a fortnight ago, dropping its price by half to 25 cents, about 17p. For a newspaper believed to be losing around pounds 6 million a year, and now completing the installation of new presses worth pounds 130 million, the price cut was a scarcely-needed economic pinch. The decision to do it, however, reflects Murdoch's confidence that ultimately, he can outspend any major competitor.

It is the same gamble he took when he cut the price of The Times in 1993. The move cost News International a fortune, but saw the newspaper's circulation rise dramatically before falling back to a level still much higher than before the price cut.

Murdoch's willingness to suffer for the New York Post reflects his affection for it. He bought it in 1976 and as the oldest continually published paper in America, it had a prim, liberal voice, which Murdoch swiftly turned into a raw, conservative bark. Though he was forced to sell it in 1987 because of cross-ownership laws, he bought it back in 1993, when it was facing bankruptcy.

The Post's newsrooms are in the same building on Sixth Avenue as Murdoch's main office and he has been seen peering at headlines as the paper was laid out.

The Daily News sells around 730,000 copies each day to the Post's 430,000. But whereas the News's readership is concentrated in the outlying areas of the city, reflected in its earnest local coverage, the Post is very much a Manhattan product, bursting with the energy of Wall Street, the media and the

celebrities who pass through the city. It is the only newspaper in the city, including the New York Times, to have increased its circulation over the past few years.

Under its current British editor, Xana Antunes, the Post has increased its coverage of entertainment, media and business, keeping even the Wall Street Journal on its toes with its scoops. It owes more to British tabloid traditions than American ones. The Post was, after all, the paper which printed the headline "Headless body in topless bar".

For Murdoch, there is, as ever, an additional element to this battle. As he fights to buy a second television station, it will be helpful for his image with federal regulators if he is seen to be arming the Post and taking it flush with money to the barricades.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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The Edmonton Sun

September 14, 2000, Thursday, Final EDITION

SECTION: NEWS, Pg. 35

LENGTH: 259 words

HEADLINE: BILL COULDN'T TELL HILLARY HE LIED

BYLINE: AP

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

President Bill Clinton was unable to tell his wife that he had lied about the Monica Lewinsky affair and had his lawyer deliver the news, says a new book about the scandal.

Lawyer David Kendall met **Hillary** Rodham **Clinton** in the White House residential wing in 1998 to tell her that the president had lied in denying the affair with Lewinsky. The disclosure was made in *The Breach: Inside the Impeachment and Trial of William Jefferson Clinton*, by Washington Post reporter Peter Baker.

The Post published excerpts from the book yesterday.

White House spokesman Joe Lockhart said he has no plans to find out whether those details are true.

"I thought I heard everything there was to hear about that period of our history," Lockhart said. "These are two things I hadn't heard before, but I don't intend to become a historian."

Baker writes that Clinton was so distracted by the impeachment - which ended in his acquittal last year - that aides at White House meetings sometimes had to answer questions for him. And a key adviser approached several Democratic party leaders about a strategy to urge him to resign when impeachment seemed certain.

In the late summer of 1998, Baker writes, a former White House deputy chief of staff, Harold Ickes, "told people that the only possible way to convince his ex-boss to give up power would be to put together a coalition of interest groups and key senior members from Congress to go to him as a delegation and tell him there was no way to hold the White House in 2000 unless he resigned."

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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The Independent (London)

September 14, 2000, Thursday

SECTION: FOREIGN NEWS; Pg. 11

LENGTH: 765 words

HEADLINE: US ELECTIONS: **HILLARY CLINTON** IN LIVE PRIME-TIME DUEL FOR SENATE;
FIRST LADY TAKES ON RICK LAZIO, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE IN NEW YORK, IN THE FIRST OF THREE TV DEBATES THAT MAY SWING A CLOSE CONTEST

BYLINE: David Osborne In New York

BODY:

MILLIONS OF New York voters, from Long Island to Niagara, were preparing to settle in front of their television sets last night to savour the first live debate between the First Lady, **Hillary Rodham Clinton**, and her Republican foe, congressman Rick Lazio, in their statewide race for the Senate.

The clash, the first of three scheduled for the candidates before polling day on 7 November, was being heralded as pivotal for Mrs Clinton. She is striving to go down in history as the first wife of a sitting president to win election to high political office.

The race remains extremely close, even though recent polls have given Mrs Clinton a slight lead over Mr Lazio of between five and six percentage points. While she has been campaigning indefatigably across the state for almost a year, last night was her first chance to profit from statewide exposure.

Fascination with her run for office still remains strong. As many as 80 per cent of the New York voters were expected to tune into the debate as it was broadcast live during evening primetime from the studio of a public television station in Buffalo. Nor is the curiosity confined to New York. Millions more Americans were likely to tune in to MSNBC, the cable news channel, when it aired a taping of the debate nationwide later in the evening.

A large audience would reinforce the feeling of many that the New York senate race is more interesting than many other contests this year, including the Gore -Bush match.

A little bit of history has already been made. On Tuesday, Mrs Clinton formally became the Democratic nominee for the Senate seat after winning a statewide primary election. Her challenger was a little-known Manhattan doctor. Even that win, though a forgone conclusion, was a first for a First Lady.

Both camps were rushing yesterday to lower expectations ahead of the debate. Aides for the First Lady stressed that it this was to be her first political debate "almost ever" - or certainly since her student days. While Mr Lazio could draw on his experience of congressional debates and debates inside the House of Representatives itself, his people said going up against a First Lady made his task especially daunting.

Each of them has been preparing feverishly for several weeks, rehearsing with stand-ins.

Mrs Clinton has had some help from the master of the art of debating, her husband. A spokesman for the White House confessed that the President had "dropped in and out" of her practice sessions.

Above all, Mrs Clinton will be under pressure to show off a softer side to her personality. While she had no voting record to brandish - while Mr Lazio has a clear legislative record - she does have the opportunity to start to dispel her image as over-ambitious and strident.

Mr Lazio, a youthful-looking 42 was, meanwhile, under orders to project the maturity expected of a leader. A Democratic consultant, Jeff Plaut, said Mr Lazio needed to show "gravitas and look senatorial, not like a boy scout. She has to appear genuine, not lecturing".

Policy differences between them, such as they are, were also certain to be aired. "Both need to be on their game about their policies," said David Birdsell, a public affairs professor at New York's Baruch College. "If she can't win on a perception of policy competence then she's dead. It's her best point. Lazio has to prove he's playing in the same league."

The outcome of the race probably rests in a few suburbs close to New York City. Recent surveys show Mr Lazio comfortably in front in upstate areas, while Mrs Clinton will clobber him in the city itself. He does much better among men, while she has a huge edge with women. At the heart of the battle is the Jewish constituency, which accounts for about 12 per cent of those likely to vote. Mrs Clinton lost ground two months ago after it was claimed that in 1974 she admonished one of her husband's campaign workers with a anti-Semitic slur.

A poll published yesterday by the New York Post, however, showed her attracting 61 of Jewish voters against 30 per cent for Mr Lazio.

Controversy flared earlier this week when the White House released a picture of Mr Lazio shaking hands with Yasser Arafat in 1998.

The White House said it was meant as a riposte to Mr Lazio for criticising the handshake at last week's UN summit between Bill Clinton and Fidel Castro. Clearly, however, the picture was meant to boost Mrs Clinton among Jewish voters. She was attacked last winter for kissing Mr Arafat's wife, Suha, after she delivered an anti -Israel speech.

GRAPHIC: The TV debate between Rick Lazio and **Hillary Rodham Clinton** is more interesting to most Americans than the Bush-Gore contest AFP

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 14, 2000

Copyright 2000 MGN Ltd.
The Mirror

September 14, 2000, Thursday

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 15

LENGTH: 150 words

HEADLINE: BILL DIDN'T TELL HILLARY SEX TRUTH

BYLINE: Ivor Key

BODY:

HILLARY Clinton's first learned the shocking truth about her husband's White House love sessions with Monica Lewinsky from his personal lawyer, it was claimed yesterday.

A new book, *The Breach: Inside the Impeachment and Trial of William Jefferson Clinton*, reveals the shamefaced president couldn't bring himself to tell her that he'd been lying when he denied he'd had sexual relations with the young intern.

Instead, author Peter Baker, a staff writer for the Washington Post, says he despatched attorney David E.Kendall to the residential wing of the White House to deliver the news to **Hillary**.

Clinton kept out of sight in his office downstairs as the news was broken to the First Lady, Baker claims.

The book focuses on how Congress dealt with the Clinton scandal and says many White House aides "were disgusted by the affair and his (President Clinton's) lies about it."

GRAPHIC: FURY: Hillary Clinton

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 14, 2000

Copyright 2000 Sun Media Corporation
The Ottawa Sun

September 14, 2000, Thursday, Final EDITION

SECTION: NEWS, Pg. 2

LENGTH: 103 words

HEADLINE: LAWYER BROKE AFFAIR TO HILLARY

BYLINE: AP

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

Bill Clinton was unable to tell his wife he had lied about the Monica Lewinsky affair and had his lawyer break the news, says a new book about the scandal.

Washington Post reporter Peter Baker made the disclosure in his book, *The Breach: Inside the*

Impeachment and Trial of William Jefferson Clinton. The Post published excerpts from Baker's book yesterday.

"I thought I heard everything there was to hear about that period of our history," said White House spokesman Joe Lockhart, but added he has no plans to find out if it's true lawyer David Kendall told **Hillary Rodham Clinton** of the affair in 1998.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 14, 2000

Copyright 2000 Times Publishing Company
St. Petersburg Times

September 14, 2000, Thursday

SECTION: NATIONAL; Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 1016 words

HEADLINE: Clinton-Lazio debate ignites

BYLINE: New York Times

BODY:

The first debate between the candidates in New York's Senate race turns spirited.

BUFFALO, N.Y. - **Hillary Rodham Clinton** and Rep. Rick Lazio slashed into each other for nearly 60 minutes on television Wednesday night, attacking each other's credentials, integrity and political views.

Near the debate's end, Lazio walked over to the first lady, waving a piece of paper at her, and unsuccessfully challenged her to sign a pledge, on stage, to renounce the use of soft money in her campaign.

The confrontational approach of both candidates transformed this first matchup between them - indeed, the first debate Clinton has engaged in as a candidate for public office - into one of the sharpest debates between two candidates for statewide office in a generation.

Lazio, viewing Wednesday night as his best chance yet to introduce himself to New York voters, took after Clinton from the very first question and hammered her at virtually every opportunity for the rest of the evening. He attacked her as untrustworthy, and mocked her attempt to serve as a senator from a state where she had never lived until recently.

For her part, the first lady repeatedly sought to link Lazio to the policies of Newt Gingrich, the former House speaker, noting that 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 Lazio and 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 show of Jan. 27, 1998, just after the Monica Lewinsky scandal broke, in which Clinton defended her husband and denied the allegations that he had had an affair with a White House intern. Russert asked 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."

Clinton, who has repeatedly declined to appear as a guest on Meet the Press, appeared shaken by the question. Her eyes turned down and her face tensed.

"Well you know Tim, that was a very, a very painful time for me, for my family and for our country," she said quietly at the debate, which was broadcast from a public television studio in Buffalo. "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 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 Lazio, who seemed intent on erasing any doubt among Republicans about the vigor he might bring to this contest against Clinton.

Lazio fairly leapt from the lectern as he went after the first lady, even after her response to the question about 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," 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."

It was Lazio who went after Clinton first. But the first lady did anything but turn the other cheek. Following up on Russert's first question - on the failed overhaul of health care in 1993-94 - Lazio attacked 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."

Clinton used his response to turn to what became one of her recurrent themes this evening: Lazio's political alliance with Gingrich, when he served as a whip to the House speaker. "Listening to the congressman's response reminds me of a word I've heard a lot this year: chutzpah," she said. "He'll stand here and tell us he's a moderate mainstream member of Congress. Well, in fact he was a deputy whip to Newt Gingrich. He voted to shut down the government."

Russert proved to be a tough questioner, though there were times it seemed that the debate here was on the verge of spinning beyond even his control, particularly when Lazio prodded Clinton to sign his pledge renouncing the use of soft money, the largely unregulated campaign contributions that have proven to be a major benefit for the first lady.

Clinton has raised nearly \$ 23-million for her campaign, both through millions in soft money and in direct contributions, and Lazio has accumulated about \$ 19-million in one of the most expensive Senate campaigns in the nation's history.

Lazio has, so far, not set up any soft-money fundraising committees on his behalf. However, he has benefited from spending by independent committees, presumably not affiliated with his campaign, which have been running ads in New York attacking Clinton. The first lady has said that she is willing to renounce the use of soft money, providing that Lazio obtains "signed agreements" from those committees promising not to advertise in New York.

In truth, a number of political analysts have suggested, given the complicated demands set down by both sides, that Clinton and Lazio were more interested in winning political advantage than in actually changing their campaign-finance projects. At the end of the exchange, the two candidates were talking over each other, with Lazio standing by Clinton trying to press the piece of paper in her hand, shouting "We need your signature!" and grinning.

"I admire that," Clinton said, an edge of sarcasm in her voice. "That was a wonderful performance,"

@0987

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 14, 2000

Copyright 2000 St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Inc.
St. Louis Post-Dispatch

September 14, 2000, Thursday, FIVE STAR LIFT EDITION

SECTION: NEWS, Pg. A10

LENGTH: 457 words

HEADLINE: LAZIO, MRS. CLINTON MEET IN SPIRITED DEBATE;
SHE SAYS GOP RIVAL IS TOO CONSERVATIVE FOR NEW YORK

BYLINE: The Associated Press

DATELINE: BUFFALO, N.Y.

BODY:

In the first debate of their Senate campaign, **Hillary** Rodham **Clinton** repeatedly attacked Republican Rep. Rick Lazio on Wednesday as too conservative for New York. Lazio responded by trying to link Clinton to the policies and even the peccadilloes of President Bill Clinton.

The often sharp exchanges included one in which Lazio walked to Clinton's side and tried unsuccessfully to get her to sign a pledge to bar soft money from their campaigns. After having his pledge waved in her face, she told him, "That was a wonderful performance."

He shot back, "I'm not asking you to admire it, I'm asking you to sign it."

The televised debate between the candidates in the race to represent New York in the Senate was broadcast on NBC stations across the state. In a sign of the wide interest the race has generated, it also was broadcast later on the cable new network MSNBC.

Clinton was asked if she felt she should apologize to the American people for misleading them during the Monica Lewinsky scandal, when she blamed her husband's troubles on "a vast right-wing conspiracy."

"Obviously I didn't mislead anyone. I didn't know the truth, and there's a great deal of pain associated with that," she said.

Lazio responded by saying "blaming others ... has become a pattern for my opponent." He also reacted sharply to Clinton's attempts to link him to Newt Gingrich, the conservative former House speaker.

"You, of all people, shouldn't try to make guilt by association," he said. "Newt Gingrich isn't running in this race, I'm running in this race. Let's talk about my record."

He declared at one point that Clinton's education record when her husband was governor of Arkansas was dreadful and "I don't think we need that Little Rock record in the Big Apple."

Analysts said the stakes were highest for Lazio, the still little-known congressman from Long Island, in what was the first of three planned televised debates.

Across the state, reaction was mixed.

"Everybody who would like to slap her, raise your hand," said Arthur Deruve, 66, of Yonkers, who watched the debate at the Sons of Italy Lodge in White Plains.

But others said Clinton did well.

"I think that Mrs. Clinton overall made a better showing. I think she actually answered questions more directly. Mr. Lazio was very evasive," said Craig Goldstein of New Paltz, a registered independent.

Phyllis Granat, an undecided voter from Manhasset, said, "I think she's exceptionally bright. She's a far better debater, but she has a long way to go before she convinces me to vote for her."

On Tuesday, a Marist poll showed voters nearly evenly divided in their support, with 50 percent going for Clinton and 47 percent supporting Lazio.

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: September 14, 2000

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Sun-Sentinel (Fort Lauderdale, FL)

September 14, 2000, Thursday, Broward Metro EDITION

SECTION: NATIONAL, Pg. 1A

LENGTH: 448 words

HEADLINE: CLINTON ATTACKS, LAZIO PARRIES IN 1ST DEBATE

BYLINE: MARC HUMBERT ; The Associated Press

DATELINE: BUFFALO, N.Y.

BODY:

In the first debate of their Senate campaign, **Hillary Rodham Clinton** repeatedly attacked Republican Rep. Rick Lazio on Wednesday as too conservative for New York.

Lazio responded by trying to link the first lady to the policies and even the peccadilloes of her husband.

The often testy exchanges included one where he walked to her side and tried unsuccessfully to get her to sign a pledge to bar soft money from their campaigns.

The televised debate, moderated by NBC's Tim Russert, drew a studio audience of 250 people and was aired on NBC stations across the state. Later, it was being aired on the cable news network MSNBC.

Clinton was asked if she felt she should apologize to the American people for misleading them during the Monica Lewinsky scandal, when she blamed her husband's troubles on "a vast right-wing conspiracy."

"Obviously I didn't mislead anyone. I didn't know the truth and there's a great deal of pain associated with that," she said. "That was a very painful time for me, for my family, for our country."

Lazio responded by saying "blaming others ... has become a pattern for my opponent." He also reacted sharply to Clinton's attempts to link him to Newt Gingrich, the conservative former House speaker.

"You, of all people, shouldn't try to make guilt by association," he said. "Newt Gingrich isn't running in this race, I'm running in this race. Let's talk about my record." Gore backer gets Bush debate package

WASHINGTON -- The FBI was asked Wednesday to investigate the mysterious delivery of a package containing a videotape and a half-inch stack of documents relating to Texas Gov. George W. Bush's preparation for this fall's presidential debates to a close friend and adviser to Vice President Gore.

The package, carrying a postmark of Austin, Texas, arrived at 10:28 a.m. at the lobbying firm of former House member Tom Downey, who had been tapped by Gore to play the role of Bush in the vice president's debate training sessions. After briefly viewing the videotape and scanning the documents, Downey called his lawyer, Marc Miller, and asked him to turn them over to the FBI. Watts to Bush: Get on offense

WASHINGTON -- A top House Republican said Wednesday that George W. Bush needs to get back on offense after allowing Al Gore to control the political ball the past three weeks.

"If you're on defense, you're probably losing," said Rep. J.C. Watts, the House GOP Conference chairman and a former University of Oklahoma quarterback.

Bush, speaking in Everett, Wash., promised to spend \$ 4.9 billion on national parks that rival Al Gore had left "crumbling."

-- Compiled from Sun-Sentinel wire services

GRAPHIC: PHOTOS 2, Lazio; Watts

LOAD-DATE: September 14, 2000

Copyright 2000 Times Newspapers Limited
The Times (London)

September 14, 2000, Thursday

SECTION: Overseas news

LENGTH: 588 words

HEADLINE: Clinton let lawyer tell Hillary of his affair

BYLINE: Ben Macintyre

BODY:

PRESIDENT CLINTON sent a lawyer to tell his wife about his affair with Monica Lewinsky because he could not face breaking the news to **Hillary Clinton** himself, according to a book on the impeachment saga.

On August 13, 1998, Mr Clinton asked David Kendall, his personal attorney, to visit Mrs Clinton in the residential wing of the White House to tell her, after seven months of denials, that he had indeed had a sexual affair with a White House trainee less than half his age.

"It was not an easy confession to make. Only after Kendall laid the foundation did Clinton speak directly to his wife," Peter Baker, former White House correspondent for The Washington Post, writes in his book, *The Breach: Inside the Impeachment and Trial of William Jefferson Clinton*.

Mr Kendall had represented the Clintons through a series of allegations and scandals, becoming a close ally of both, and "so it fell to him at that critical moment to play emissary from husband to wife, to disclose the most awful secret of any marriage," Mr Baker writes.

The lawyer told Mrs Clinton in "his soft, understated way" that Mr Clinton's denials of a sexual liaison had been false: "Something had obviously gone on between the President and Lewinsky (and) the President was going to have to tell the Grand Jury about it," Mrs Clinton allegedly was told.

Her reaction is not recorded, but it may be a sign of how strained their relations had become that Mr Clinton could not talk to his wife before he had sent a neutral third party "to pave the way for him".

The book also reveals just how close Mr Clinton came to losing office. Four days after his wife was informed of his adultery, he prepared to admit his relationship with Miss Lewinsky and conceded: "I don't know how we can get through this."

In the late summer of 1998, Harold Ickes, Mr Clinton's former deputy chief of staff, began sounding out Democratic leaders about how Mr Clinton might be persuaded to resign.

Mr Ickes, who went on to play a key role in the Senate candidature of Mrs Clinton, "told people that the only possible way to convince his ex-boss to give up power would be to put together a coalition of interest groups and senior members from Congress to go to him as a delegation and tell him there was no way to hold the White House in 2000 unless he resigned," the new book alleges.

Many members of Mr Clinton's staff were angered and appalled by the affair and his subsequent efforts to cover it up, and the book discloses a fierce internal struggle within the White House over how to handle the exploding scandal. At one point in January 1998 Erskine Bowles, Mr Clinton's Chief of Staff, was so overcome by nausea at a meeting to discuss damage-limitation techniques that he fled from the room, saying: "I think I'm going to throw up."

Mr Clinton's political opponents also had doubts, however. Just before the impeachment vote got to the full House in December 1998, the Republican Speaker-elect, Bob Livingston, had second thoughts. "We've got to stop this," he told an aide. "This is crazy. We are about to impeach the President of the United States." Mr Livingston, who later resigned over his own adultery, was persuaded to reconsider and the impeachment went ahead.

The latest evidence of turmoil in the White House came as Mrs Clinton prepared for a televised debate with Rick Lazio, her Republican rival for the New York Senate seat. Four fifths of New York voters said they would watch the hour long confrontation.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 14, 2000

Copyright 2000 Toronto Star Newspapers, Ltd.
The Toronto Star

September 14, 2000, Thursday, Edition 1

SECTION: NEWS

LENGTH: 585 words

HEADLINE: ATTACKS DOMINATE HILLARY'S DEBATE WITH LAZIO

BYLINE: Josh Getlin

BODY:

NEW YORK - In a frequently nasty wrangle, Senate candidates **Hillary Rodham Clinton** and Representative Rick Lazio traded angry charges yesterday in a televised debate all America could see.

They barely touched on issues in their first face-to-face confrontation in New York's hotly contested Senate race.

The race has been deadlocked for months, according to various public opinion polls. Both had pledged to discuss substantial issues, such as health care, education, the environment and tax reform.

Yet discussion focused on personal attacks.

Rodham Clinton chided Lazio for "chutzpah" in posing as a moderate and avoiding mention of his work as deputy whip to former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, a notoriously right-wing Republican. Lazio castigated the first lady's attacks as "beyond shameless . . . positively Clintonesque. Newt Gingrich isn't running in this race . . . I'm running."

While she repeatedly deemed Lazio a disciple of the arch-conservative Gingrich, he sought to link the first lady to the policies and even peccadilloes of her husband.

In a theatrical gesture, the Long Island Republican flourished a printed campaign pledge to forgo all soft money for the rest of the campaign, urging Rodham 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. When Lazio waved it in her face, she admired his "wonderful performance" for the TV cameras.

Moderator rocked rivals with questions about character, trust

"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 hour-long debate, at a Buffalo public TV station, got off to an abrasive start, with Lazio belittling Rodham Clinton's ill-fated national health care plan, saying it would have cut funding for teaching hospitals and been 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.' "

Conceding her proposal failed, she added "we learned a lot about what we can do" and repeatedly attacked Lazio for voting to cut Medicaid funding.

Tim Russert, host of NBC's Meet The Press and moderator of the debate, rocked both candidates with questions about character and trust.

He played a taped excerpt from Rodham Clinton's 1998 appearance on NBC's Today, during which she denied her husband the president Bill Clinton had lied about having an adulterous affair with Monica Lewinsky, or covering it up. Russert then asked if she regretted "misleading" the American people.

"Obviously I didn't mislead anyone," the first lady 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."

Russert asked Lazio why he had refused to yank a TV ad paid for by political allies that gave the false impression he had been photographed with New York's feared Democratic Senator Patrick Moynihan, a mentor to Rodham Clinton - even after Moynihan 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."

LOS ANGELES TIMES, with files from AP

GRAPHIC: AP PHOTO

COMBATANTS:

Long Island's Republican Representative Rick Lazio approaches **Hillary Rodham Clinton** in Buffalo debate to ask her to sign a pledge not to use "soft money" in her Democratic campaign for the New York Senate seat.

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: September 14, 2000

Copyright 2000 Chicago Tribune Company
Chicago Tribune

September 14, 2000 Thursday, CHICAGO SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: News; Pg. 1; ZONE: N

LENGTH: 1208 words

HEADLINE: N.Y. DEBATE LEAVES RIVALS PUMMELED

BYLINE: By Lisa Anderson and Jeff Zeleny, Tribune Staff Writers.

DATELINE: BUFFALO

BODY:

U.S. Senate candidates **Hillary Rodham Clinton** and Rep. Rick Lazio pummeled each other for an

hour Wednesday night in their first face-to-face debate. They did not shake hands at the end and neither came away without bruises, but Lazio's may be deeper.

The debate made clear the issues and themes likely to dominate a race that has been characterized as a battle between Lazio, the Republicans' young and little-known David, and Clinton, the Democrats' well-known but newly transplanted Goliath.

Though Lazio, a boyish-looking 42, aimed to present himself as someone weighty enough to fill retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's shoes, he often came across more adversarial than senatorial.

Continually on the offensive, he took Clinton to task for not improving education as first lady of Arkansas, for not influencing President Clinton's administration in matters such as Medicaid reimbursement for states like New York and, in general, for not having a record as an elected official.

The first lady, who has stubbornly battled her image as a political carpetbagger, portrayed herself as having more than a passing knowledge of the state, peppering her answers with some of the state's most arcane town names.

Though she appeared a bit stiff, she deflected most of Lazio's attacks and disparaged him for suggesting that upstate New York, which has not shared as much in the economic boom as elsewhere in the state, is not really in severe financial straits. Quoting the Buffalo News, she said anyone who believed such a thing must be "orbiting another planet."

That the debate was held here, in the state's second-largest city, was no accident. Most analysts expect the Senate race to turn on voters in western New York state and in the New York City suburbs. Lazio has been leading Clinton, ten years his senior, in both these areas, though she holds a narrow statewide lead in the latest polls.

The candidates met before 240 invited guests in the studios of public broadcasting station WNED-TV. Televised live by NBC stations in New York State, it was later broadcast nationally by MSNBC.

Clinton already had made a bit of history Tuesday, when she became the first sitting first lady to win an election. Though she had the blessing of the state Democratic Party, Clinton still had to run in the party's primary against Manhattan surgeon Dr. Mark McMahon, and defeated him 82 percent to 18 percent.

Lazio, a four-term congressman from suburban Long Island, spent most of the night in an attempt to depict himself as a mainstream Republican, not the foot soldier of former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, as Clinton tried to portray him.

"Listening to the congressman's responses reminds me of a word I've heard a lot this year: chutzpah," said Clinton, using the Yiddish word for having a lot of nerve. "... He stands there and tells us that he's a moderate, mainstream, independent member of Congress.

"But, in fact, he was a deputy whip to Newt Gingrich, he voted to shut the government down. ... Time and time again, when he had a choice to make, particularly at a 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."

Facing Clinton directly, Lazio responded: "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."

While Lazio highlighted Clinton's lack of a voting record, he also criticized her attempts at policy, such as her failed health-care reform initiative and her influence on education while first lady of Arkansas, a state with notoriously poor school scores.

"I agree that Mrs. Clinton has a record in education and it's a disaster," Lazio said. "I don't think we

need that Little Rock record in the Big Apple."

Moreover, he lambasted aspects of Clinton's health-care proposal, which would have cut back on some funding for teaching hospitals, of which New York state has 57. "You know, a New Yorker would never have made that proposal. In New York, we say you've got to tell it like it is," he said.

While most of the night featured a give-and-take of scripted positions on issues ranging from the environment to Medicaid reimbursement, there was one moment from the past that provoked a more spontaneous response to a question Clinton has been answering for two years.

Shown a clip of the now-famous interview in which she blamed her husband's travails on a "vast, right-wing conspiracy" and defending as honest his handling of the Monica Lewinsky scandal, she was asked by moderator Tim Russert if she regretted "misleading the American people."

Speaking slowly and in measured tones, Clinton said: "Obviously I didn't mislead anyone. I didn't know the truth. There is a great deal of pain associated with that."

Clinton then spun back on the attack, criticizing Lazio for voting with Gingrich and supporting his conservative agenda.

Lazio hit back. "It's beyond shameless, I guess. ... This is positively Clintonesque," he said, with a smile. "If you had a record, I suppose you wouldn't have to bring up Newt Gingrich."

On other issues, Clinton reiterated her opposition to using federal money for school vouchers and her support for abortion rights, which otherwise did not come up at all during the debate.

Lazio supports a form of vouchers, which he calls scholarship money, and generally is in favor of abortion rights but opposes federal funding for abortions and a form of late-term abortion.

One of the most theatrical moments in the debate came 49 minutes into the debate when Lazio produced a contract from his breast pocket and asked Clinton to sign it with him, promising to renounce all raising and spending of so-called soft money.

"I admire that. That was a wonderful performance," Clinton said, but declined to sign.

"Sign it now. ... Why don't you stand up and do something important for America?" asked Lazio, brandishing the document in her face.

Clinton closed by saying: "There may be some who say that the most important issue is who has lived here the longest. If that's the test, I can't pass that test. But if you want someone who will get up every day and be on your side and fight for better schools, health care and jobs, I can pass that test," she said.

Lazio dwelled on his record in his closing remarks. "You've got to decide in this campaign how you define character and trust. My opponent has talked and talked, but she's done nothing for New York. I've delivered for New York. As the old Yankees manager Casey Stengel used to say, 'You can check it out.'"

Clinton and Lazio have been neck-and-neck in polls virtually since Lazio stepped into the race last May, succeeding New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, who withdrew after being diagnosed with prostate cancer.

Two polls released this week show Clinton with a slight edge, though still within the polls' margin of error. According to the Marist Institute for Public Opinion, Clinton leads Lazio 48 percent to 46 percent among likely voters, with a margin of error of 4.5 points. The Quinnipiac University Polling Institute found Clinton ahead 49 to 44 percent.

CAMPAIGN 2000.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO GRAPHICPHOTO (color): New York Senate candidates Rick Lazio and **Hillary** Rodham **Clinton** shake hands before squaring off in debate Wednesday. Reuters photo by Brendan McDermid.; **GRAPHIC: CAMPAIGN WATCH: A Look At the Political Landscape**; In coming days; Source: Federal Election Commission.; Chicago Tribune.; - See microfilm for complete graphic.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 14, 2000

The Associated Press State & Local Wire

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September 14, 2000, Thursday, BC cycle

8:06 AM Eastern Time

SECTION: Political News

LENGTH: 649 words

HEADLINE: Clinton and Lazio first debate a testy affair

BYLINE: By MARC HUMBERT, AP Political Writer

DATELINE: BUFFALO, N.Y.

BODY:

To hear Republican Rick Lazio tell it, the native New Yorker mugged the out-of-towner.

"We New Yorkers don't back down from a fight," the Long Island congressman boasted to a crowd of 200 supporters Wednesday night after the first debate of his Senate campaign against **Hillary** Rodham **Clinton**.

It turned into an often testy affair where Clinton repeatedly attacked Lazio as a disciple of conservative former House Speaker Newt Gingrich. Lazio, in turn, linked the first lady to the policies and even peccadilloes of her husband.

The often sharp exchanges included one in which he walked across the stage to her podium and tried unsuccessfully to get her to sign a pledge to bar soft money from their campaigns. After having his pledge waved in her face, she told him "that was a wonderful performance."

"I'm not asking you to admire it, I'm asking you to sign it," he shot back.

Clinton found herself being asked if she wanted to apologize to the American people for misleading them during the Monica Lewinsky scandal when she blamed her husband's trouble's on "a vast right-wing conspiracy."

"Obviously I didn't mislead anyone. I didn't know the truth and there's a great deal of pain associated with that," she said.

"That was a very painful time for me, for my family, for our country," Clinton said. "It's something that I regret deeply that anyone had to go through."

Lazio responded by saying, "blaming others ... has become a pattern for my opponent."

And the congressman reacted sharply to Clinton's attempts to link him to Gingrich

"You, of all people, shouldn't try to make guilt by association," he said. "Newt Gingrich isn't running in this race, I'm running in this race. Let's talk about my record."

Lazio said her record on education, especially when she was first lady of Arkansas, was "a disaster ... I don't think we need that Little Rock record in the Big Apple."

While Lazio appeared ready with a series of such zippy one liners, Clinton used the debate to hammer away at him as being too close to Gingrich. In the one-hour debate, she linked the two at least five times.

The first lady attended her own post-debate celebration, a rally with about 1,500 supporters at a Buffalo music hall. She said she was relieved.

"It was my first debate and I feel like I survived," she said.

Clinton said she was surprised by the tenor of Lazio's sometimes biting remarks.

"There were a couple of moments tonight I had to stand there and wonder to myself," she said.

A poll of 274 registered voters who watched the debate, conducted for the New York Daily News and WCBS-TV by Blum & Weprin Associates, gave the edge to Clinton, 49 percent to 36 percent, when it came to who had done a "better job" in the encounter.

The televised debate, moderated by NBC's Tim Russert, was shown live from 7 p.m. to 8 p.m. on NBC stations across the state. In a sign of the wide interest the New York Senate race has generated, it aired nationally on MSNBC from 10 p.m. to 11 p.m. Wednesday.

A studio audience of 250 people was on hand for the debate broadcast from public television station WNED, most invited by the debate sponsors, the Buffalo News and WGRZ-TV, the local NBC affiliate. Each campaign was given 40 tickets for the studio audience. More than 150 media credentials were handed out.

Both candidates had prepped for weeks, with President Clinton helping prepare his wife. He skipped the debate. Lazio was accompanied by his wife.

Just before the debate, Lazio campaign guru Mike Murphy said there was at least one reason to look forward to it.

"We love the fact we get TV time we don't have to pay for," the Lazio adviser said, noting that "both campaigns have been large donors to the positive balance sheets of many broadcast outlets in the state this year."

Clinton and Lazio have been blanketing the state with TV ads for weeks.

GRAPHIC: AP Photos

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 14, 2000



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September 14, 2000, Thursday 9:14 AM, Eastern Time

SECTION: Sports

LENGTH: 267 words

HEADLINE: Chelsea Clinton arrives for Olympics

DATELINE: SYDNEY, Sept 14

BODY:

Chelsea Clinton flew into Australia Thursday on her first overseas trip as a representative of her father, United States President Bill Clinton.

Wearing a black pantsuit, blue blouse and black open-top shoes, Clinton smiled and tried to come to terms with a harsh Australian sun after stepping off the Gulfstream jet which brought members of the US delegation to Sydney.

Donna E. Shalala, the US Secretary of Health and Human Services, said the president and wife Hillary had wanted to be in Sydney.

"But they couldn't make it because we're having our own competition back in the United States, it's the Presidential election," Shalala said.

"But they did ask us to deliver to the people of Australia their best wishes for a successful Olympic Games."

Clinton's Vice President Al Gore, the Democratic Party's nominee, is locked in battle for the November presidential election against Republican nominee George Bush.

Hillary is also running for office, seeking the US Senate seat from New York.

Chelsea is taking a term off from Stanford University, where she is a senior, to spend the final months of the Clinton presidency with her parents.

Tall and poised, she has often been a silent, smiling presence at her father's side during official trips and functions and the White House remains sensitive about her privacy.

US consulate officials said she was looking forward to seeing as many sporting events as possible.

Her proposed schedule includes Friday's opening ceremony and probably swimming, gymnastics, football, beach volleyball, basketball and softball.

mp/ak

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 14, 2000

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AP Worldstream

September 14, 2000; Thursday 1:30 AM Eastern Time

SECTION: Sports

DISTRIBUTION: Europe; Britian; Scandinavia; Middle East; Africa; India; Asia; England

LENGTH: 372 words

HEADLINE: Chelsea Clinton arrives in Sydney with U.S. delegation

DATELINE: SYDNEY, Australia

BODY:

A smiling **Chelsea Clinton** arrived at the Olympics, flying in Thursday with a U.S. delegation that brought a strong anti-drug message.

Chelsea, who is representing her parents as part of the official U.S. delegation, joined Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala and Barry McCaffrey, director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy, for the six-day visit.

Shalala made a brief statement to journalists as Chelsea stood with McCaffrey and other delegation members. No questions were permitted, and the delegation then departed in a motorcade.

The group's agenda includes a news conference Saturday on U.S. support for anti-drug measures at the Salt Lake City Games in 2002, as well as taking in some Olympic sights, including Friday's opening ceremony, a U.S.-China match in women's soccer and a U.S.-Cuba match in women's basketball.

Shalala said the Olympics provide the highest level of athletic competition, along with the inspiration for all people to become more physically active.

"When these games are over, and even during the games, we need to get out of our seats, away from our televisions, off the Web, and into a healthy and active lifestyle," Shalala said, with Chelsea smiling and nodding in agreement. "Physical activity, good nutrition and staying away from drugs and tobacco can prevent serious illnesses before they occur."

Shalala also expressed hope that the Olympics would "live out the ideal that the Games must be fair and drug free."

Chelsea, 20, is taking a term off from Stanford University, where she is a senior, to spend the final months of the Clinton presidency with her parents.

Tall and poised, Chelsea has often been a silent, smiling presence at her father's side during official trips and functions. Her trip with the U.S. delegation to Sydney amounts to her solo debut representing the U.S. first family overseas.

The White House remains sensitive about Chelsea's privacy, although certain details of her life have become clear, such as the fact that she is dating a fellow Stanford student, Jeremy Kane. He has accompanied Chelsea on a few White House trips in recent months, and is now working as a White House intern for the fall term.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 14, 2000

The Associated Press

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September 14, 2000, Thursday, BC cycle

4:07 AM Eastern Time

SECTION: Sports News

LENGTH: 226 words

HEADLINE: **Chelsea Clinton** makes solo debut in Sydney with U.S. delegation

DATELINE: SYDNEY, Australia

BODY:

Chelsea Clinton made her solo debut on the world stage Thursday, arriving here with a U.S. delegation that offered a strong anti-drug message.

Chelsea, 20, is here with Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna Shalala and Barry McCaffrey, director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy, for a six-day visit.

Shalala made a brief statement to journalists as Chelsea stood with McCaffrey and other delegation members upon arrival Thursday. No questions were permitted, and the delegation then departed in a motorcade.

Chelsea, a senior at Stanford University, is taking a term off to spend the final months of the Clinton presidency with her parents.

Though she has often been a silent presence at her father's side during official functions, her trip with the U.S. delegation to Sydney - minus mom and dad - amounts to her solo debut representing the U.S. first family overseas.

The group's agenda includes a news conference Saturday on U.S. support for anti-drug measures at the Salt Lake City Games in 2002, as well as taking in some Olympic sights, including Friday's opening ceremony, a U.S.-China match in women's soccer and a U.S.-Cuba match in women's basketball.

Shalala said the Olympics provide the highest level of athletic competition, along with the inspiration for all people to become more physically active.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 14, 2000



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09/12/2000 06:13:29 PM

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cc: ruby shamir/who/eop@eop, erika a. batcheller/who/eop@eop, joan m. brierton/who/eop@eop,
bobbie_greene@nthp.org @ inet
bcc:
Subject: Re: NY Times today

Here's the article:

New Homes for the 'Charters of Freedom'

September 12, 2000

By WARREN E. LEARY

WASHINGTON, Sept. 11 After more than five years of concerns and planning, the first of a new set of cases to protect the original United States Constitution and other key national documents is ready to replace older encasements that have begun to break down.

Engineers with the federal government and private contractors have built the first of new airtight enclosures that they say should preserve the founding documents of the nation for more than 100 years and help make them easier for people to view.

On Friday, the National Archives and Records Administration will let the public see one of the new cases for the first time. The rarely seen second page of the Constitution will go on display for three days behind the laminated tempered glass of its up-to-date titanium and aluminum enclosure.

Afterward, the original page will go back into a vault and an early model of the case containing a facsimile of the Bill of Rights will anchor an exhibit on efforts to preserve the documents over the years.

All six pages of the foundation documents of the country, known as the Charters of Freedom, will be in new encasements when the rotunda of the National Archives building, where they are displayed, reopens in 2003 after extensive renovations. The rotunda, one of Washington's most popular tourist attractions, will close on July 5, 2001, for reconstruction that will make the documents more accessible to the handicapped and other improvements.

The Charter documents are the original parchment sheets on which are written the Declaration of Independence, the four pages of the United States Constitution and its first 10 amendments, known as the Bill of Rights. George Washington's transmittal letter for the Constitution will also be re-encased in one of the new enclosures.

"The Charters of Freedom are the primary records of the nation, the underpinnings of our society," said John W. Carlin, archivist of the United States and head of the archives administration. "We are going to do everything we can to preserve them while keeping them accessible to the people."

The new encasements, which look like large, deep picture frames, are to replace smaller ones made in 1952 by what was then the National Bureau of Standards. The new cases are being made and tested by the bureau's successor agency, the National Institute of Standards and Technology, known as NIST.

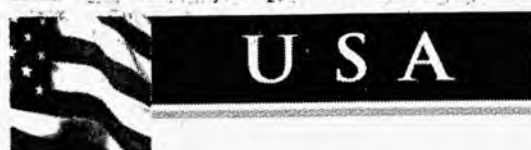
More than five years ago, keepers of the documents began noticing subtle changes in the old, bronze-framed enclosures, which hinted that the glass was beginning to deteriorate. Under special lighting, a haziness was noticed in areas of inner panes of glass that touched parts of the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence. Conservators also noticed tiny white flakes in some enclosures, possible evidence of unwanted chemical reactions caused by air and excessive moisture.

Outside experts commissioned by the Archives concluded that there was no immediate danger to the documents, but recommended looking into new enclosures.

The old enclosures are a sandwich of three panes of glass supported by bronze brackets and sealed with lead strips, with the entire assembly then placed in an outer bronze frame. The document rests on a sheet of pure cellulose backing paper covering the back glass pane. A thin glass cover lies atop the parchment to hold it flat. There is an empty space above this inner pane and a top sheet of glass in front. The middle glass sheet touching the parchment is the major concern with the old case, experts said.

Engineers pumped air out of the enclosure and filled it with helium, an inert gas that displaces oxygen and inhibits chemical reactions, and enough water vapor to produce a relative humidity inside of 25 to 35 percent before sealing it. Parchment, which is stretched and cured animal skin, needs some moisture to keep it from becoming brittle. But too much water can cause the material to swell and can promote the growth of organisms if they are present.

Richard Judson, an engineer who serves as the Archives's project manager for the new encasements, said preliminary tests of gases from some of the old enclosures indicated that the concerns were warranted. Relative humidity in these cases was found to range from 41.4 percent to 48.5 percent, higher than expected, and oxygen-containing air was found in the containers holding Page 3 of



N.Y. soft money ban lifts Lazio's election prospects

■ Candidates' pledge begins tomorrow.
Critics say it won't outlast a drop in polls.

By Alexandra Marks
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

NEW YORK — Money counts — at no time more so than in the last few weeks of a political campaign.

But in New York, the fight to be perceived as the "good government candidate" actually ached the almighty dollar over the weekend when first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rep. Rick Lazio

agreed to swear off so-called soft money in the nation's second-most-prominent political race.

Analysts are split on what impact it will have on the race. Some contend that it puts Mrs. Clinton clearly on the defensive, since Representative Lazio has about a \$3 million hard edge money lead over her. She'll have to retool her fundraising campaign, and do it fast.

But others argue the pledge will have no effect at all. Even though most Americans favor such campaign-finance initiatives as a way to get influence peddling out of the nation's political process, it rarely affects the way they vote.

"There is no indication from any public opinion poll ever that the public votes on the basis of campaign finance," says Ester

Fuchs, a political scientist at Barnard College in New York. "If they did, we would have had the reforms long ago."

Still, reform advocates call the weekend pledge that goes into effect tomorrow a historic breakthrough that could help usher in an new era of political change. From their perspective, campaign-finance overhaul is getting its first real national road test in one of the toughest and most heated political environments.

But that's if it works. And many naysayers doubt it will. The agreement is voluntary and it depends on voluntary compliance from an assortment of political and issue-oriented groups. Critics contend it won't last beyond the first precipitous dip in the polls for either candidate.

"You already have Bill Powers from the state Republican Party



DAVID DUPREY/AP

SWEARING OFF SOFT MONEY: Rep. Rick Lazio and his opponent, Hillary Rodham Clinton, have agreed to a voluntary ban.

saying he's not going to abide by it. I doubt the Conservative Party will, and on the flip side John Sweeney of the AFL-CIO isn't going to," says pollster John Zogby. "Basically, it will make as much difference as the Briand de Kellogg Peace pact of 1928 that outlawed war — the stakes are too high, and they've got the money, so they're going to find a way to

spend it."

Dozens of issue groups will be grappling this week with how to handle the requests from the respective candidates for the voluntary ban. For many, from the National Abortion Right Action League to the United Federation of Teachers to the Right to Life Committee, elections are not only times to stump for candidates, but also time to get out their own message and organize.

"On the one hand, they say they have First Amendment rights of their own and a message they need to get out," says Helen Desfosses, a political scientist at SUNY Albany. "But on the other hand, if some of [Clinton's] supporters are seen as the ones that circumvent this ban, I don't think that's

going to play well, either. It's a very messy and complex environment."

Still, some analysts believe it will help in the "perceptions war" in the tight and fluid race.

Lazio was clearly on the defensive after slipping in the polls and facing questions about his "gravitas" and preparedness for the

Continued on next page

THE
CHRISTIAN
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MONITOR.

"THE OBJECT OF THE MONITOR IS
TO INJURE NO MAN, BUT TO
BLESS ALL MANKIND."
— Mary Baker Eddy

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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

2 Tuesday, September 26, 2000

U S A

N.Y. soft money ban lifts Lazio's election prospects

Continued from previous page

Senate after the debate in Buffalo. But in the last week, he's been on the offensive and regained some ground.

Not only has he forced Mrs. Clinton to accept a ban, which she originally proposed but ultimately shied away from, he also attacked her use of presidential perks.

AFTER Lazio pressured the White House for weeks, spokesman Joe Lockhart admitted that, of the 404 overnight guests of the Clintons' in the last year, 100 were contributors to her campaign who gave a total of \$624,000.

Mr. Lockhart contended they were friends of the family, supporters and public officials to whom the Clintons wanted to "extend the opportunity to stay with them in their home." Still, it was immediately dubbed "sleepover-

'They've got the money, so they're going to find a way to spend it.'

— John Zogby, pollster

gate" and critics were amazed that the White House had not learned from the 1995 Lincoln Bedroom scandal.

Lazio has been using both issues to pound away at Clinton's credibility and ethics.

But several analysts believe that Lazio's beating the wrong drum in the bully pulpit by trying to attack Clinton's character and taking a "holier than thou" stance.

"I don't see where he scores the good government points for going after her soft money, when he's been using vicious character assassination in his national direct-mail campaign," says Ms. Fuchs. "From a functional equivalence, what's the difference between doing that kind of campaign and a soft-money campaign? They just get around using different loopholes."

While it's still too early to tell if this particular soft-money pledge will hold for the next few weeks, let alone the next few days, many analysts believe it still could have a long-term effect on the whole campaign-finance overhaul debate. "A lot of the independent groups are going to come out of this election with a bigger stake than they've ever had in campaign-finance reform," says Ms. Desfosses. "They're going to realize that they have to be involved in straightening this thicket out, so they won't be inhibited in the future."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



FOUNDED IN 1908 BY MARY BAKER EDDY

*'First the blade, then the ear,
then the full grain in the ear.'*

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◆ THE MONITOR'S VIEW ◆

THE CLINTON-LAZIO HANDSHAKE

EVEN one finger in the soft-money dike is useful, and now we have two.

Candidates Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rick Lazio, running in the country's most intensely watched US Senate race, have agreed to block unrestricted "soft" campaign funds from their contest.

This is a welcome step, considering that this year's national election campaign will break all records in its accumulation of soft money from corporations, unions, and other politically interested sources.

But the New York pact will be easier proclaimed than accomplished.

Much of the money flowing into the Clinton-Lazio race has come from party organizations, the main soft-money conduit. The candidates can credibly cut off that source. But a lot is also flowing from independent groups or political committees that

pay for so-called "issue ads."

These ads typically knock candidates for their stands on questions like abortion or environmental regulation – implying, of course, that you should vote for the other person.

Both Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Lazio have pledged to ask groups that back them to stop such ads. But it's up to the groups to comply. The candidates' agreement on soft money allows for response in kind if one side breaks this pledge. The flood could resume.

If, however, this agreement holds, it could be historic.

Pledges to reform campaign-finance practices and ban soft money have become something of a political leitmotif in recent years. Remember the famous handshake between Newt Gingrich and the other Clinton? But they've been short-lived and largely meaningless. The Lazio-Clinton deal could change that.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



By RICHARD JOHNSON
with Paula Froelich
and Chris Wilson

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Sid's secrets

PRESIDENTIAL hatchet man **Sidney Blumenthal** is penning a tell-all about his political life with **Bill** and **Hillary Clinton** in order to pay his bills. All he needs is a publisher. Insiders say the White House aide not only took a huge pay cut to work at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., he also incurred crushing legal bills when he was subpoenaed as a witness in the president's impeachment. Sources say Blumenthal recently had to sell his house and moved into a more modest place. But a White House spokesperson said, "The notion is ludicrous and completely without basis in fact." Blumenthal is on medical leave for colon cancer.

New York Post

Friday, September 29, 2000

Let's send NARAL's Conlin to her womb

MY social scientist, Ed Kavanagh, leaned closer to me as he sucked on a Coors Light and demanded to know where Kelli Conlin came from.

"Where would she be today," he asked, "if her mother found her to be an inconvenience while pregnant?"

Eddie Kavanagh can often talk underwater, under anesthesia, or under Coors Light.

But he has a massive point.

These people on the fifth-floor of a Broadway office under the umbrella of the "pro-choice" group reserve the right to run TV ads de-



spite the Lazio-Clinton deal.

The National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League was speaking loudly.

They want to "reserve the right" to run a TV advertisement highlighting what they call GOP Senate candidate Rick Lazio's anti-choice positions.

Kelli Conlin waxed about the fact they had the right to do this despite the campaign agreement over "soft" money. And she was quite right. But put Kelli Conlin on the grill and she is as cold as yesterday's fish.

When I asked her about "partial-birth" abortion, NARAL's Bob Jaffe interceded, saying: "We're talking about the ads."

Jaffe later told me, "We're against partial-birth abortion, but leave that to the doctors, not the politicians."

Well, we left it to the doctors and not the politicians, and the American Medical Association came out against partial-birth abortion. They saw it as murder. Then they reversed themselves. It wasn't murder.

Yesterday was the most gorgeous case of flimflam I've ever seen.

Jaffe, Kelli Conlin's surrogate, said: "We have the right to run what we wish, we have not spoken to Hillary Clinton at all," he said.

I clutched my heart in disbelief but I have to believe what a man says.

The reason I want their abortion ads, which talk

See **DUNLEAVY** on Page 20

NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 2000

Let's send NARAL chief to her womb

DUNLEAVY from Page 8

loudly about Rick Lazio voting 43 times against pro-choice positions, to run is simply this:

I don't believe that women are murderers. Men are more liable to kill than women. I don't believe women wish to kill something that grows within them.

Before you stands no saint, having confessed to you in print before that I have been a party to abortion in a more selfish, childish era. The guilt never leaves you.

But for this organization to show video which they say "will not be shown" and to get my attention, along with all the TV channels, is a pretty good ploy.

I ask Jaffe, the surrogate of Kelli Conlin, whether it would be shown.

"It depends," he said with decent guardedness.

But I want that ad on television. If Rick Lazio voted against abortion rights 43 times, I'm with him.

I have seen a video of partial-birth abortion. It is a basic scissors in the back of the skull. I don't wish to go any further.

How dare anyone talk about pro-choice when they have the beauty of living in this great world, smelling the beautiful air, sweating in gorgeous heat, freezing in lovely cold, having the warmth of a spouse, with our arms around both, seeing children win, lose and ultimately be victorious?

How can we, as my social scientist Eddie Kavanagh says, get an answer for the question put to Kelli Conlin: "Where would you be today if your mother found you to be an inconvenience while pregnant?"

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



LIKE BUTTER: Barbra Streisand, wearing a dress she designed, woos fans with her silky smooth voice at the Garden.

Kevin Mazur

fourth major scandal the agency in a decade. "This kind of conduct is reprehensible," Clinton said. "There's something wrong with the way we're doing things here that we have to change. I should have anticipated doing this seven years ago."

A task force headed by Clinton's onetime aide to Giuliani at the Manhattan U.S. Attorney's office will look for ways to clean up the agency, which has been plagued by a "systemic lack of integrity" for at least 30 years, the task force said.

Recommendations, which could include folding the agency into the Department of Justice, are expected by the end of the year.



TRUST BUSTING

Here's how Rick Lazio has called rival Hillary Rodham Clinton's character into question:

- At their first debate: Lazio used the candidates' first face-off to question Clinton's credibility — largely by linking her to her husband's scandals.
- The soft-money war: Lazio pushed Clinton to bar the large, unregulated donations — which she'd raised lots of, while he hadn't — as a "test of character."
- TV ads: For the most part, Lazio's ads end with the tagline: "Hillary Clinton. You just can't trust her."

'Trust' issue a dead end for Lazio: pundits

CHARACTER from Page 8

ing returns. Because then you give the appearance that you're just like every other politician. Tell us why you're better [than she is]."

Mercurio suggested Lazio launch a massive ad-buy featuring "positive" spots that compare his positions to Clinton's.

"He's wasted two weeks on this campaign often points out,

[soft money], an issue that voters aren't paying attention to. The negatives are only going to lower turnout."

While some of Lazio's congressional record may not play well with Democratic voters, he could, for example, play up his sponsorship of a major public-housing bill, Mercurio said.

accurately, that Clinton started slinging mud before he did, promptly putting out a negative ad when Lazio entered the race as Mayor Giuliani's GOP replacement.

But Lazio almost immediately followed suit, unleashing an ad blitz assaulting Clinton as a non-New Yorker who "distorted my record" in her ads, all ending

with the "can't trust her" tag line.

Clinton's ads, in turn, linked Lazio to conservative Republicans and stated: "Rick Lazio. The more you know, the more you wonder."

But unlike most of the Lazio ads, Clinton's brand of negativity has focused on comparing the candidates' policy positions.

New York Post

Friday September 29 2000

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

'Trust' issue a dead end for Lazio: pundits

By MAGGIE HABERMAN

Rick Lazio's main strategy, attacking Hillary Rodham Clinton's character, isn't working, experts say.

With Lazio's recent poll numbers stuck, the candidate may need to switch from his slash-and-burn strategy to a "positive" one that clearly defines how he's more than just "un-Hillary," pollsters and political consultants said.

"I think it's his race to lose, but he's doing a good job of it," Republican consultant Joseph Mercurio said.

"He's way off what his message should be. It should be positive, about what he is."

Lazio has tried to make Clinton's character the central issue of the race, largely through a series of TV ads that state: "Hillary Clinton. You just can't trust her."

The spots try to remind anti-Hillary, and undecided, voters of Clinton's out-of-state roots and questions about her honesty.

But analysts say she's been a Teflon candidate. The negatives slide off her almost as fast as her opponent raises them, and only

the damage she inflicts on herself seems to last.

And the handful of crucial, undecided voters, who mostly reject negative campaigning and say they want to hear about issues, aren't won over by the "trust" question, polls show.

Lazio campaign manager Bill Dal Col insists the strategy is on track and that pundits aren't "looking at the polls we see."

"I've actually had some pollsters tell us, 'You've got to go a lot more negative,'" he told The Post yesterday. "What we did is sustain her negatives."

He said the "trust" ads

have always been linked to issues like Clinton's education record.

"The race, in the end, is going to come down to issues/character ... can they trust you to carry out what you've illustrated as your programs, based on your character?" he added.

But after a Quinnipiac University poll this week showed Clinton hitting the 50 percent mark for the first time, with Lazio at 43 percent, some of the congressman's staffers said Clinton's negatives aren't taking hold.

"Nothing is sticking," one insider said.

In that poll, 67 percent of

likely voters also said a candidate's position on issues matters more to them than "experience or personal qualities."

Marist College pollster Lee Miringoff said: "Our sense of it is that his emphasis on character gets him into the [40 percent area in polls]. To get to the magic 50, he needs to get beyond that."

"The undecideds have rejected [the idea of] rejecting Hillary," Miringoff said.

Pollster John Zogby said the current strategy "may reach a point of diminish-

See CHARACTER on Page 20

JUST TING

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'Trust' issue a dead end for Lazio: pundits

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New York Post

Friday September 29 2000

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

8

NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 2000

Campaign★2000

'Choice' anti-Rick TV ad a soft-money threat

By Gregg Birnbaum in Buffalo and Maggie Haberman in New York

The soft-money deal between Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rick Lazio nearly collapsed yesterday when a leading abortion-rights group publicized a new attack ad that isn't being aired — yet.

Five days after the Senate candidates' unprecedented agreement to restrict soft-money ads was reached, the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League held a "coming attractions" press conference to preview a biting 30-second commercial painting Lazio as strongly anti-abortion.

"We are not beholden to any candidate," said NARAL executive director Kelli Conlin, who added that the chances are "very, very high" that the ad will be shown at some point, but not right now.

Broadcasting the ad on TV or radio is barred by the soft-money pact, and Clinton pleaded with the group — which has endorsed her — not to do it.

But a virtually identical anti-Lazio newspaper advertisement — not barred by the deal — is being purchased, Conlin said.

Conlin said the reason the group isn't doing a media buy for the spot isn't because of the candidates' deal but because the contest's rhetoric has been "poisoned" by the soft-money battle.

But Conlin said she held the press conference to make clear that she was



NOW YOU SEE IT . . . Kelli Conlin, head of a leading abortion-rights group, held a press conference yesterday to show off this TV ad attacking Rick Lazio — then said it won't air just yet.

opposed to the ban.

Lazio, a Republican who calls himself pro-choice, blasted NARAL and demanded his Democratic rival repudiate the group's actions.

"I don't think it's in the spirit of the agreement," Lazio told reporters after speaking to the Rotary Club in Buffalo.

"I think Mrs. Clinton should condemn it."

But the Clinton campaign insisted NARAL had done nothing wrong.

"This ad isn't going to be

run," said Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson. "We do not feel this is a violation of the agreement."

Campaigning in Rochester, Lazio was asked if George W. Bush should agree to a soft-money ban in the presidential race, which his opponent Al Gore has welcomed.

Lazio didn't mention Bush by name but said he would prefer all campaigns follow such a ban.

Meanwhile, the Clinton campaign released a new statewide commercial

touting the first lady as a tax-cutter and warning that Lazio will break the bank.

"Rick Lazio's tax plan costs more than a trillion dollars," the ad says, "and just like George Bush's, Lazio's plan squanders the whole surplus."

It ends with the tag line, "Hillary . . . the right tax cuts, the right choice."

Also yesterday, Lazio took a step toward addressing criticism from the Clinton campaign — and even some Republican

that he is not paying enough mind to upstate's economic problems.

"I know that the recovery here hasn't reached every single family," Lazio said in Buffalo, inserting a new "I feel your pain" line into his standard stump speech.

Hillary's got a secret

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NEWS

Poll: Hillary at 50%, Gains Among Women

by **Elizabeth Moore**
Staff Writer

Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday crossed the "magic" threshold of majority voter support in a new Quinnipiac University poll that shows her leading Rep.

Rick Lazio 50 percent to 43 percent and edging him among white women voters.

"If she can hold on to those voters she can't lose," said Maurice Carroll, director of the polling institute, who explained that the 50 percent mark is considered "magic" by analysts because of the tendency of undecided voters to ultimately vote against the incumbent. In this race, Carroll said, pollsters compare Clinton to an incumbent because she's so well known.

Two of Wall Street's most influential figures, former Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin and investment guru Warren Buffet, yesterday endorsed both Clinton and her economic plans, which included a new proposal to require that 20 percent of the budget surplus be dedicated to deficit reduction. Only a three-fifths vote of Congress could tap it under her proposal.

Rubin, who is credited with driving the debt-reduction policies that led to the nation's economic boom, did his own analysis of Lazio's package of tax cuts and spending proposals, and said together they would "create a very, very substantial risk" of deficits.

"The vice president and Hillary are committed to continuing on the tough, but I think essential, path of fiscal discipline," Rubin told students at the Columbia Business School in Manhattan.

Campaigning in upstate Newburgh, Lazio continued to assert yesterday that it was Clinton's tax plan that would bust a hole in the budget. His campaign pointed out that tax increases were part of the 1993 budget Clinton praised yesterday, and dismissed Rubin's comments as partisan.

"Flash: Clinton administration official endorses Hillary," joked Lazio spokesman Dan McLagan.

But that joke only served to highlight one of the painful dilemmas for Lazio in the campaign's final weeks: Clinton is

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reaping the celebrity advantages of running on the popular policies of the Clinton-Gore administration, while Lazio has been forced to distance himself from his party's more conservative standardbearer, Texas Gov. George Bush, who trails Gore badly in New York.

Rubin, a senior Citigroup executive whose West Wing office was once two doors down from that of the first lady, was jovially affectionate toward Hillary Clinton onstage yesterday. He said she showed "enormous curiosity" about economic issues in their sometimes vigorous debates and was a strong early supporter of his then-controversial deficit reduction strategy.

Clinton aides were upbeat about yesterday's Quinnipiac results, which suggested the campaign is starting to play to Clinton's strengths, with respondents saying issues are more important to them than the candidates' "experience and personal qualities" by 67 percent to 29 percent. Clinton wins on the issues with these voters, while Lazio is deemed by more to be likable and trustworthy.

The poll also showed her meeting the 60 percent benchmark of Jewish support that winning Democrats typically receive, and by 49 percent to 44 percent, reclaiming a long-denied advantage among white women.

The margin of error in the poll, which questioned 889 likely voters, was plus or minus 3.3 percent.

"We know this race is going to be close, but it's nice to hit the big five-oh," Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson said. "Hillary is working hard and continuing to gain with New Yorkers because she keeps on talking about the issues they care about." But McLagan noted that poll results have varied widely in this race, and recent New York incumbents have posted big leads only to lose the election a month later.

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Campaign ★ 2000

Rick rings in 'cold call' campaign

RICK Lazio is reaching out and touching undecided and independent voters.

More than 700,000 automated calls have been made across the state this week featuring the Long Island congressman in a 15-second recording asking voters for their support.

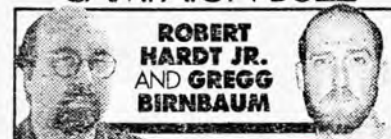
"I know I can count on you," Lazio says on the recording. "Together we can beat Hillary Clinton."

Lazio then directs people who want to volunteer, or contribute, to his Web site and toll-free number.

"This is a very effective, targeted way for Rick personally to get his positive message out to voters asking them for their support," said Lazio spokesman Dan McLagan.

Even Hillary Clinton's top aides haven't been told exactly

CAMPAIGN BUZZ



what role the president will play in the final weeks of her campaign.

"In the last two weeks of October, you'll see more of the president, but no one has told us exactly how much of a public part he'll be taking," one insider said.

"No matter what happens, it seems very unlikely that we're going to have a five-day 'Bubba Blitz,'" said another aide.

"This is her campaign, not his."

But ultimately, it will be up to Hillary and her No. 1 campaign adviser — her husband — to determine how much time he'll spend in New York next month.

While the president has held several big fund-raisers for Hillary, he has attended only two events for her that haven't been about raising money for the Senate race.

Insiders also said that First Daughter Chelsea will not increase her role in the campaign when she returns from the Olympics next week.

It looks like George W. Bush's team wants to borrow a page from the Lazio campaign's playbook for next week's presidential debate with Al Gore.

No, Bush isn't going to suddenly dash over to Gore's podium waving a soft-money pledge — but he may use the Internet to keep the exaggeration-prone vice president from getting away with any tall tales.

Bush's aides this week were in touch with Lazio staffers to find out how they set up a clever in-

stant-response system that was used in the face-off earlier this month with Hillary.

While the debate was taking place — and most reporters covering it in Buffalo were online — the Lazio camp bombarded the media with a series of e-mails attacking some of the first lady's claims almost as soon as she had finished making them.

The buzz among political Web surfers — and even those in Clinton headquarters — is a new Internet site, SlapHillary.com.

The site — created by neoconservative David Horowitz — allows Hillary-haters to give an animated slap to a cartoon version of the first lady as she speaks.

In the interest of fair play, we're still waiting for the launch of KickRick.com, a domain name claimed in April by a private group, Democrats.com.



CHELSEA CLINTON
Won't be helping mom.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST

America's oldest continuously published daily newspaper

Hillary's Got a Secret

Who is Hillary Clinton shaking down on her three-day junket out west this week? Curious New Yorkers want to know.

Well, maybe "shakedown" is too harsh a term; it implies "donors" are getting less than their money's worth, and since you can't be sure *what* Hillary is selling this week — The Lincoln Bedroom? A political favor? Future access? — it's hard to know if her customers are getting value for their money.

But would they be "donating" if they didn't think so?

So far during this campaign, it's been hard to say: Last week's White House sleepover list — grudgingly made public — was so lacking in critical details that it was no help at all in determining which of Hill's big-bucks donors got inappropriate Clinton attention.

If everything's above board, why not cough up *all* the relevant information?

To be sure, there would have been no list to begin with had not GOP senatorial candidate Rick Lazio so deeply embarrassed the first lady on so-called soft-money campaign contributions.

We don't believe that soft money is as much a danger to the republic as both Lazio and Mrs. Clinton seem to.

The National Abortion Rights Action League, which views abortion as a secu-

lar sacrament, also supports Hillary.

NARAL is free to buy ads in support of its agenda. Yet, under the terms of last week's soft-money agreement, NARAL can't buy time on behalf of Mrs. Clinton.

But don't voters have a *right* to know where NARAL stands on the candidates? This information is important to folks on both sides of the issue.

What's important is that voters know — in detail — just who *paid* for the ads.

It is just this detail that Mrs. Clinton refuses to provide.

Now she's out west, raising more cash. On Wednesday one of her hosts was Michael Turpen, a high-profile lobbyist.

Not so long ago, he advised the Cheyenne-Arapaho Indians that a \$100,000 gift to the Democrats might enhance tribal claims to some federal land.

The tribe made its pledge.

And guess what? The tribe's leaders got lunch with President Clinton himself — who pledged a prompt inquiry into their claim.

Coincidence? Please.

Yes, the money was later returned — but *only* after the details were made public — which underscores the importance of disclosure.

Who knows which "clients" Turpen is representing these days?

You don't. That's the point.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



A modest proposal for Rick Lazio

FAYETTEVILLE, Ark.

To listen to some of the coffee-shop chatter, a visitor could think Hillary Clinton wants to be the United States senator from Arkansas.

Fayetteville is the seat of the University of Arkansas and the closest thing in Arkansas to a coven of liberals, feminists, radicals and unwashed long hair. A lot of the long hair covers red necks, however, and a Berkeley radical wouldn't necessarily feel at ease prowling the Dickson Street strip. He probably couldn't appreciate how hard some of the young professors have to work at being semi-hip.

Nevertheless, this is ground zero for what's left of native Clinton country, and Hillary is the absentee queen of the hoedown. This is where Hillary first met Arkansas, when Bill was a young professor at the law school having figured out how to dodge the Vietnam draft and she was the live-in girlfriend fresh from Yale Law, in granny glasses and what New Haven girls imagined feed-sack dresses ought to look like. Little Rock is 200 miles farther south, and all down hill.

The political talk is usually no more naive than you might hear in the faculty lounge in Cambridge, Madison, Palo Alto or Bozeman, Mont., but it's earnest enough, and it suggests a campaign opportunity for Rick Lazio.

"The great thing about Hillary getting elected in New York," says an earnest young campus liberal who insists that he ought to keep his name out of the papers, "is that we really would be getting three senators for the price of two."

This would astonish New Yorkers, of course, and that's part of the pleasure some of Hillary's fans in Arkansas take in the prospect. Making sport of Yankees, the undefeated Razorbacks to the contrary notwithstanding, is still the No. 1 pastime. "A Yankee," the old saying here goes, "is worth almost as much as a bale of cotton, and he's twice as easy to pick."

Mr. Lazio, clearly not experienced in picking either cotton or Yankees, needs help. Hillary hit 50 percent in the polls this week. "The days of wine and roses are here for Hillary, if they stick,"

says Maurice Carroll, the head of the Quinnipiac Polling Institute. "With 50 percent, you can't lose. You can tie, but you can't lose." The logic is irrefutable enough, if the Quinnipiac Poll, like all poll findings, is not.

Mr. Lazio insists he's not concerned, but he should be. The most troubling finding confirms what everyone suspected, that large numbers of voters think he lost the first debate with Hillary. He treated her as an equal, and that infuriated a lot of women, feminists most of all.



Miss Hillary

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

A politician clever enough to be his party's candidate for United States senator ought to be clever enough to privately disregard the conventional wisdom while paying necessary court to it in public. Women don't want to be treated as equals, and the man who treats women, God love 'em, as if he thinks a woman is no better than he is will pay dearly for it. Getting in Miss Hillary's face in the debate, with a demand that she practice what she preaches about the ethics of taking other people's money, was the sort of thing a man might do in a face fight with another man. Not very nice.

It was the sort of thing that Miss Hillary might have done. In fact, she has. In 1990, when Bill was laying the foundation for his race for president with one last campaign for governor of Arkansas, Miss Hillary single-handedly took a feared challenger out of the race. A young man named Tom McRae called the reporters in for his formal announcement and Miss Hillary herself showed up, without pad and pencil but with a lot of attitude. She started asking the questions, taunting and mocking him, and the press conference broke up in anger and confusion. Rick Lazio — or better yet, the men who put together his campaign commercials — could look it up. The videotape is highly entertaining, and very revealing.

Mr. Lazio doesn't have to remind anyone of who the Clintons are. "Like everyone else," he might say, "I feel sympathy for Bill Clinton's wife. She has had to put up with what no woman should have to put up with. But New Yorkers don't owe Mrs. Clinton a seat in the United States Senate as consolation for her torment over these past eight years. And New Yorkers don't owe Arkansas a third seat in the United States Senate. The taxpayers will be giving the Clintons a sumptuous apartment in Little Rock in that big presidential library on the Arkansas River, and they'll be flying back and forth between Washington and Little Rock at taxpayer expense. Arkansas already has two full-time senators, and New York deserves two full-time senators, too. I want to be one of them, and I won't share my allegiance with Arkansas or any other state."

If New Yorkers are half as selfish as the rest of us know they are, Rick Lazio could spend October calling the hogs.

Wesley Pruden is editor in chief of *The Times*.

By Jackie Mason
and Raul Felder

Einstein proved that all things in space are relative. The only relative we know personally who is involved with space is brother-in-law Irving, who moved into a space on the second floor of our house 27 years ago and is still waiting for the cab to take him to the airport.

It was therefore with some interest that we noted Hillary Clinton's spokesman complained that Rick Lazio, in their debate, had invaded Mrs. Clinton's personal space when he handed her a pledge he had already signed agreeing that neither candidate would accept soft money in their respective Senate campaigns.

Mrs. Clinton's deep concern

*Jackie Mason is a comedian
and Raul Felder is an attorney.*

Get outta my space

How the Clintons have managed to fill the void

about a violation of personal space seems to be confined large-



ly to her own. It's true that Mrs. Clinton did get a little exercised when the news broke that her husband had intruded on the very personal space of Monica Lewinsky. In fact, her husband seems to be quite a specialist in the violation of other people's personal spaces. The list stretches back from Gennifer Flowers to Kathleen Willey (now Kathleen Willey Schwicker) to Paula Jones and beyond.

Billy Dale, the longtime White House travel consultant, not only had his personal space in the White House violated, he had it taken away from him to make way for an Arkansas relative of

the Clintons. In order to accomplish this, the Clintons besmirched Mr. Dale's reputation and had him unjustly accused of criminal activity. To do such a horrendous thing does indeed reflect the price the Clin-

tons are prepared to put on personal space; at least, if it belongs to somebody else.

And what about Lincoln? He had his personal bedroom turned into the highest priced motel in town. Hundreds of thousands of dollars changed hands as contributions to Mrs. Clinton's Senate campaign to rent out the bedroom. The Clintons are not even good businessmen in this regard. Danny DeVito contributed money either before or after he slept in the bedroom. We cannot tell when the money was

paid since the Clintons would not release the dates of payments. So, we don't know if the Clintons required the money in advance, as is the practice with prostitutes, or whether money was paid upon checking out, as one would do at a conventional motel.

We do know, however, the Clintons are not very smart in handling the rooms. In Danny DeVito's case, considering his size compared to Lincoln's, they could have rented out the same bed to another short person at the same time.

After the debate in which Mr. Lazio handed Mrs. Clinton the pledge to sign, a New York Times/CBS Poll showed 53 percent of the men polled and 56 percent of the women polled believed Mr. Lazio was "too aggressive in the debate." This only goes to show that nobody ever lost money in a bet by underestimating the intelligence of the American public.

Hillary's deep concern about a violation of personal space seems to be confined only to her own, while her husband seems to be a specialist in the violation of other people's personal spaces stretching from Kathleen Willey back to Paula Jones and beyond.

New York Times

Friday September 29, 2000

Lazio, Tempering Rosy View, Revisits Economics Upstate

By RANDAL C. ARCHIBOLD

BUFFALO, Sept. 28 — Representative Rick A. Lazio today sought to rebut the perception that he has been too upbeat in the face of economic suffering upstate, asserting before the Rotary Club here that new jobs are being created while acknowledging that "the recovery here has not reached every single family."

Addressing the group a week after his opponent in the Senate race, Hillary Rodham Clinton, told it that Mr. Lazio was out of touch, he stuck close to a stance that has generated some debate upstate and has led even some fellow Republicans to question his approach.

First, Mr. Lazio heard Joel A. Giambra, the Erie County executive and a Republican, present brighter figures on the economy that buttressed the more cautious "we're not out of the woods yet" view he gave to a newspaper last week. Today, Mr. Giambra said that while "boosterism is not going to solve the economic problems here," the "fiscal free fall has stopped" with the net gain of 11,000 jobs in the past 18 months.

Mr. Lazio, noting the statistics, said, "It is symptomatic of a dynamic economy — of an economy that's changing, that's flexible, that's

adapting, that in the end that is growing."

He added, "I know the recovery here has not reached every single family. I know there is still a lot of work to do, and I know that the next senator of New York will need to be a leader of that effort. But the question is: Do we want to build on our recent accomplishments or do we want to return to the policies that caused the recessions in the first place?"

In the end, however, Mr. Lazio did not lay out a plan aimed at the region, saying his overall plan to cut taxes and encourage partnerships between the public and private sectors would stimulate the economy. He did say that he would encourage more high-technology businesses to settle here and suggested that the region would benefit from a high-speed rail link to downstate, but he did not speak of the ideas in detail.

Some in the audience expressed impatience, asking for specifics on what he would do as senator.

Patrick Mills, who would not give his party affiliation but said he had not decided whom to vote for in November, told Mr. Lazio that he had spent too much time telling the group what "disqualifies your opponent rather than what qualifies you." Another man, John Ford, pointed at the

dock outside and asked Mr. Lazio what he would do to develop that area. Mr. Lazio replied that it would depend on the vision of local officials.

Mr. Lazio has spent the past few days emphasizing his tax-cut plan in speeches, but he no longer assigns a figure to it. When he unveiled it in a speech last month, he said it would amount to \$776 billion over the next decade, but Democrats and news reports suggested the figure was closer to \$1 trillion, putting it much more in line with the one proposed by Gov. George W. Bush. Mr. Lazio's aides have since conceded that some of the figures he used were outdated, though he has stood by the plan.

Mr. Lazio's latest swing through the state, which began Wednesday and concludes Saturday, is a prelude to a high-energy drive to secure the upstate vote, his strategists say.

Although it is a traditionally Republican area, polls — both independent and Mr. Lazio's — suggest that Mrs. Clinton poses a strong challenge after heavily campaigning with the message that the upstate economy is hurting and that she will focus on fixing it.

Mr. Lazio's assistants said he would spend considerable time upstate next month, focusing on potential supporters of Vice President Al

Gore who tell pollsters they are undecided on a choice for Senate. "Anyone who says they support Gore but are undecided in this race does not want to vote for Hillary Clinton," a top Lazio official said. "They are looking for a reason not to vote for Clinton."

Mr. Lazio's aides said he had been hurt by commercials from Mrs. Clinton and her supporters that have set back his efforts to tell voters who he is.

Mr. Lazio has complained that the advertisements have distorted his record, and on this trip he has made an effort to correct what he considers misconceptions, especially regarding Medicare. Mrs. Clinton's camp has run commercials saying that Mr. Lazio voted to cut Medicare by \$270 billion; Mr. Lazio instead voted to cut the rate of growth in the program, a position Mrs. Clinton has also supported. In his speeches, Mr. Lazio has told people not to pay attention to the advertisements.

Later, at a nursing home in Rochester, Julia Macikowski, 89, asked Mr. Lazio about his Medicare plan.

He replied: "I'm going to work to make Medicare stronger and to strengthen Social Security. I know how important that is to you."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Lazio Campaign Says Party Fund-Raiser Will Not Break Pact on Soft-Money Use

By ADAM NAGOURNEY
and CLIFFORD J. LEVY

It promises to be the political fund-raising event of the fall season in New York. The cost to attend is as much as \$100,000 for an evening of cocktails and dinner at a Manhattan hotel, alongside some of the most powerful Republicans in the state.

And a featured speaker at the dinner, which is expected to raise several million dollars in soft money for the state Republican Party, is Representative Rick A. Lazio, the Republican candidate for Senate who has mounted something of a crusade in recent weeks to expunge soft money from the race for Senate.

The Lazio campaign yesterday defended the candidate's decision to lend his imprimatur to the event, saying the money would be used for voter drives, not commercials, and so would not violate an agreement he reached with Hillary Rodham Clinton that restricted the use of soft money. Still, his prominent role at the fund-raiser was disclosed as the agreement, announced with some fanfare over the weekend, seemed to be fraying on several fronts.

Mrs. Clinton is now in California, raising soft money, though, she said again there yesterday, not for her commercials. And an abortion rights group declared yesterday that it would not abide by the deal and had prepared a commercial attacking Mr. Lazio that it would most likely put on the air in the coming weeks.

These developments reinforce what aides to both campaigns have acknowledged in recent days: that for all the talk of principle by Mr. Lazio and Mrs. Clinton in embracing a soft-money ban, both sides are conducting business very much as usual.

Even as Mr. Lazio and Mrs. Clinton sought to present themselves as

trailblazers in campaign reform, their aides are describing the pact as a pragmatic and shaky gesture. For Mr. Lazio, it was a way to seize an instant financial advantage over Mrs. Clinton, because she has a strong edge over him in this type of contribution. His aides said Mr. Lazio is preparing to overwhelm Mrs. Clinton with spending of the more regulated kinds of funds known as hard money, where he has the de-

Both sides plan to be ready if a campaign financing deal fails.

cided advantage.

For Mrs. Clinton, it was a chance to clear the deck of a troublesome issue.

The campaigns also acknowledged another calculation yesterday: this agreement could easily crumble in the final weeks before the election — and neither side would be unhappy if it did. Both candidates and their allies are thus amassing large amounts of soft money, which, they said, they will be prepared to dump into television advertising at the first sign that the deal is collapsing.

Aides to Mr. Lazio said yesterday that his agreement to be one of the banner names at what state Republicans described as their premier soft-money fund-raiser of the year would not violate the deal and was not inconsistent with his recent denunciations of such fund-raising practices. They said the money raised would be used only for get-out-the-vote efforts,

which are permitted under the deal, and not for advertisements.

"This is a party fund-raiser," said Dan McLagan, Mr. Lazio's communications director. "This is party-building. This is to get out the vote."

Mr. Lazio has insisted in recent weeks that he has not raised soft money specifically for the campaign because he has not set up a special committee to do so, as Mrs. Clinton has. Her soft-money committee has taken in several million dollars in contributions that have paid for extensive advertising, which, according to the agreement, should have stopped as of this past Wednesday. Still, by helping to sponsor the event, Mr. Lazio is now essentially raising soft money for the state party.

Soft money is collected by party committees in unlimited amounts in an effort to get around strict limits on contributions to candidates. Soft money is not supposed to be spent to help candidates directly, but in recent years, the parties have bought commercials that promote or criticize candidates without mentioning the election.

Mrs. Clinton's spokesman, Howard Wolfson, denounced Mr. Lazio for taking part in the fund-raiser. "Rick Lazio has repeatedly looked New Yorkers in the eye and said he wasn't raising or spending soft money," Mr. Wolfson said. "We now know that was a lie."

Mr. McLagan noted that in the protracted negotiations between Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Lazio over soft money, Mr. Lazio had offered to cease raising soft money entirely, and Mrs. Clinton had declined. She said she wanted the agreement to cover only commercials.

"She didn't want to deal," Mr. McLagan said. "She very pointedly excluded that. Now she's gallivant-



Nancy Siesel/The New York Times

In Manhattan yesterday, Kelli Conlin, director of the state affiliate of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League, denounced an agreement to ban the use of soft money in the New York Senate race.

ing across the country raising goodness knows how much money for goodness knows what groups."

Mr. Lazio brought the issue of soft money to the fore at his debate with Mrs. Clinton in Buffalo two weeks ago, when he walked across the stage and demanded that she sign a form promising to renounce the use of such contributions. She declined. Mr. McLagan said that at the time, Mr. Lazio had already agreed to lend his name to the Republican Party soft-money fund-raiser.

After prodding Mrs. Clinton into agreeing to the ban, Mr. Lazio has embraced it as a central element of his candidacy. "If you look at who's got credibility on this issue, has been calling for campaign finance reform, who's been calling on a ban for soft

money, who's not been raising soft money in his campaign, who's not been spending soft money on his campaign, we've been doing it," he said on "This Week" on ABC last Sunday.

The hosts of the Republican fund-raiser — the New York Victory 2000 dinner — on Oct. 11 are Gov. George E. Pataki; William D. Powers, the state Republican Party chairman; and Earle I. Mack, a real estate developer. Individual tickets cost \$1,000, which covers cocktails and dinner only. Individuals and corporations raising or contributing \$100,000 or more get 17 tickets to attend what a memorandum sent to potential Republican contributors describes as a "photo-op reception" with Republican dignitaries, which is likely to include Mr. Lazio, officials said.

In addition to Mr. Lazio, among those being honored are Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, who himself has been critical of the use of soft money, even though he held a fund-raiser to collect such funds when he was in the race against Mrs. Clinton.

Mr. Giuliani's senior political adviser, Bruce J. Teitelbaum, defended the mayor's decision to attend the event and said that based on his understanding of the event, it would not violate the agreement that Mr. Lazio reached with the first lady.

"The event, as I understand it, is a generic Republican effort to turn out the vote on Election Day," Mr. Teitelbaum said. "Hillary Clinton, true to form, will try to distort the truth and spin this into something it's not."

In Manhattan, the state affiliate of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League held a news conference to denounce the soft-money agreement. Under the agreement, the two campaigns have urged the political parties and advocacy groups to cease buying commercials to influence the contest.

The abortion rights group, which supports Mrs. Clinton, said it had produced a commercial attacking Mr. Lazio's record on abortion, but would not put it on the air immediately. Its executive director, Kelli Conlin, said she was concerned that if the group did so, the fact that it was breaking the agreement might overshadow the ad's content.

"We have an important message to get out to voters," Ms. Conlin said, adding that the Clinton and Lazio campaigns were trying to suppress the free-speech rights of legitimate advocacy groups.

The Conservative Leadership Political Action Committee, which opposes Mrs. Clinton, has also pledged to run commercials soon.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

POLITICS

Ben White

In the End, Presidential Campaign Spending Evens Out

Outside groups led by the AFL-CIO and Handgun Control pumped \$3.6 million into television ads backing **Al Gore's** presidential campaign over the last three months, compared with \$334,505 spent by groups supporting GOP nominee **George W. Bush**, a study released yesterday found.

But total spending on the race remains fairly even, according to the report compiled by the University of Wisconsin and New York University Law School, because Bush and the Republican Party have outspent Gore and the Democratic Party. Since June 1, the Bush campaign, the Republican National Committee and GOP-friendly interest groups have spent \$38 million, compared with \$39.1 million on the Democratic side.

For the week ended Sept. 20, the Bush campaign and the GOP spent \$4.2 million, compared with \$2.9 million for Gore and the Democrats. But outside groups evened the playing field, spending \$1.2 million for Gore compared with \$17,227 for Bush.

The bulk of the interest group ads backing Gore have aired in major media markets in the critical states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan and Missouri.

State-by-state spending figures indicate that the GOP and the Bush campaign spent close to \$1 million last week in Florida, once thought to be safe territory for the GOP nominee. The Gore camp and the

Democratic Party spent \$264,657 in the Sunshine State last week.

Gore spent heaviest for the week in Ohio (\$558,726) and Pennsylvania (\$631,049). The Bush campaign mirrored those numbers in both states. Both campaigns also spent almost identical, though somewhat smaller amounts, in Missouri, Wisconsin and Michigan.

For Undecided Women, Debates Key

In all of those states, late-deciding female voters could determine the outcome, a pair of pollsters said yesterday.

Democrat **Celinda Lake** and Republican **Linda DiVall** said "soccer moms," "waitress moms" and "Social Security moms" in the battleground states may make up their minds based on the candidates' performances in the upcoming debates.

The pollsters said key issues for these women include equal pay and benefits and a family-friendly workplace. Their keen interest in issues—particularly Social Security among the older women—could help Gore, Lake said. But DiVall noted that their desire for a strong leader with solid moral values could help Bush.

Words From Female GOP Lawmakers

A group of female Republican lawmakers held a news conference yesterday to bash **Al Gore** for taking "strip club porn" money, specifically \$2,000 in campaign contributions from **Jim Levin**, who they said



BY JIM MCKNIGHT—ASSOCIATED PRESS



BY DAVID DUPREY—ASSOCIATED PRESS

Hillary Rodham Clinton was chastised by her opponent in the New York Senate race, Rep. **Rick Lazio**, for accepting \$5,000 from the owner of an exotic dance club in Chicago.

owns the Doll House, an exotic dance club in Chicago. Just a day earlier, Rep. **Rick Lazio** (R-N.Y.) chastised his New York Senate opponent, **Hillary Rodham Clinton**, for accepting \$5,000 from Levin and inviting him to spend two nights in the White House.

Another group of GOP female lawmakers will try to help their party's presidential nominee in another way today. Sens. Olympia J. Snowe (Maine) and Kay Bailey Hutchison (Tex.) and Rep. Jennifer Dunn (Wash.) plan to hold a news conference to detail how **George W. Bush's** "message of inclusion" appeals to women and how female members of Congress plan to campaign for him.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Campaign 2000

GORE: LET'S NOT GO '\$OFT'



HUG AND A KISS: Democratic candidate Al Gore kisses the forehead of Wilfred Skinner, 79, in Iowa yesterday, after hearing about her struggles with the high cost of prescription drugs during a forum on Medicare. AP

By Devlin Barrett in Des Moines, Iowa and Vincent Morris in Los Angeles

Al Gore dared rival George W. Bush yesterday to ban all soft-money advertising in the last six weeks of their neck-and-neck presidential race.

But Bush's GOP campaign laughed off the challenge, saying the Democrat fumed for his illegal Buddhist temple fund-raiser can't be trusted to stick to any promises to ban special-interest campaign cash.

Gore's challenge echoes the face-to-face dare Republican Rick Lazio posed to Hillary Clinton in a live debate last month — a challenge that Mrs. Clinton ultimately accepted.

"I am pleased to accept your proposal to ban soft money from the 2000 election," Gore wrote to Republican Sen. John McCain of Arizona and Democrat Russ Feingold of Wisconsin, who have sponsored bipartisan campaign finance reform.

But the Republican camp laughed off the challenge a day after Bush told CNN's Larry King that he'd be skeptical of any deal offered by Gore "because I don't trust him, to be frank with you."

Bush spokesman Ari Fleischer said: "Al Gore has a history of disregard for campaign finance laws. I just doubt that somebody who has recognized no controlling legal authority over his campaign fund-raising is going to abide by a handshake now."

Gore vowed that if Bush would shake on it, he'll ask the DNC and "independent organizations" like the AFL-CIO to stop buying ads —



GEORGE W. BUSH Doesn't "trust" opponent.

but not stop mailings or other efforts.

But Gore spokesman Chris Lehane said the ban wouldn't cover funds already prepaid by Democrats and independent groups for pro-Gore ads to run later — an exemption that Republicans said makes it all a joke.

"It's a Clinton-style thing. It's totally dishonest — it's like not robbing the bank

But Bush scoffs at fund-ban sincerity

because the vault is already empty," said GOP pollster John McLaughlin.

McLaughlin explained that independent groups book and prepay their soft-money ads long in advance because they aren't guaranteed access to ad time like candidates.

Soft money refers to funds raised by political committees operating outside fund-raising laws — it's not supposed to be used to promote candidates, but in practical terms it often is.

Much of the \$5 million doled up to Democrats — including Gore — by fat-cat White House sleeper guests over the past 14 months was soft money.

Gore's challenge means soft money could become an issue at the first presidential debate next Tuesday.

Bush aides yesterday kept pressing the FBI to step up its probe of how a Bush debate prep tape got to the Gore campaign — and whether a mole was responsible.

Bush media man Stu Stevens "has told the FBI 'You ought to come talk to me,' but they haven't done it," said Bush spokesman Tucker Eskew. "How long does it take?"

More on the presidential race /

■ Campaign Trail: Page 24

■ Snapshots: Page 24

At 50 percent, Hillary's halfway home: poll

Hillary Rodham Clinton reached the crucial 50 percent mark for the first time in a Senate race poll as she and her GOP foe sparred over economics for the second straight day.

The Quinnipiac University poll found Clinton leading her GOP rival Rick Lazio, 50 percent to 43 percent among likely voters.

"The days of wine and roses are here for Hillary, if they stick," said Maurice Carroll, head of Quinnipiac's Polling Institute.

"With 50 percent, you can't lose. You can tie, but you can't lose."

Noting that the last Quinnipiac poll had the Democrat up 49 percent to 44 percent, Lazio spokesman Dan McLagan said, "There's no change from the last Quinnipiac poll."

After speaking at Columbia University, Clinton said she was "very pleased" with the poll's findings.

"We know this race is going to be close but it's nice to hit the big five-oh," said her spokesman, Howard Wolfson.

By Gregg Birnbaum in Newburgh and Robert Hardt Jr., in New York

After being informed about the poll numbers by his aides, Lazio bounded off his campaign bus in upstate Newburgh and told reporters: "I'm a happy camper. I know I am the underdog in this race."

"I'm not concerned. I think what's important is we've seen the energy and enthusiasm of people at the grass-roots level, and that's what I'm seeing wherever I go."

The poll, with a margin of error of plus or minus 3 percentage points, also found that more voters believe Clinton won her Sept. 13 debate with Lazio, 44 percent to 34 percent.

The survey, conducted from Sept. 20-25, also found that an astounding 77 percent of those polled said they will watch the Oct. 8 Senate debate on WCBSTV.

The poll numbers came as Clinton proposed creating a cap that would limit congressional spending or tax cuts to less than 80 percent of the projected budget surplus.

"If Congress ever wants to spend more than that 80 percent, then I would argue it should have to muster the consent of at least three-fifths of both houses," Clinton said at Columbia.

"George Bush and Rick Lazio and other Republicans are proposing tax schemes that would not meet this test of fiscal responsibility," she said.

Lazio ridiculed Clinton's proposal — saying initiatives she has made on the campaign trail would already exceed the budget surplus.

"I don't know how she's going to do that," Lazio said.

"If she spent all the surplus already — it's fine rhetoric. But when you add the numbers, it doesn't add up."



GETTING AHEAD: Senate candidate Hillary Clinton, enjoying a more comfortable lead in recent polling, speaks with former Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin at Columbia University yesterday. AP

Don't Taint Pollard's Pardon

Political games could hurt Hillary — and Israel



**ERIC
FETTMANN**

IT'S becoming increasingly apparent that Hillary Clinton has chosen the fate of imprisoned U.S. Navy analyst Jonathan Pollard as her key issue in appealing to Jewish voters.

While that could work to Pollard's immediate advantage, it's a dangerous move — for Hillary in the short run, and for Israel in the long run.

Hillary's Republican opponent, Rick Lazio, has actually helped make it easier for the White House to spring an "October surprise" by calling for President

Freeing Pollard before Election Day would be seen as a crass political deal.

Clinton to announce immediately whether he intends to grant clemency to Pollard.

On one level, Lazio has a point: In the wake of a broken 1998 promise to then-Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Clinton vowed to undertake a "full review" of the case and make a decision on clemency "in a prompt way." But nearly two years later, no decision is in sight.

So Lazio is not entirely wrong when he calls on the president to do something or get off the pot.

But that's also a blatant invitation to Clinton to act in the heat of a campaign that will decide his wife's political fate. And that is a temptation that (as with every other temptation that's crossed his path) Bill Clinton may find difficult to resist.

Mrs. Clinton's interest in the Pollard case was sparked by her desire to win Jewish voters who are especially strong supporters of Israel — the type of people who were understandably repelled by her embrace of Suha Arafat and the patently dishonest way in which she and her aides handled the incident.

To that end, she has been wooing, in particular, one of the most vocal Democrats in the pro-Israel community, Brooklyn Assemblyman Dov Hikind, who

has let it be known that his endorsement hinges largely on the candidate's stand on clemency.

The Jewish Week reported last Friday that Mrs. Clinton, her aides and key Democratic legislators were closeted in meetings last week to discuss "the political and judicial ramifications" of calling on the Justice Department to declassify a "damage assessment" memo from then-Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger on the classified material Pollard gave to Israel.

The damning document, which

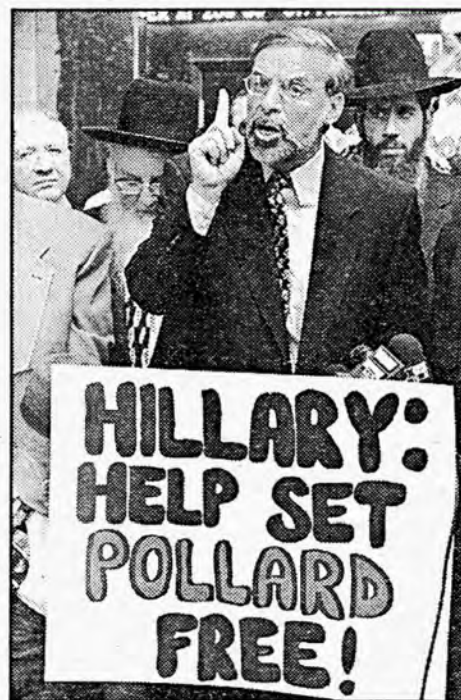
even Pollard's current lawyers have not seen, is widely believed to have been the key to convincing Judge Aubrey Robinson to sentence Pollard to life in prison.

Pollard's supporters are sure the current furor over the failed prosecution of alleged Los Alamos spy Wen Ho Lee enhances their cause: Celebrated lawyer Alan Dershowitz says the Lee case "has provided tremendous leverage" for Pollard. And Pollard's wife, Esther, recently told Fox News Channel that prosecutors' abuse of Lee is "the best mirror of the Pollard case."

But the two cases are very dissimilar — and will doubtless be seen that way.

Serious questions have been raised about the extent of Wen Ho Lee's guilt and whether his plea on only a relatively minor charge puts the lie to claims that he engaged in espionage comparable to the Rosenbergs'. Pollard, on the other hand, is indisputably guilty.

While there have been strong suggestions that he was also blamed for espionage that was actually committed by CIA turncoat and traitor Aldrich Ames,



Pulling Hillary's strings? The first lady is said to be eager for Assemblyman Dov Hikind's endorsement.

Brigitte Stelzer

there is no denying that Pollard was a serious agent who passed tremendously important classified material to Israel.

Moreover, his appeals for clemency have been based on issues like due process (Did the government violate a plea-bargaining agreement?) and whether his sentence was unduly harsh. That's not likely to create much sympathy outside the pro-Israel

community, which has focused on the details of the case.

Freeing Jonathan Pollard before Election Day would rightly be seen by most Americans as a crass political deal with a blatant partisan smell. And Hillary's sudden interest — and intense involvement — reeks of the same.

And (at the risk of sounding like those who have mistakenly urged Jews not to exercise their political rights for fear of provoking anti-Semitism) springing Pollard would likely create tremendous resentment against Israel and its supporters.

All this has little to do with whether or not Pollard deserves clemency. Two senators who have undertaken to explore the classified material have reached entirely different conclusions: Chuck Schumer, after a CIA briefing on the Weinberger memo, favors releasing Pollard. Joe Lieberman, who has seen portions of the classified data, was one of 60 senators demanding that Pollard remain behind bars (although he now urges that secret information on the case be released, if appropriate).

The only issue at stake here is the timing of a decision — and the political uses to which it might be put. Clinton may move before the election if his wife feels she needs the help. But that risks a wide voter backlash. He should wait until after Nov. 7, when it will be too late for political fallout. (That's why Ronald Reagan waited until after the 1988 election to formally open talks with the PLO.) Clemency for Jonathan Pollard should be decided on the merits — and only on the merits.

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NEW YORK POST THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 2000

PHOTOCOPY
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Inside Politics



Hillary at 50%

Hillary Rodham Clinton has reached the 50 percent support level for the first time in her Senate race against Republican Rep. Rick Lazio, according to a poll released yesterday.

Among the likely New York voters questioned, Mr. Lazio trailed with 43 percent, according to the poll issued by the Quinnipiac University Polling Institute.

A Sept. 12 poll by the institute had the first lady leading the congressman from Long Island by 49 percent to 44 percent.

"We know this race is going to be close, but it's nice to hit the big five-o," Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson said.

Mr. Lazio's campaign played down the new results, the Associated Press reports.

"Polls have been all over the place, so we don't pay much attention to them," spokesman Dan McLagan said. "Essentially, there's no change from the last Quinnipiac poll."

It found the race close in upstate New York, with Mr. Lazio at 46 percent and Mrs. Clinton at 44 percent. In the New York City suburbs, Mr. Lazio led 53 percent to 40 percent, but in the city itself Mrs. Clinton was ahead 67 percent to 39 percent.

Terminal silliness

"Hillary Clinton and Rick Lazio have agreed to try to ban soft money spent on behalf of their New York Senate campaigns. The operative word is 'try,' because driving money from politics is akin to King Canute commanding the waves to stop," the Wall Street Journal says.

"The agreement is hollow; allies of the two candidates are already making noises they won't comply. And why should they? Other than the parsons of the press and incumbent politicians, everyone knows these bans restrict free speech. That any such notion should enter a political campaign is terminal silliness," the newspaper said in an editorial.

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TARPER...



MZ. HILLARY...
IF YOU LOSE THE
ELECTION, WHAT
STATE DO YOU PLAN
ON LOVING
NEXT?

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Mrs. Clinton Offers a Plan to Limit Tax Cuts and Spending

By DEAN E. MURPHY

Supported by Robert E. Rubin, the former secretary of the Treasury Department, and Warren Buffett, the billionaire investor, Hillary Rodham Clinton pledged yesterday to protect the federal budget surplus from Republican "tax schemes" by proposing legislation to limit tax cuts and new spending.

Mrs. Clinton, laying out one of her most detailed plans for the budget surplus since entering the New York Senate race, proposed mandatory "debt-reduction caps" that would make it more difficult for Congress to use expected budget surpluses for cutting taxes or paying for new programs.

Her plan, similar in general terms to the one proposed by Vice President Al Gore, goes further than Mr. Gore's by setting aside more money for debt reduction and imposing legislative hurdles for making exceptions.

Under Mrs. Clinton's plan, 20 percent of the budget surplus each year over the next 10 years, apart from money for Social Security and Medicare, would be reserved for reducing the federal debt. That would create a pool of about \$360 billion, her campaign staff estimated.

If Congress wanted to spend that money or use it to offset tax cuts, it would have to do so with a vote of three-fifths of the members of both houses, she said. In addition, the estimated \$2.7 trillion surplus in the Social Security and Medicare accounts would be set aside for debt reduction, she said.



Suzanne DeChillo/The New York Times

Representative Rick A. Lazio, in Newburgh, N.Y., yesterday, spoke of his plan for partnerships between government and industry.

According to her campaign staff's estimates, Mrs. Clinton's proposal would devote about \$60 billion more over the 10 years for debt reduction than would Mr. Gore's budget-surplus plan. Mr. Gore's plan also does not require a three-fifths vote for breaking the spending and tax cut limit.

"We have to put first things first and be conservative in how we use this surplus and project our expenditures," Mrs. Clinton said during

an economic forum at Columbia University. "I would propose that we set some limits on what we can do with the surplus."

But the Republicans said the spending habits of Mrs. Clinton and the Democrats, not their party's proposed tax cuts, are the biggest threat to the surplus. Representative Rick A. Lazio, speaking in Newburgh after touring a riverfront development project, suggested that Mrs. Clinton's policy

proposals would leave little of the surplus left to apply toward reducing the debt. He cited a report by the National Taxpayers Union, a conservative group, that said he economic and education plan would nearly wipe out the surplus.

"So, it's fine rhetoric, but when you add up the numbers, it doesn't add up," Mr. Lazio said. "My economic plan would reserve three quarters of the surplus to protect Social Security and Medicare, pay down the debt and also invest in some important priorities, like education."

Mrs. Clinton used her budget surplus proposal as an opportunity once again to criticize Mr. Lazio's tax plan, which she says would give back too much of the projected \$4.3 trillion surplus to taxpayers, and which Mr. Rubin said would "reject fiscal discipline."

Mr. Lazio spent the day in the Hudson Valley, touring businesses and the Newburgh waterfront and speaking at a business breakfast in Rockland County. The visits were intended to highlight the potential for his plan for improving the economy through an increase in partnerships between the federal government and the private sector, and through lower taxes that Mr. Lazio believes will stimulate the economy.

"I think what we're doing here is we're demonstrating that there is one candidate in this race who has got the capacity to build the kind of partnerships that will be necessary to improve the quality of life for New York," Mr. Lazio said.

First Lady Heads West to Raise Money, Both Hard and Soft

By CLIFFORD J. LEVY

Hillary Rodham Clinton began a three-day fund-raising trip outside New York yesterday with a visit to Oklahoma City, where her host was a former state attorney general who came under scrutiny in one of the fund-raising investigations involving her husband's re-election.

Mrs. Clinton then held an event in Las Vegas last night, and after that travels to the Los Angeles area for two days.

Her opponent, Representative Rick A. Lazio, has criticized her for relying heavily on contributions from Hollywood celebrities, a traditional fund-raising source for Democrats, and at first, her aides would not disclose the names of sponsors of the California events.

They later acknowledged that one host would be Cher. The others include the financier Marvin Davis and his wife, Barbara.

Most of the money from the fund-raising trip is expected to go to Mrs. Clinton's Senate campaign, but she also plans to collect soft money for the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

In the New York contest, she and her Democratic allies have tentatively agreed not to spend soft money — the largely unregulated contributions collected by parties in an effort to circumvent contribution limits — under an arrangement with Mr. Lazio.

But Mrs. Clinton, who headed West after addressing an economic forum at Columbia University yesterday morning, has said she will



Associated Press

Oklahoma's former attorney general, Michael Turpen, escorted Hillary Rodham Clinton to his home in Oklahoma City yesterday.

continue to raise soft money, which would be used to help other Democrats, not her candidacy, as long as the New York agreement stands.

Over all, Mrs. Clinton has received about 60 percent of her cam-

paign contributions from out of state, more than Mr. Lazio or most Senate candidates.

In Oklahoma City yesterday, the host for a fund-raising luncheon for Mrs. Clinton was Michael Turpen,

the former state attorney general and one of the state's most prominent Democrats.

Mr. Turpen's fund-raising activities were examined by Congressional Republicans in 1997 after he raised a large donation for the Democratic National Committee from an Indian tribe in Oklahoma that has sought to reclaim federal land that the tribe believes was stolen from it.

Mr. Turpen had been hired as a lobbyist by the tribe, the Cheyenne-Arapaho. He suggested to tribal leaders that they could gain access to federal officials if they pledged a \$100,000 donation to the Democrats, tribal leaders said.

The leaders were soon invited to a lunch with President Clinton at the White House, where they asked him for help on the land issue. The president, according to the tribal leaders, said he would look into the matter.

The president ultimately took no action, and after the circumstances surrounding the donation were publicized, the Democratic National Committee returned the money. But Republicans in Congress who investigated the affair called it part of a pattern of Democratic fund-raising abuses.

Howard Wolfson, the spokesman for Mrs. Clinton's campaign, said the fund-raiser sponsored by Mr. Turpen yesterday was "perfectly legal and appropriate."

Mr. Turpen did not respond to two messages left for him at his office.

LITTLE ROCK THE FIRST CAPITAL PRESIDENT CLINTON CALLED HOME

Clinton move to NY throws curve to signs on state roads

BY BILL SIMMONS
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

There are signs that say "Welcome to Arkansas, the Natural State, *Home of President Bill Clinton*" (emphasis added).

That sign and a variety of other versions about Clinton went up along Arkansas highways in 1993 after he became president.

The same William Jefferson Clinton once owned a house in Little Rock, though he hasn't since 1982.

He resided for years in a public facility known as the Governor's Mansion in Little Rock.

He moved to a Washington, D.C., residence — the White House — after being elected president in 1992 and being sworn in to that office in 1993.

Through all those years, he continued to be a registered voter in Arkansas.

Then, in January of this year, President Clinton and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton took up residence in Chappaqua, N.Y., where they bought a house. She's running for the U.S. Senate in the

See **CLINTON SIGNS**, Page 3B



Arkansas Democrat-Gazette/STATON BREIDENTHAL

Motorists heading into Little Rock on Interstate 430 pass a sign promoting the city as President Clinton's former residence.



Associated Press

A sign proclaiming Arkansas as the home of President Bill Clinton was unveiled on the Hernando DeSoto Bridge over the Mississippi River the day after Clinton's inauguration. The bridge connects Arkansas and Tennessee at Memphis.

Clinton signs

• Continued from Page 1B

Empire State.

The White House continued, of course, to be a place where they stayed, too.

This August, the White House confirmed that the president, like his wife, had become a registered voter of New York.

The road sign messages at West Memphis and other major points of entry into Arkansas continue to declare that the Natural State is the "home" of President Clinton.

What's up?

Well, without any intent to play upon any Clinton controversy, it may depend on what the meaning of "home" is, said state Highway and Transportation Department spokesman Randy Ort.

"If I moved to Texas, I would still think of Arkansas as my home," he said. "Even if I moved away, Arkansas will always be my home."

The declaration that Arkansas is the "home" of the fellow who lives in the District of Columbia and the state of New York does not appear to be a burning issue among Arkansans, Ort said.

"No one has raised the issue with me before you called me," he told a reporter.

But, he said, the state Highway Department probably will "revisit the issue" of the Clinton signs after January of next year.

That could be a consideration of the state Highway Commission or it might be a consideration of the department's staff.

By that time, Clinton will have left the office of president.

Ort said he presumes that the Highway Commission authorized the signs before they were installed, though he couldn't find a specific commission order that did so and didn't rule out the possibility that

the decision was made apart from the commission.

Still, he said, "Anything we do is authorized by the commission" in some sense.

If the signs were authorized by the department director, the director at the time was Maurice Smith, Ort said.

Smith, now dead, had been a longtime Clinton friend, supporter, campaign helper and staff member.

The current Highway Department director, Dan Flowers, could decide it's time to take down the Clinton signs, but he hasn't done so yet, Ort said. Or he might decide that later.

"There are criteria for all signage," Ort said. "We go by the Manual of Uniform Traffic Control Devices. These signs are allowed under the recreational or cultural interest category."

There are 98 signs on Arkansas roadways about Clinton, Ort said.

Ort said the variety of statements they make include:

■ Hope Birthplace of President Bill Clinton.

■ Hot Springs Boyhood Home of President Bill Clinton.

■ Fayetteville First Home of Bill and Hillary Clinton.

■ Little Rock First Capital President Clinton Called Home.

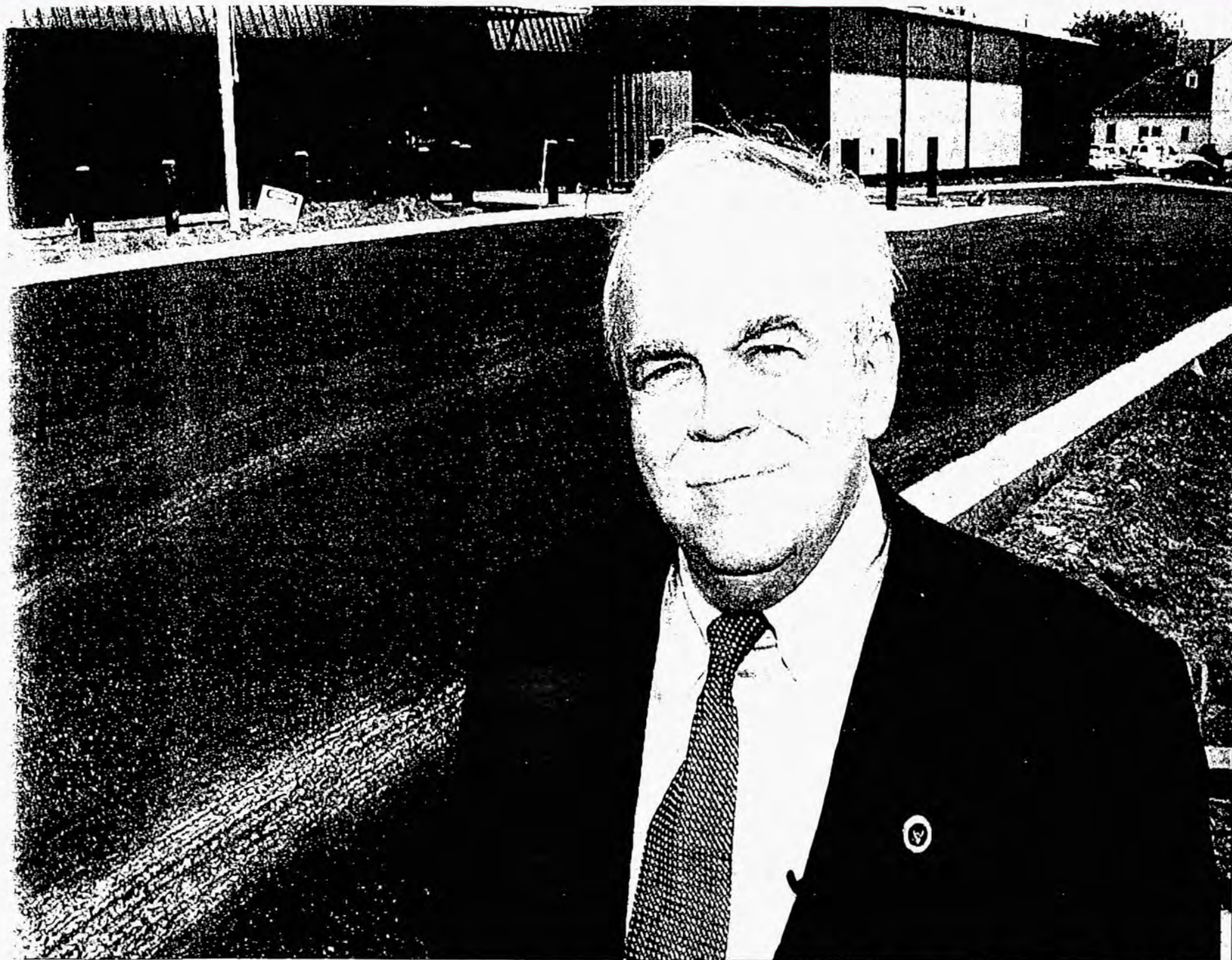
■ Welcome to Arkansas Home of President Bill Clinton.

Getting the signs made and installed cost \$49,136.23, Ort said. That included \$38,786.23 for materials and \$10,350 for labor.

The signs come in eight sizes, ranging from as small as 4 feet by 5.5 feet (there are 71 of these little ones) to as large as 12 feet by 17 feet (there are five of the big ones).

The most costly single sign was one of the big ones, which cost \$5,883.80 in materials and \$1,200 to install.

The cost of removing the signs would be about equal to the \$10,350 it cost to put them up, Ort said.



DANNY JOHNSTON • THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

David Alsobrook stands in front of a former car dealership Thursday that will house material for the Clinton Presidential Library in Little Rock until a library is built in 2003 or 2004. Alsobrook, a veteran archivist tapped to oversee moving tons of materials from Washington to Arkansas, says the first huge military transport planes carrying the largest presidential collection in history would begin arriving at Little Rock Air Force Base next month.

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David Alsobrook stands in front of a former car dealership Thursday that will house material for the Clinton Presidential Library in Little Rock until a library is built in 2003 or 2004. Alsobrook, a veteran archivist tapped to oversee moving tons of materials from Washington to Arkansas, says the first huge military transport planes carrying the largest presidential collection in history would begin arriving at Little Rock Air Force Base next month.

DANNY JOHNSTON • THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

CLINTON LIBRARY

Presidential Items Due in State Next Month

ARCHIVIST VISITS ARKANSAS AS HE PREPARES THE TRANSFER OF POSSESSIONS

By James Jefferson
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

LITTLE ROCK — The presidential library holding Bill Clinton's memorabilia will include plenty of golf clubs and a touch of Elvis, but don't expect to see Monica Lewinsky's blue dress among the collection.

The veteran archivist tapped to oversee moving tons of materials from Washington said Thursday that items for the largest presidential collection in history would begin arriving in Arkansas as early as next month.

David E. Alsobrook, now director of the Bush presidential library, was in town Thursday to meet with local officials on the logistics of moving the presidential archives — from one-of-a-kind keepsakes to classified documents — to Arkansas.

Alsobrook, who also served as supervisory archivist at the Carter Library in Atlanta, said he relishes the challenge of cataloging the archives of what could

be the most studied presidency in history.

"One of the things I really like about this opportunity is that this is going to be an administration that is going to be researched for the rest of my natural life and long after I'm dead and gone," the Mobile, Ala., native said. "I want to play a small part in that in ensuring that these records are preserved forever."

Huge military transport planes will carry the cargo to the Little Rock Air Force Base at Jacksonville.

The final plane will likely arrive Jan. 20 — Clinton's last day in office, Alsobrook said.

"He's still running the government until the next president takes over," Alsobrook said.

Items will be transported by truck and stored in specially engineered quarters at a converted car dealership in downtown Little Rock until Clinton's library opens in late 2003 or early 2004.

The Clinton archives include close to 75 million pages of doc-

uments and 1.85 million photographs, in addition to more than 75,000 presidential gifts — golden swords, diamond necklaces, vases and valuable antiques — from foreign dignitaries and others that under the law the Clintons can't keep but which can be displayed as gifts to the American people.

Personal gifts also will be part of the vast array, reflecting Clinton's love of the king of rock 'n' roll — Elvis Presley — and his favorite pastime, golf.

"It would be fair to say that the president's library will be attractive for golfers," said Skip Rutherford, Clinton's longtime confidante and head of the foundation that is planning and raising money for the \$125 million complex.

The facility won't try to ignore the controversies of the Clinton years.

In fact, exhibits involving the president's impeachment — on matters relating to his affair with a White House intern — could

be among the library's biggest attractions, Rutherford said.

However, the infamous blue dress taken as evidence by former Whitewater prosecutor Kenneth W. Starr is not likely to be among the displays.

"It's still Monica Lewinsky's dress," Rutherford said.

Alsobrook said the archives contain plenty of items from Clinton's years in the White House and there was little need to seek artifacts for display.

"It's going to be a long time before we go out and start soliciting for other materials," he said.

Construction is nearing completion at the former car dealership that will house the archives. Renovations include security, temperature and humidity controls, upgraded electrical and electronics and other measures to keep the materials safe and in good condition.

Alsobrook expects to leave his

Texas post and take over the Clinton effort in Little Rock on Oct. 16 when the National Archives and Records Administration is to take custody of the facility.

Cataloging all of the items will take months, Alsobrook said, and he expects Clinton to help with the process, as did Bush.

He said Bush went through a Texas warehouse, telling stories about some of the items and pointing out which ones were special.

"We like them to take an active role in telling us what they want this to be," he said.

The Bush library at College Station, Texas, opened in November 1997.

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TO MARSHA BERRY

P. 04/08

Police Chiefs on Merry-go-round



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Automatic Transmission Automatic

Bush contests conventional wisdom

California is Clinton country, ergo, it is Gore country. So why is George W. Bush spending so much time and money on it?

For the same reason, he's working so hard of late to appeal to women voters.

Because he needs the votes. Because he is competitive. Because folks in the know say it's a waste of time and money, and Bush knows better. Despite that quadrennial red herring known as the Electoral College, the popular vote still has meaning. You might also say it's what gives the Electoral College meaning.

The Democratic Party is often portrayed as the party of "inclusion," the party of the people. Sure enough, Democratic platforms and campaign promises seem to contain a little something for everyone. And why not? It's a tried and true formula.

So, too, perhaps, is writing off a significant portion of the electorate, which the Democrats seem to do as a matter of course if that portion is conservative or religious or bound by social mores instilled since birth.

But a candidate who wants to represent all facets of society doesn't write off anything or anyone. More to the point, a candidate who wants to get elected turns his back on no potential voter or voting bloc. In this still wildly independent-minded nation, even union members don't always do as they're told in the voting booth.

We've seen the polls and beheld the prognostications. We know that many people who poll or prognosticate for a living advised Bush to write off Democratic strongholds such as California and the woman's vote months ago.

And he almost did.

But in the last few days, we've seen a new attitude from the Republican candidate toward supposed windmill tilting. He's begun campaigning, and campaigning hard, for votes the conventional wisdom says he has no hope of attracting—for votes, more's the pity, the CW claims he has no right to expect to attract.

Meredith Oakley



That's garbage, and Bush obviously realizes it's garbage. The votes are out there for both the wooing and the winning. To cede any state or any bloc of voters to the opposition is loss by default, a declaration that one is not interested in or capable of rising to a challenge.

Timothy A. Hobson, executive director of the Center for California Studies at Sacramento, summarized it quite well in explaining to the *San Francisco Examiner* why Bush needs to pay attention to areas in which Al Gore is victor-presumptive. California was his case in point.

"Any time a campaign appears to have written off a major state, the largest state in the union," Hobson said, "then clearly the obvious message is [that] it's a campaign in trouble; otherwise, why wouldn't they be competing?"

Frankly, I can't see that Bush has much of a choice, particularly where California is concerned. He has to give the voters of the most populous state in the nation a few dollops of attention at this time, because voter loyalty, always worryingly tenuous in contests involving third-party candidates, is shifting significantly for the first time this election season.

Ralph Nader, the Green Party candidate who has been running a distant but steady third there, the candidate once thought most likely to pull votes from Gore, has begun losing ground. Well, that understates the case. Actually, his stated support has dropped by almost half, from 8 to 5 percent.

Those votes are going somewhere. Predictably, a recent *San Francisco Examiner/KTVU-TV* poll suggests that they're going to Gore.

Why all this attention paid to California? Because it's one of the few states with a significant voting population in which the two major-party candidates are not deemed to be in a dead heat. For the first time, Gore has hit the 50 percent mark with California voters. Bush now trails there by 12 points.

Will the rest of the nation follow California's lead in the weeks ahead? The professional pollsters, as well as the candidates' strategists, are keeping close watch for signs of a trend.

So are the candidates, although they'd like us to think that they truly believe that the only poll that matters is the one in which voters volunteer to participate on election day.

As the song says, 'I ain't necessarily so.' I've only ever known one candidate who could sleep through an election—not that he ever would or even could—and still be elected, and he's term-limited by the 22nd Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Addendum

The polls which last week suggested that Gore had gained ground lost by Bush are this week suggesting just the opposite. All were conducted nationwide, by the way, after the *San Francisco Examiner/KTVU-TV* poll had concluded its survey of California voters.

A quick rundown:

CNN/USA Today/Gallup: Bush, 47 percent; Gore, 46 percent.

Voter.com/Battleground 2000: Bush, 42 percent; Gore, 41 percent.

Newsweek: Gore, 47 percent; Bush, 45 percent.

Zogby: Bush, 44 percent; Gore, 42 percent.

Oh, yes, one more thing: The voting bloc from which Bush drew the most support was women voters.

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

New York Times
Wednesday September 27, 2000

Digest

THE NEW YORK REGION

NEW YORK

Mrs. Clinton Calls for Ban On Ads for Preschoolers

Declaring that advertisers were directing a "barrage of materialistic marketing" at young children, Hillary Rodham Clinton called on the federal government yesterday to ban commercials aimed at preschool children, and to prohibit advertising inside public elementary schools.

Mrs. Clinton said the Federal Trade Commission should be authorized to ban advertising it determines is aimed at young children susceptible to manipulation. She also called for legislation that would prohibit the marketing of materials to children in elementary schools, such as book covers that include advertisements.

"Too many companies simply see our children as little cash cows that they can exploit," Mrs. Clinton said.

Mrs. Clinton's opponent, Representative Rick A. Lazio, responded to her proposal by offering a list of contributions she has received from corporations that, he said, were guilty of the kind of offenses she criticized. Mr. Lazio's spokesman, Dan McLagan, said that she did not have the grounding to make such a proposal.

Adam Nagourney (NYT)

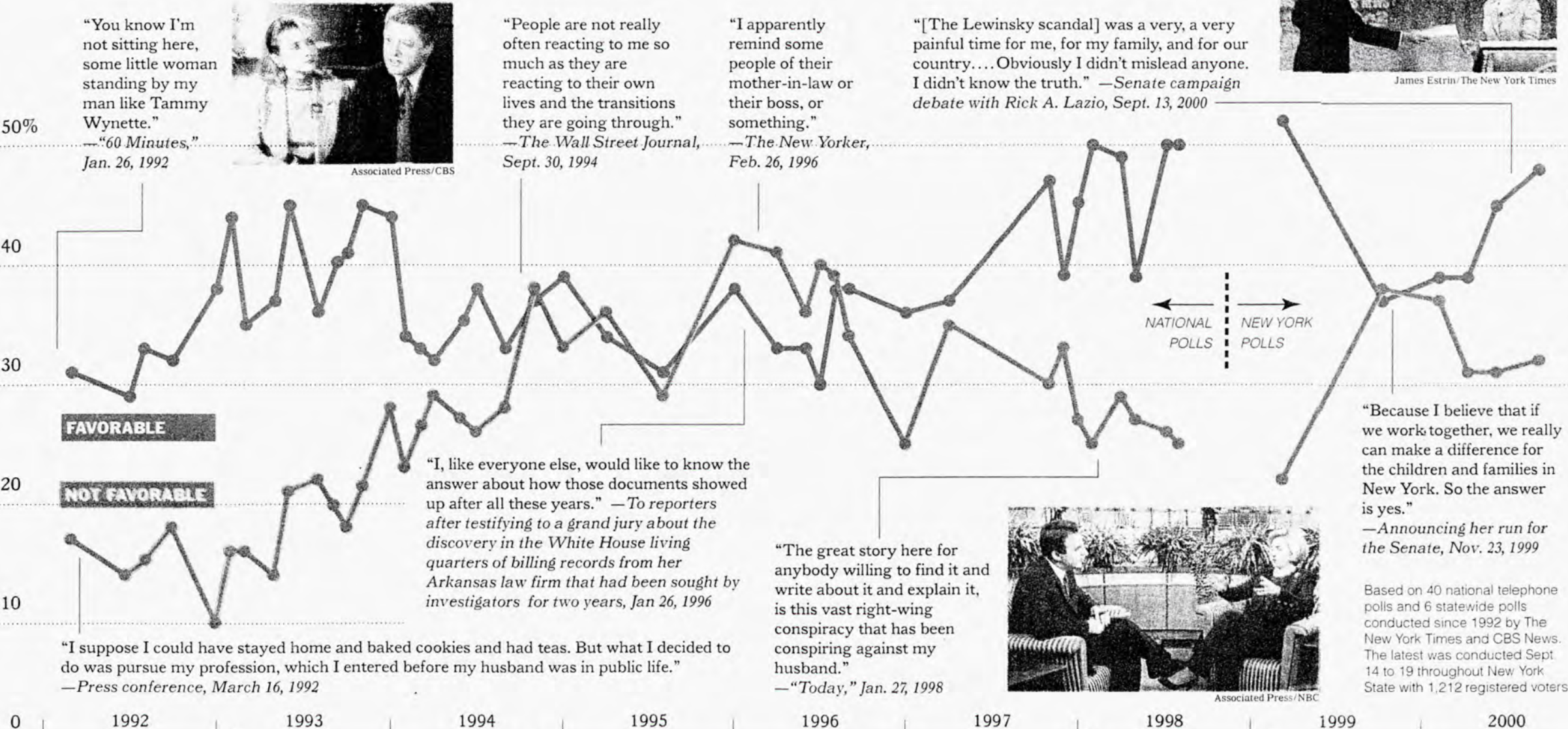
Viewing Hillary

In national and statewide polls over the last eight years, voters were asked: "Is your opinion of Hillary Rodham Clinton favorable, not favorable, undecided, or haven't you heard enough about Hillary Rodham Clinton yet to have an opinion?" For clarity, only favorable and not favorable are shown.



James Estrin/The New York Times

THE NEW YORK TIMES **NEW YORK** WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 2000



Mrs. Clinton named to head President’s Task Force on National Health Care Reform, Jan. 23, 1993

HEALTH CARE DEBATE

Democrats in Congress abandon the Clinton health care plan in September 1994, and lose control of House and Senate in November.

President denies a sexual relationship with “that woman,” Jan. 26, 1998. He is impeached by the House on Dec. 19, 1998, and then acquitted in the Senate on Feb. 12, 1999.

LEWINSKY SCANDAL
PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

SENATE CAMPAIGN

Based on 40 national telephone polls and 6 statewide polls conducted since 1992 by The New York Times and CBS News. The latest was conducted Sept. 14 to 19 throughout New York State with 1,212 registered voters.



Associated Press/NBC

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

By John McCaslin

Space invaders

Wonder why first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton isn't joining the chorus complaining that her senatorial opponent, Rep. Rick Lazio, invaded her space by crossing the stage during last week's debate in New York?

Maybe because it was Mrs. Clinton in 1990 who stormed into a news conference called by her husband's Democratic gubernatorial opponent, waving her finger as she loudly approached the podium.

"Bill was out of town as I recall," the one-time candidate, Tom McRae, tells Inside the Beltway in a telephone interview from Arkadelphia, Ark., "And I was holding this press conference in the rotunda of the state Capitol and she came in and interrupted it. I'd say it was an ambush."

Mr. McRae says he learned later "it was a totally planned episode. I gather she and Bill both planned it."

Still, he says in retrospect, Mrs. Clinton stealing the spotlight that day was the best unscheduled event of his campaign.

"She tripled my name recognition in hours," he tells this column. "My media consultant told me to get her to do it again."

Actually, Mr. McRae says he and Mrs. Clinton sat on several boards together, and he not only respects the first lady, "if I were in New York I certainly would vote for Hillary. She's a very exceptional, intelligent woman," he says.

PHOTOCOPY
NO REPRODUCTION

POLITICS
ELECTIONS

Hillary's problem

"While both major post-debate polls that were released last week in the New York Senate race seemed to show Hillary [Rodham Clinton] ahead, they really show her losing," former political consultant Dick Morris writes.

"The New York Times-CBS poll has the first lady ahead by 48-39 while the Marist College poll has the race tied at 48-48. But both show her stuck at 48 percent of the vote. Even the Daily News poll, whose methodology in failing tightly to screen out unlikely voters makes it questionable, has the first lady coming in at 49 percent in the immediate post-debate period," Mr. Morris said in a New York Post column.

"If Hillary gets less than 50 percent of the vote in the final poll before Election Day, she will

lose. If the final polls show Hillary defeating [Rick] Lazio by 48-44, she will likely lose the election by 52-48. Hillary has got to pull her poll number up to 50 percent in order to win. Forty-eight percent won't be good enough.

"Why? If there is one axiom which has emerged in modern American politics it is this: In a race involving an incumbent, the challenger always gets virtually all the undecided voters on election day. In this race, Hillary, the much better-known candidate, is functionally the same as an incumbent."

Inside Politics



A26

REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Hillary So Soft

Hillary Clinton and Rick Lazio have agreed to try to ban soft money spent on behalf of their New York Senate campaigns. The operative word is "try," because driving money from politics is akin to King Canute commanding the waves to stop. The agreement is hollow; allies of the two candidates are already making noises they won't comply. And why should they? Other than the parsons of the press and incumbent politicians, everyone knows these bans restrict free speech. That any such notion should enter a political campaign is terminal silliness.

This is not to say the posturing that led up to the agreement didn't have political results. Mrs. Clinton looked tentative and evasive when Mr. Lazio confronted her with a demand to sign a soft money ban during their first debate. No surprise there. Mrs. Clinton is the queen of the big soft-candy mountain, having raised millions; she depends much more than Mr. Lazio on unregulated contributions spent on her behalf. Moreover, she has actively raised money for the state's Democrats and the Democratic National Committee, which in turn are running ads. She plans to continue her fundraisers for them, ostensibly so the money can go to other candidates.

Her resistance to the soft money ban she claimed to champion reached comical heights last Friday when she proposed that outside groups be barred from running ads touting Mr. Lazio, while groups in her corner would be free to do so. By Saturday, the media pressure was such that she did the Clintonesque thing and struck a verbal agreement. Try taking that to the bank.

The agreement's value has already been discounted to near zero by political observers, since a decision by even one outside group to violate it negates it for all. Kate Michelman, head of the pro-abortion group NARAL, says her group "cannot participate in a campaign of silence." Last week, before the agreement was struck, AFL-CIO President John Sweeney said that "no matter" who signs the pledge "we can never agree to . . . surrender the debate to the many adversaries of unions and working families." Mr. Sweeney, needless to say, appears on the latest list of "guests" the Clintons had stay overnight at the White House at the same time they were vacuuming the carpets for loose change.

But both Ms. Michelman and Mr. Sweeney are right. The Supreme Court has ruled that political speech is protected by the Constitution, and for the

past 25 years courts have shot down attempts to put curbs on those who want to put across their views independently of a candidate.

How this subject endures is a mystery to us. As Mr. Sweeney's remarks make clear, the unions will never abide any such restriction on their ability to politick. But beyond this, the laws already in force have been violated with impunity, and we'd argue that the Justice Department's failure to prosecute the most egregious acts essentially renders the law moot. In 1996 the campaign finance laws were systematically trashed by the Clinton-Gore campaign, and to date no one has spent a day in jail as a result.

Indeed, Mrs. Clinton's recent auctioning of the Lincoln Bedroom overnights and rides on Air Force One suggests that the Clinton camp understands that Justice Department's failure to prosecute their 1996 campaign practices means they're off the hook.

Probably the best weapons available now in the face of this behavior are exposure, contempt and ridicule. In fact, the Lazio campaign got on firmer footing recently in countering Hillary's gross abuse of the Lincoln Bedroom with a proposal of its own.

Mr. Lazio went public with the names of all contributors who had slept over at his suburban New York home the past year. High on the guest list were Pat Lazio's parents, Steve and Mary Moriarty, whose in-kind campaign contributions included taking care of the Lazio children while he and his wife hit the campaign trail. The Lazio campaign notes that "overnight guests had access to all of the significant recreational facilities at the four-bedroom home, including a basketball hoop above the garage door, a swing set, plastic wading pool and an oscillating lawn sprinkler." It has cost taxpayers \$1.3 million to fly Mrs. Clinton to and from New York City between July 1999 and August 2000.

The Lazio-Clinton "verbal" agreement to ban soft money is a political folly (though of a piece with the instincts of the New York Republican party, last seen trying to ban John McCain from its primary ballot). It's unenforceable and violative of free speech, and at least one party to the agreement has a long track record of ignoring yellow or even red lights when it comes to fund-raising. New York's television stations, heaving at the thought of all that lost revenue, should keep their ad schedules open. And the candidates should get back to debating which of them best represents the people of New York State.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Political bucks *ad up locally*

Campaigns feeding station coffers

By MICHAEL STARR

IT's election time — and local TV stations are raking in the dough on political advertising. And that's a problem to a good-government group which has started a national campaign to publicize just how much local stations are making from political ads.

The idea is to force stations into giving more free time to political candidates and to cover election issues.

In New York, the No. 1 money-maker is WNBC/Ch. 4, which grossed \$6.8 million between Jan. 1 and July 31 (the latest date information was available).

That makes political advertising one of the station's biggest ad accounts — right up there with fast-food and automobiles.

WABC/Ch. 7 was second with \$5.5 million and WCBS/Ch. 2 with \$4.7 million.

Those figures were culled by the Campaign Media Analysis Group, which tracks political-ad spending.

And The Alliance for Better Campaigns is publicizing the ad figures on a new website called greedytv.org.

The site ranks stations all around the country based on how much they took in so far this year in political ads.

New York has three of the top 10 biggest grossing stations.

Greedytv doesn't have a problem with stations accepting political ad money — provided they offer some political discourse (debates, etc.) to their viewers.

"We're peeved that while stations are making a lot of money from political ads, they're not then turning around and providing viewers with a chance to see and hear the candidates talk," says Paul Taylor, who created greedytv.org.

That's not so, says Anna Carbonell, spokeswoman for Ch. 4 — which ranks second in the country in political-ad revenue.

"We're strongly committed to providing broadcast time on all the important political issues within our regularly scheduled news and public affairs programming," says Carbonell.

Carbonell emphasizes that Ch. 4 aired the first Hillary Clinton-Rick Lazio U.S. Senate debate Sept. 13 — and will air a second Clinton-Lazio debate at a date to be determined.

Ch. 2 will also air a Clinton-Lazio debate on Oct. 8.

"Both WCBS and CBS Television continue to provide viewers with a wealth of local and national political coverage," says a



Dueling Senate campaign commercials from candidates Rick Lazio (left) and Hillary Clinton have pumped \$6.8 million into WNBC/Ch. 4, making them one of the station's biggest ad accounts.

Ch. 4 aired the first debate between Hillary (right) and Lazio on Sept. 13 — and will air a second debate at a date to be determined.



CBS spokesman. "That includes Ch. 2's most recent announcement of the Clinton-Lazio debate on Oct. 8."

"Broadcasters have every right to make a profit, but they're also public trustees," Taylor says. "And it seems to me that part of serving the public interest is informing viewers of electoral choices."

"There is no other commercial TV station in this country that devotes as many people to covering politics on a permanent basis the way we do," Carbonell says.

"[Political reporter] Jay DeDapper devotes about 8-9 minutes each Monday to issues of

political importance — and we have a full-time political unit."

Greedytv is urging its users to phone or call their local TV stations to complain with the following message:

"You don't own the airwaves. The public does. We lend you our airwaves, free of charge, in return for your commitment to serve the public interest."

"But when it comes to big-money politics, your station is part of the problem."

"As a viewer and part owner of the airwaves, I urge you to air at least five minutes a night of candidates discussing issues in the month before Election Day."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

letters@nypost.com

White House Rooms For Rent: How Low Can the Clintons Go?

•When I went to school, I was taught that the White House belonged to the people, *not* Bill Clinton, Hillary or Al Gore ("White House Hilton," Sept. 23).

If people were charged money to sleep at the White House, have coffee there, or chat with Bill, Al, Hillary or Socks, the money should have gone to the Treasury.

I demand that any money raised by the Clinton-Gore rat pack be paid to the Treasury with interest. This is the people's money.

Joseph Burnette
The Bronx

•The Clintons had 404 houseguests in 13 months? Hugh Hefner doesn't entertain that much.

With the first lady living in New York, how is it possible for the president to find the time to entertain guests?

The selling of the presidency continues unabated, with no remorse or concern. Nights in the Lincoln Bedroom, nuclear secrets, permanent normal trade relations... everything is for sale at the Washington Bargain Palace located at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Philip Rosler
Patchogue

•I am tired of reading about how the Lincoln Bedroom is "for sale."

THE ISSUE: The release of the Clintons' White House "sleepover" guest list.



Where should the president and his wife have their friends stay? At the local motel?

If my friends come to my house, I make them comfortable and will even prepare a bed for them to spend the night. Please give me a break.

Erico Pitts
Silver Spring, Md.

•Hillary the Righteous claims that she entertains her friends and soon-to-be friends at the White House and Camp David.

Did she also say that she reimburses the government for the meals, maid service, etc., that her personal friends are costing the taxpayer? Or are they wine and dined at our expense?

Ida Wieland
Reston, Va.

•It is a disgrace the way Hillary Rodham Clinton

can look into the camera and say that 404 overnight guests are just her friends.

We all know that these are Democrat fatcats and donors to her campaign. The overtaxed public is paying heavily for her extravagances.

Frances M. Richardson
Trenton, N.J.

•I want my tax dollars back. The Clintons have no right to use my money to entertain contributors to their campaigns.

I don't ask the government to pay for my guests. They shouldn't, either. **Millie Robertson**
Newcastle, Okla.

•We have heard much about the overnight stays at the White House and Camp David.

But what about over-nighters at the vice president's mansion? How many of his supporters have stayed there?

Paul E. Sternberg
Marietta, Ga.

•Forget about spending a night in the Lincoln Bedroom. I want to know how much the donation has to be to get a ride on Marine One, the president's helicopter.

Matt Brennan
New City

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Campaign★2000

Hill and Rick trade swipes on tax plans

Rick Lazio charged yesterday that Hillary Rodham Clinton's spending plans would force a tax hike — but the first lady warned it is Lazio who could bust the budget.

Speaking to the Brooklyn Chamber of Commerce, the Republican Senate candidate said for the first time Clinton's big-bucks campaign proposals will wipe out the federal surplus, which is estimated at roughly \$4 trillion.

"There is little question my opponent would have to raise taxes," Lazio told the audience of about 100.

Lazio did not specify which of his Democratic rival's initiatives he was referring to, but his aides said later the bulk of it was the first lady's economic and education programs.

"I've always championed tax relief," Lazio said. "My opponent has supported many tax increases, including on Social Security."

Clinton responded that Lazio was twisting her economic plan.

"Everything I have proposed fits within a balanced budget and is very careful about making sure we don't commit or spend the surplus," Clinton told reporters

By GREGG BIRNBAUM
and ROBERT HARDT Jr.

at the YMHA in Riverdale.

"Unlike my opponent, I believe in fiscal responsibility."

Clinton pressed her attack on Lazio's tax-cutting package, which he has estimated would cost \$776 billion but which the first lady warned would plunge the country into red ink.

"He doesn't want people to look at his own tax plans, which total more than a trillion dollars," Clinton said.



LIP SERVICE: GOP Senate candidate Rick Lazio is a hit with 109-year-old Natalie Cresci at a senior center in Bay Ridge, Brooklyn. N.Y. Post: Spencer A. Burnett

"He cannot possibly do what he has claimed that he would do without sending our country back into deficits and squandering the surplus."

Meanwhile, Lazio met privately for the first time at a hotel in Brooklyn with Assemblyman Dov Hikind (D-Brooklyn), who is being courted by the first lady.

Hikind, who is influential with Orthodox Jews and often backs Republicans, has not yet made an endorsement in the race.

"I sort of said, 'You've got to be more like Al D'Amato,'" Hikind said, referring to the former senator who was popular with Jewish voters.

The Lazio-Hikind get-together comes as Clinton is stepping up her effort to win over Jews, campaigning with Hadassah Lieberman, the wife of vice presidential candidate Joseph Lieberman.

"She's outflanking him," a GOP Jewish source said. "He's blowing it."

NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 2000

NEAL TRAVIS
NEW YORK

Hill's out-of-this-world woe

IF she hasn't already realized that New York politics is a minefield for new players, wait until **Hillary Rodham Clinton** learns that she has offended a large section of the populace and that they are demanding an apology. The New York Center for UFO Research, a very serious body, has Hillary in its sights for something she said long before she thought of running for anything in her own right.

The center's director, **Michael Luckman**, tells me his members are still steamed about an "insensitive remark" the U.S. Senate candidate made shortly after the Heaven's Gate suicides, to the effect that people who believe in UFOs are like people who believe in Whitewater. "We demand an apology," says Luckman. "I would remind Mrs. Clinton that the majority of Americans believe in UFOs and that her own husband appears to take them very seriously."

(He's referring to a reference in **Webster**

Hubbell's "Friends in High Places" book in which Hubbell, Hillary's former partner at the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock, quotes a conversation in which **Bill** suggested getting the Justice Department to investigate UFOs.)

Luckman also wants to remind Hillary that her new abode in Chappaqua is close to the Hudson Valley, known to be a hot spot for close encounters with space travelers. He is going to offer the Clintons a tour of local UFO landmarks, presumably after she has apologized to the true believers.

At least Luckman isn't being partisan about the issue. He is also applying the litmus test to **Rick Lazio**, the GOP candidate. "We challenge Mr. Lazio to tell New Yorkers where he stands on the UFO controversy," adds Luckman, who plans to push the issue via the "Night World" syndicated talk show he and Art Ford are launching shortly.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Fame a Two-Edged Sword For the Candidate Clinton

By BLAINE HARDEN

Being first lady isn't a job, Hillary Rodham Clinton said early this year in Manhattan, "it's a role."

While making her one of the most celebrated women in the world, her performance in that role has driven nearly a decade of dinner table speculation about the scale of her ambition (Does she want to be president?) and the state of her marriage (Why does she stay with him?).

"I am a Rorschach test," she has said, for what Americans are struggling with in their working and married lives. A political cartoon — one of thousands that Mrs. Clinton has inspired — after the O. J. Simpson murder trial captured her ubiquity in pop culture as it lampooned her peculiar gift for making people suspicious: "More bad news. The bloody glove fits Hillary."

Mrs. Clinton's fame is a two-edged sword, allowing her into a political arena where no first lady has dared go before, but where many in the crowd just don't like her. The first first lady to have a law degree, to deride the baking of cookies, to testify before a criminal grand jury is also the first presidential spouse to try to use her fame as a springboard to elective federal office.

DISAPPROVAL RATINGS

A special report.

Yet her role as first lady — a spectacularly protean performance, veering from secretive boss of a failed health care plan to self-effacing advocate for children, from suspect in an Arkansas land deal to victim in America's biggest political sex scandal — has also created a potential roadblock to her winning a Senate seat.

One of three New Yorkers has an unfavorable opinion of her. Nationally, 4 of 10 Americans disapprove. Her Republican opponent, Representative Rick A. Lazio, is building much of his campaign around these negative ratings. His television advertisements end with the refrain, "You just can't trust her." In a national fundraising letter, Mr. Lazio said he could sum up why Americans should send him money in just six words, "I'm running against Hillary Rodham Clinton."

The eagerness of outsiders to spend money to deny Mrs. Clinton a Senate seat from New York is a main reason this race is shaping up as the costliest in history.

Mrs. Clinton would not comment for this article, but her

Continued on Page A22

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

For Candidate Clinton, Fame as First Lady Has

Continued From Page A1

strategists acknowledge that voter disapproval is "out there."

Voters have been annoyed by her move to New York. They have faulted what they say is her Hillary-knows-best tone. Some suspect that calculated ambition kept her in the White House during the Lewinsky scandal, as she stuck with a philanderer so she could run for the Senate. Others are taken aback by her willingness to endure the gossip that her campaign has rekindled.

Mrs. Clinton's strategy for dealing with her negative ratings has been to try to grind them into dust. "These are things you can overcome by doing, by doing the work," said Mark Penn, her pollster.

In the last 18 months, Mrs. Clinton has traveled to every county in the state, paid extraordinarily careful attention to local concerns and explained her family-friendly policies in sometimes numbing detail.

The grinding process helps explain why a race that seems so compelling from a distance can be so soporific viewed up close, as Mrs. Clinton instructs her supporters on the fine points of milk prices, pediatric procedures and upstate air fares. The strategy, though, may be working.

The Negative Numbers Jump

Not long after Mrs. Clinton signaled her interest in the Senate early last year, polls showed that the percentage of Americans who had a negative opinion of her jumped from the low 20's, where her unfavorable numbers had fallen during the sex scandal, to nearly 40 percent.

Those negative ratings have since declined in New York, although not nationally. For most of this year, about a third of registered voters in the state have said they have an unfavorable opinion of her, while less than half view her positively, several New York Times/CBS polls found. With the election six weeks away, about one-third of those planning to vote for Mr. Lazio say they support him because he is not she.

Mrs. Clinton took a 9-point lead over Mr. Lazio, a Times/CBS poll found after their debate in Buffalo in mid-September, though other polls have shown them to be evenly matched. The polls also showed that she had narrowed a gap among suburban voters, while cutting into one of the surprise anomalies of her candidacy, a chilly reception among white women. Mr. Lazio held a big lead earlier in the year among white women, some polls found. But by September, the picture was mixed. One poll had Mrs. Clinton slightly ahead among white women, another put Mr. Lazio ahead with them by 8 points.

The closing weeks of the campaign are compelling many New Yorkers, especially undecided voters, to re-examine what, if anything, irritates them about Mrs. Clinton, and to decide whether they are irritated enough to vote for Mr. Lazio. Mr. Lazio, a Long Island congressman, remains an unknown quantity to more than a third of voters, and his negative poll ratings have risen from 10 to 28 percent since June.

"I want to like her, but I can't," Dr. Barbara Barnett, an emergency room physician with two young children, told seven women in her book club on the night of the first Clinton-Lazio debate. "I lost respect for her when she stood by him during Monica."

The debate in Buffalo was on the air as the book club convened, but the television set was off in the Westchester County home of Mary Ushay, the evening's host. Later, several judged that Mrs. Clinton had won it handily and that Mr. Lazio had come across as a bully.



Joe Heller/Green Bay Press-Gazette

One of the thousands of political cartoons inspired by Hillary Rodham Clinton.

The debate in Mrs. Ushay's living room in Eastchester had little to do with the policies, appearances or ads of candidate Clinton. Nor did it deal with Mr. Lazio, other than to wonder who he is and why he was running.

Instead, the women in the living room, as they acknowledged to a reporter who sat with them, were obsessed about a first lady who was more soap opera character than Senate aspirant. The book club members, all white, married, middle-class residents of Westchester, said their lives were much too busy to pay careful attention to Mrs. Clinton's campaign. The four Democrats, three Republicans and one noncitizen said they routinely threw away her fliers.

What intrigued them was the woman who stumbled as co-president when she sought to revamp health insurance, who steered her way through Whitewater, who seethed about "a vast right wing conspiracy" before her husband publicly admitted his affair with a White House intern.

Watchers in Suburbia

The book readers from Westchester (the week's book was "The Poisonwood Bible," a favorite of Mrs. Clinton's) have been watching, wondering and arguing about the president's wife ever since they heard that he was a skirt chaser.

Mrs. Clinton insinuated herself into their lives with her 1992 appearance on "60 Minutes," when Bill Clinton denied an affair with Gennifer Flowers (he later admitted it under oath) and she said, "You know I'm not sitting here, some little woman standing by my man like Tammy Wynette."

They remembered, too, how cold her body language seemed around the president during the impeachment fight. They had been amazed that her marriage survived and felt sorry for her daughter, Chelsea. But when Mrs. Clinton announced last year that she was running for the Senate and moving to Westchester, all the book club women, Democrat and Republican alike, said they felt used and manipulated. They said they were annoyed to be props for her ambition.

"I resent her moving here," said Diane Cohen, 43, a Republican, a Pelham homemaker with two children. "My guess is the minute she loses, if she loses, she'll be gone."

Mrs. Ushay, the host, a mother of three and a Democrat, said Mrs. Clinton might do a lot of good for New York. Echoing the others in the room, all mothers of young children, she said Mrs. Clinton knew more about children's issues and would probably do more for families than Mr. Lazio.

"We're talking about a junior senator from New York having an incredible in with someone who might be president," said Mrs. Ushay, 41. "And yet, I don't want her to be my senator. She has so much baggage. She must have known what people would be talking about. Yet she still ran. I think she thinks a lot of herself."

With the exception of two Republicans in the room, all the women said Mrs. Clinton could win their vote, but it would not be enthusiastic or without regret. They were finding it all but impossible, they said, to separate the soap opera character of the last eight years from the Senate candidate of the last 18 months.

"I just resent that she wasn't strong enough to leave him and go out on her own," said Dr. Barnett, 37, the emergency room physician and a Republican who described herself as undecided. "We finally had the opportunity to have a strong first lady. But she used her marriage for personal gain. I can't get over that."

Half a block from the White House, Mr. Penn, the pollster and one of Mrs. Clinton's top strategists, sat in his second-floor office on Pennsylvania Avenue and listened to a summary of what the eight women had said in the Westchester living room.

He wasn't surprised. He has heard it before, from his own polls and from focus groups. Carpetbagger. Pushy do-gooder. So hungry for power that she put up with a bad marriage. For Mr. Penn, these negative ratings are yesterday's news.

"You are not going to erase those concerns," he said. "Voters are going to balance them against how hard she has worked, what she stands for and what they think she'll do for them."

Mr. Penn takes credit for devising the grind-the-negatives-to-dust strategy. "No one has followed this problem, or issue, more than I have day and night for a year and a half," he said.

His strategy for Mrs. Clinton is an updated New York model of a product the pollster

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Become a Two-Edged Sword

nas been selling for years to Mrs. Clinton's husband. A focus on small issues (school uniforms, emergency phone numbers, V-chips) helped President Clinton pull out of a public opinion nose dive during his first term. It also helped him to hang on to his job through the sex scandal.

Above Mr. Penn's desk is a framed front page from The Washington Post with the banner headline, "Clinton Acquitted." It bears the president's signature and the word, "Thanks."

On his desk, amid photographs of the pollster with the president and Mrs. Clinton, Mr. Penn had poll results from the New York Senate debate. The results showed Mrs. Clinton winning among women, many of whom said they were put off by Mr. Lazio's aggressiveness.

"If every woman had seen the debate," he said triumphantly, "the rest of the campaign would effectively be canceled."

Mrs. Clinton was on track, Mr. Penn said, in her slow and deliberate transformation from first lady figure to credible candidate.

"There is an incredible standard that Hillary has to meet that no one else has to meet," he said. "She is making steady progress. The average New Yorker has really got a chance to see who she is and not who they thought she was."

Because of the time that Mrs. Clinton has spent campaigning in the state, Mr. Penn said, there is now a "a very big difference between the New York Hillary and the national Hillary."

The national Hillary, however, is the household name. That is the woman who rubs 4 out of 10 Americans the wrong way. She is the money machine behind the New York Senate race, both for herself and her adversaries.

She has raised more than \$22 million, 60 percent of it from outside New York, while her adversaries have collected \$39 million, much from it from out-of-state Clinton haters. Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani raised \$23.3 million before he quit the race in May, and Mr. Lazio has collected \$15.7 million.

None of this counts millions in soft money collected by political parties, of which the Democrats have spent at least \$5 million praising Mrs. Clinton and attacking her opponents. Mr. Lazio has not collected soft money, but advocacy groups and political committees, many using money raised outside New York, have bought television ads to help him. Last weekend, both campaigns agreed to stop using unregulated money.

Anti-Hillary money bubbles up in places like Mobile, Ala., where in early September Mr. Lazio arrived by chartered jet for a \$500-a-plate shrimp-and-grits breakfast. It was a hard-money event, meaning that it collected donations of up to \$2,000 from individuals, money that can be spent directly on Mr. Lazio's campaign.

Standing on a spiral staircase in a handsome Greek Revival home with four white columns out front, the congressman spoke to 90 people for about five minutes and vacuumed up \$45,000.

The day before Mr. Lazio nipped in and out, The Mobile Register ran an editorial cartoon that explained the metaphysics of the breakfast. On the right side of the cartoon stood Mrs. Clinton, a big smile on her face and her body drawn in the shape of a pudgy punching bag. A sign above her head said "\$500 a pop."

A man with "NY" on his back and boxing gloves on his hands said to a fellow pugilist from Alabama, "Be my guest, my distinguished Southern friend." The Alabamian replied, "After you, my noble brother from the North." A tiny elephant exclaimed, "Republican unity, thy name is Hillary."

Mr. Lazio's big applause line in his brief speech came when he promised to "bring

the Clinton era to an end." That was according to several people in the room. The event was private, and a Lazio press aide shut the front door of the house in reporters' faces just before the congressman spoke.

But after Mr. Lazio left the house, in pursuit of more anti-Hillary money in Louisiana and Texas, four Alabama Republicans, three men and a woman, stayed behind to talk about why it is worth sending money to New York to stop Mrs. Clinton.

For David A. Bagwell, 54, a Mobile lawyer who has a son in college and who said that for him "\$500 is a lot of money," the irritation started with health care in 1993.

"Not only was it, we know what is right and we'll tell you what is best, it was, we are going to do this in secret because you aren't smart enough to understand," Mr. Bagwell said.

Patricia Hooks, 53, whose husband owns a tugboat company in Mobile, said she saw through Mrs. Clinton the first time she saw her on "60 Minutes" in 1992. Mrs. Hooks remembers thinking that this "is a woman who wants power, who wants control, who wants to be on the national stage."

The four Republicans said they expected and feared that Mrs. Clinton was using the Senate race in New York as a steppingstone for a run at the presidency. They had had their fill of Bill Clinton, they said, and the prospect of his wife in the White House made them furious.

'A Scalawag and a Carpetbagger'

John D. Peebles, a real estate agent from Mobile, said New Yorkers might not be able to fathom the depth of conservative Southern antipathy for the Clintons. Many Southerners, he said, see the president as a scalawag, a local white man who has betrayed the values and traditions of the South. His wife, Mr. Peebles said, has quite literally become a carpetbagger, albeit in the North.

"The marriage of a scalawag and a carpetbagger," Mr. Peebles said. "You cannot be more objectionable in the South."

Objections to Mrs. Clinton, of course, are not confined to the South. For years, polls have shown that a broad slice of the American public cannot abide her.

Before Mrs. Clinton became a Senate candidate, the White House strategy for reducing her negative ratings was to encourage her to retreat to the shadows.

James Carville, the longtime political adviser to the Clintons, said the rule of thumb was the less visible she was in the press, the better her numbers were in the polls.

That rule of thumb was discovered halfway through the first term, when Mrs. Clinton's troubles with Whitewater and health care surfaced. In some polls, she was less popular than he was.

"It has been difficult for Hillary to fit into the perceptions and expectations of the role of first lady," said the Rev. Donald G. Jones, her longtime friend and her mentor when she was growing up in Chicago. "The office of first lady is one of the most unevolved. Perceptions people have of it are pretty much fixed by Barbara Bush, Nancy Reagan, Jackie Kennedy, by people who minded their own business."

Mr. Jones, a professor of ethics at Drew University in Madison, N.J., said Mrs. Clinton would be relieved to shed "the baggage that she carried around as first lady."

As for the Americans who dislike Mrs. Clinton, Mr. Carville said they could no more keep her out of the Senate than they could keep her husband out of the White House.

"She can win easy with a third of the voters hating her," Mr. Carville said. "If she wins this thing, they'll be jumping off bridges."

NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 2000

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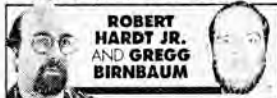
Team Lazio will 'call' on Gore voters

RICK LAZIO'S campaign is already plotting ways — including a massive phone-bank effort — to convince Al Gore voters to pass up Hillary Rodham Clinton and pull the lever for the GOP Senate hopeful.

With the latest poll showing Gore leading Republican rival George W. Bush by a whopping 20 points here, Lazio's advisers are considering how to "forge a Gore-Lazio alliance," said a high-placed source close to Lazio.

The plan involves identifying

CAMPAIGN BUZZ



ROBERT
HARDT JR.
AND GREGG
BIRNBAUM

We also urge you to think about Rick Lazio for Senate," the source added.

The caller would quickly outline Lazio's record in Congress before "politely" hanging up.

Although Hillary Rodham Clinton says she's at a disadvantage now that a soft-money ban is in place in the Senate race, her aides are less concerned with Lazio's hard-money edge.

"Yes, they have more money but we have plenty to get our

message out," said one top adviser to the first lady.

"Obviously, we want to stress publicly that we're hurting ourselves by taking the honorable position with soft money, but we're going to be fine money-wise," insisted another Clinton insider.

While Clinton last month reported having \$7.1 million on hand, Lazio's camp said the Republican had \$10.2 million.

"If they had \$10 million and we had \$2 million, there would be trouble," said the second insider.

"But you can buy a lot of TV time with \$6 million in the next six weeks."

Hillary may fly on government aircraft, but Lazio's charter plane got the VIP treatment at an up-state airport last weekend.

A spectacular air show at the Elmira Airport was halted in mid-performance — pilots say that's unheard of — to allow Lazio's jet and a press plane to take off for La Guardia after a day of campaigning.



STAR ATTRACTIONS: Rick Lazio campaigns with Sen. John McCain (above), while Hillary Clinton gets an endorsement from Elie Wiesel (below).

Post photos: Michael Noreia (above), Jennifer Weisbord (below)

SENATE FOES' BIG GUNS ARE MCCAIN & WIESEL

By GREGG BIRNBAUM
and MAGGIE HABERMAN

Rick Lazio yesterday stumped with Sen. John McCain while Hillary Rodham Clinton stood alongside Nobel Prize winner Elie Wiesel as both campaigns recruited star power to appeal to key voting groups.

Making a major pitch for Jewish votes before the Jewish New Year begins next week, Clinton and Wiesel called on the Palestinians to remove anti-Semitic references from their school books.

The first lady later campaigned at a Queens nursing home with Rep. Tom Lantos (D-Calif.), a Holocaust survivor.

Wiesel, an author, recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize and a Holocaust survivor, endorsed the first lady.

"She has always been on the side of those who fight hatred and fanaticism," Wiesel said. "My presence here is an act of friendship."

Clinton said all future U.S. financial aid to the Palestinian Authority should hinge upon the "language of hate" being deleted from the Palestinian textbooks.

"It is so anti-Semitic, it is so filled with violence imagery and hatred," Clinton said.

"What the children of Gaza and the West Bank are learning in their

Hillary Clinton "has always been on the side of those who fight hatred and fanaticism. My presence here is an act of friendship."

NOBEL LAUREATE ELIE WIESEL

schools today will not free them from the shadow of war and violence, but shackle them to the hatred and racism of the past."

But Clinton may have gone just a bit too far in her bid for the Jewish vote when she told seniors that Lantos had been "kavelling" about his grandchildren — mispronouncing the Yiddish word that means "boasting." The proper pronunciation is "kvelling" (rhymes with "yelling").

Today the first lady continues her effort in the Jewish community when she campaigns with the wife of Democratic vice presidential candidate Sen. Joseph Lieberman, the first Jew to run on a national ticket.

Meanwhile, Lazio

stumped with McCain, who is popular with independent voters — an important group in deciding the outcome of the election.

McCain, the country's leading advocate for campaign finance reform, said the Senate race's new ban on soft money should become a model for races across the country.

"I am convinced the people of the state of New York will have a cleaner, more issue-oriented, better campaign that they can be proud of," McCain said during the event in Battery Park.

"This should be an example to all campaigns in America, and it's an important step in getting rid of the evil and pernicious and corrupting influence of the so-called soft money."

McCain also revealed that major donors were looking to pump tons of soft money into Lazio's campaign to beat Clinton.

"I know there were people who were prepared to give unlimited amounts of money to the Lazio campaign because I've talked to them," the Arizona senator said.

Lazio also sent a letter to the Conservative Leadership PAC, warning the group to keep out of the race after the PAC suggested it may not abide by the ban.



America is land of the wusses

WE'VE devolved into a nation of wusses.

Power is out. Manipulation is in.

Accomplishments are out. Hiring help is in.

Personal responsibility is out. Liability suits are in.

Heroism is out. Victim status is in.

It is a sign of the times that this election year, the



ANDREA
PEYSER

most powerful man in America is not President Clinton but Regis Philbin, for Regis and Oprah hold in their hands the ability

to influence proportionally more votes with a single facial expression than any two humans to date.

It is difficult to pinpoint the beginning of America's wussification. But I can tell you when it hit its historic peak: The moment Rick Lazio walked across a stage during the Senate debate, and taunted Hillary Clinton with a piece of paper.

Now, I'm not one to diminish the potential pain, not to mention danger, of infection posed by a paper cut. But 30 years ago, when Hillary and her feminist pals were plotting to take over the White House, Hillary might have ripped Rick's limp paper in two.

Today, as Hillary's pals are plotting to sneak into

the Oval Office through the White House's bedroom door, the candidate's supporters denounce Lazio's gesture as "threatening."

The word was carefully chosen, aimed at evoking the mental image of a bully beating up on a lady. The amazing part is how effective was the spin.

See PEYSER on Page 20

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

POSTOPINION

Hillary's Ahead . . . But Losing

Her poll numbers indicate a voyage into troubled waters



DICK MORRIS

WHILE both major post-debate polls that were released last week in the New York Senate race seemed to show Hillary ahead, they really show her losing.

The New York Times-CBS poll has the first lady ahead by 48-39 while the Marist College poll has the race tied at 48-48. But both show her stuck at 48 percent of the vote. Even the Daily News poll, whose methodology in failing tightly to screen out unlikely voters makes it questionable, has the first lady coming in at 49 percent in the immediate post-debate period.

If Hillary gets less than 50 percent of the vote in the final poll before election day, she will lose. If the final polls show Hillary defeating Lazio by 48-44, she will likely lose the election by 52-48. Hillary has got to pull her poll number up to 50 percent in order to win. Forty-eight percent won't be good enough.

Why? If there is one axiom which has emerged in modern American politics it is this: In a race involving an incumbent, the

challenger always gets virtually all the undecided voters on election day. In this race, Hillary, the much better-known candidate, is functionally the same as an incumbent.

Remember in 1998 how the polls showed D'Amato and Schumer locked in a dead heat at about 45 or 46 percent of the vote apiece? And remember how Schumer got all the undecided voters and defeated D'Amato by almost 10 points? The same thing that happened to D'Amato will happen to Hillary if she finishes below 50 percent in the final polls.

For another example, in U.S. presidential races where an incumbent was running, going back to 1964, nine out of 10 undecided voters went to the challengers and not to the incumbents. We have had seven elections since then in which an incumbent president ran for re-election. In these contests, nine-tenths of the undecided voters in the final polls ultimately went to the challengers. Only one-tenth went to the incumbents.

Voters first decide whether or not to back the incumbent. Then those who, in effect, vote "no" learn the name of the challenger and vote for him.

In this election, Hillary Clinton is, in effect, the incumbent. She is universally known and her



Clinton must fight an uphill battle with dwindling ammunition.

N.Y. Post: W.A. Funches Jr.

candidacy is the first thing voters focus on when they think about the race. In effect, they first decide whether or not to vote for her. Then, if they decide to vote against her, they will enter the polling booth and vote for Lazio.

All this puts into bold perspective the real nature of the advantage Lazio has acquired in the agreement to ban soft

money. On Aug. 23, reports from the two campaigns showed Lazio ahead in hard money by \$10 million to \$7 million. Since much of Lazio's money has come from direct-mail solicitations from donors all over the nation, he will likely extend this lead by raking in even more in the coming weeks from hard-money donors.

She knows she is in trouble. In

all of my campaigns with the Clintons, I have always stressed that the incumbent loses all the undecideds. Indeed, in Clinton's 1990 gubernatorial re-election bid in Arkansas, I awakened him from a Saturday night sleep to tell him he was in danger of losing the election that would be held that Tuesday because his vote share in the polls had fallen below 50 percent. Gov. Clinton quickly accepted the fact that his lead that Saturday of 47-38 meant a likely defeat on Tuesday. He understood immediately that he would likely lose all the undecided voters.

Clinton jumped out of bed and drove to the recording studio while I furiously wrote a draft of a new commercial to help move him over 50 percent again. Clinton taped the ad that night and, at 5 a.m. on Sunday morning, it was in the hands of dozens of drivers who were bringing it to TV and radio stations throughout the state. Meanwhile, Clinton wired the stations more money to buy extra air time. The gambit worked and Clinton won. "You saved my bacon," Clinton graciously acknowledged after his flirtation with political death.

Hillary must fight an uphill battle with dwindling ammunition. She has labored now for a year to convince voters to support her. For three months, she has hammered at Lazio's voting record. But, still she stays stuck at 48 percent of the vote. That is the fact that is staring her and her husband in the face as this election approaches.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THE STARR REPORT

BY MICHAEL STARR



Controversial Hillary ad homeless in N.Y.

The Virginia-based Christian Action Network is seeking a New York TV home for ads questioning U.S. Senate candidate/First Lady **Hillary Clinton's** sexual orientation.

Two local stations have already labeled the 30-second ad "unacceptable for airing," according to the *Roanoke Times*, but CAN president **Martin Mawyer** says he's confident someone will show the ad.

The ad features video images of Clinton, while a voiceover intones, "It is rumored that Hillary Clinton is a lesbian [who] . . . supports homosexual marriage . . . and will leave her husband upon taking office." It also says, "**Bill Clinton** had an affair with **Monica Lewinsky**. Sometimes rumors are true."

The ad will be screened tonight when Mawyer is a guest on Fox News Channel's "Hannity & Colmes" (9 p.m.).

Mawyer says the ads are not libelous since they label the Clinton allegations as "rumors."

"I think [Hillary] should come out and answer questions pertaining to those rumors," Mawyer says.

This just in . . .

★ Ch. 2 airing the **Hillary Clinton-Rick Lazio** debate Sunday, Oct. 8 (10:30-11:30 a.m.).

★ **Tracey Nelson**, actress-daughter of late rocker Rick Nelson, will guest star on an upcoming episode of "7th Heaven" in which her father's death will be referenced.

★ **Maury Povich** has advanced to the next round of the USGA Senior Amateur Golf Championship at the Charlotte Country Club.

★ "Queen Latifah" launching a new "reality" segment on race relations. Call 877-528-4324 to participate. **Queen Latifah** hosts.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Nation watches New York campaign

By Steve Miller
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Anti-Hillary bias fuels deep interest

New York is 1,900 miles away, but Nancy McLees is as wrapped up in its U.S. Senate race as she is in the politics of her home state of Montana.

Rep. Rick Lazio and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton are staples of her political discussion, frequently visited fodder during her day.

The attention of Mrs. McLees and some of her fellow Republicans could be called normal; after all, no other sitting first lady has ever run for office.

"But it's really the idea that she came to New York and just assumed she could be senator," said Mrs. McLees, a former Philadel-

phian who now lives in Bozeman in southwest Montana.

On her 1998 GMC Jimmy is the trademark New York Republican sticker; the word "Hillary" with a circle and slash drawn through it.

"I really think she's a disliked person in many circles," said Mrs. McLees. "She is the opposite of what the feminist movement is all about, the way she stood for the [president's] infidelity... it really is a race that everybody here follows."

In fact the race is on the lips of many of those who follow politics everywhere.

The nationwide rebroadcast on MSNBC of the Sept. 13 debate drew 576,000 households, a 92 percent jump over the station's programming in that time slot a week earlier.

New York, geographically the 30th largest state in the union, commands this attention mostly because of the star power of Mrs. Clinton, who is a roundabout heir to an administration that has evoked the wrath of enemies and the love of its supporters.

Mrs. Clinton has not suffered from the national glare — some polls have her ahead of Mr. Lazio — nor has she wavered from her platform. Health care, education reform, creating jobs in the up-

see HILLARY, page A14

HILLARY

From page A1

state and western parts of New York continue to dominate her speeches, whether she appears at a library or a Laundromat.

Mrs. Clinton's political run has wrought a host of anti-Hillary Web sites originating from all over the country, from California to Maryland.

Some offer coffee cups and bumper stickers while others present satires and spoofs of the first lady's stances and biography.

What gives with this sometimes-breathless anti-Hillary sentiment from out of state?

"That's the \$64,000 question," said Jeff Stonecash, a political scientist at Syracuse University. "Boy, does she draw an intense reaction. All I can think of is that she is an indirect lightning rod for the hatred Republicans have for Bill Clinton. But it sure has given the race a national flavor."

In addition to Mr. Stonecash's theory, Mr. Lazio's status as a previously little-known Long Island congressman gives the race a dramatic David-and-Goliath subtext.

The first lady's campaign declined to comment.

Despite the apparent widespread dislike, Mrs. Clinton has been successful in tapping hard-money donors nationally.

Mrs. Clinton raised 57 percent of her itemized contributions from out of state through Aug. 23, the most recent figures available. For Mr. Lazio, that figure was 33 percent.

Much of Mrs. Clinton's money

has come from personal donations from Southern states, where she is still remembered from her days as a prominent lawyer and the wife of Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton. She also has attended several fundraisers outside New York or Washington.

So when Mr. Lazio or Mrs. Clinton mention that New York state residents are shortchanged \$15 billion by the federal government in terms of taxation and services, that's not the issue for someone watching from, say, Michigan.

"It's about the demagoguery of the Clintons," said Art Wainwright, a retired broadcaster from St. Johns, Mich.

"Everybody wants to talk about it," Mr. Wainwright said. "Most of the people around here are Republicans, and they all want to discuss it — even if it is New York."

Added Cris Lafferty, who follows the race from Seattle every day through New York newspapers, "It's really funny that New York, with the city that considers itself one of the most sophisticated in the country, is about to be swindled."

When it was time to find a campaign manager for Mr. Lazio, the party looked to Bill Dal Col, a man who managed the 1996 and 2000 presidential campaigns of Steve Forbes, over John Weaver — Sen. John McCain's chief strategist who was on site in New York and expected to take over.

Even in Alaska, the fate of the New York Senate seat is creating buzz. The Republican Party of Alaska newsletter features a blurb on Mrs. Clinton and her use of taxpayer money for travel.

"Hillary has made a dent on our

ANTI-HILLARY SENTIMENT ON LINE

The national attention to the New York Senate race between first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rep. Rick Lazio has spawned a number of anti-Hillary Web sites. Some are managed by Republican-controlled groups and others are simply operated by individuals expressing their political inclinations. The first lady's official Web site is www.hillary2000.org.

www.antihillary.com

www.hillaryno.com

www.hillary2000.com

www.byebyehillary.com

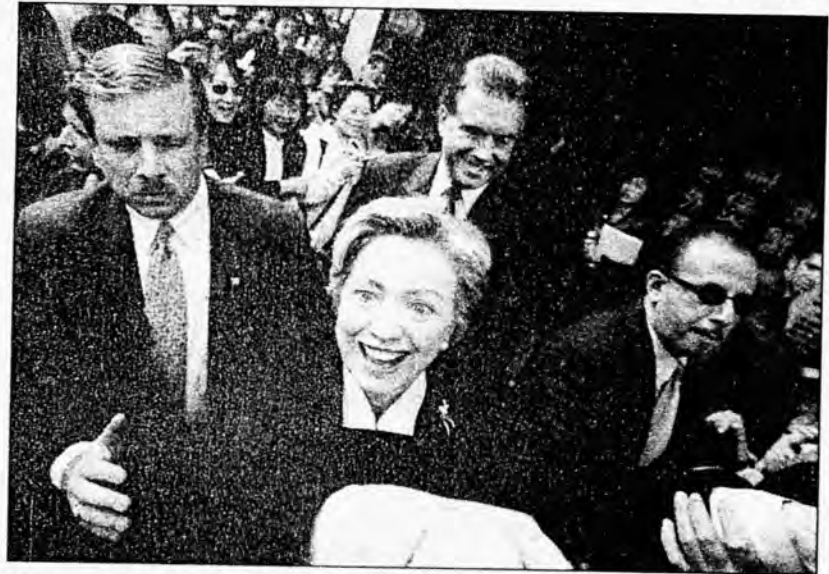
www.stophillarynow.net

www.nothillary.com

www.hillary200.org

www.hillaryyes.com

The Washington Times

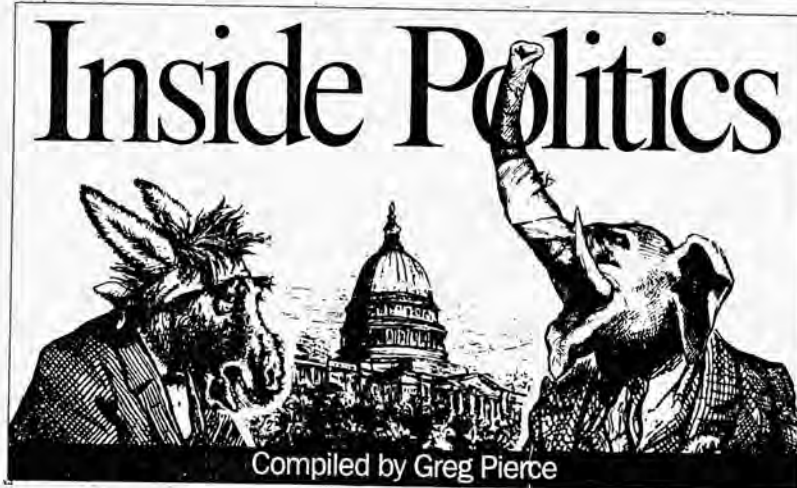


AP
Hillary Rodham Clinton told supporters in the Queens borough of New York yesterday she knows the importance of welcoming immigrants.

local political scene," said Randy Ruedrich, chairman of the Anchorage-based state party. "I was just at a luncheon the other day and the topic of her candidacy

came up. I know that different people here have expressed interest in fund raising for Mr. Lazio. So even here, we care about how that race comes out."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



PAGE A6 / TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 2000 ★★

Say what?

During a rare question-and-answer session with the press last week, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton performed an almost perfect pirouette around one of the more piercing questions the press has dared ask about her domestic "situation."

A reporter noted that Rep. Rick Lazio, her opponent in New York's U.S. Senate race, has constantly reminded voters of his adherence

to family and the role his wife and two children play in his life. He brings his wife, Patricia, with him often and mentions his family frequently during his speeches.

Additionally, Mr. Lazio is also a good bit more personal. He talks of his passion for music, his background and generally is forthcoming as a person.

"Why don't we see more of that from you?" the reporter asked.

"Well, do you want to watch me sleep?" the first lady replied to nervous titters.

Then, of her family situation, she said: "I have circumstances I have to deal with. . . . We've come a long way in trying to diminish any impact. . . . I do have a few restrictions that others don't that I try to work around."

We're still trying to decipher her response, although it certainly worked for her.

Friend of Hillary

"Among the names on a list of overnight guests at the White House and Camp David released by the Clinton administration [Friday] is Paul Adler, a New York Democrat county chair who was charged last month with corruption," CNSNews.com reporter Justin Torres writes.

"The 404-person list was released [Friday] amidst allegations that donors to first lady Hillary Clinton's New York Senate campaign have been rewarded with overnight stays at Camp David and the White House Lincoln Bedroom," the reporter noted.

"Adler, chairman of the Rockland County Democratic Party, was indicted last month after allegedly enriching himself by nearly \$375,000 through fraud, extortion and bribery. He donated \$1,500 to the first lady's campaign and hosted a fundraiser for her Senate bid."

A slap in the face

Radical-turned-conservative David Horowitz says he is trying to bring irreverence back to politics with a new slap-happy Web site.

At www.SlapHillary.com, those so inclined can slap an image of Hillary Rodham Clinton, the first lady and U.S. Senate candidate in New York.

"It's an interactive animation on the Internet that allows you to slap a cartoon Hillary by pushing a button," Mr. Horowitz said in a prepared statement. "It's good, cathartic American fun."

The site was produced and directed by Marie Poe, animation producer for the premier season of MTV's "Beavis and Butthead."

Is SlapHillary.com mean-spirited? "Absolutely," Mr. Horowitz said. "But we think even feminists will find it irresistible. It must be terribly frustrating to go around pretending that you like both hypocritical sides of this woman."

• Greg Pierce can be reached at 202/636-3285 or by e-mail (Pierce@twtmil.com).

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 RICHARD OBEN, *Facilities Director*

By any means necessary

When Kathleen Willey Schwicker (formerly known as Kathleen Willey) related her story of sexual assault by President Clinton on "60 Minutes" in March 1998, she rocked the nation. Sen. Orrin Hatch was moved to say that if Mrs. Schwicker's story were true, "I think this presidency is over." Even more significant was the response of NOW's Patricia Ireland, suddenly shaken out of feminism's silent complicity on the subject of the president's serial abuse of women. "This is not just sexual harassment," Ms. Ireland said on CNN. "If it's true, this is sexual assault... If true, it is a very big problem."

And the White House knew it. What happened next, as detailed in a complaint filed by Mrs. Schwicker last week (posted at www.judicial-watch.org) against Mr. Clinton, Hillary Rodham Clinton, Charles F.C. Ruff, Bruce Lindsey, Cheryl Mills, Sidney Blumenthal, James Carville, David E. Kendall, Williams & Connolly, Bruce Shapiro, Salon.com and the FBI, is even more appalling than the original story of sexual strong-arming. Even before Mrs. Schwicker's interview aired on television, the president and first lady, assisted by a coterie of top advisers, appear to have set forth on a secret mission — a conspiracy — to destroy the good name of Mrs. Schwicker, and, alternately, to pressure her into withholding potential testimony in all the investigations of allegations against the president, ranging from sexual harassment to perjury.

How? By any means necessary. Mrs. Schwicker's lawsuit, filed last week by Larry Klayman and his Judicial Watch legal organization, details the sinister hive of activity the "60 Minutes" interview triggered at the White House — a frenzy of consultation between the president, White House counsels Charles F. C. Ruff, Bruce Lindsey, Cheryl Mills, private counsel David E. Kendall, presidential aide Sidney Blumenthal, political adviser James Carville and Hillary Rodham Clinton to devise and implement a strat-

egy to rip to shreds one woman's account of a Bill Clinton groping. (Much of this documentation of Your Tax Dollars at Work — and it is not a pretty sight — comes from a separate lawsuit Mr. Klayman has filed on behalf of hundreds of Reagan and Bush administration employees whose FBI files were improperly obtained by the White House.) As a result of these machinations, the White House, in violation of the Privacy Act, released personal letters Mrs. Schwicker had written the president following her assault as she continued to seek a government job after her debt-ridden first husband committed suicide. The administration's idea, of course, was to undercut Mrs. Schwicker's story, and, in so doing, cast doubt upon her veracity.

And, given that this is a tale of the Clinton White House, that's not all. In addition to having had to endure the force of an all-out White House attack, with its attendant indignities of dirt-digging and badmouthing, not to mention alarming acts of physical intimidation of mysterious origin, Mrs. Schwicker has been besmirched anew. In July, Salon.com ran an article by Bruce Shapiro titled, "New Bankruptcy Documents Make the Murky Finances of Ken Starr's Key Witness Look Even Shadier" — not exactly the stuff of society pages. What's interesting about the article is that information included in it is explicitly sourced to Mrs. Schwicker's nonpublic White House personnel records — a major no-no — and to confidential FBI reports — also a major no-no. Who could have been behind this? Mrs. Schwicker accuses Mr. Clinton himself, along with Sidney Blumenthal, among others, explaining the action as part of a continuing Clinton White House campaign against her — to damage her, to punish her, and to silence her as a new grand jury hears evidence against Mr. Clinton at the behest of the Office of the Independent Counsel. Brave Mrs. Schwicker has already proven one thing: this Clinton campaign isn't working.

Politics

Revolts threaten Clinton-Lazio cease-fire on ads

By Jim Drinkard and Kathy Kiely
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — An agreement by Democrat Hillary Rodham Clinton and Republican Rick Lazio to discourage "soft money" ads in their Senate race in New York, hailed as a victory for campaign-finance reform, appears to be crumbling before it can begin.

On Monday, at least one influential group on each side said it would disregard the deal reached Saturday and feel free to promote its own interests in the campaign.

"We are not going to pledge not to do things" that might affect the election, said Laurence Gold, associate general counsel for the AFL-CIO, which supports Democrats. He called the idea of silencing groups that want to participate in a campaign undemocratic and unworkable. "The campaigns can never secure promises from every conceivable group," he said.

"We raised lots of money from people," said Morton Blackwell, chairman of the Emergency Committee to Stop Hillary Rodham Clinton. "We are completely independent. No campaign or party committee can direct us."

Blackwell's committee is an arm of the Conservative Leadership Political Action Committee, which he also chairs. Lazio listed that group as among those that agreed to hold their advertising fire if Clinton signed the soft-money pledge.

The statements appeared to undercut a deal the campaigns worked out over the weekend. Both sides agreed to ban broadcast



By Lynsey Addario, AP

By the book: Hillary Rodham Clinton, accompanied by Washington Gov. Gary Locke and Queens President Claire Shulman, reads to children in Queens on Monday.

advertising paid for by political parties with soft money — unregulated, unlimited contributions from corporations, labor unions and individuals. Such ads escape rules on fundraising by not explicitly calling for the election or defeat of a candidate. Both campaigns also agreed to press independent groups to forgo ads on their behalf.

On Monday, Lazio's campaign appealed to Blackwell's group to fall into line. Otherwise, the campaign said, donors would be told "that their hard-earned money is being spent in a way detrimental to Congressman Lazio's campaign."

The developments were the latest evidence of a seemingly unstoppable flood of money flowing outside the regulated campaign-finance system. A report last week

by the Annenberg Public Policy Center at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia estimated spending nationwide on outside "issue ads" so far in this election at \$342 million. That's a record.

"One of the lessons emerging from the New York Senate race is that voluntary bans, however laudable, are not the solution to our nation's campaign-finance woes," said Scott Harshbarger, president of the reform group Common Cause.

The Lazio-Clinton agreement covers only radio and TV advertising; soft money still can be used for other activities, such as mailing campaign brochures and organizing phone banks and other get-out-the-vote efforts. The deal grew out of a public relations war that began Sept. 13 when Clinton and Lazio



By Richard Drew, AP

Campaign stop: Martin Larsen pats Rick Lazio on the cheek in Staten Island. Behind them, Rep. Vito Fossella, R-N.Y., holds his son.

had their first debate. In one of the evening's more dramatic moments, Lazio walked across the stage to confront Clinton and brandished a piece of paper that he called "The New York Freedom from Soft Money Agreement." He insisted that she sign it on the spot.

Clinton countered that she would be willing to give up her soft-money contributions if Lazio could convince a host of outside groups supporting him to stop their campaigns against her.

The deal seemed to benefit Lazio most. Clinton has relied heavily on soft money raised through the state Democratic Party to finance her television ads. In federally regulated "hard" dollars, Lazio held an advantage. As of Aug. 23, the most recent date for which figures are

Groups asked for restraint

More than two dozen outside interest groups have been asked by Senate candidates Rick Lazio and Hillary Rodham Clinton to refrain from advertising in their New York race:

Allied with Lazio

- ▶ The American Conservative Union
- ▶ AmeriPAC
- ▶ Citizens for a Sound Economy
- ▶ Coalition for a Better America
- ▶ The Conservative Campaign Fund
- ▶ The Conservative Leadership PAC
- ▶ Conservatives for Effective Leadership
- ▶ ConserveAmerica
- ▶ National Conservative Campaign Fund
- ▶ The Republican Jewish Coalition
- ▶ The Republican National Committee
- ▶ The Republican Leadership Council
- ▶ RuffPac
- ▶ Save Our Senate

Allied with Clinton

- ▶ AFL-CIO
- ▶ American Federation of Teachers
- ▶ Association of Trial Lawyers of America
- ▶ Democratic National Committee
- ▶ Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee
- ▶ Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee
- ▶ Liberal Party of New York
- ▶ National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League
- ▶ National Education Association
- ▶ New York State Democratic Party
- ▶ Planned Parenthood
- ▶ Sierra Club
- ▶ Working Families Party

available, Lazio's campaign led Clinton's, \$10.2 million-\$7.1 million, in cash on hand.

Kathleen Hall Jamieson, director of the Annenberg Center, said voluntary agreements have occasionally succeeded in reform-minded states. She cited Democratic Sen. Russ Feingold's forswearing of party soft-money ads in 1998 in his re-

election in Wisconsin, and a ban on most soft-money spending in the Massachusetts Senate race in 1996.

"New York doesn't have a history of something like this," she said, so it is an open question whether the electorate there will turn against a candidate whose allies violate the ban. "The question is, what is the penalty for breaking it?"

USA Today
Tuesday September 26, 2000

News & views

By Jeannie Williams

Sneaks: President Clinton and first lady **Hillary Rodham Clinton** screened *Men of Honor*, starring **Cuba Gooding Jr.** and **Robert De Niro**, at the White House Friday night. The prez had asked to see the inspirational story of **Carl Brashear**, one of the first African-Americans to reach the top level of master chief Navy diver — after losing his leg in a diving accident in 1966.

The stars didn't make it, but Brashear, 69, was a guest and chatted with Clinton. Also attending: director **George Tillman Jr.** and producer **Robert Teitel**. The 20th Century Fox film opens in theaters on Nov. 10.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

In Close Races, Top PACs Are Giving to Both Sides

Continued from page 1

In Missouri, Sen. John Ashcroft (R) and his opponent, Gov. Mel Carnahan (D), have each pulled in PAC money from 20 of the same companies, including Trans World Airlines, Wal-Mart, Anheuser-Busch, Aventis Pharmaceuticals, Archer Daniels Midland and Hallmark.

Nine PACs have given money to both Sen. Bill Roth (R-Del.) and his Democratic opponent, Gov. Tom Carper.

Candidates engaged in hotly contested House races — such as Rep. Jim Rogan (R-Calif.) and his Democratic challenger, state Sen. Adam Schiff — are also getting money from some of the same sources, FEC data showed.

Both Rogan and Schiff have received contributions from PACs associated with Sony Pictures, the online auction house eBay and GTE, as well as the Golden State Political Action Committee and Sempira Energy Employees PAC.

In New Jersey, Democratic Rep. Rush Holt and former Rep. Dick Zimmer (R) have each received funds from PACs associated with Citigroup, the New Jersey Dental Association and the New Jersey Saving League.

Close observers of the campaign finance game aren't surprised by the trend.

"You are dealing with a new environment this year and the number of double givers has drastically increased because the Congressional balance is so close," noted Kent Cooper of Public Disclosure Inc., an online service that tracks campaign finance data.

Continued Cooper, "As a result, you know that you are going to wind up with a divided House, and the tendency will be for corporations, especially, to play both sides. They want access to whoever is the winner and we're probably seeing more of it this year and more hedging of bets because we are so close."

That appears to be exactly what some corporations are doing.

General Electric's PAC has been hedging bets in several competitive Senate races, giving \$7,000 to Lazio and \$5,600 to Clinton in New York's marquis Senate race.

PAC Giving In the New York Senate Race

Political Action Committee

	Hillary Rodham Clinton (D)	Rick Lazio (R)
American Federation of State City and Municipal Employees	\$10,000	\$ 5,000
American Health Care Association PAC	5,000	2,500
American Hospital Association PAC	5,000	7,500
American Occupational Therapy Association Inc. PAC	5,000	500
American Society of Anesthesiologists	5,000	8,500
Association of Trial Lawyers	10,000	9,500
Bank of America Corp.	1,000	3,500
Cablevision Systems	10,000	2,400
Carpenters Legislative Improvement Committee	9,500	1,500
Cellular Telecommunications Industry Association PAC	500	1,000
Committee on Letter Carriers Political Education	16,000	2,500
Ernst & Young PAC	10,000	10,000
General Electric Company PAC	5,600	7,000
Holland & Knight	2,000	3,500
Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union To Ensure Progress	5,000	1,000
Ironworkers Political Action League	10,000	3,500
Laborer's Political League	10,000	5,000
National Air Traffic Controllers Association PAC	5,000	1,000
National Association of Social Workers	5,000	500
National Good Government Fund	5,000	5,000
Painwebber Fund	2,250	2,500
Seafarers PAC	10,000	2,000
Sheet Metal Workers International Association Political Action League	10,000	2,500
United Parcel Service	3,000	600
United Transportation Union	10,000	500
Transportation Political Action League		

Other Senate contests where General Electric PAC has been betting on both sides include Pennsylvania's, for which the committee gave \$6,000 to Santorum and \$1,000 to his opponent, as well as Virginia's, where Robb was given \$5,000 and Allen received \$3,000.

In Florida the PAC contributed \$2,000 each to Rep. Bill McCollum (R) and Democrat Bill Nelson, who are both vying for retiring Sen. Connie Mack's (R) seat. In Rhode Island the PAC gave \$1,000 each to Sen. Lincoln Chafee (R) and his opponent, Rep. Bob Weygand (D).

General Electric Co. did not return calls seeking comment.

Overall, General Electric's PAC

has been giving nearly equal amounts to both parties this election cycle, having already made about \$284,400 in donations to Democrats and \$378,000 to Republicans — a 43 percent to 57 percent giving ratio. In 1996, by comparison, the General Electric PAC gave only 34 percent of its contributions to Democratic causes and 64 percent to Republicans.

The Bank of America PAC has also been covering its bases, giving contributions to many competitors in close Senate races, including McCollum and Nelson in Florida, Clinton and Lazio in New York, Robb and Allen in Virginia, Roth and Carper in Delaware, Carnahan and

Ashcroft in Missouri and others.

Bank of America made a number of contributions to Lazio well before he became the Republican nominee in that race. In fact, the PAC gave \$2,500 to him while he was still a candidate for re-election in the House of Representatives.

A representative with Bank of America's Washington office could not be reached for comment.

However, on June 6 — less than one month after making a \$1,000 contribution to Clinton — the PAC gave the wannabe Senator another \$1,000, suggesting that the PAC's decision-makers were playing both sides.

Overall, the PAC has given about

\$339,300 to Democrats and \$345,200 to Republicans — a nearly 50-50 split — according to records available from the most recent filing period, which ended June 30.

Cooper noted that the strong economy is also allowing many PACs to be generous this campaign season.

"Most of these PACs are flush with money," Cooper explained. "It's not as tight as other cycles when maybe the economy wasn't as great. Being flush with money, there's more that they can give out ... and they can easily afford to be a double giver."

Even so, the tact does not sit well with some in the political community who have made their displeasure quite clear to the business community.

Earlier this year the National Republican Congressional Committee went so far as to establish a "75 Percent Club" requiring that political action committees give three-fourths of their contributions to the GOP — or risk being shut out.

Rep. Tom Reynolds (R-N.Y.), a key fundraiser for the NRCC, minced no words when he told the Associated Press earlier this year that PACs have "got to make a decision of how they are going to help their friends and who their friends are."

Of course, PACs may have other reasons for giving to both contestants in a race.

"Many have a company based in a state, or a large plant or office in that state, and therefore they probably have a lot of constituents who may be of any party, and the PAC may feel that it has to give to both [candidates]," Cooper said. "You have more PACs that are listening to their employees, and in many cases that's the safest thing for a PAC to do so they represent their donor base."

At least one PAC fundraiser said he thinks PACs might want to rethink their giving strategy.

"With the amount of money these campaigns cost today, if a PAC sees no significant difference between the two candidates, I think the better decision is to sit it out and help the winner after the election," he said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST

America's oldest continuously published daily newspaper

A West Side Story

What's that giant whooshing sound? Why, it's the anti-growth, anti-Giuliani crowd hyperventilating over the idea of a new sports stadium on Manhattan's West Side.

Plans are vague, but Mayor Giuliani, Gov. Pataki, Jets officials and NYC 2012 — the committee that's trying to bring the 2012 Olympics to Gotham — are all seriously discussing the possibility of an arena over railroad yards between 30th and 34th streets.

While the usual suspects are protesting, thoughtful New Yorkers should recognize the stadium idea for what it truly is: A jump-start for a city which always seems to be working overtime to stunt its own growth.

A West Side stadium would have more than one central purpose: It could be the home of the Jets and/or the Yankees — though Pataki, whose approval is necessary, has objected in no uncertain terms to a baseball stadium; and it could be converted for use as an Olympic Stadium, if New York wins the bid for the 2012 games.

Not only would the stadium bring a major league sports team to the heart of the city, and possibly the Olympics, it would also spur the development of perhaps the last remaining under-used Manhattan neighborhood: Hell's Kitchen, roughly the area between 57th and 30th streets bound by Ninth Avenue and the Hudson River.

Currently, the neighborhood is covered with parking lots, garages and low-rise buildings.

Let's be frank: Manhattan below 72nd Street effectively is New York City's central business district — the engine that drives the municipal economy and fills the city treasury.

Right now, there is a huge hole in it —

which is one reason why the commercial real-estate market is so stressed.

And don't even start about residential space.

Without pledging allegiance to a particular proposal, we would note firmly that leaving Hell's Kitchen fallow borders on insanity.

How better to jump-start the process than a new stadium — provided it was linked with an expansion of the Javits Convention Center.

Who knows what would follow — but more hotels, office space and residential construction all but certainly would be included.

And this would make an extension of subway service to the area economically sustainable.

Maybe this would result in the city's snaring the 2012 Olympics.

Maybe not.

There's still plenty of time to talk.

But let's be frank about one thing: The crowd of usual suspects that lined up so reflexively against even a suggestion of change on the West Side — the Tom Duane and Christine Quinns and Dickie Gottfrieds — are also the folks who always so sanctimoniously lecture the city on its fiscal obligations to the poor and the needy.

And they are the first on the ramparts whenever the West Side's obligation to participate in responsible refurbishment of the municipal tax base comes up.

We intend to take particular note of this hypocrisy as the stadium discussion proceeds.

This is something the hypocrites can count on.

They may win, as they have in the past. But if they do, it will be New York City — and not just the folks backing a new stadium — that really loses.

In Iran, Business As Usual

If Iran's leaders believe they deserve congratulations for slightly reducing the prison sentences imposed on 10 innocent Jews on trumped-up espionage charges, the international community should swiftly let them know — in no uncertain terms — that they're mistaken.

Thursday's decision by an Iranian appeals court was only the latest outrage in a blatant human-rights violation that has earned the world's condemnation.

Now the West must make clear that

shopkeepers, a university professor, two religion teachers, a gravedigger, a high-school student and a civil servant.

The notion that they had access to secret information simply is beyond ludicrous.

They were convicted behind closed doors in a "trial" at which not one shred of evidence was presented against them — and at which the judge also served as prosecutor. America's United Nations ambassador, Richard Holbrooke, correctly termed the proceedings a "kanga-

September 25, 2000

GOP Seeks More Information On First Lady's Travel Reports

By Ethan Wallison

House Republican appropriators have asked the White House to provide more detailed information about how first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton (D) has been using military aircraft, amid reports suggesting that official government resources have been used in her Senate campaign to fêre contributors and other political heavyweights.

The GOP lawmakers, led by Appropriations Chairman Bill Young (Fla.), asked for the information as the committee for the first time released details of the first lady's travel records, showing that her Senate campaign has billed more than \$1 million to the federal government after reimbursing nearly \$185,000 in travel costs.

The Republicans alleged no wrongdoing by the first lady or her campaign. But they expressed mild frustration at what they suggested was were coy — perhaps misleading — accounting practices, and at the size of the bill.

Adding to the frustration, Republicans acknowledged that there aren't any set rules for how to deal with what is clearly a unique situation — a first lady campaigning for political office.

"We're really in uncharted waters here," conceded Elizabeth Morra, an appropriations spokeswoman.

Morra said the committee wants the names of political personnel who go along on the trips, rather than just the designations by category that the campaign has been providing.

While saying the committee does not quarrel with the campaign's need to use military aircraft — a security precaution — Morra added, "There's still the larger question of 'Is this proper?' There are high costs associated with flying on a C-20" airplane.

A spokeswoman for the first lady's office at the White House said the only questions were whether the government has been reimbursed for Clinton's political travel, and whether that information has been provided to the committee.

Both those things have been done, said the spokeswoman, Erika Batcheller, adding that appropriators "have not [to this point] requested specific names" of passengers on the flights. She indicated that White House officials were looking into the matter.

Clinton has come under fire from Republicans in the last two weeks after news reports indicated that contributors to her campaign may have been rewarded with overnight stays in the White House's Lincoln Bedroom or at Camp David.

The campaign has denied a "quid pro quo," saying that many of the contributors and political officials are personal friends of the first lady and President Clinton.

The appropriators seized specifically on recent news reports that New York state Assemblyman Michael Bragman (D) and his family flew with the first lady from New York to Washington and back.

The manifest for the round trip, which took place Dec. 21 and 22, 1999, listed two political passengers on the first leg and none on the second, though both Bragman and the campaign have subsequently confirmed that the travel took place.

In a letter to the White House yesterday, Young and Rep. Jim Kolbe (R-Ariz.), chairman of the Appropriations subcommittee on Treasury, Postal Service and general government, said they were "extremely concerned"



File Photo by Tom Williams

First lady Hillary Clinton's campaign has billed \$1 million to the government.

by the discrepancy.

"If these [news] reports are accurate, then the information provided to the committee is incorrect," the lawmakers wrote. Young and Kolbe demanded that full details be given to the committee by Sept. 27.

Batcheller blamed a "clerical error" and said "the important thing is that the government was fully reimbursed at the time for all five political travelers on the plane."

Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.), the ranking member on the Treasury-Postal subcommittee, said he would encourage the White House to provide the material the committee is seeking, and to make whatever reimbursements are necessary.

But he derided his GOP colleagues' efforts as part of a "continuing partisan attack" on the Clinton administration. "The fact is, Mrs. Clinton is a very controversial figure — loved by many, hated by some," Hoyer said.

As first lady, Clinton is provided at all times with elaborate protection, including a full-time Secret Service detail and military aircraft that are intended to ensure her safety.

While the campaign is not required to reimburse the costs associated with protecting the first lady, it has to pay the government back for non-official personnel — such as campaign aides — who are along on the trips.

The reimbursement for each individual is equal to what the cost of a first-class ticket on a commercial airline would be. The remaining cost of the trips is passed along to the taxpayers.

According to a chart compiled by appropriators from monthly reports provided by the White House, the first lady has racked up an estimated \$1.2 million in travel costs associated with her Senate campaign. Of that amount, about \$185,000 was reimbursed to the government as political expenses, leaving a roughly \$1 million bill outstanding.

Many of the trips show a wide discrepancy between the reimbursement and the cost to the government. In one representative example, the campaign said it reimbursed \$6,645 for a four-day campaign swing in August; the estimated cost of using the C-20 for that trip was \$61,441.

New York Times

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 2000

Clinton's Deny Manhattan Urge

President Clinton and Hillary Rodham Clinton, who moved into their Dutch colonial in Chappaqua, N.Y., in January, have not been apartment-shopping in Manhattan, a spokesman for Mrs. Clinton said yesterday. Aides to Mrs. Clinton said it was not inconceivable that the couple might decide to look for a Manhattan apartment at some point. But Howard Wolfson, the communications director for Mrs. Clinton's Senate campaign, said there was no truth to a report in The New York Post yesterday that the president and first lady had enlisted colleagues to look at condominium apartments in two luxury buildings, one on Central Park West and one on Park Avenue.

"None of it is true," Mr. Wolfson said. Randy Kennedy (NYT)

PHOTOGRAPH
PRESIDENT

Clinton's' E. Side nay-bors

But West Side is another story

If the condo-shopping Clintons are hoping for friendly neighbors they probably should look west, rather than east.

President and Hillary Clinton are considering a \$1.85 million condo at 25 Central Park West and a \$1.9 million condo at 500 Park Ave., The Post revealed yesterday.

And what do their potential neighbors think about that?

At the Central Park West building, they were pretty happy.

"I love the Clintons," said Josh Mailman. "They can move anywhere they want. I helped them get in the White House."

Steven Ross, a recruiter, noted that, "It would disrupt things. There'd be a lot more people like yourself," he said — referring to reporters.

But he could see a brighter side.

"There'd be more security and that'd be a good thing. And they'd keep the building cleaner, too."

His wife, TV producer Emily Aronson, said "They'd be lucky to live here. It's a great building."

Sarah Toren liked the idea.

"They'd be most welcomed," she said. "It'd be fun."

"I'm sure most people would love it," Toren said. "It's a good building. Tell her we recommend it."

"I'm ready to give them my bedroom," joked her husband, David.

By IKIMULISA
SOCKWELL-MASON

The greeting apparently wouldn't be as friendly if the Clintons chose the tony Park Avenue condo.

"That's terrible," said one resident, who would not give her name. "Known criminals in our building? It's very bad news."

Wendy Joseph, on the way out with her two kids and two dogs, was a little



WHERE TO LIVE? The first family has its sights on Manhattan digs, but are drawing mixed reviews from prospective neighbors.

Reuters

kinder.

"The dog can come," she said of the first canine, Buddy. "But actually we don't care. It's New York. They should live wherever they want."

Her 5-year-old son, Nicholas, disagreed, describing the Clintons as "bad" people.

The staff of the building, at least, would greet the Clintons with open arms, said a doorman.

"He's more than welcome. They'll bring more traffic, but that's still all right," said the doorman, who asked that his name not be printed.

Rick Lazio, who is run-

ning against Hillary in the Senate race, had his own view of the impending real estate deal.

"I knew they were going to put their house up for sale in Chappaqua after the election," he said. "But I didn't think it would be this quick."



JOSH MAILMAN
"I love the Clintons."



SARAH TOREN
First family would be fun.



STEVEN ROSS
They'd be disruptive.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Campaign 2000

Fat cats waiting in wings for ban's end

By LEONARD GREENE

Outside groups backing Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rick Lazio were honoring the "soft money" cease-fire yesterday — but stood poised to quickly draw their checkbooks at the first sign the deal has been broken.

"We're not producing any ads right now," said Peter Kauffmann, spokesman for the state Democratic Committee, which has been airing a flood of anti-Lazio commercials for months.

Kauffmann said the party was prepared to rerun its old ads if Republicans violated the pact banning soft money.

A spokesman for the state GOP said the party would make a "good faith" effort to honor the ban, as long as state Democrats did the same.

But Carlo Pellicciari, executive director of the anti-Clinton group Conserve America, said his organization would comply only if the first lady's campaign halted all soft-money fund-raising and spending.

"If they will not, then we see no reason to abide by this pact," Pellicciari said.

Clinton's campaign has said it will not stop raising soft-money — although the money can no longer be spent on ads for her race — so it was unclear last night if Conserve America would stay out of the contest.

Because Clinton and Lazio have no real control over the outside organizations, the most the candidates can do is ask the groups to stop.

Under the soft-money pact, if one side breaks the agreement the other side can respond in kind.

The National Abortion Rights Action League, which is backing the first lady and has aired a TV ad attacking Lazio, said it could "probably" agree to refrain from any further advertising.

But NARAL Deputy Director Bob Jaffe said the organization will do mass mailings and other efforts "make sure New Yorkers know that Rick Lazio doesn't support a woman's right to choose."

The American Conservative Union originally signed the no-soft-money pact but bailed out after Clinton failed to meet "certain conditions."

We're not surrogates of the Lazio campaign," said a Walters, communications director of the group.

Hill 'absolutely' to keep raising 'soft' \$ for other Dems

By GREGG BIRNBAUM

Hillary Rodham Clinton will continue to aggressively raise "soft money" for the Democratic Party, despite a ban on the unregulated funds being spent in her New York Senate race, her campaign said yesterday.

"Absolutely!" Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson responded when asked if the first lady will be holding any more soft-money fund-raisers.

"They are scheduled and will continue."

Under a deal hatched Friday, Clinton and opponent Rick Lazio agreed that political groups like the state Democratic and Republican parties will be barred from using the large unregulated

donations to buy television and radio ads for the Senate campaign.

Clinton's decision to chase more soft-money dollars, which apparently does not violate the ban, most likely means that most of the funds she raises will be diverted to other Senate contests and not doled out to the state Democratic Party to be used on her behalf.

"Obviously, we will need less money," said Peter Kauffmann, spokesman for the state Democratic Party, which had been spending

soft money on an extensive anti-Lazio ad campaign.

"It would make sense ... to use that money to help other Democratic candidates around the country," Kauffmann said.

Meanwhile, Lazio said Clinton would never have agreed to a soft money-free Senate race if he hadn't invaded her space during their debate.

"If I didn't make that point as emphatically as I did, we wouldn't have this agreement now," Lazio said, referring to his much-

criticized, finger-wagging approach toward Clinton's podium at their Sept. 13 face-off when he demanded she sign a soft-money ban.

"The fact is, Mrs. Clinton has said she was for the agreement and then has shown great reluctance to come to an agreement," he said.

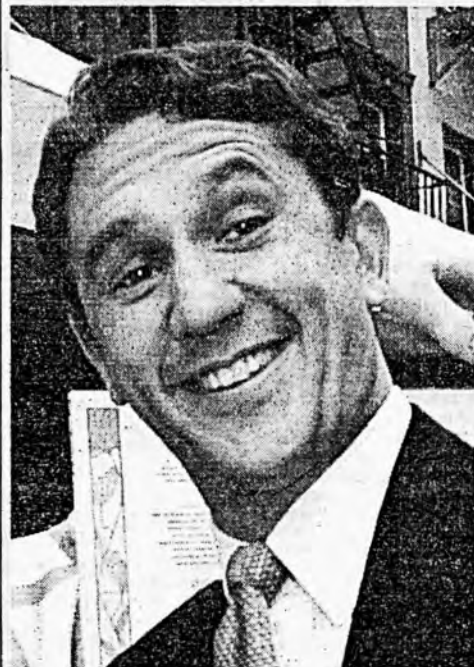
In a first-ever deal to clean up a high-profile campaign, both Lazio and Clinton also demanded outside advocacy groups, such as the American Conservative Union and the National

Abortion Rights Action League, drop any plans to buy ads supporting or opposing either candidate.

The unwritten pact means all radio and television commercials will be paid for directly by each campaign, which can receive maximum donations of \$2,000.

"I trust the people of New York to be the ultimate monitors," Lazio said during an appearance on ABC's "This Week."

Tale of the tape



Rick Lazio		Hillary Rodham Clinton
42	AGE	52
Married with two daughters	FAMILY LIFE	Married with a daughter
Long Island U.S. representative	CURRENT TITLE	First lady
Full-sized bus he calls the "Mainstream Express"	TRAVEL ACCOMMODATIONS	Van the press calls the "HRC Speedwagon"
Sometimes-goofy exuberance	USUAL CAMPAIGN STYLE	Reserved enthusiasm
At least four times a day	MEDIA AVAILABILITY	At least four times a week
Middle schoolers screaming Lazio's name and hanging out their classroom window as the congressman, in full rock-star mode, came up to exchange high-fives.	RECENT STRANGE CAMPAIGN SNAPSHOT	Clinton arguing about school vouchers with an upstate Republican — at an event meant to be pro-Clinton.

A dynamic speaker vs. a just-folks guy

By MAGGIE HABERMAN

One is able to blend in with almost every group she speaks to, and lingers at campaign stops until each person there gets to shake her hand.

The other bounds out of a custom-made bus with music speakers and a fold-out platform, and poses for countless pictures with his family.

One is all smart pantsuits and carefully coiffed hair, an immaculately polished speaker who still doesn't seem at ease answering questions from the press.

The other is all boyish grins, prone to the occasional flub and sometimes late for his next engagement because he tries to answer as many questions as he can.

The stump styles of Senate rivals Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rick Lazio are about as different as their proposed tax plans.

Which is more effective will be revealed Nov. 7, after all the votes are tallied.

While Clinton has spent countless hours on her husband's elections, the Senate contest is the first time she's worked the campaign trail on her own behalf.

And although Lazio is a four-term Long Island Republican congressman, he too is in uncharted territory trying to snare a statewide office in a nationally watched contest.

In a race that both sides say provides a clear choice, the candidates are proving they differ on everything from the size of their entourage to how they travel, to the way they perform once they arrive.

For starters, when it comes to speaking at standard campaign stops, Clinton is far more polished than her opponent.

She rarely makes an "off-mes-

See STYLE on Page 24

ASSEMBLY'S DEMS TO GET BUBBA BOOST

PRESIDENT CLINTON, hoping to energize key supporters of his wife's Senate race, will host a big-ticket Manhattan fund-raiser for state Assembly Democrats, The Post has learned.

The first-of-its-kind, \$5,000-a-ticket event — no president in modern times has hosted a fund-raiser for a state legislative campaign committee — is slated for Oct. 25 at the Four Seasons Hotel.

It will bring together leaders of the Assembly Democratic Campaign Committee, many of whom are expected to play important roles in getting out the vote for Hillary Rodham Clinton on Election Day.

Among the powerful assemblymen expected at the event are Speaker Sheldon Silver of Manhattan — who oversees the largest grass-roots patronage operation controlled by a Democrat in New York — Manhattan Democratic Chairman Herman "Denny" Farrell, Brooklyn Chairman Clarence Norman, Bronx Chairman Roberto Ramirez, and Nassau County Chairman Thomas DiNapoli.

"No president has ever hosted a DAC event. This is quite extraordinary," said a source involved in the planning.

Clinton, soon to be a full-time Westchester resident, agreed to host the fund-raiser at the request of Silver, an Orthodox Jew who has been playing an important behind-the-scenes role in solidifying the sometimes questionable Jewish support for Mrs. Clinton's Senate campaign.

Meanwhile, Democratic insiders said they expect the president to launch an October "Bubba Blitz" on behalf of his wife's Senate campaign.

"We expect the president to come into New York big-time," said a state Democratic leader.

"We think he'll be spending many days campaigning from one end of the state to the other next month on behalf of Hillary's campaign."

Gov. Pataki's notoriously unhelpful "press office" reinforced its reputation for ineptitude last week with two humdinger press releases and one contradictory announcement.

A press release announcing Pataki's participation in ceremonies opening an exhibit in Harlem of a preliminary draft of President Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation contained eight spelling and grammatical errors.

"Emancipation," for instance, was spelled, "Emancipation."

What was supposed to be a reference to "this auspicious day" appeared as, "this suspicious day."

The draft document was also described as having been purchased in 1865 "by the New York State," "its" was spelled "it's," "gets" was spelled "get," and the Declaration of Independence was rendered in lower type.

Another Pataki press release, headlined, "Governor: Governor Island Legislation Introduced in Congress," was followed by a text that also referred to "Governor's Island" and "Governors Island."

Meanwhile, reporters were left scratching their heads last week after Pataki Communications Director Michael McKeon notified legislative correspondents that the governor and Senate candidate Rick Lazio would be available to the press for a five-minute session during a rare public appearance at the Capitol.

But when the press arrived Pataki press aide Suzanne Morris,

FREDRIC U.
DICKER

**INSIDE
ALBANY**

EXCLUSIVE



who works for McKeon, insisted there was never any plan for a Q&A session. Pataki eventually took a few questions.

Mrs. Clinton has been bashing Rick Lazio for suggesting that the upstate region has "turned the corner" on its long-standing economic recession.

But Mrs. Clinton had better not ask her fellow Democrat, U.S. Sen. Charles Schumer, for his opinion on the issue.

Schumer had this to say when asked last month about statistics cited by Pataki's office showing growing upstate economic activity:

"For the first time we've turned the corner in terms of job growth in Central New York and in upstate New York," Schumer said.

"And I think the [Pataki] numbers from what I've seen are accurate, so on this one I side with the governor."

Desperate for candidates who can excite their supporters' interest, state Republicans say Mrs. Clinton is now their best hope for getting GOP voters to the polls this year.

"Hillary Clinton's campaign is very good for us," said Assemblyman Thomas Kirwan, a Newburgh Republican. "So many people feel so strongly about her that she is going to motivate our Republican base to go to the polls."

"Frankly, I hate to think what might happen if she wasn't in the race," continued Kirwan.

Neither presidential hopeful George W. Bush nor Senate contender Rick Lazio has generated much enthusiasm among GOP voters, party insiders agree.

Fredric U. Dicker's radio show, "Inside the State Capitol," can be heard weekdays from 10:05 a.m. to 11 a.m., and Saturdays from 4:05 p.m. to 7 p.m., on the Web, at www.wrow.com.

NEW YORK POST MONDAY SEPTEMBER 25, 2000

NY Campaign 2000

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Trivial Pursuit 2000

So much smoke and so little substance



**JOHN
PODHORETZ**

AL Gore kissed his wife. George Bush kissed Oprah. The word "rats" appeared for 1/30th of a second in an advertisement. Gore read a top-ten list on Letterman's show. Bush went on "Live with Regis" and wore an outfit like Regis wears on "Millionaire."

Bush mispronounced the word "subliminal." Gore said he'd been serenaded to sleep as a boy by song lyrics written when he was 27 years old. Bush wrongly used the word "billion" when he meant "trillion" in talking about his tax cut. Gore

with not saying every 32 seconds that he's a New Yorker.

The unbearable lightness of being a candidate in the year 2000 is not their doing — except for Mrs. Clinton, who has been a candidate for 18 months and still has nothing to say of interest on any subject. The other three campaigns, and most of the hotly contested races across the country, are profoundly substantive on paper.

Lazio has put the idea of deducting payroll taxes from overall income taxes back on the table — an important subject for discussion (though Lazio is so ideologically incoherent that Michael Tomasky of New York magazine has cleverly described him as neither a right-winger or a left-winger, but a no-winger). Gore has set out an agenda for a renewed emphasis on direct government involvement in American life. Bush has laid out meticulous plans for education reform and tax relief, and took a daring step by discussing the partial privatization of Social Security (which will almost certainly happen in some form before this decade is over, or the country will really go broke when the baby boomers retire).

Gore and Bush have competing plans on a prescription drug benefit, both of which are thorough, workable and internally consistent (though Bush's makes more sense because it ties the benefit to reform of the Medicare system).

Lazio has forced Mrs. Clinton to accept a soft-money ban, meaning that all advertising in the campaign will now be conducted directly by the candidates' commit-



Bush's buss: A campaign highlight?
AP

tees themselves. This, too, is a substantive matter — all the more so because its purpose is the limitation of free and open political speech in favor of some largely aesthetic notion of electoral purity.

No matter. If Hillary stopped off at Gray's Papaya on the Upper West Side for a Recession Special, that would get nearly as much coverage as the soft-money ban.

These races, and others, have been twisted around, dominated not by serious discussion but by trivialities of an almost unimaginable nature, and for this the blame rests with television.

Gore couldn't break through talking substance, but he could by French-kissing his wife and having that footage replayed for a month. Bush couldn't break through talking about issues, but by cracking some jokes on Oprah, suddenly he got the first decent press coverage he had received in a month. The image of Lazio crossing the stage to confront Hillary at the debate was broadcast so frequently that after the 15th time I saw it, I began thinking he was about to punch her.

In 1968, the average campaign soundbite on television news was 45 seconds long. By 1988, that had shrunk to 10 seconds. Now there aren't even any soundbites. There are only the most fleeting of impressions broadcast by nervous networks terrified that viewers will channel-surf away if the discussion gets too challenging.

What next? Bush and Gore hawking campaign memorabilia on the Home Shopping Network? If that happened, would you really be surprised?

Mrs. Clinton has been a candidate for 18 months and still has nothing to say. ♪

falsely said his mother-in-law was paying more for an arthritis drug than his dog was.

Meanwhile, in the New York Senate race, Rick Lazio walked over to Hillary Clinton's podium with a piece of paper. She ate a sausage hero at the state fair, but he didn't.

I watch and study these people for a living. There are now 43 days until the election. Do me a favor and kill me now.

This is the worst, least inspiring, least interesting, most frustrating political season since the advent of the Great Depression, and for once, it's not entirely fair to blame the candidates for it. They deserve plenty of blame for all sorts of things, no question — Gore's difficulties with the truth, Bush's difficulties with English, Hillary's difficulties in sounding exactly like Nurse Ratchet, Lazio's difficulties

Inside Politics



Compiled by Greg Pierce

Apartment hunting

President Clinton and his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, who is running for the Senate from New York, are looking for a New York

City apartment for after the president leaves office in January, the New York Post reported yesterday.

The apartment would serve as a second residence for the Clintons, who purchased a house in suburban Chappaqua last year.

Two possibilities are a two-bedroom condominium apartment on tony Park Avenue, and a three-bedroom on Central Park West. Each is listed at just under \$2 million, the Post said.

The Clintons' primary considerations are proximity to Central Park and midtown media outlets, and at least two bedrooms, the report said.

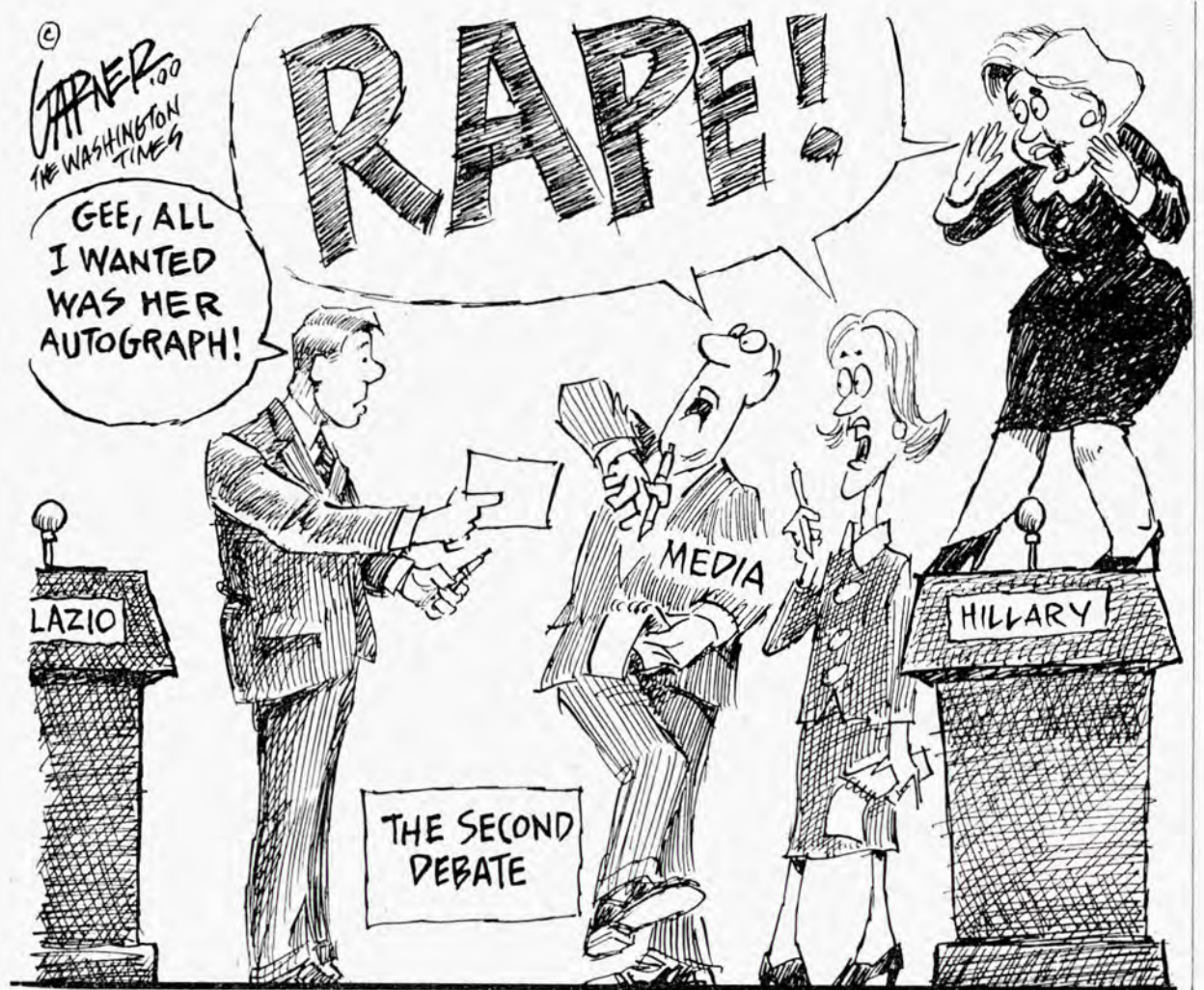
At least one of the apartments is listed by the prestigious Corcoran real estate group, whose chief executive officer, Barbara Corcoran, would not confirm whether the Clintons had checked out her listings. But she called the Park Avenue place "a natural" for them.

A spokesman for Mrs. Clinton's Senate campaign denied to the newspaper the first couple was apartment hunting, saying "it certainly comes as news to Hillary."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Washington Times

EDITORIALS



Be thankful for bumps in the campaign grind

NEW YORK — More and more, this is looking like an *All About Eve* campaign year. No, this is not a coy reference to the gender gap or the way that the schlock-and-shock troops of Hollywood constantly remind us of the expulsion from the Garden of Eden. Rather, it's a tribute to the 1950 film classic in which Bette Davis utters the immortal line, "Fasten your seatbelts, it's going to be a bumpy night!"

The bumps just keep on coming. Maybe it's air turbulence or maybe it's global warming or the oddities of a political season with no national crises and no Bill Clinton on the ballot.

But whatever the cause, it's been a bumpy few days for mainstream political opinion and the glib certainties that constitute the conventional wisdom.

As recently as Friday night, you would have been safe to impress your friends at a dinner party by making sage comments like these:

"With Al Gore holding a double-digit lead in the polls, this campaign is all but over."

Not exactly. As with the stock market, the only safe prediction about the polls is that they will continue to fluctuate. Now that Gore has lost his groove, it just goes to show that the euphoria from the Democratic convention had to wear off someday and that "a kiss is just a kiss ... as time goes by."

"Rick Lazio really blundered in the New York Senate debate by pressing Hillary to sign that no-soft-money pledge."

OK, so Lazio's in-her-face body language was over the top. But his bumptious performance paved the way for Saturday's landmark agreement between the Lazio and Clinton campaigns to discourage TV ads that are paid for with unregulated big-ticket donations to political parties or interest groups. As Lazio put it Sunday on ABC's *This Week*, "New York doesn't need a law to do the right thing."

"You have to say this for the Clintons: They must have learned a lesson from the 1996 fundraising scandals."

Whoops! Prodded by *The New York Times* to provide the names of Lincoln Bedroom and Camp David guests since the first lady set her sights on the Senate, the White

House released a list of 361 individuals who received the ultimate mints-on-the-pillow treatment. The taxpayer-funded accommodations may have been free, but a preliminary analysis by the Center for Responsive Politics revealed that 40% of the sleepover guests had donated a total of \$5.4 million to the Democratic Party, with more than \$600,000 going to aid Hillary Clinton's Senate campaign. Americans must be sleeping better at night knowing that some things never change with the Clintons.



Hype & Glory
By Walter Shapiro

Actually, the only thing that has changed in this campaign cycle is the amount of money being lavished on television commercials. A recent analysis by the Alliance for Better Campaigns, a reform group, estimated that candidates, parties and cause groups will spend \$1 billion on TV time by Election Day, roughly double the 1996 figure. And that \$1 billion does not include production costs, consulting fees for the admakers and the lucrative wrinkle known as the "ad-placement fee" that can add as much as 15% to the cost of the total media buy.

Make no mistake, the campaign industry has become one of those "powerful special interests" that Gore loves to denounce. What makes this insidious industry so vulnerable to criticism are not only the compromises that candidates have to make in order to raise TV money, but also the woeful and derivative quality of the ads themselves. How many times have you seen a candidate photographed with smiling kids in a classroom? How many times have you cringed listening to the ominous music and the grainy photos of an attack ad?

A 90-minute film called *Madison Avenue Goes to Washington: The History of Presidential Campaign Advertising*, produced for the Museum of Television & Radio, is now airing at the museum's locations in New York and Los Angeles. Watching this documentary, narrated by NBC's Tim Russert, serves as a reminder that even political spots were better in the old days.

Sure, the pioneering TV ads created for Dwight Eisenhower's 1952 campaign seem ludicrous in hindsight. There is Ike without his glass-



By Lynsey Addario, AP

Clinton: A soft-money pact and more trouble with houseguests.

es staring myopically at cue cards as he painfully responds to questions from voters. A woman in a leopard-print dress asks about high prices, and the Republican candidate answers mechanically: "Mamie talks to me about the high cost of living. That's why I say it's time for a change."

But by the 1960s, political ads achieved a level of creativity and wit that is unmatched today. John Kennedy made history by airing the first negative ad, a clever spot seizing on a press conference in which Eisenhower responded to a query about Vice President Richard Nixon's contributions to White House decision-making by saying, "If you give me a week, I might think of one."

Lyndon Johnson's 1964 campaign against the hapless Barry Goldwater represents the aesthetic high point of how far you can go with low-road campaigning. There was, of course, the famous daisy ad — so explosive that it aired only once — that segued from a little girl picking the petals of a daisy to a countdown for a nuclear explosion. But an equally devastating cartoon ad showed a hand-saw slowly lopping off the East Coast from a map of the USA as the narrator explained that's what Goldwater proposed in a magazine article.

With six weeks to go before the election, Gore and George W. Bush have yet to produce a single commercial with spark or originality. But there's nothing like a close race to inspire creative invective. So fasten your seat belts for the bumpy ride until Election Day.

Shapiro's column appears Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.
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Clinton, Lazio agree in theory on 'soft money'

By Chris Michaud
Reuters

NEW YORK — Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rep. Rick Lazio have agreed in principle to limit, if not outright ban, "soft money" contributions to their campaigns for the Senate.

"The agreement calls for neither raising nor spending any soft money to finance any commercials," La-

zio said Sunday on ABC's *This Week*.

"We will keep soft money issue ads off the air if they keep theirs off the air," said Clinton, whose campaign has raised far more soft money than Lazio's.

Soft money is spent by interest groups and political parties to promote an issue or to increase voting. Donors can remain secret, and their contributions are limitless, which lead to complaints that the

groups are making an end run around campaign laws that limit contributions to \$2,000 per donor.

Clinton had called for a ban early in her campaign, and during his first debate with Clinton, Lazio urged her to sign an agreement to ban the donations.

Analysts, skeptical of the deal, said there was nothing to keep the interest groups out other than the candidates' asking them to do so.

PHOTOCOPY
RESERVATION

New York Report

The New York Times

For Mrs. Clinton, a Hard (and Costly) Choice on Soft Money

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

If there is one thing Hillary Rodham Clinton has always been adamant about in her years in public life, it is that it takes money — lots of it — to win a campaign. The aggressive interpretation of the nation's campaign finance laws has been a hallmark of the Clinton years in Washington; one of her closest advisers, Harold P. Ickes, a lawyer, is renowned in national political circles for his mastery of the use of so-called soft money.

So it was that, her public posturing notwithstanding, Mrs. Clinton did not come easily to the tentative deal she and Rick A. Lazio struck on Saturday to eliminate the use of the largely unregulated kind of campaign funds known as soft money in the Senate race. Mr. Lazio had left her no choice but to agree to it, and she supported it only after a delay that distressed some Democrats who thought that she was reminding voters what it was that many of them found unsettling about this first family. In the process, she handed Mr. Lazio a soapbox that he has gladly mounted.

On the upside, as Mrs. Clinton's advisers hastened to argue yesterday, the first lady may be able to put behind her an issue that has never played to her benefit. Although it is

questionable whether campaign finance laws matter much to people outside Washington — and Mr. Lazio certainly is not clean on this issue, having raised much soft money during his own career — his advisers assert that the issue serves as a hammer to drive at Mrs. Clinton's character and credibility.

"They challenged her on trust, and

**She who hesitated
could take a loss,
analysts say.**

she met the challenge," a senior adviser to Mrs. Clinton said yesterday.

Still, it would seem that Mrs. Clinton has suffered some self-inflicted and perhaps unnecessary damage in trying to clear this particular table. Her campaign's protracted negotiating strategy raised questions about whether she really wanted a deal. By Friday, Mrs. Clinton was facing questions about fund-raising on two fronts: The accounts of her resisting a deal on soft money and the disclosures that the Clintons had invited contributors to the first lady's campaign to stay at Camp David and the

White House.

By then, Mrs. Clinton was coming under attack by editorial boards, at a time of year when they are considering their endorsements. And it was a situation that one of Mrs. Clinton's associates said could likely have been avoided had she compromised on Thursday instead of waiting until Saturday night to agree to a deal.

Mr. Lazio and Mrs. Clinton hastened to claim credit for the agreement this weekend, proclaiming it a watershed in American politics. But it was Mr. Lazio who viewed the agreement as a much-needed tonic for his campaign, showing up on national television Sunday morning to boast of it. Mrs. Clinton had no public appearances scheduled yesterday.

This is a fast-moving campaign, and neither side was claiming yesterday that the events of the past few days would necessarily reshape the contours of the contest. Still, one Democrat said yesterday that Mrs. Clinton lost an opportunity here by not seizing the offensive on an issue that Mr. Lazio has viewed as one of her greater vulnerabilities.

The hesitancy displayed by Mrs. Clinton's campaign is a reflection both of her very strong feelings about the need of money to run a campaign, and the debate among her advisers about the potency of campaign finance laws as an issue.

Mrs. Clinton has a clear advantage

in raising soft money, the largely unregulated contributions that go to political parties and committees. The funds are to be used for party-building, but politicians, following the trail blazed by President Clinton, have found legitimate ways to use it to promote their candidacies.

But Mr. Lazio has the advantage in so-called hard dollars, the limited contributions made to the official campaign committees that, under the tentative deal, are supposed to be the only source for financing advertisements in the campaign. As of Aug. 23, the last reporting date, Mr. Lazio had \$10.2 million in hard dollars on hand, compared with Mrs. Clinton's \$7.1 million. The problem for Mrs. Clinton is that because there are caps on hard-dollar contributions, she cannot money from supporters who have reached their limit.

Mrs. Clinton's spokesman, Howard Wolfson, argued that it was Mrs. Clinton who had first proposed the soft-money ban, last December. She reiterated her proposal when Mr. Lazio stepped into the race.

But a review of the way Mrs. Clinton and her advisers has handled this issue suggests she was never eager to reach a deal. When she first made her proposal for a soft-money ban, she made it contingent on her opponent Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani winning agreements from all outside groups that they stay out of New

York, a condition that even Democrats suggested was prohibitive.

When Mr. Lazio raised the idea of a ban again, she responded by saying that Mr. Lazio had to obtain signed agreements from the independent committees. Her campaign seemed more than a little bit surprised when Mr. Lazio actually complied.

After a flurry of e-mail and news conferences, Mrs. Clinton then put forth, on Friday, a revised call for a soft-money ban. But this time, it was laced with what Mr. Lazio's advisers saw as a poison pill: It prohibited spending by independent groups on Mr. Lazio's behalf, but included no such restriction on groups supporting Mrs. Clinton.

Even the first lady's advisers had difficulty arguing the merits of that position. By Saturday, the first lady said that she would accept a ban on spending soft money for commercials and would urge independent groups to stop their spending as well, though she said she wanted Mr. Lazio to obtain agreements from political committees supporting him that they would stay out of New York.

Mr. Lazio turned up at his campaign headquarters at 5:30 p.m. to announce, for a second time, that there was a deal. He did not propose any new conditions. Two hours later, Mrs. Clinton's campaign, realizing, it seems, that she had run out of cards, said that an agreement was at hand.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Monday September 25, 2000

Clinton, Lazio Agree to Ban 'Soft Money' Ads

By JULIET EILPERIN
Washington Post Staff Writer

New York Senate candidates Hillary Rodham Clinton and GOP Rep. Rick Lazio have agreed to ban the kind of costly issue advertising on television and radio that is financed by unlimited campaign contributions to political parties.

The candidates' unprecedented decision to willingly eschew millions of dollars in these donations, known as "soft money," marked a victory for campaign finance reform advocates. But it could pose a problem for Clinton, who has raised large sums for the national party at the same time she has lagged behind Lazio in collecting smaller, more restricted donations to her own campaign.

The agreement reached this weekend could easily fall apart, because party leaders and outside interest groups must restrain their spending in order to make it work. Under the pact Democrats and Republicans could continue to devote soft-money contributions to get-out-the-vote efforts and direct-mail appeals, but they would halt all TV and radio commercials run on behalf of either Clinton or Lazio. They would also ask their political allies to stop running ads.

Lazio, who has pushed aggressively for the ban since he debated Clinton two weeks ago, said yesterday on ABC's "This Week" that the accord is "a tremendous victory for America if it holds. It will demonstrate that New York doesn't need a law to do the right thing."

Clinton confirmed that there is an agreement, which will take effect Wednesday when ads bought in advance by the state Democratic Party on her behalf run out.

Jim Jordan, political director for the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, said yesterday that the DSCC's chairman, Sen. Robert G. Torricelli (N.J.) "has agreed to abide by [Clinton's] wishes pending a similar agreement by the relevant Republican organizations."

While Lazio had pushed for the agreement to be enforced by a bipartisan committee, Clinton insisted that it be monitored voluntarily by each side. If supporters of one campaign violate the ban, the other side can respond "proportionately" by

spending the same amount of money.

New York pollster John Zogby predicted the ban would have "zero" effect on spending in the race, adding, "Does anyone really believe all those groups are really going to stop?"

Lazio has already indicated he will disband his state political action committee and return the money to donors. By contrast, Jordan emphasized the money collected by the DSCC is under its control and Clinton will not be able to dictate how its remaining funds are spent.

With just over six weeks left in the race, the new spending limits may not have a dramatic impact. But reformers said the agreement demonstrated how ending the influence of large campaign donations had finally emerged as a powerful political issue.

"If these two candidates go forward with a soft-money ban in the most prominent race in the country, besides the presidential race, I think it becomes a key breakthrough in the effort to end this system," said Fred Wertheimer, president of the campaign reform group Democracy 21.



FILE PHOTO BY JIM MCKNIGHT—ASSOCIATED PRESS



FILE PHOTO BY DAVID DUPREY—ASSOCIATED PRESS

New York Senate candidates Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rick Lazio will ask groups with no limits on contributions to stop advertising on their behalf.

"I am urging all organizations and entities supporting me both here and in Washington to respect my wishes and refrain from running TV and radio ads supporting me," she said Saturday in Manhattan. "I expect Mr. Lazio to do the same with the Republican and Conservative parties in New York and in Washington and with all his ad supporters."

Clinton, who has raised millions of dollars for the Democrats' New York Senate 2000 committee, has had less success in recent weeks collecting federally restricted donations, which in the general election are limited to \$1,000 per person. Between July 1 and Aug. 23, for example, Lazio outraised Clinton by more than three to one.

Republicans and Democrats agreed Clinton had the most to lose financially from the agreement.

"She's gotten herself hamstrung by being so reliant on soft money," said Rep. Thomas M. Reynolds (R-N.Y.), who serves as Lazio's campaign chair. "She's really been dragged into this, saying she's an opponent of soft money and being a master at spending it."

But Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson, who emphasized that Clinton had first called for a soft-money ban in December, when she was running against New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani, said he was agreeing to the pledge despite the fact that it's to Lazio's "political advantage." Democrats have already spent roughly \$4.5 million on issue ads promoting Clinton's candidacy, while Lazio's allies have spent only a fraction of that amount.

"When Hillary makes a commitment she stands by it, and New Yorkers know that," Wolfson said. He added that he hoped the conservative groups who had pledged to spend tens of millions of dollars attacking Clinton would now hold their fire. "If this agreement stops them from doing that, it's a good thing for New York."

Despite the accord, it appears unlikely that the candidates' allies will halt their activities. National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League President Kate Michelman, whose New York affiliate has already run a round of ads attacking Lazio's record on abortion, said her group "cannot participate in a campaign of silence."

New York Republicans already are chafing at the restrictions, and National Republican Senatorial Committee Chairman Mitch McConnell (Ky.) has consistently defended the practice of raising and spending soft money. A McConnell spokesman said yesterday the senator could not be reached for comment.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

POSTOPINION

Who's Best for City Schools?

Some candidates only *talk* about change



CHESTER E. FINN JR.

WILL the upcoming national election make much difference to America's troubled urban schools and their millions of students? Does it really matter for education who occupies the Oval Office or which party controls the Congress?

No and yes. No, because Washington's is the thinnest layer in the many-tiered cake of U.S. primary-secondary education, furnishing less than a dime of the public-school dollar and making none of the big decisions about who teaches, what students are expected to learn, who deserves

greater in urban districts.

It makes a difference how much red tape that money comes wrapped in and whether the dollars must be used only for specific federal purposes (e.g., class-size reduction) or can be blended into local reform initiatives. It matters, too, whether the money is portable — i.e., moves with children to charter or private schools, or is tied by formulas to particular public schools.

Such policies would matter less if urban America's schools were working well. But most of them aren't. Their academic achievement levels are as low as their dropout rates are high. Violence and drugs are too prevalent. The least able teachers end up in schools serving the neediest kids. Yet bureaucracy, politics and union contracts block real change. Will the next team in Washington work to loosen that chokehold and foster serious reform, or will it use its money and its regulations to strengthen the status quo?

At first glance, this year's choices are not very different. Both sets espouse a proactive role for Uncle Sam, more money for schooling (and pre-schooling), more attention to standards, accountability and teacher quality.

Vanished into history's mists is the GOP's longtime yearning to extricate Washington from education, voucherize everything in sight, and abolish the federal Department of Education. Instead, George W. Bush is running as a vigorous "education governor" with a track record of results in Texas, particularly for black and Hispanic youngsters, who wants to do for the country what he has done for the Lone Star State and isn't shy about using the federal government to that end.



The Democrats may have turned a corner, too, if their platform and position papers are to be believed. It appears that they now favor (limited) school competition and are so committed to accountability that they would require states to "reconstitute" failing schools, would make new teachers pass competency tests, and would make it easier to remove incompetents from the classrooms. On the speech circuit, however, Al Gore still sounds like the teacher unions' best friend in the world.

To be sure, the Democrats would spend even more than Republicans, and they still disagree about vouchers. Note, though, that Sen. Joe Lieberman, before the campaign muted him, was willing to give vouchers a try. Note, too, that the Bush voucher proposal is limited to exit tickets for low-income children otherwise stuck in incorrigibly bad public schools.

At the end of the day, Governor Bush seems to believe that the real energy for education reform flows from the bottom up.

He's willing to use federal clout to bust monopolies and shift power to states and parents. He'd even have Uncle Sam mandate tests to supply people with information. But he has no love for the school establishment and is bent on curbing its power to block changes that are good for kids.

Vice President Gore, by contrast, appears to think the energy flows from Washington downward, that federal officials have the wisdom and ability to make schools work better, and that a "partnership" with the education establishment will lead to results. His use of central authority is not to shift power but, rather, to function more like a mega-superintendent of schools, himself.

Beneath the similarities, then, the candidates do differ. Which approach is better for urban education? Looking at their track records, one is tempted to give Bush's version a chance. It's certainly worked in Texas. (The big unknown is whether this strategy translates to the national level.)

The issue for Al Gore is whether his approach can work anywhere. He has no education record to speak of, only speeches and position papers. But we have 35 years of experience with top-down federal programs and their clear failure to boost pupil achievement.

Partnerships with the school establishment invariably end up looking after adult interests first and kids second. When you get right down to it, that's what the Gore-Lieberman-Clinton team is urging more of.

It's time to try a different formula.

Chester E. Finn is a Vanderbilt University Professor of Education and Public Policy, a fellow at the Manhattan Institute, President of the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation and a former Assistant U.S. Secretary of Education.

What's left to disagree about? Plenty, but it's subtle and ill suited to stump speeches. ♪

a diploma and so forth. Winners of state and local elections have far greater say about what happens in the schools.

Yet Washington's bully pulpits help set the tone of the nationwide education debate. And the many federal programs do affect school priorities, particularly for low-income and minority children. Though Uncle Sam's share of the national K-12 budget is just 7 percent, it's considerably

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

*"To injure no man,
but to bless all mankind"*

BOSTON • THURSDAY
SEPTEMBER 21, 2000



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Whitewater probe ends, but repercussions may not

■ The exoneration helps Hillary Clinton in her Senate race, but disbarment could still be ahead for president.

By Francine Kiefer
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

WASHINGTON — Having found insufficient evidence to charge the Clintons, the Office of the Independent Counsel yesterday closed the book on its investigation of a land deal whose name will become a legend of presidential history: Whitewater.

After six years of probing, special prosecutors could not find evidence that the president, and perhaps more important, his Senate-candidate wife, committed any crime in a real-estate development in which the Clintons lost money, and the country lost interest. The finding follows earlier conclusions this year that the White House did not act illegally in either the 1993 firings of Travel Office employees or in the case of FBI files that turned up in the White House.

"Closing out this chapter is a welcome ending, since no one is being charged and people are being exonerated. That's a good thing for the country," says former special prosecutor Joseph Di Genova.

It's a good thing for the campaign of Hillary Rodham Clinton as well, since she figured prominently in this triad of cases,

Of course, there still remains a sub-investigation that stems from Whitewater. That's the one about alleged presidential lying in the Monica Lewinsky case.

While Bill Clinton has paid a political price for Whitewater and its attendant investigations in the form of a historic impeachment, and a personal price in terms of his strained family life, there could yet be legal consequences. He may well lose his law license. Far more significantly, he may be indicted for perjury or obstruction of justice in the Lewinsky matter once he leaves office.

Independent Counsel Robert Ray — the successor to Kenneth Starr — says he'll make the indictment decision early next year, though the guess in Washington is that he won't indict Mr. Clinton. Mr. Ray has said he will weigh a possible indictment on the facts, but will also consider the punishment Clinton has already endured — including a fine for contempt of court for lying about Ms. Lewinsky while under oath in the Paula Jones case.

That second point would give Ray cover for letting the president be, say some legal analysts. "He knows his career would be at an end" were he to indict the president, says Jonathan Turley, a law professor at

All along, the White House has maintained that the stream of investigations — from Vince Foster's death to Whitewater to charges against members of the Clinton Cabinet — were politically motivated.

"The word 'scandal' has been thrown around here like a clanging teapot for seven years," a defensive president said at a press conference this summer. Whitewater, he said, "was bogus from day one" and so were "a lot of these other so-called scandals."

At a cost of about \$50 million, "this is probably the most expensive production of 'Much Ado about Nothing' since Shakespeare," one administration official says.

But the cost is far higher than taxpayer dollars:

• The legal war waged by the White House has had the result of restricting the presidency itself, narrowing the circle of people with whom a chief executive can share confidences. Executive privilege no longer extends to the president's White House counsel and other officials, nor to Secret Service agents. And now, due to the Paula Jones case, a sitting president can be slapped with a civil suit.

• To fight the accusations, the White House set up a special team in the counsel's office and assigned press and politi-

cal aides to the group as well. A new book on the impeachment by Washington Post reporter Peter Baker describes a White House in turmoil and a president — despite outward appearances — as "consumed" and "preoccupied" by the Starr investigation.

• In the meantime, innocent people were dragged through the legal system and left with high attorney fees. The country, as well, was subjected to a steady drip, and then a barrage, of news on subjects that defied easy comprehension or were too embarrassing for most dinner conversation.

Still, Mr. Turley says the Clintons are far from exonerated, though he admits that the investigations have gone on so long that they're unlikely to have much more political impact.

He says the independent counsel indicted more than a dozen people in the Whitewater case, many of them close associates of the Clintons and many of whom served prison time or paid fines. Ray's report on the Travel Office firings, while failing to bring charges against the first lady, chided the White House for resistance in providing evidence, and turned up "substantial evidence" that Mrs. Clinton had a role in the 1993 firings.

Indeed, former special prosecutor Di Genova says the Clintons and their aides are "partly" responsible for the scandal troubles which overshadowed his presidency.

The Washington Times

Inside Politics



Dueling polls

Two statewide polls in New York vary widely on how Republican Rick Lazio and Democrat Hillary Rodham Clinton are doing in their Senate contest.

A poll released yesterday by Marist College's Institute for Public Opinion found the race remaining very tight with the two tied at 48 percent among likely voters.

But the other poll, a New York Times/CBS News poll released Wednesday night, found the first lady leading the Long Island Republican, 48 percent to 39 percent, among likely voters.

Both polls were conducted since the Sept. 13 televised debate in which Mr. Lazio displayed an aggressiveness that at one point led to him walking to Mrs. Clinton's podium, demanding that she sign a pledge to ban so-called "soft money" from the campaign. Both polls found evidence that he may have been hurt by that.

Marist's telephone poll of 511 likely voters was conducted Tuesday and Wednesday and has a margin of error of plus or minus 4.5 percentage points.

The Times/CBS telephone poll

of 1,066 likely voters was conducted Sept. 14-19 and has a margin of error of plus or minus 3 percentage points.

Guests and givers

When the Clintons toasted India's best, brightest and richest at a White House dinner Sunday, they also raised their glasses with dozens of contributors to first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's Senate campaign in New York, federal election records show.

The dinner, held for visiting Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee, was one of the largest during President Clinton's administration, drawing about 700 guests. Nearly 12 percent of those attending have made contributions to Mrs. Clinton's campaign totaling more than \$70,000, according to Federal Election Commission records, Reuters reports.

Donors on the guest list included supermodel Christie Brinkley and Dr. Purnendu Chatterjee, chairman of the Chatterjee Group, an affiliate of billionaire financier George Soros.

The presence of political donors at the dinner came as questions were raised over Mrs. Clinton's hosting of campaign donors for overnight stays at the White House.

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Hillary's bed and breakfast

What do they — the White House — mean when they say they will release the names of guests who have stayed at the White House and Camp David, but not the dates of those overnight visits? Such blatant imperiousness should jolt the fully enfranchised American out of his Dow-induced, home-entertainment-center-generated complacency to examine seriously the devolution of democracy in these increasingly monarchical Clinton-Gore years.

The question of White House overnights comes up — again — now that it has been revealed that the first lady may have been turning both the White House and Camp David into something of a bed-and-breakfast for political supporters and contributors to her novice political run. Not so, said Mrs. Clinton, when questioned at a diner in western New York last week. "We have friends and supporters come and spend time with us and spend the night with us that we are getting to know and who like spending time with us." Why, that sounds just like the Rodgers and Hammerstein song, "Getting to Know Donors." (Isn't that what it's called?) Of course, what Mrs. Clinton describes suggests the concept of so-called quality time. You know — a few magical moments of Scrabble, talking-point-trivia, and s'mores in the fireplace of the Lincoln Bedroom.

In other words, a good time for all at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. Too bad Mrs. Clinton hasn't been there to share it. Or has she? Amid the most recent allegations of the Motel-Sixing of the president's residences have been reports that at times neither Clinton has been on hand even to play concierge

for their guests. Such charges can only be laid to rest — or confirmed — by the release of the dates on which the visitors in question have spent the night. The administration's decree that such information will remain secret strongly suggests that there is something to hide: namely, that far from "getting to know" new "friends," Mrs. Clinton has been currying, or rewarding, political favor by treating the White House like an empty time-share for New York pols and moneybags.

Of course, the administration has lately refused to be forthcoming about more than just the White House guest book. As Mrs. Clinton runs up a travel tab that tops \$1 million for the Air Force jets that shuttle her from hustling to hustling — courtesy the American taxpayer — it now seems that she may have been dispensing plane rides to political cronies along the way. Frequent Contributor Miles, anyone?

This charge could also be laid to rest — or confirmed — if the White House were to release the names of Mrs. Clinton's passengers. To date, it has refused with a rather autocratic abruptness. It is known that at least one key supporter, an upstate New York assemblyman named Michael Bragman, junketed with his wife and daughter on Mrs. Clinton's plane from Syracuse to D.C. Not surprisingly, Mrs. Clinton isn't talking. When asked about the matter by the Associated Press this week, Mrs. Clinton replied, "I'm just happy to be here talking about the issues." But not the issues at hand: the degradation of both the symbols of American democracy, and the way it is supposed to work.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

One in 9 White House guests were donors

Dozens of contributors to first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's Senate campaign in New York were among the guests at a White House dinner Sunday for Indian Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee.

Nearly 12% of the 700 guests have given money to Clinton's campaign, totaling more than \$70,000, according to Federal Election Commission records.

It is not uncommon for campaign donors to attend ceremonial White House dinners. Such events are often used to stroke major supporters of the president, and the practice is not prohibited by federal election contribution laws.

"This is a tradition that goes back many presidents," White House spokesman Joe Lockhart said. Clinton's Senate campaign declined to comment.



AP

Clinton: Candidate autographs a hat in Buffalo.

The candidates this weekend

Gore: Today in Pittsburgh; Saturday and Sunday schedule not available.

Bush: Today in Sarasota, Sun City, Tampa, Miami, Fla.; Saturday in Miami, Orlando; no public events Sunday.

Written by Paul Leavitt with staff and wire reports

Ex-White House volunteer sues Clinton

Former White House volunteer Kathleen Willey Schwicker sued President Clinton, his wife and his lawyers, alleging they illegally released personal letters Schwicker sent the president.

Her lawsuit alleges invasion of privacy and recounts the White House's decision to publicize her friendly correspondence with Clinton. The release was done in response to her story that she was the victim of an unwelcome sexual advance by the president in 1993. Schwicker wrote the letters after the alleged advance.

Schwicker said "those in power" have come down on her "like a ton of bricks" since her complaint.

"My children have been threatened, my government files have been released, and my life's innermost secrets have been dragged through the press. I am only one private citizen, and he is the president, but that is why we have courts, to protect people like me from abuses from people like him."

White House spokesman Joe Lockhart dismissed the suit as another in a long series of attacks against Clinton by Larry Klayman, chairman of Judicial Watch, a conservative group.

The Clintons' personal lawyer, David Kendall, who was among those sued, declined to comment about the lawsuit.



By Michael D'Barri Jr., AP

Plaintiff: Kathleen Willey Schwicker, husband Bill.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Written by Paul Leavitt with staff and wire reports

"USA TODAY hopes to serve as a forum for better understanding and unity to help make the USA truly one nation."

—Allen H. Neuharth, Founder, Sept. 15, 1982

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Today's debate: Judging Clinton

Curtain falls on Whitewater — a welcome intermission

Our view:

Final acts in Clinton drama unlikely to take stage until next year.

With the dreary Whitewater investigation finally headed off the front pages, the subplots of scandal that have dogged Bill Clinton's career finally seem to be winding down. But not before a welcome hiatus of several months and a climactic three-part final act.

► Having ended the Whitewater probe Wednesday, independent counsel Robert Ray and his staff are writing a final report that could be highly critical of the president and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. But it will be filed under seal with a federal court and almost certainly won't be made public until some time next year.

► A judge in Arkansas is to hear arguments on whether Clinton should be disbarred for denying under oath that he had a sexual relationship with Monica Lewinsky. But the court's docket is clogged, and word from Little Rock is that the case probably won't be heard until next year, too.

► Ray has kept open the possibility of seeking an indictment on the question of whether Clinton's actions in the Lewinsky probe amounted to perjury or obstruction of justice. That won't happen, if ever, until after Clinton leaves office Jan. 20.

In effect, the final judgment on Clinton rests in three sets of hands: historians who will assess his presidency, lawyers who will assess his ethics, and a criminal justice system that will assess his culpability in the Lewinsky scandal, not as president but as an ordinary citizen.

It is the first set of judges about whom Clinton seems most concerned as his tenure comes to a close. And the record they will consider is surely mixed.

The independent counsel concluded there was insufficient evidence for criminal charges against the president or the first lady in connection with the Whitewater land deal, which has been under scrutiny since Clinton's 1992 campaign. That conclusion was telegraphed two years ago, when the investigation effectively folded.

Fortunately for the Clintons, investment misjudgments, poor choice of business part-

Whitewater's course

Key dates in the Whitewater story and probe that netted a dozen convictions and cost more than \$52 million.

► **1978:** James McDougal teams with Bill and Hillary Rodham Clinton to form the Whitewater Development Corp.

► **1989:** Madison Guaranty Savings and Loan goes bust, costing taxpayers more than \$60 million.

► **1992:** Clinton denies McDougal funded Whitewater with money from Madison.

► **1994:** Attorney General Janet Reno appoints Robert Fisk special counsel to investigate Whitewater; Congress reauthorizes Independent Counsel Act, and Ken Starr takes over for Fisk.

► **1999:** Robert Ray takes over for Starr.

► **2000:** Ray concludes investigation.

ners and political insensitivity aren't felonies.

The investigation cost more than \$52 million and involved seemingly endless detours into related and unrelated accusations against the Clintons. In the end, investigators also found no hard link to connect them to crimes committed by their old business partners and political associates. Nor did they find any prosecutable crime in the 1993 firing of the White House travel staff, or the obtaining of FBI files on former employees.

But along the way, there was ample evidence that the Clintons could be brilliant at stalling, dissembling, misleading and at times fibbing about their actions — to the point of seriously undermining their own credibility. Not to mention proof that the now-abandoned special-prosecutor law could be stretched way beyond its original intent.

A negative result on any of the remaining fronts would be bad news for Clinton and his admirers. And it undoubtedly would bring smug satisfaction to those who've dedicated themselves to saving the nation from this man whose ability to retain public support so infuriates them.

But Ray's announcement is a fitting ending for now. The other matters are best left to the time when another president is in office. A time when Clinton can be assessed without further harm to the country.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 2000
NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 2000

NEAL TRAVIS'
NEW YORK

Hill will reign on his parade

NEW YORK politics can be a minefield for people who carry carpetbags instead of metal detectors. Take Democratic Senate candidate **Hillary Rodham Clinton**, who has accepted an invitation to march in the prestigious St. Brendan's Day Parade Oct. 7 in Long Beach, L.I.

Hillary probably figures the exposure she'll get is worth any flak she may cop for appearing in a celebration that bars gays. She marched in New York's St. Patrick's Day Parade, remember.

And she's campaigned in Long Beach, one of Nassau's few Democratic enclaves, several times.

I can just see Hillary (who I'm sure has found some Irish ancestors to go with her recently discovered Jewish ones) glancing over the list of parade organizers and noting all those salt-of-the-Ould Sod names. Nothing to worry about there.

Except that the grand marshal of the St. Brendan's Day parade isn't just *any* Steven Dunleavy — he's The Post's **Steve Dunleavy**, who would

stump for **Al Sharpton** before he'd vote for Hillary. "It's got to be both our worst nightmares," Dunleavy says of the prospect of marching arm-in-arm with the woman who, in kinder moments, he calls "a shallow liar."

It gets worse. Hillary's GOP opponent **Rick Lazio** has begged off the march, citing a previous commitment upstate. "Mate, how's it going to look?" Dunleavy despairs. "Hillary and me and no Lazio in sight! I could end up helping her get elected." Yesterday the candidate's wife, **Patricia Lazio**, said she'll march in Rick's stead, which may help.

Anyway, the parade is going ahead and, unless Hillary's people read this story and suddenly get cold marching feet, she will be there in pride of place with her sworn enemy. Wouldn't it be funny if as the parade passes the reviewing stand, someone asks: "Who's that woman with Steve Dunleavy?"

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Why Al Gore's plan for strategic oil reserves stinks

LET'S review some basic facts about crude oil.

You already know, for instance, that it comes in a barrel and the recent price of \$37 has Americans over one. And you know that much of our crude oil comes from the Middle East.

You also probably understand that the price of crude has something to do with how much you



AL GORE
Crude proposal.

pay for gasoline and other fuels.

Back to the word "crude."

It means just what it says. When oil is pumped out of the ground — in its crude state — it is useless. You can't put crude oil in your car, you can't heat your house with it. It is useless until it is refined.

Now we are getting somewhere. Refineries in the U.S. this week were working at 94.7 percent of capacity. This means that right now there is only 5.3 percent more room in the refineries to turn this crude oil into something useable. That equates to only about 878,000 more barrels of oil a day which can be refined.

But that's a pie-in-the-sky estimate. The American Petroleum Institute said yesterday that American refineries are operating "at near capacity" at 94.7 percent.

Saudi Arabia recently said, after a lot of prodding by the White House, that OPEC would produce another 800,000 barrels of crude a day. Nice, but where is all that extra crude going to be refined?

Now Al Gore wants to tap into the Strategic Petroleum Reserves, which is a cache of 571 million barrels of crude buried down in Texas and Louisiana that is sup-



posed to be for emergencies.

If we can't even refine the extra 800,000 barrels that the Saudis have promised to produce, how are we going to make gasoline, heating oil and kerosene out of the Strategic Reserves? There are, of course, political issues surrounding the Strategic Petroleum Reserves and the other things discussed here. But you now know the ABCs of crude oil. And if you think there is any quick solution to our problems you are NUTS.

You would have been indicted, and I would have been indicted for the financial fraud that Hillary Clinton got away with. Here are a couple of excerpts from an investigation by the **Federal Deposit Insurance Corp.**, dated Sept. 20, 1996.

Independent Counsel Robert

Ray, of course, had a copy of this when he ruled this week that he couldn't prove beyond a reasonable doubt that Mrs. Clinton had done anything wrong.

The FDIC report has to do with the purchase of **Industrial Development Corp.** by **Madison Guaranty S&L** through a company owned by Seth Ward, the father of Webster Hubbell. Mrs. Clinton was the attorney on the deal but her law firm records were misplaced for years.

Report, page ii: "... entries in the billing materials and other evidence suggests that former Rose Law Firm partners Hillary Rodham Clinton and Webster L. Hubbell performed work that appears to have facilitated the payment of substantial commissions to Ward, who acted as a straw buyer for Madison Financial in the IDC transaction."

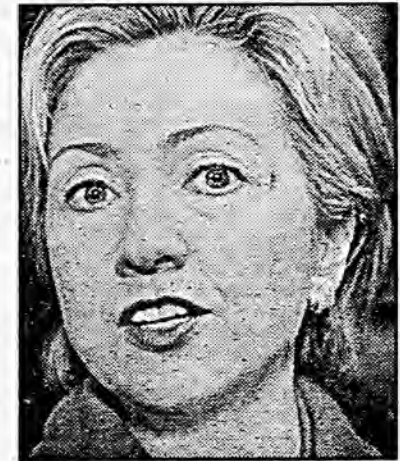
"The method of payment of the commissions evaded regulations designed to protect the safety and soundness of the institution, and violated the integrity of its books and records."

In other words, the government found that the Arkansas gang committed fraud — a pretty sloppy fraud.

The FDIC goes on for pages and pages about how Mrs. Clinton was instrumental in this, with footnotes on exact phone calls and memos.

The evidence may not have proved criminality "beyond a reasonable doubt," but Hillary is a very lucky lady.

■ Please send e-mail to:
jcrudele@nypost.com



HILLARY CLINTON
Lucky lady.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Campaign 2000

Dems' soft-\$\$\$ ads lash Lazio as talks collapse

State Democrats released two soft-money ads attacking GOP Senate candidate Rick Lazio yesterday as talks between his aides and Hillary Clinton's camp broke down without a deal banning unregulated campaign dollars.

The Democrats' ads — one showing upstate, one in New York City — hit the air as Lazio's campaign released two harsh TV spots of their own, slamming Clinton's record on education and taxes.

Lazio, campaigning upstate, ripped into the Democrats, and his rival, for unveiling the soft-money ads just as his campaign manager,

By Gregg Birnbaum in Johnson City, Robert Hardt Jr., in Buffalo and Maggie Haberman in New York



NO DEAL: Clinton campaign manager Bill de Blasio (left) and Lazio brain trust Bill Dal Col try to thrash out a deal on soft money spending yesterday. The talks broke down without any agreement after an hourlong meeting.

N.Y. Post: Robert A. Sisti

Bill Dal Col, and the Clinton campaign's Bill de Blasio held an hourlong meeting over eliminating the funds from the Senate race.

"I just think that both the Clinton campaign and the state party are shameful," Lazio said.

"It's exactly what creates cynicism on the part of the public and undermines faith in the system. It's the worst possible statement about sincerity in terms of reaching an agreement."

The Democratic ads hit Lazio's economic plan head, suggesting he's evasive about how it breaks down and playing on some upstate voters' perception that he isn't sensitive to their economic concerns.

"Can we trust Rick Lazio to fight for us?" the city commercial asks.

Clinton, who spoke in Buffalo, declined to comment.

State Democratic Party chairwoman Judith Hope said the party would abide by any pact, but re-

fused comment on the ads.

State Republican head William Powers, who has not signed the agreement, said his party would refrain from using soft money while the discussions are ongoing.

He said an anti-Clinton radio spot his party put out before the talks started will run through tomorrow night, which is Lazio's deadline for reaching a deal.

On Wednesday, Lazio said he'd met Clinton's challenge from last week's debate: that she would stop using soft money, which he hasn't raised in the amounts she has, if he convinced 14 outside groups to refrain from TV ads or mailings attacking her.

That prompted yesterday's meet-

ing.

Dal Col said the Lazio side was reworking a proposal based on concerns de Blasio listed.

He said any agreement would likely allow some soft-money efforts, like get-out-the-vote efforts by outside groups such as unions, but Lazio later said he thought those should be excluded.

De Blasio issued a statement saying: "While we have real questions about enforceability and other matters, we will continue to work for a fair agreement."

Meanwhile, a new Marist Institute poll showed the candidates split even, 48 percent to 48 percent, among likely voters. The poll had a 4-point margin of error.

Rick could get Bush-whacked

RICK LAZIO could be in very big trouble if an internal poll taken by Mayor Giuliani is to be believed.

Shortly before Giuliani dropped out of the race in May, pollster Frank Luntz determined that if Al Gore beats George W. Bush by more than 12 percentage points in New York, Hillary Rodham Clinton would win the Senate election.

A CBS/New York Times poll yesterday showed Gore with a 28-point lead over Bush statewide, while a recent Post poll gave the vice president a 20-point margin.

"With Bush getting clobbered, Rick is in really big trouble," said one Giuliani insider.

Lazio got a warm reception earlier this week from an unexpected group — a bunch of Secret Service agents.

The congressman bumped into the squad of agents — who were waiting for Hillary's arrival — when he went into the rest room at the Port Authority Police building at La Guardia Airport.

CAMPAIGN BUZZ



Lazio was on his way out of the building to catch his charter jet for an upstate campaign hop when two of the agents recognized him.

"They shook his hand, said, 'Good luck, good luck,' and gave him the thumbs-up sign," said a staffer, who added that four or five other agents later waved when Lazio's car drove past.

The agents were waiting to accompany Hillary to an event in The Bronx.

In what may be a first in New York politics, a woman who died left a request that mourners pay their respects by donating to Lazio's campaign.

Lucy Simpson, a Republican who passed away last week in Binghamton, believed the memorial contributions would have

more of an impact on the Senate contest than her single vote, according to relatives.

"She felt it's very important — for the future of the state and the future of the country — that we not fall into a personality-cult situation with another member of the Clintons," her son, Hugh, told The Binghamton Press.

Lazio offered the Simpson family his condolences.

Mayor Giuliani may be barred from keeping people out of City Hall Plaza — but Hillary apparently can do just that.

Just before Clinton arrived for a press conference Wednesday on the City Hall steps, a man appeared in the plaza dressed up as Abe Lincoln and carrying a sign reading, "Stop Renting the Lincoln Bedroom."

As he yelled at a group of reporters, including The Post's Maggie Haberman, that the first lady should "stop renting out my bedroom," Secret Service agents moved toward him.

He kept yelling, and two agents escorted him outside the plaza.

CANDIDATE:

Rick Lazio

TITLES: "Taxes" and "Scores"

LENGTHS: 15 seconds each

AIRING: Statewide

PRODUCED BY:

Mike Murphy

SCRIPTS:

Ad No. 1:

Announcer:

"What's Hillary Clinton's record on taxes? Expensive. Hillary Clinton has supported 15 tax increases, including higher taxes on Social Security benefits. Hillary Clinton. You just can't trust her on taxes."

Ad No. 2:

Announcer: "What happened when Arkansas put Hillary Clinton in charge of their schools? Taxes went up. Spending went up. But student scores went down. To among the worst in America. Hillary Clinton. You just can't trust her on education."

VISUALS: Red banners featuring Clinton's picture and name in white letters. Lazio never appears.

ACCURACY: Clinton's campaign points to school reforms made by the early '90s, and a lighter local tax burden. The benefits tax was part of a 1993 tax bill she supported.

ANALYSIS: The spots focus on parts of Clinton's record that are perceived as particularly strong, like education.

RESPONSE: "I'm very proud of the administration's budget and economic success over the last eight years... I'm very proud of that record [on education]" — Hillary Rodham Clinton



ADWATCH

CANDIDATE:

Hillary Clinton

TITLES: "Buff" and "Now"

LENGTH: 30 seconds each

AIRING: "Buff," in upstate New York;

"Now" in New York City

PRODUCED BY:

David Axelrod for the New York

State Democratic

Committee



Ad No. 1

ANNOUNCER: The Buffalo News says Rick Lazio's "orbiting another planet" when he says, "Upstate doesn't need targeted economic help." And experts say Lazio's trillion-dollar tax plan would eat up the surplus, leaving no money to pay off the debt and extend the life of Social Security and Medicare. Hillary has a real plan for upstate New York, including affordable tax cuts to help families pay for college and long-term care, and to help small businesses create jobs right here. Tell Lazio his plans don't add up for upstate New York.

Ad No. 2:

ANNOUNCER: Can we trust Rick Lazio to fight for us? He helped write the Gingrich budget, slashing Medicare. Now Lazio's trying to hide the true cost of his trillion-dollar tax plan. Like the Bush plan, experts say Lazio's would eat up the surplus, leaving no money to pay off the debt and extend the life of Social Security and Medicare. Hillary's plan? Affordable tax cuts to help families pay for college and long-term care, and to help small businesses create jobs. Tell Lazio he's not fighting for us. Not then. Not now.

VISUALS: In the first ad, scenes of Lazio with former House Speaker Newt Gingrich, and with GOP presidential candidate George W. Bush; in "Now," scenes of Lazio and Clinton.

ACCURACY: Both spots tout Clinton's economic plan; they zero in on the cost of Lazio's, without mentioning other parts of his plan.

ANALYSIS: "Buff" attacks Lazio's tax plan, outlines differences from Clinton's, and highlights the fact that some upstaters are upset by his approach to their economy. "Now" links Lazio to Gingrich with largely Democratic downstaters, and turns tables on the trust issue by suggesting he's hiding the cost of his plan.

RESPONSE: "I don't know what planet Mrs. Clinton is on, but it is not the world of truth. [Several] national and state nonpartisan organizations all endorsed and supported the congressman's plan." — Lazio campaign spokesman Dan McLagan

—Maggie Haberman

The New York Times

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FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 2000

'SOFT MONEY' BAN IS SEEN AS PROBLEM FOR MRS. CLINTON

NEGOTIATIONS CONTINUE

Managers Question How Any Voluntary Agreement With Lazio Can Be Enforced

By CLIFFORD J. LEVY

Hillary Rodham Clinton has become so dependent on soft-money donations to promote her candidacy that it will not be easy for her to forsake them. She would have to rely solely on financing from her official campaign committee, which has lagged in its fund-raising in recent months even as it spends at a marked rate.

The Clinton campaign had spent \$14.9 million as of Aug. 23, according to its most recent disclosure filing to federal regulators. Only \$4 million of that, or 27 percent, went to commercials, perhaps the most crucial item in a campaign budget.

Several political consultants not involved in the New York Senate race said they were surprised that so little of her money had been used for commercials. As a general rule, a campaign should spend 50 to 80 percent of its budget on them, the consultants said.

With most of the Clinton campaign's money consumed by salaries, travel and direct-mail solicitations, Mrs. Clinton has turned to advertising financed by soft money that she collected in league with Democratic allies in Washington and Albany.

Mrs. Clinton's reliance on soft money helps explain why her opponent, Representative Rick A. Lazio, has pressed in recent weeks for an agreement to prohibit it in the contest. Yesterday, the managers of the two campaigns met at a Midtown hotel to negotiate one, with no success.

The Democrats have channeled at least \$5 million into soft-money advertisements praising Mrs. Clinton and attacking Mr. Lazio, campaign records show.

Mr. Lazio has not collected soft money, but some political committees and advocacy groups have bought commercials to aid him. Mr. Lazio's aides say those commercials cost a total of \$350,000; the Clinton campaign puts the figure at \$750,000.

Donations to candidates' campaigns, so-called hard money, are limited to \$1,000 for a primary and \$1,000 for a general election per person, with unions and corporations barred from contributing. Soft mon-

PHOTOGRAPH BY
PRESIDENT

Why Al Gore's plan for strategic oil reserves stinks

LETS review some basic facts about crude oil.

You already know, for instance, that it comes in a barrel and the recent price of \$37 has Americans over one. And you know that much of our crude oil comes from the Middle East.

You also probably understand that the price of crude has something to do with how much you



AL GORE
Crude proposal.

pay for gasoline and other fuels.

Back to the word "crude." It means just what it says. When oil is pumped out of the ground — in its crude state — it is useless. You can't put crude oil in your car, you can't heat your house with it. It is useless until it is refined.

Now we are getting somewhere. Refineries in the U.S. this week were working at 94.7 percent of capacity. This means that right now there is only 5.3 percent more room in the refineries to turn this crude oil into something useable. That equates to only about 878,000 more barrels of oil a day which can be refined.

But that's a pie-in-the-sky estimate. The American Petroleum Institute said yesterday that American refineries are operating "at near capacity" at 94.7 percent.

Saudi Arabia recently said, after a lot of prodding by the White House, that OPEC would produce another 800,000 barrels of crude a day. Nice, but where is all that extra crude going to be refined?

Now Al Gore wants to tap into the Strategic Petroleum Reserves, which is a cache of 571 million barrels of crude buried down in Texas and Louisiana that is sup-



JOHN CRUDELE

posed to be for emergencies.

If we can't even refine the extra 800,000 barrels that the Saudis have promised to produce, how are we going to make gasoline, heating oil and kerosene out of the Strategic Reserves? There are, of course, political issues surrounding the Strategic Petroleum Reserves and the other things discussed here. But you now know the ABCs of crude oil. And if you think there is any quick solution to our problems you are NUTS.

You would have been indicted, and I would have been indicted for the financial fraud that Hillary Clinton got away with. Here are a couple of excerpts from an investigation by the **Federal Deposit Insurance Corp.**, dated Sept. 20, 1996.

Independent Counsel Robert

Ray, of course, had a copy of this when he ruled this week that he couldn't prove beyond a reasonable doubt that Mrs. Clinton had done anything wrong.

The FDIC report has to do with the purchase of **Industrial Development Corp.** by **Madison Guaranty S&L** through a company owned by Seth Ward, the father of Webster Hubbell. Mrs. Clinton was the attorney on the deal but her law firm records were misplaced for years.

Report, page ii: "... entries in the billing materials and other evidence suggests that former Rose Law Firm partners Hillary Rodham Clinton and Webster L. Hubbell performed work that appears to have facilitated the payment of substantial commissions to Ward, who acted as a straw buyer for Madison Financial in the IDC transaction."

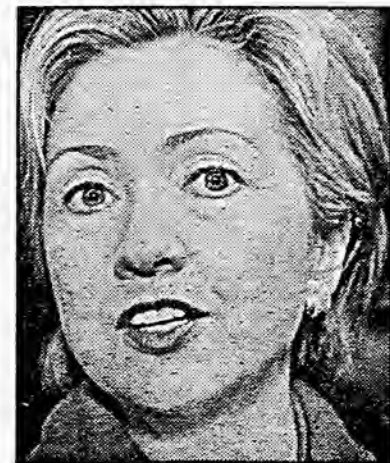
"The method of payment of the commissions evaded regulations designed to protect the safety and soundness of the institution, and violated the integrity of its books and records."

In other words, the government found that the Arkansas gang committed fraud — a pretty sloppy fraud.

The FDIC goes on for pages and pages about how Mrs. Clinton was instrumental in this, with footnotes on exact phone calls and memos.

The evidence may not have proved criminality "beyond a reasonable doubt," but Hillary is a very lucky lady.

■ Please send e-mail to:
jcrudele@nypost.com



HILLARY CLINTON
Lucky lady.

The New York Times

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FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 2000

Ban on Soft Money Might Prove Tough for Mrs. Clinton

Continued From Page A1

money is collected by the political parties, and anyone can give, in any amount.

The parties are supposed to use soft money for voter drives and other activities to build general support; technically, it cannot be spent directly to help candidates. The parties have increasingly sidestepped this rule by spending soft money on commercials that promote or criticize candidates without urging viewers to vote for or against them.

Mrs. Clinton appeared cautious yesterday in her comments about an agreement to prohibit soft money. She has said she will not renounce soft money until the Lazio campaign can guarantee that Republican and Conservative Party committees, as well as outside advocacy groups, stay out of the race.

Asked whether her interest in an agreement was genuine, Mrs. Clinton said she had broached the issue before either of her Republican opponents, Mr. Lazio or Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, who dropped out of the race in May.

"I'm the one who called for it months and months ago," she said after an event in Buffalo yesterday. "I called for it when the mayor was in the race, and I called for it as soon as the congressman got in the race. We're just going to see how it develops."

The Clinton campaign later released a statement saying that the talks would continue today but noting that it had "real questions" about how such an agreement would be enforced. During the negotiations, the two sides discussed appointing prominent politicians or campaign finance experts as monitors.

The Clinton campaign is not alone in questioning whether an agreement can be enforced, given its voluntary nature. Some experts say these agreements often fall apart, and note that politicians often use them to posture, rather than to bring about real change.

Mrs. Clinton's aides defended her spending, saying that her campaign was not typical. They noted that she



Associated Press

At least \$5 million has been spent on soft-money advertising for Hillary Rodham Clinton's Senate race. She campaigned in Buffalo yesterday.

had been on the trail for more than a year and as a first lady had attracted enormous attention from the public and press. As a result, the campaign had to hire an extensive staff.

"Nobody has ever been through a campaign that has been at this level and intensity for this long," said Mandy Grunwald, a senior adviser to Mrs. Clinton.

Ms. Grunwald said she was not concerned that the campaign would run short of money for commercials in the final weeks before Election Day. "We will have the money that we need to do the job we want to do," she said.

Political consultants not involved in the race said the spending on commercials by the campaign was unusually low. "It's a lot of money to have been raised without having put that much on the air," said Hank Sheinkopf, a Democratic consultant in New York City who is not involved in the Senate race.

While Mr. Lazio has not harvested soft money, fund-raising by his official campaign committee has flourished, in part because he has been able to reach out to donors around the nation who dislike Mrs. Clinton. In a seven-week period over the summer, he raised \$10.7 million in hard

money, while she took in \$3.3 million. On Aug. 23, he had \$10.2 million in bank, while she had \$7.1 million.

Since entering the race in May, Mr. Lazio has spent \$9.5 million that, \$3.5 million, or 37 percent, gone to commercials. While that amount is also relatively low, Lazio had to spend much of the money he raised at first to set up a campaign.

In Congress, Mr. Lazio supports legislation to ban soft money, but not earn a reputation as a die-hard reformer. Democrats have not that before becoming a Senate candidate, he raised soft money for publican political committees in Washington.

In seeking an agreement, Mr. Lazio's aides acknowledged a tactical advantage: it would cut off a valuable source of money for his rival. That one reason the Lazio campaign swiftly tried to counter any objections to an agreement from the Clinton campaign.

On Wednesday, Mrs. Clinton's aides pointed out that the New York Republican State Committee had decided it would not abide by an agreement between the two candidates to bar spending by committees and groups outside their campaign.

By yesterday, after prodding from the Lazio campaign, the Republican State Committee announced that it would refrain from spending money on the race while the two campaigns negotiated an agreement. The committee has produced just one single soft-money radio commercial.

Meanwhile, the New York State Democratic Committee, which has produced several soft-money television commercials to help Mrs. Clinton, released two more. One, to be shown in upstate markets, criticizes Mr. Lazio's views on the upstate economy. The other, to be shown in New York City, seeks to link Mr. Lazio to former House Speaker Newt Gingrich.

Campaigning last night in Seneca County, Mr. Lazio called the party's actions "shameless."

"It is the worst possible statement about their sincerity in terms of coming to an agreement," Mr. Lazio said.

PHOTOGRAPH BY
PRESENTER

NEW YORK POST

America's oldest continuously published daily newspaper

Al's (Snake) Oil Plan

Vice President Gore was in top form yesterday — railing against “profiteering” by “Big Oil” and urging Washington to fight back by tapping the Strategic Petroleum Reserve.

He might as well have called for a warm winter. At least that would cause less harm.

Gore is trying to make hay out of an expected 30 percent hike this winter in home heating-oil costs. So he's targeting the oil industry (though presumably not Occidental Petroleum, of which his family owns a sizable chunk).

Gore's idea: Co-opt the national oil reserves — established in case supplies are disrupted because of war or other emergencies — so that government can use them to control the market.

But the reserve doesn't have anything close to enough oil to affect prices.

Energy Secretary Bill Richardson reportedly urged that 60 million barrels be released. Even the Clinton-Gore team's own Treasury secretary, Larry Summers, has warned against that, according to a letter cited by The Wall Street Journal. Summers said that Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan also opposed skimming the reserves.

Instead, Gore wants to let the oil trickle out — in 5 million-barrel drips.

Now that might win a few naive votes, but it couldn't possibly affect oil prices.

of oil and the falling supplies can be traced to the very policies of the Clinton-Gore regime, particularly those championed by Gore-style environmentalism.

When Gore first fingered “Big Oil” last summer, back when the Midwest was paying more than \$2 a gallon for gas, the administration's own Energy Department already knew that new rules on gas formulations were to blame — and it said so in an internal memo.

Gore has opposed tapping domestic energy sources, such as those in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, thought to hold billions of barrels of oil.

And Clinton-Gore has yet to wring significant production boosts from OPEC.

(A report in The Oil Daily last year suggested that Richardson, in fact, urged OPEC nations to curb production in order to boost prices back when they were sagging, though Richardson denied it.)

Instead, Al Gore has spent much of his time saving the planet (that is, when he wasn't inventing the Internet). In his book “Earth in the Balance,” he wrote that “the internal combustion engine is the greatest threat to mankind.” He said that “the automobile is more dangerous than the

atom bomb.” He ranted about “ravenous, insatiable consumption... and the mechanisms by which ever more re-



letters@nypost.com

The Only ‘Space Invader’ Was the Carpetbag Candidate

•Oh, those menacing space invaders (“Hillary Ducks,” Sept. 14).

Clinton campaign lackey Howard Wolfson has outdone himself in his laughable post-debate attempt to put a positive spin on Hillary's drubbing.

He pathetically describes Rick Lazio's commanding, common-sense debating of the issues over Hillary as “menacing” and an invasion of her personal space. What else could they do but try to put a spin on her obvious failure?

John Dell
Staten Island

•Don't you guys recognize scam artist Rick Lazio at work?

He's in your face. He's in your space. He's physically intimidating her. Wave the paper in her face — don't read it, just sign it, we'll fill in the blanks later. Just sign it and I'll go away.

Would you buy a car like that? Just sign it and we'll fill in the blanks later?

Howard Rosen
Manhattan

•Lazio did not “invade Clinton's space.” Look closely at the tape, and you'll notice that she took a step into his space after he came across the floor.

Besides that, a true New York woman would be willing to go face-to-

THE ISSUE: The debate between Rick Lazio and Hillary Clinton.



face with any man in a similar situation without turning into a victim for the sake of some sympathy.

Joyce Mikovits
Scarsdale

•As an immigrant, I am offended by the constant attacks by Mr. Lazio about who should represent New York.

If only native New Yorkers were allowed to hold high positions, New York would be in deep trouble.

Decourcy Hurley
The Bronx

•Some have been offended and shocked by Lazio's “ungentlemanly” behavior toward the first lady in “invading her space.”

All those who have been rushing to Clin-

ton's defense ought to ask themselves why she needs defending.

Hillary Rodham Clinton may well be the smartest woman in the world, but she is no victim.

Lisa Stripp
Lindenhurst

•If all it takes to intimidate Hillary is Lazio walking over with a piece of paper, she's clearly not tough enough to represent our interests in Washington.

Beatrice Butler
Buffalo

•As a woman, I am insulted by the suggestion that Hillary was treated too harshly by Rick Lazio during the debate.

Hello! Welcome to the real world! If you can't take the heat, Hill, get out of the kitchen. You can't have it both ways.

Maureen Gallo
East Islip

•Some New Yorkers have expressed public outrage over Rick Lazio's perceived invasion of Hillary Clinton's space during their first debate. I believe many more New Yorkers are outraged over Hillary's invasion of our space — New York state.

Steve Kohn
Albany