

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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001. memo	re: political briefing for October 27, 2000 (23 pages)	10/27/2000	Personal Misfile

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FOLDER TITLE:

October 2000 - Clippings [Folder 1 [1]]

2015-0275-S
rc1908

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Beyond the City

Israel Foes Give Hil 50G

Muslim group backs Palestinian use of force

By LARRY COHLER-ESSES
Daily News Staff Writer

An American Muslim group whose leader backs the Palestinians' right to use "armed force" against Israel has raised thousands of dollars for Hillary Rodham Clinton's Senate campaign.

The American Muslim Alliance says it sponsored a \$500-a-ticket fund-raiser in Boston in June at which \$50,000 was raised. Clinton confirms she attended and accepted a plaque from the alliance citing her work for human rights, but argues that another group sponsored the event.

The alliance's Web site features photos of a 12-year-old boy killed by Israeli troops in Gaza this month under the title "The Real Face of Israel."

As First Lady, the Daily News has learned, Clinton also held several White House Muslim holiday receptions to which individuals opposed to the Mideast peace process and Israel's existence were invited.

One of the guests, Abdurahman Alamoudi of the American Muslim Council, later boasted, "We are the ones who went to the White House and defended what is called Hamas."



Abdurahman Alamoudi

Alamoudi contributed \$1,000 to Clinton's campaign in May.

The State Department has designated Hamas a terrorist organization because of attacks on Israeli civilians for which it has taken public responsibility.

After inquiries from The News about Alamoudi, Clinton spokesman Howard Wolfson said yesterday that his \$1,000 contribution would be



Hillary Rodham Clinton poses with Abdurahman Alamoudi (third from L.), an American Muslim Council member and White House visitor.

returned immediately.

"Hillary is a strong supporter of peace and security for Israel and proud to have the support of Elie Wiesel, Chuck Schumer and Ed Koch," Wolfson said. "They support her because they know her views."

He noted that Clinton — for whom Jewish support is critical in her race against Republican Rick Lazio — has voiced support for Israel's efforts to quash the violent Palestinian protests that erupted there this month. She also has criticized Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat.

Her performance has been closely watched by some Jews who fault her for, among other things, embracing Arafat's wife, Suha, last year after Arafat gave a speech accusing Israel of using poison gas on Arab children.

Clinton said later she had not received a timely translation of the Arabic speech.

Information about the White House visits and the Boston event, independently confirmed by The News, will appear in an article by Steven Emerson, a counterterrorism researcher.

Massachusetts American Muslim Alliance chairman Tahir Ali organized the Boston fund-raiser. He said Clinton's forceful criticism of Arafat during the last few weeks has not made him regret his group's decision to support her.



Clinton poses with her award.

"The idea is to win the election," he said. "[So] she must change her tune. But that doesn't mean anything. It's just at the spur of the moment that she must say these things, and we understand that."

Agha Saeed, national president of the American Muslim Alliance, which has many Pakistani and other non-Arab Muslim members, told The News he thinks the Palestinians should pursue their own state in the West Bank and Gaza, "first and foremost through peaceful means." But if that fails, he said, UN resolutions "say specifically they have the right to resist by armed force."

Wolfson, the Clinton campaign spokesman, confirmed that she attended the Boston fund-raiser but insisted it was sponsored by members of the Boston Muslim community and not the American Muslim Alliance.



Clinton's human rights plaque from the American Muslim Alliance

"All my fund-raising people say it was not hosted by these folks," said Wolfson. "It was hosted by two other individuals. These folks were not the hosts."

However, a human rights plaque given to Clinton that night says, in large type: "Presented to the First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton" from "American Muslim Alliance; Massachusetts June 13, 2000."

Wolfson pointed out that invitations to the event contained no mention of the group. But Ali said this was because his group took over sponsorship "about one week" before the event took place.

In addition to helping Clinton, the alliance held a fund-raiser in Brooklyn last February for Rep. Tom Campbell (R-Calif.) for his race against Sen. Dianne Feinstein. Ali said the Boston chapter also raised funds for Rep. David Bonior (D-Mich.), whose district is home to many Arab-Americans.

The alliance joined with several other Muslim organizations Monday to endorse George W. Bush for President, at a news conference in Washington.

Saeed, the group's national leader, who also heads the Muslim coalition, said Bush had promised to "address Muslim concerns on domestic and foreign policy issues."

The White House holiday gatherings, which took place between 1996 and 1999, were organized as annual recognitions of Eid Al-Fitr, an important Muslim festival.

Alamoudi, the American Muslim Council official, attended at least one. He has made a series of public statements supporting Hamas. In August 1997, for example, days after a suicide bombing in Jerusalem for which Hamas took responsibility, Alamoudi told Fox News, "I think it's a freedom-fighting organization."

Last June, Alamoudi boasted to the Muslim publication Al-Zaitounah that his group had defended Musa Abu Marzouk, the Hamas political leader who was detained by the U.S. before being deported to Jordan.

A spokeswoman for the American Muslim Council said Alamoudi was traveling out of the country this week. Efforts to reach him abroad were unsuccessful.

Wolfson, defending the decision to invite people with such views to the White House, said: "Obviously, Hillary strongly disagrees with them. I would hope [attendance at such meetings] would mainstream their views."

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Daily News (New York)

October 20, 2000, Friday SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 8 POLITICS 2000

LENGTH: 616 words

HEADLINE: BOTTOM LINE: SHE'S THE SMART ONE

BYLINE: BY MICHAEL KRAMER

BODY:

My relations with **Hillary** Rodham **Clinton** have been "formal and correct" - to borrow some diplo-speak - ever since I labeled her "Slippery Hillary" after we learned she'd made a killing in the commodities market.

Clinton, it seemed, had been the beneficiary of allocated trading - a friendly broker allots the profits to you and the losses to someone else - but nothing in Clinton's conduct was ever proved to be illegal.

She defended her commodities trades in a long gabfest with reporters - known forevermore as the "pink dress press conference" after what she wore that day. Throughout two hours of intense questioning, the First Lady paraded both her incredible intelligence and a stupefying ability to "forget" key information - a combination that drove the media to distraction but got her off the hook.

I thought of that time yesterday as Clinton-the-Senate-candidate visited the Daily News. As usual, the First Lady was fluent and impressive across a range of issues, but also maddening in her evasiveness when she perceived that candor wouldn't serve her political interests.

No one expected her to elaborate on the recent finding by a special prosecutor that she had given "factually false" testimony about her role in firing seven longtime employees of the White House travel office - and she didn't. Many questions about that incident linger, but Clinton wouldn't go there. "Rehashing all that," she said, wouldn't be useful - and that much was right: It wouldn't have been useful to her.

Clinton was eloquent about the need for U.S. leadership around the world - and the need for political leaders to provide that leadership - but on touchy subjects, the would-be leader punted.

One small example makes the point: Clinton was asked her view of the commuter tax repealed by the state Legislature last year. That tax, which provided significant revenue to the city, targeted those who live in the suburbs but work in New York. Would Clinton seek to restore the tax?

A straight-shooter like the man she wants to replace, Sen. Daniel Moynihan, would have answered squarely, but Clinton didn't. In fact, she wouldn't touch the issue at all, adding that "as a senator, I'd have nothing to do with" the question of reinstating the tax.

There were other moments like that one - Clinton's tortured refusal to provide further information about overnight guests at the White House who contributed to her campaign comes to mind - but mostly, she dazzled by sheer force of intellect.

When she spoke at length about the Middle East peace process - insisting, alas, that her comments remain off the record - she was more cogent than any of the many administration experts I've heard on the subject.

And that's why Clinton would make a better senator than Rick Lazio. It's not that she's smoother - effective senators such as Al D'Amato couldn't have had rougher edges. It's that she's smarter, by a lot.

If Lazio were the boy scout he pretends to be, I might make a different call. Morality matters, or at least it should. But Lazio, like Clinton, is an ethically challenged corner-cutter. So we're left with distinguishing between them on other bases.

Issue positions could be the defining point, but after many months of campaigning, it seems clear that Lazio is simply a bromide man, a mouther of sweet-sounding proposals he seems to truly understand not at all.

An infamous U.S. senator from the Midwest, identified as one of the dumbest people ever to serve in Washington, defended himself by saying that the mediocre deserve representation too. He was right; they do. But not by someone equally mediocre - which despite her many faults, **Hillary Clinton** is decidedly not.

GRAPHIC: PAT CARROLL DAILY NEWS ON THE FIRING LINE "I'm not running on the fact that I'm married to the President," says First Lady at The News.

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Wednesday, October 25, 2000

Schedule for Hillary Rodham Clinton

Newsday Editorial Board

Melville, NY

Closed Press

Press Conference

Queens, NY

Open Press

Debate Prep

New York, NY

Closed Press

Photo Receiving Line

Roseland Ballroom

Closed Press

HRC Birthday Celebration

New York, NY

Pool Press (POTUS in attendance)

HRC Birthday dinner After-Party Tribute

Hudson Hotel

Closed Press

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Wednesday October 25 11:47 PM ET

Hillary Clinton Feted by Hollywood for Birthday



Reuters Photo

By Sue Fleming

NEW YORK (Reuters) - Hollywood's elite and music stars feted First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton ([news](#) - [web sites](#)) on Wednesday in a 53rd birthday bash that pumped \$2 million into her New York Senate campaign and poked fun at politicians across the board.

Actors Robert De Niro, Chevy Chase, Tom Cruise, Cameron Diaz, Ben Affleck, Nathan Lane and music stars Cher and the Rev. Al Green were among the star-studded cast for the "Birthday Celebration for Hillary", with President Clinton ([news](#) - [web sites](#)) as the keynote speaker.

Cher arrived fashionably late, putting comic actor Chevy Chase on the spot, who joked the famous star was having "last-minute liposuction". Master of Ceremonies, actor Nathan Lane, said Cher was delayed because the police officer escorting her had locked his keys in his car.

"It's kind of like waiting for Godot," said Mrs. Clinton shortly before Cher arrived 20 minutes late to serenade the first lady, whose real birthday is actually on Thursday.

"So I'm the late Cher, I'm really sorry Hill," Cher told the first lady.

Each guest paid at least \$10,000 to watch actors rib leading political players and hear Al Green sing "Let's Stay Together".

A highlight was when De Niro tried to teach the president how to say "forget about it" in a heavy New York accent to which Clinton replied, quoting a De Niro line from "Taxi Driver": "You talkin' to me?"

In another comedy set, actors from Saturday Night Live interviewed an out of work "Clinton" for a place in a New York apartment building, telling him his legal fees of \$40 million and salary of \$200,000 a year did not help his application.

Full Coverage

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- [Family Affairs At The White House](#) - AP (Oct 16, 2000)
- [Clintons Skip Manhattan -- for Now](#) - NY Times (registration req'd) (Sep 25, 2000)
- [Clinton campaigns for Hillary](#) - BBC (Sep 12, 2000)
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- [Hillary: A 'Woman Wronged'](#) - profile of the First Lady from the BBC.
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- [It All Began In a Place Called Hope](#) - Clinton biography from his birth through the 1992 election.
- [President of the United States - William Jefferson Clinton](#) - biography.

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Tom Cruise Is Surprise Guest

After being introduced by Tom Cruise as "one of the greatest leaders of the United States," Clinton joked that De Niro and Cruise made more money in eight minutes than he had made in eight years as president.



He then paid tribute to his wife and told the audience how he had first met her when he was a "scruffy, stylistically challenged guy" in the Yale Law Library and she walked up to him from across the room and introduced herself.

"I couldn't even remember my name," Clinton recalled, saying the first lady's forward approach proved she had the "requisite aggression" to be a true New Yorker.

"If you just keep working for 13 more days, she is going to make you profoundly proud," said Clinton of his wife's Senate bid against Rep. Rick Lazio (news - web sites). "On top of that, she looks pretty good to be 53 years old," he added, to laughter.

The first lady joked she had told some people she was 43 years old, conceding this was "fuzzy math", a reference to comments by Republican presidential nominee George W. Bush (news - web sites) over Democratic choice Al Gore (news - web sites)'s economic plan.

"I will work hard for you. I will pick up your dry-cleaning and do the dusting and vacuuming," Mrs. Clinton told the crowd, in reference to a spoof video introduced by Affleck.

On a more serious note, Mrs. Clinton urged people to "get out the vote", saying that there was still a lot of work to do before election day on Nov. 7.

"Spend these next 12 days trying to get people out to vote," the first lady said.

The gala event followed a hectic week in which the president has crisscrossed New York state to raise funds for his wife's campaign and to boost support for Gore in his own White House bid.

Gore, who is in a statistical dead heat with Bush, has been reluctant to pull Clinton out on the campaign trail, wanting to be seen as "my own man" and fearing voter fallout from the impeachment scandal that dogged Clinton's presidency. Clinton held two other fundraisers Wednesday, one for Rep. Gregory Meeks, which raised 300,000 and another for the New York Democratic Assembly Campaign Committee which brought in \$1 million.

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Beyond the City

\$2M Birthday Present for Hil

By KENNETH R. BAZINET

Daily News Washington Bureau

Cher was 20 minutes late. Nathan Lane begged President Clinton to stay on at the White House for four more years. And Robert De Niro taught the commander-in-chief how to say fuhgeddaboudit.

Other than that, the First Lady's birthday bash was just like any other party for a New Yorker who, like Hillary Rodham Clinton, turns 53 today. Then again, maybe not.

Fat cats, celebs and friends of Hil paid \$250 to \$10,000 to lavish the First Lady with \$2 million in contributions for her Senate bid against Rep. Rick Lazio (R-Suffolk) — and attend a nearly two-hour, star-studded tribute to her at the Roseland Ballroom.



Duprey AP

Hillary received over \$2 million for her 53rd birthday.

Cher, who got stuck in traffic and missed her curtain call, sang a medley of her own hits and performed several covers. The Rev. Al Green brought down the house with his soulful touch, and waves of comics kept the 1,000 Clinton backers in stitches.

"I like to tell people I'm 43, but that's fuzzy math," the First Lady said, joking about a line Texas Gov. George W. Bush used in the first presidential debate to slam Vice President Gore over budget numbers.

"She has the requisite aggression to be a good New Yorker.... On top of that, she looks pretty good for 53 years old," the President said before he shared the stage with the cast and First Daughter Chelsea.

"I just want to say one thing," Lane, the emcee, told the President: "Don't go!"

When the crowd started chanting, "Four more years," he responded, "Off message."

The Clintons stood arm in arm at the end of the show with

"New York, New York" playing in the background. Later, the celebs and high rollers headed to a private party at the Hudson Hotel.

The President topped off his fund-raising sweep through the state with the biggest one-day cash haul of this week's money-raking tour, taking in \$3.3 million yesterday during events in Manhattan for the First Lady, New York Assembly Democrats and Rep. Gregory Meeks (D-Queens).



Monaster NEWS

Clinton holds Nia-Alyana Meeks at a fund-raiser for her dad, Rep. Gregory Meeks.

It was his third visit to the Empire State in four days, and he scooped up a whopping \$4.2 million in the state, most of it for the First Lady.

The President kicked off his day with a fund-raiser for Meeks at the Embassy Suites hotel. It was attended by about 200 guests who raised \$300,000 for the congressman, who is unopposed this year.

Original Publication Date: 10/26/00

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I'M ANGRY AT HER - SHE JUST DOESN'T GET IT

Thursday, October 26, 2000

By JACK NEWFIELD

I HAVE a lot of strong but complicated thoughts about Hillary Clinton taking - and now returning - \$50,000 from a Muslim group whose leader backs the use of "armed force" against Israel.

Maybe she was bamboozled. Maybe she was set up. Maybe she didn't know whom she was dealing with. Maybe you can't vet a plaque.

Probably, any politician who was going to wittingly take "blood money" from Hamas terrorists would take it as cash in a suitcase and never report it in campaign filings.

It does seem clear that the sponsorship of the Boston fund-raiser in question changed at the last minute. The original co-sponsor - a Pakistani - is on a committee appointed by the Republican governor of Massachusetts.

And this same Muslim group has endorsed George W. Bush for president, and the Republican challenger to Dianne Feinstein for the California U.S. Senate seat.

So if a voter is going to rule out voting for Hillary because of this one blunder, they should also rule out voting for Bush.

All this said, I still feel angry at Hillary. I still don't totally trust her emotional commitment to Israel, even though I know any New York senator will say the right things and vote the right way on issues involving Israel's security.

And I certainly care more about Israel's fate and security than I do about Hillary's prospects in this election.

Hillary has stumbled before over Israel, most

disturbingly when she endorsed a Palestinian state in May of 1998.

Now she surrounds herself with Eli Wiesel and Ed Koch, and blames the Palestinian Authority for the breakdown of the peace process.

She also supports stopping all funding to the Palestinians unless they stop using anti-Semitic textbooks on the West Bank, and ending all funding if they try to establish a state outside the peace process.

And her campaign is obviously dominated by Jews, who have names like Wolfson, Levine, Rubin and Grunwald.

But I still feel she doesn't really get it about how a liberal, secular New York Jew like me feels about Israel. The psychic linkage. The worry. The intensity. The tribal DNA commitment that transcends Labor and Likud.

Hillary Clinton is a WASP policy wonk.

She knows the words, but not the music New York Jews need to hear.

I don't think she feels what I feel about the founding of Israel in 1948, about the triumphant Six-Day War in June of 1967, the anger over the Arab sneak attack - on Yom Kippur! - in 1973.

But I don't think Lazio or Bush feel this, either.

Paul O'Dwyer, who ran guns to Israel, felt it as a Catholic.

Mario Cuomo came to feel it. Robert Kennedy came to feel it. Remember, Sirhan's diary says he decided to kill RFK when he saw him on television wearing a yarmulke in a temple, advocating jet planes for Israel.

On Hillary taking the \$50,000, my view is that most big-time politicians - from Torricelli to DeLay to Bush to Gore - have the mentality of hookers. Contributors are johns, clients, to them.

They take the money and provide a service. Maybe they are bought. Maybe they don't even remember the encounter. Maybe the john thinks the hooker will marry them in the morning. Usually, it's an illusion.

Lazio has raised more money than Hillary. Most of it comes from interests he regulates in Congress - banking and housing.

Most of it comes from outside New York state.

I don't like what Hillary has done. But I am still inclined to vote for her, pending future developments.

And whether she can still learn the music, as well as the words that move the heart.

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October 26, 2000

Mrs. Clinton Says She Will Return Money Raised by a Muslim Group

By DEAN E. MURPHY

Hillary Rodham Clinton said yesterday that she would return \$50,000 in political contributions received at a fund-raising event sponsored by a Muslim organization based in California.

Mrs. Clinton said she was offended by remarks attributed to members of the organization, the American Muslim Alliance. The group's president has been quoted as defending a United Nations resolution that he said allowed for the use of armed force by Palestinians against Israel, while other members have been accused of making anti-Semitic remarks.

Mrs. Clinton's decision to return the money, as well as \$1,000 from an official of another American Muslim group, the American Muslim Council, puzzled leaders of both Muslim organizations.



The New York Times

Hillary Rodham Clinton announced at a news conference in Queens on Wednesday that she would return political contributions raised through a Muslim organization and donated by a member of another Muslim group.

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Muslim organizations. The groups acknowledge that they have some members

with extreme views on Israel, but say that they are mainstream and oppose terrorism. Officials in the groups yesterday took issue with the characterizations of the remarks.

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Members of the groups contribute to Republicans and Democrats alike, and have been courted by various politicians, including Gov. George W. Bush of Texas. He recently met with the American Muslim Council in Michigan, which has a sizable Arab- American population, and received its backing. The council also says it considers Senator Joseph I. Lieberman a friend, and it gave him an award a few years ago.

The Bush campaign said yesterday it would return \$1,000 that had been donated by Abdurahman Alamoudi, a board member of the American Muslim Council, who was quoted in interviews as supporting the radical Islamic group Hamas.

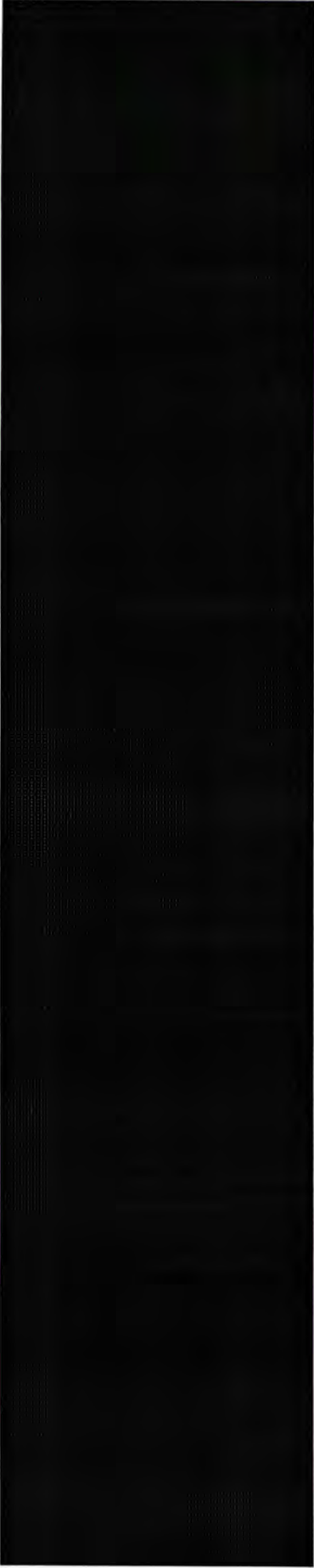
The fund-raising disclosures, first reported yesterday in The Daily News, thrust Middle East politics into the center of the close New York Senate race and set off a daylong exchange of denunciations between the campaigns, which have been wooing Jewish voters. Mrs. Clinton's opponent, Representative Rick A. Lazio, called the donations "blood money."

Rallying to Mrs. Clinton's defense were prominent New York Jews, including former Mayor Edward I. Koch and Senator Charles E. Schumer. The first lady's campaign staff also released a television commercial showing Representative Nita M. Lowey in support of Mrs. Clinton.

At a news conference in Queens, Mrs. Clinton announced that she would return the money. "The statements that are attributed to the organization and some of its members are offensive and outrageous," she said. "I don't want anyone to be under a misimpression. I don't want anyone to have a false idea about what I believed was the case, so I am going to return all of the money."

Mrs. Clinton also said she would return \$1,000 to Mr. Alamoudi of the American Muslim Council. She said she did not know that the fund-raising event, which was held in Boston in June, had been sponsored by the American Muslim Alliance even though she was photographed at the event accepting a plaque from the chairman of the group's Massachusetts chapter.

Mr. Lazio spent part of his day campaigning in Monsey, speaking with girls at a yeshiva, meeting with three rebbes and wearing a skullcap with his name knitted in it, as he



spoke about Israel. Earlier, he said the donations were evidence of the candidates' differences on Israel. His campaign also criticized Mrs. Clinton for playing host to several White House receptions that were attended by people opposed to the peace process in the Middle East.

During a campaign appearance in the Bronx, Mr. Lazio said, "My dad used to say, an old saying which I keep with me all the time, show me who your friends are, and I'll tell you who you are."

That touched off another round of criticism from the Clinton campaign, which pointed out that Mr. Lazio once said he would not mind running for Senate on the Reform Party line, even if Patrick J. Buchanan, who has been criticized as an anti-Semite, was at the top of that ticket.

The two Muslim groups belong to the larger American Muslim Political Coordination Council Political Action Committee, which endorsed Mr. Bush at a news conference in Washington on Monday. Tahir Ali, the Massachusetts chairman of the American Muslim Alliance, said he had held fund-raisers for both Democrats and Republicans, including Gov. Paul Cellucci of Massachusetts.

Dr. Yahya Mossa-Basha, a radiologist in Michigan who is president of the American Muslim Council, said he had met twice with Mr. Bush — once last month — and once with Vice President Al Gore, Tipper Gore and Hadassah Lieberman. He said he had recently had discussions with the Gore campaign about meeting the vice president this Sunday, but no date had been set. He also said he was invited to a Lazio fund-raising event attended by Mr. Lazio last August in Michigan, but decided not to attend. The Lazio campaign said it did not invite Mr. Mossa-Basha, but said it did not know if a Lazio supporter had invited him.

Faroque Khan, the chairman of the American Muslim Alliance's New York chapter, based on Long Island, said members had contributed to Mr. Lazio's Congressional campaigns over the years. He gave \$300 to the election campaign of Gov. George E. Pataki in 1994.

"If someone returns a gift, you feel hurt," said Mr. Ali, the Massachusetts chairman of the alliance and a software engineer in Westborough, Mass. "But I mostly feel sorry for the first lady that she has been put in this position that she feels it will hurt to take our gift. So much for the Jewish community lobby. They are trying to intimidate her."

Agha Saeed, president of the alliance and a professor of political science, said his remarks had been distorted. He acknowledged that he had spoken publicly about armed resistance by the Palestinians, but he said it was always in the context of a United Nations resolution that he said gave the Palestinians the right to resist oppression by all means.

And he said he always made it clear that he supported a peaceful settlement in the Middle East. (Mr. Saeed said the resolution was passed in the 1980's, but was unable to provide other details.)

"I support the peace process," Mr. Saeed said. "But people living in this country who are citizens have the right to criticize the Israelis. I insist upon having that right. If they kill people, we are going to criticize them."

Mr. Alamoudi, whose \$1,000 contributions are to be returned by the Clinton and Bush campaigns, was out of the country and could not be reached for comment, Mr. Mossa-Basha said. But Mr. Mossa-Basha said that as an organization, the council is clear about Hamas and violence in the Middle East.

"I think that all the time we are against violence and terrorism," he said. Hamas "is an overseas issue and that is an issue of dispute between the Israelis and the Palestinians." He added, "We do not want to get in the middle of it."

Mrs. Clinton implied that the Daily News article was prompted by the Republicans, suggesting that they would be eager to associate a prominent Democrat with the Muslim organizations at the time the groups were endorsing Mr. Bush. The Daily News, however, referred to research by Steven Emerson, who identified himself as a freelance journalist preparing a magazine article on terrorism; he became well known when he initially strongly suggested that the Oklahoma City bombing was the work of Arab terrorists. Mr. Emerson, who attended Mrs. Clinton's news conference, said Republicans and Democrats were both willing to associate with groups that he considered sympathetic to terrorists or aligned with them.

In materials he made available to reporters, he accused the American Muslim Alliance of disseminating "anti-Semitic tracts" and said a Texas member had questioned the existence of gas chambers at Auschwitz.

Mr. Saeed, president of the alliance, which is based in Fremont, Calif., said that Mr. Emerson had misquoted members and taken their statements out of context.

Just a few months ago, when the peace process in the Middle East was less slippery, the issue of donations from a Muslim-American organization would have carried less significance among Jewish voters.

"We have 13 days left in this election; fasten your seat belts," Mrs. Clinton said. "This is just the beginning. You have no idea what is going to be thrown at me. It is going to be everything including the kitchen sink."



While distancing herself from the groups that contributed the money, she defended her larger efforts to encourage a dialogue between Jews and Muslims about the Middle East.

"Over the course of the last seven years, as part of the administration's efforts to open lines of communication and build bridges with Muslim- American and Muslim leaders from all over the world, many, many people have been invited to the White House," she said. "They were part of the effort taken by this administration to help facilitate the peace negotiations that all of us hoped would achieve a comprehensive peace agreement."

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HILL RETURNS 50G IN 'BLOOD MONEY'

Thursday, October 26, 2000

By MAGGIE HABERMAN, MARIA ALVAREZ,
 DAVID SEIFMAN and GREGG BIRNBAUM



Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday returned \$50,000 in contributions after Rick Lazio blasted the campaign donations as "blood money" because some of it came from Arab-Americans hostile to Israel.

Facing another crisis in her effort to court Jewish voters, Clinton pledged to immediately give back the cash, collected at a June fund-raiser in Boston, after it was revealed members of the American Muslim Alliance attended the event.

The first lady also disclosed she will return a \$1,000 check received in May from an Arab who visited the White House

GIVING BACK:
 Democratic Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton tells the media yesterday she's returning the \$1,000 donation of a Muslim leader who supports the Palestinian terrorist group Hamas.
 AP

and later said, "We are the ones who went to the White House and defended what is called Hamas."

The United States government considers Hamas a terrorist organization bent on the destruction of Israel.

"I think this money . . . is blood money, it ought to be returned," Lazio said.

"You know my dad used to say, 'Show me who your friends are, and I'll tell you who you are.'"

A spokesman for George W. Bush said the GOP presidential contender also will give back a \$1,000 donation from the same person, Abdurahman Alamoudi, of the American Muslim Council.

Without mentioning the group by name, Clinton slammed the American Muslim Alliance for claiming to be sponsors of the Boston fund-raiser.

"I resent this organization that claims to have hosted this event," Clinton told reporters during a campaign stop in Queens. "I feel that I was taken advantage of, and I see that as offensive."

The Clinton campaign insisted the event was sponsored by Boston-area Muslims, not the American Muslim Alliance, which was not mentioned on the invitations.

At the \$500-a-head gala at a Boston hotel, members of the Muslim group, whose leader supports the Palestinians' use of armed force against Israel, presented Clinton with a plaque honoring her human-rights efforts.

The first lady said she didn't know the plaque she accepted was from the American Muslim Alliance, although the organization's name is printed on it in large letters.

"I get handed thousands of plaques," said Clinton, who posed for photos holding the plaque at the fund-raiser.

"I am open to all supporters, but I will not silently stand by when incendiary comments are made that support violence."

Meanwhile, Clinton allies Ed Koch, Public Advocate Mark Green and Liberal Party boss Ray Harding appeared at a City Hall press conference to defend the first lady as a friend of Israel.

"I saw the invitation to the Boston fund-raiser," said Harding, a Holocaust survivor.

"There's no name of a group. Now, all of a sudden that group claims, after Hillary Clinton has been saying strong pro-Israeli things, that they were the hosts . . . What I say is there is a conspiracy at hand by these groups . . . to bring Hillary Clinton down."

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Beyond the City

Rick Hits Hil on 50G Donation

She vows to return contribution by Israel foe

By LARRY COHLER-ESSES and EDWARD LEWINE
Daily News Staff Writers

Rick Lazio blasted Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday for accepting "blood money" from an anti-Israel Muslim group — and Clinton quickly announced that she was giving the cash back.

"I'm returning all \$50,000 — every single penny," the First Lady said, responding to yesterday's exclusive Daily News story about the campaign contribution from the American Muslim Alliance — whose leader supports the Palestinians' right to take up arms against Israel.

She said she felt deceived by the organizers of a reception held in Boston in June to raise the funds for her Senate campaign. She insisted she was never told the Muslim group was the sponsor of the event.

Lazio — in calling for her to give back the \$50,000 contribution — said the incident showed the "stark" contrast between his views on Israel and Clinton's. "I think this is why there's a big question mark next to Mrs. Clinton's name when it comes to this issue," said Lazio. "I think this money, best as I can tell from what I've read today, is blood money."



—Addario AP

Hillary plans to return \$50,000 donated by the American Muslim Alliance.

The First Lady was peppered with questions about the Muslim group's contribution at a press conference in Elmhurst, Queens, where she had planned to highlight her stand on behalf of affordable housing.

Clinton insisted she was unaware of the American Muslim Alliance's involvement in the Boston fund-raiser, calling some of the group's statements about Israel "offensive and outrageous."

She said she decided to return the money immediately after learning the group was

taking credit for the campaign contributions.

Clinton — who is battling for the crucial Jewish vote in her Senate campaign against Lazio — also brought out some prominent Jewish supporters to defend her stand on Israel.

Former Mayor Ed Koch, city Public Advocate Mark Green and Liberal Party leader Raymond Harding said at a press conference at City Hall that the controversy was an attempt to smear her in the remaining days of the Senate campaign.

"This was a vicious, dirty trick," said Koch, referring to Muslim groups opposed to Israel. "Their intent was to smear her and convey that instead of being pro-Israeli, she is pro-Arafat. They are trying to destroy her. It is an obvious dirty trick, and it should get the back of our hand."

Clinton told reporters: "We have 13 days left in this election. Fasten your seat belts. This is just the beginning. You have no idea what's going to be thrown at me. It's going to be everything including the kitchen sink." She said she was first contacted about the Boston fund-raiser by a businessman she didn't know who wanted to bring supporters together for her. "It was portrayed as a group who would support my campaign," she said.

Clinton said her staff vetted the businessman, Ahmed Khan, as it usually does in such situations, and found nothing unfavorable about him.

She said a plaque she was pictured accepting from the group at the event was given to her as she was leaving — and she responded by smiling for a photo with the man who gave it to her. The American Muslim Alliance's name was embossed in large type on the plaque.

Clinton said she routinely accepts such plaques — then stores them away. "I've been given literally thousands of plaques," she said.

The man who gave her the plaque, alliance Massachusetts Chairman Tahir Ali, said his group assumed sponsorship of the event "about a week" before it took place.

The group's national leader, Agha Saeed, told The News that while he backs the cause of a Palestinian state through peaceful means "first and foremost," UN resolutions "say specifically they have the right to resist by armed force."

Clinton said she felt deceived by the group's taking credit for the affair and seemed to suggest she may have been set up. "It's curious this story breaks on the same day this group announces its endorsement for Bush," she said.

Meanwhile, Clinton returned \$1,000 given to her by Abdurahman Alamoudi, an official with the American Muslim Council who has made statements defending Hamas,

a Palestinian group designated as a terrorist organization by the State Department.

"You have to draw the line when it comes to terrorism and violence," said Clinton.

GOP presidential candidate George W. Bush announced yesterday that he, too, was returning a \$1,000 contribution from Alamoudi.

In addition to Clinton, the Muslim Alliance group has held fund-raisers for Rep. Tom Campbell (R-Calif.) in his race against Sen. Dianne Feinstein (D-Calif.) and for Rep. David Bonior (D-Mich.). On Monday, it joined a coalition of other Muslim groups to endorse Bush for President.

Ali, the man who organized the Clinton event, said of her decision to return the \$50,000: "I am completely disappointed. Obviously, this is not going to be taken nicely."

It was still unclear exactly who sponsored the event. Khan, the businessman Clinton said she thought was in charge, insisted he had never transferred sponsorship of the event to the American Muslim Alliance.

Meanwhile, Abdulwahab Alkebsi, deputy director of the American Muslim Council, said his group was "appalled" at the decision by Clinton and Bush to return the contributions from Alamoudi, one of its officers.

"This is another witch hunt against the Muslim community," he said. "The [council] has never supported any other organization outside of the United States."

*With Bob Port, Russ Buettner,
Joe Calderone and Joanne Wasserman*

Original Publication Date: 10/26/00

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HILLARY'S WORLD

Thursday, October 26, 2000

The magical mystery morphing Hillary Rodham Clinton was in evidence once again yesterday, as word of the cash shower she got from a group dedicated to Israel's destruction dominated the (non-Subway Series) news.

Hillary, whose experience in foreign affairs can be distilled into one word - zero - was backpedaling from reports that her campaign last June took \$50,000 from the American Muslim Alliance, a group vociferously supportive of the use of "armed force" against Israel.

They're entitled to their politics.

Hillary is entitled to her friends.

But her friends keep changing.

One day, it's Suha Arafat, she of The Kiss Which Will Live in Infamy.

The next, she's surrounded by loyal Democrats like Sen. Chuck Schumer and Ed Koch, testifying to her strong support for Israel.

So where *does* she stand on the Middle East? The answer is . . . blowing in the wind.

The best that can be said of the first lady is *not* that her worldview keeps changing.

It's that she has no worldview to begin with - at least none of consequence.

It is one of the great political ironies of the season that the seat she is seeking is that of Daniel Patrick

Moynihan - whose *own* worldview is, to put it mildly, expansive.

It is grounded in intelligence, learning, independence, honesty, experience and unshakable principles.

You don't learn what Moynihan knows from books. And you most certainly don't learn it overnight.

Moynihan is completing 24 years in the United States Senate - which followed a singularly distinguished career in academia, government and the diplomatic service.

He has won four statewide elections in New York.

Hillary never won a single election.

And Moynihan has been a constant champion of the state of Israel.

Unlike the first lady - who's long been cozy with defenders of Arab violence against Israel.

Mindless

in the Mideast

Do you believe that Israel has a right to exist?

Do you believe that America needs a dependable, democratic ally in the strategically vital, oil-rich Middle East?

Then Hillary's record should really give you pause.

* Before becoming first lady, Hillary chaired the New World Foundation - an organization that funded groups controlled by the Palestinian Libera-

tion Organization. And this was back when even *liberals* considered the PLO a terrorist group.

* Over the years, she's befriended Arab- and Muslim-American organizations that refuse to denounce - and often defend - terrorist groups.

(A case in point is the above-mentioned American Muslim Alliance. In June, the first lady accepted not only the \$50,000, but a plaque inscribed, in part, thusly: "In Honor, & With Sincere Appreciation for Your Stand on Human Rights." One "right," according to alliance President Agha Saeed, is "the right to resist [Israeli] oppression by using all means, including armed" resistance.)

* And just last month, frequent White House guest

Nihad Awad, of the Council on American-Islamic Relations, railed against the notion of Arab coexistence with Israel, preaching instead the virtues of violence - and of Arab plans to reclaim "all Palestine."

Hillary's response?

None to speak of.

There's more.

Mrs. Clinton dropped all pretenses in 1998 and called flat-out for Palestinian statehood - which Yasser Arafat understandably took to be an unofficial declaration of a radically new U.S. policy.

This substantially complicated matters in the Middle East - and emboldened Arafat & Co., whose "death to Israel" agenda becomes more evident every day.

And then there's The Kiss.

Arafat's wife had just delivered herself of an inflammatory screed accusing Israel of poisoning Arab women and children. With *gas*, no less.

And Hillary embraced her.

Hours later, Hillary said she hadn't understood what Mrs. Arafat was saying - the result, the first lady claimed, of a late or faulty translation.

But that was a day late and a dollar short: Hillary condemned inflammatory language - but *specifically* failed to rebuke Mrs. Arafat herself.

What's mystifying, coming from a woman who aspires to Pat Moynihan's seat, is that Hillary didn't know any

better than to mug it up with Suha Arafat in the first place.

Yasser Arafat is no partner for peace - as he is now proving.

But even those - like Hillary - who in the past tried to pretend that he *is* are under no obligation to ignore his bloody record.

Hillary later expressed regrets over The Kiss. No doubt she was sincere: Look at all the damage it did to her campaign.

Now she's morphed into a pro-Israel hardliner - coming down hard on Arafat, publicly, for not ending the brutal rampages by his minions in Israel.

How transparent.

She's running for office in New York.

Jews are a critical voting bloc.

She wants their support.

As for Arafat and his ilk, turn on your TV and watch what they have wrought.

And remember USS Cole.

Her Worldview:

Don't Ask,

Don't Tell

There is a world beyond the Mideast, but you'd never know it from Hillary's campaign.

Take her Web site.

The page that lists her "proposals" contains entries for clean air, health care, teachers, AIDS, gun safety, women . . .

But national defense?

Missing in action.

Foreign affairs?

Nada.

A broad statement of her approach to world affairs?
Concern over the decline of U.S. military readiness?

They're just not priorities for this would-be successor to one of the foremost thinkers on international affairs in American politics.

Still, she's traveled to every continent except Antarctica.

And last week she shared her impressions with the Council on Foreign Relations.

She said that she's opposed to poverty, disease, illiteracy and "environmental degradation" - adding that she is in favor of "women's basic human rights."

Terrific.

But who isn't?

Out of Her League

Yes, Pat Moynihan's shoes will be awfully big for Rick Lazio to fill. They'd be awfully big for *anyone* to fill.

But the senator has chosen to retire.

Lazio has repeatedly faced voters.

He has a legislative record - more on which to come.

And Lazio has this in common with Pat Moynihan, a son of Hell's Kitchen.

He's from New York.

Tomorrow: A matter of ethics

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EDITORIAL • October 26, 2000

Mrs. Clinton's 'ethical legacies'

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"We believe," the New York Times writes this week in its editorial endorsement of Hillary Rodham Clinton for Senate, "that Mrs. Clinton is capable of growing beyond the ethical legacies of her Arkansas and White House years." Fascinating.

While every newspaper is entitled to its opinion, the Times' endorsement raises some truly interesting questions.

First: Who came up with that air freshener of a euphemism, "ethical legacies," for an unflinching career of grasping manipulation and outlaw opportunism stretching back 30 years? The newspaper goes on to list, delicately, some of the "concerns" voters may harbor about the first lady. There is the "investigative literature" — sounds like a lit. course — on all those Clinton scandals, "replete with evidence" that Mrs. Clinton has a "lamentable tendency to treat political opponents as enemies." Lamentable, indeed. Just ask Juanita Broadrick or Billy Dale how "lamentable" that "tendency" is.

The newspaper ventures to note that Mrs. Clinton "has clearly been less than truthful in her comments to investigators." Less than truthful? The last time Mrs. Clinton's sworn statements came under investigation, most recently in the Travelgate report released last week, Independent Counsel Robert Ray tagged them not "less than truthful," but "factually false."

The newspaper also clucks over Mrs. Clinton's tendency "to follow President Clinton's method of peddling access for campaign donations." Who said she was "following" him?

But get this: "Her fondness for stonewalling in response to legitimate questions about financial or

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legislative matters contributed to the bad ethical reputation of the Clinton administration," the editorial continues. "If" — if — "she should choose to carry these patterns and tendencies into the Senate, her career there could be as bumpy and frustrating — and ultimately, as investigated — as her White House years." Ergo, vote for Hillary.

The editorial tries to balance out the very, very bad with something more positive. For example: "She outdid her opponents in visiting the state's 62 counties." (Really, that's what it says.) "Through the collection of firsthand stories, she learned about economic deprivation, energy costs, taxes, health crises, and troubled schools." Just imagine: She learned all that, and she's just a candidate for the U.S. Senate. No wonder the New York Times dubs her "an unusually promising talent."

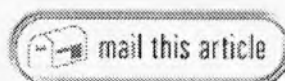
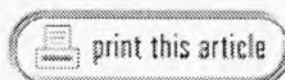
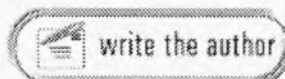
But amid its enthusiasm for what it terms Mrs. Clinton's "sophisticated vision of the world," and, perhaps more important to its editors, her potential vote to "guard against Supreme Court nominees who would compromise the constitutional right [sic] to abortion," the New York Times puts something more than Mrs. Clinton's record on display: its own disregard of the crucial importance of seeking democratic leaders who will uphold the law, not undermine it by endlessly flouting and skirting it. Even as the editorial lists just a handful of the damning character flaws that have long marked Mrs. Clinton's public life, it discounts them, weighing them as just so many ordinary pros and cons rather than the uniquely weighty disqualifiers that they should be.

"We are placing our bet on her to rise above the mistakes and difficulties of her first eight years in Washington," the paper concludes. Why? There is a lifetime of evidence riding against just such a bet.



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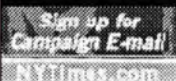
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October 26, 2000

The Ad Campaign: A Question of Friends

This is a new 30-second commercial, "Friends," that the Clinton campaign plans to begin broadcasting today.

PRODUCER Callahan Creative

ON THE SCREEN The commercial opens with a snippet from a Lazio campaign commercial released Monday in which Representative Rick A. Lazio, seated at a diner, refers to a saying of his father, "Show me your friends, and I'll tell you who you are." The image is moved to the upper left side of the screen as highlights of the announcer's script appear on the screen. A reproduction of a Daily News story used as a source in the advertisement flashes on the screen. The commercial ends with white text on a black screen reading: "Rick Lazio does take care of his friends. But what about you?" Below the words is a small picture of Hillary Rodham Clinton.

THE SCRIPT Mr. Lazio: "Show me your friends, and I'll tell you who you are."

Announcer: "O.K., let's look at Rick Lazio's friends. A Daily News investigation just revealed that the homebuilding industry has kicked in a million dollars to Lazio's campaign. And Lazio has tried to help them weaken safety and construction standards. The AARP said his bill could lead to weaker safety rules, put residents at

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If the 2000 election were being held today and the candidates were Al Gore, the Democrat, George W. Bush, the Republican, Pat Buchanan, the Reform Party and Ralph Nader the Green Party candidate, would you vote for Al Gore, George Bush, Pat Buchanan or Ralph Nader?

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- ☐ Buchanan
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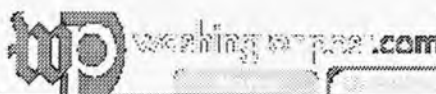


his bill could lead to weaker safety rules, put residents at risk. This is the industry that Rick Lazio is supposed to oversee as chairman of the housing subcommittee. Rick Lazio — he does take care of his friends. But what about you?"

ACCURACY The commercial relies on an Oct. 8 report in The Daily News and, in the case of AARP, an Oct. 15, 1998, article in The News and Record of Greensboro, N.C., quoting officials of the organization reacting to a bill Mr. Lazio had introduced in 1998 that included a provision to change safety and construction standards for manufactured housing. Mr. Lazio was being lobbied by the manufactured housing industry at the time and had accepted thousands of dollars in donations from executives of manufactured housing companies. But the commercial fails to note that Mr. Lazio agreed to modify the legislation after negotiations with Democrats and opponents, including the AARP, and the bill was later wrapped into a larger housing bill that passed the House and Senate earlier this year. Several opponents that fought the original bill are no longer fighting it. Mr. Lazio's campaign also noted that the congressman, as chairman of the housing subcommittee, at times has won bipartisan praise for his legislative work on housing. This advertisement, said Mr. Lazio's chief spokesman, Dan McLagan, "is the latest and most unbelievable desperate charge from the Clinton spin, smear machine."

SCORECARD It is uncertain how effective this attack ad will be for a public facing a barrage of them from both camps in the closing days of a tightly contested race. The breathless tone of the commercial should be enough to give viewers pause. Its review of this part of Mr. Lazio's housing record is a flat-out distortion meant to confuse viewers about Mr. Lazio's record in the House at a time when he has increasingly cited it to justify his run for the Senate. **RANDAL C. ARCHIBOLD**

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A Perfectly Weird Campaign

By Michael Grunwald

Washington Post Staff Writer

Thursday, October 26, 2000; Page C01

NEW YORK — The gay men's chorus has sung its show tunes, and the lesbian comic has finished her coming-out-to-Mom riff, so it's almost time to introduce the keynote speaker for the sold-out Empire State Pride Agenda dinner. But first . . . gender-bending "auctionatrix" Sybil Bruncheon—"The only person to survive the Titanic, the Hindenburg and the San Francisco earthquake, all while retaining her girlish figure!" the program says—is here to auction off a lovely matching set of Biarritz leather chairs. There's a big one and a little one, she helpfully points out, "perfect for those of you in the Man-Boy Love Association!"



First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton's appeal in New York's minority communities has made her Senate bid viable. (AP Photo)

—From The Post—
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Nobody really laughs, but then again nobody here in this swank midtown hotel ballroom is really listening, because everyone is chattering and air-kissing and trading stock tips. So the group's chairman decides to cut the warm-ups short and introduce the main event. "We gays and lesbians know something about being outsiders," he says. And suddenly 1,500 gay New Yorkers who paid \$350 for their filet mignons are no longer talking. They are screaming and whistling for their state's most famous outsider: the first lady of the United States, the Democratic candidate for Senate. In the sharp black pantsuit with the electric-teal sweater wrapped preppy-style over her shoulders—it's Hillary Rodham Clinton!

She flashes the wide-eyed, O-mouthed, shocked-shocked look she summons every time she glimpses a campaign crowd, and proceeds to deliver the most emphatic affirmation of gay rights ever offered by a first lady. She pushes full immigration rights for gay partners, tough hate-crime laws, strict anti-discrimination measures not only for jobs, but for housing and public accommodations, too. She calls for gays to serve openly in the military—without mentioning her husband's role in don't-ask-don't-tell. She vows to speak out against intolerance wherever and whenever she spots it.

Then she concludes with a rambling proposal to turn Election Day into a

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Then she concludes with a rambling proposal to turn Election Day into a second Halloween. It appears to be some kind of pitch for the camp vote.

"You know, we've done a terrific job the last eight years closing the budget deficit," she says with the uncomfortably clenched smile of a nerdy teenager trying to act cool. "So let's close the fun deficit when it comes to voting. I suggest that perhaps we go to the polls dressed in a way that conveys our favorite issue! Now, for some people, that may be prescription drugs. You know, for others it can be sensible gun safety measures, or choice, or the environment. I wouldn't mind seeing a number of trees going to the polls on November 7! Whatever it is that will move people to go vote--Al Gore needs your vote, I need your vote, New York needs your vote, and America needs your vote! Thank you very much!"

There is a brief pause of confusion--trees?--before the crowd erupts once more. For all the talk about Hillary-haters, there are still some New Yorkers who think she's fabulous.

Still, the more traditional politicians here are not quite hip to the concept of voting as civic masquerade. "Man, that last part was weird," says Anthony Nanula, the Democratic comptroller of Buffalo. "How exactly do you dress up if your issue is pro-choice?"

The Surreal Campaign

Clinton is a woman of obvious intelligence and poise, a lucid public speaker who spools out fully formed paragraphs that never end in prepositions. She has learned all about the Croton filtration plant and the Route 86 connector and the rest of New York's mandatory running-for-office arcana. And she has clearly learned a little something from the master about kissing babies and shaking hands and oozing charm on the trail.

Still, it must be said: Her entire campaign is weird.

It has been ever since Day One--July 7, 1999, when she launched her candidacy upstate at a 900-acre farm owned by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the first Democratic senator to call for an independent investigation of Whitewater. The first lady, of course, had never lived or worked in New York, had never held elective office. She had devised a health care plan--Moynihan had called it a "fantasy"--that helped the Republicans recapture Congress. She was probably America's most polarizing woman, known not only for her advocacy work for women and children but also for her cattle-future windfalls and vanishing billing records and ever-evolving hairdos, not to mention her crack about Tammy Wynette. And yes, after enduring the most public marital humiliation in the history of American politics, she did decide to stand by her man, even after he got his jollies with a thong-snapping office intern.

"Why the Senate?" she asked that day at Moynihan's farm. "Why New York? Why me?"

That was Day One. The gay pride dinner was Day Four Hundred Ninety. And there were plenty of odd moments in between, from

Clinton's kiss of Suha Arafat to her flip-flop over Puerto Rican terrorists, from her relocation to suburban Westchester County to her videotaped revelation that she makes a "mean tossed salad." Her opponent, Rep. Rick Lazio, has sent out fundraising appeals consisting of six words: "I'm running against Hillary Rodham Clinton." One recent week on the campaign trail included the end of the Whitewater mess, a new White House sleepover mess, and a historic deal to ban soft money from the race.

But this is the weirdest thing about the Clinton campaign: It doesn't seem so weird anymore. The New York media long ago stopped treating this race as a historic novelty act; they now cover it like a high-profile but otherwise quasi-normal political battle. After 15 relentlessly substantive months of grinding through the state's 62 counties, talking incessantly about education and health care and children and families, the first lady has made the bizarre seem routine. She's still seen as a carpetbagger, and she's still married to the leader of the free world, but somehow those jarring facts have become old news. Clinton has a narrow lead in the polls, and Republicans are now sniping about Lazio's flailing campaign as he wanders cheerfully through old-economy factories for photo ops that attract few photographers.

There are still critics who complain that the first lady is ambitious or duplicitous. But after 15 months of her slogs through Schenectady and Poughkeepsie and Canarsie, few bother to suggest that she is anything but serious, that this race is some kind of lark. "She worked and worked and worked, and she became part of the New York landscape," says Mandy Grunwald, one of her top advisers. "That was the strategy from the start."

This three-yards-and-a-cloud-of-dust approach was devised last summer by some of the same operatives who got her husband to the White House--pollster Mark Penn, advertising-media guru Grunwald, fundraiser-loyalist Harold Ickes--and it hasn't changed a bit. She's just a Democratic candidate talking about Democratic issues in a Democratic state. And for every issue, she's got just the right endorsers: Robert Rubin and Warren Buffett to tout her fiscal plan, Joe Lieberman and Elie Wiesel to boost her with Jews, George Mitchell to talk about Ireland, Robert F. Kennedy Jr. to praise her on the environment and defuse the carpetbagger issue with memories of his dad.

She no longer wavers between two-for-the-price-of-one, anti-cookie-baking Hillary and stay-in-the-background, wife-and-mom Hillary. Her coiffure is now as immovable as Trent Lott's--and a heck of a lot more glamorous. She still attracts international attention--CNN exile Peter Arnett covered one of her recent swings for Turkish television--but her visits to Elmira and Utica and Tonawanda are no longer greeted with breathless amazement by star-struck locals. As for the president--she almost always calls him "the president"--well, she thinks he's done a great job for America, but of course she doesn't agree with him about everything.

And as Forrest Gump would say, that's all she's got to say about that.

"Look, everyone knows she's the first lady, but she's running for Senate in New York," another adviser says. "Sure, it was weird at first. But now, that's just the way it is."

The Way It Is

It's a few days after Clinton's 25th wedding anniversary, and she's being welcomed to a black church in the Bronx by a big and brassy pastor named Darlene Thomas-McGuire. "She's a stand-by-her-man woman, and we appreciate that!" the Rev. Thomas-McGuire shouts.

And the people say: Amen!

The first lady does not exactly respond. But she does thank the congregation for all their prayers and support and good wishes--"especially the prayers!" And she does happen to mention that as a matter of fact, she just spoke to her husband, who, she points out, is on his way to the Middle East to end the violence, and who, she does not need to point out, remains overwhelmingly popular in the black community. She also tells her Harriet Tubman story, in which the legendary abolitionist tells runaway slaves to Keep Going! even if they hear dogs behind them, to Keep Going! even if they hear gunshots behind them, to Keep Going! no matter what, the stated point being that America should Keep Going! for even more prosperity, the unstated point being that Hillary Clinton is a Keep Going! kind of woman.

In case the point was unclear, she soon comes as close as she ever does to mentioning The Troubles: "I hope you know one thing about me: When I tell you I will stick with you, I WILL STICK WITH YOU!"

If you catch her drift.

Otherwise, though, she never refers to the blue-dress fiasco even though her approval ratings always seem to spike when she's seen as a victim. It may be because she's afraid to annoy women who want her to ditch her philandering husband, or because of the media hubbub that erupted after she seemed to make excuses for him in a long-ago Talk magazine interview, or because she simply doesn't want to talk about the worst episode of her life. Instead the first lady stays persistently, robotically, monomaniacally on message: Her husband has done a great job for America, and she's proud to be part of his economy-booming, crime-killing, interest-rate-reducing, home-ownership-creating team.

At times, though, this steadfast insistence on ignoring the elephant in the room can seem downright wiggly. For example, after her church visit--during which the Rev. Thomas-McGuire replaced the word "Satan" in one hymn with the word "Lazio"--the first lady fields a few questions from reporters, and someone asks whether the father of her daughter would be campaigning for her.

"We've put in our request for his time," she says. "We're competing with people all over the country. I certainly hope he'll come to New York."

The first lady takes questions from the media almost every day, which is not to say she answers them. For instance, after she was booed in Manhattan at a recent rally for Israel, she took two questions, both about crowd reaction. She offered two canned responses about violence in the Middle East, never acknowledging the existence of the crowd, much less its hostility, before Secret Service agents hustled her into a sport utility vehicle.

Lately the questions often try to suss out the first lady's precise relationship to the president--not as wife but as policy adviser. This is because, at times, she has tried to distance herself from the administration--the Clinton administration--on decisions that played badly in New York. So she has opposed the administration's policy on the Northeast Compact, which could hurt upstate dairy farms. She has complained about obscure Medicaid formulas that shortchange New York teaching hospitals. And she has spoken out whenever the administration has irritated pro-Israel hard-liners--on convicted spy Jonathan Pollard, on Jerusalem's status, on a United Nations resolution blaming Israel for the recent Mideast violence. (One Clinton aide's mantra: "No one ever lost an election in New York by pandering too much to the Jews.")

The media usually cover these deviations from administration policy the way they might cover any Democratic candidate disagreeing with a Democratic president, even if she does happen to be the wronged wife whose campaign he is helping to direct with daily calls to beleaguered campaign aides. ("Howard, the president of the United States is on Line 3.") There have been a few stories about the use of taxpayer dollars for her campaign--and for her husband's late-night junkets to Chappaqua--but there has been little examination of her unique efforts to straddle the roles of first lady, presidential adviser and Senate candidate.

The main exception has been New York Observer reporter Tish Durkin, who asked the first lady at Moynihan's farm about her role in the administration's welfare reform debates, and is still trying to get a complete answer 15 months later. The rest of the press corps has gotten used to the contradictions between Clinton's embrace of her husband and her renunciation of his locally unpopular decisions--and to the general kookiness of the whole enterprise--but the writer still seethes every time Clinton glosses them over.

"It's so brazen," Durkin says. "I can't believe she gets away with it."

Keeping the Dream Alive

"Is Brooklyn in the house?" A roar from the audience. "Is Queens in the house?" Another cheer. "Is Staten Island in the house?" Silence. It's not a Staten Island--white and conservative--crowd.

No, it's the ultimate Hillary crowd, a downtown auditorium packed with immigrant workers from Asia, Central America and the Caribbean. They're all members of the UNITE labor union, which grew out of the old International Ladies Garment Workers Union of Jewish and Italian immigrants, which put the city's labor movement on the national map during the progressive era. They're about to witness a rally that, whatever one thinks of the weirdness at the heart of the Clinton operation, is about as close to perfect political theater as a rally can get.

The rally starts with a multicultural Labor Choir singing a tribute to Hillary: Shout it from every steeple: She represents the people! Then New York's first-ever Dominican American assemblyman tells how his grandmother came to this country with a sewing machine and a dream, and how the first lady will keep that dream alive. Then the Irish

American president of New York's labor council hails the unity of "all these different cultures," praising Hillary as "a friend to all of us." Then three new American citizens--Leonor Torres, a dressmaker from Ecuador who worked on the first lady's second inaugural ball gown; Wilfred Narcise, a laundry worker from Haiti; and Pin Qin Xuan, a presser from China--give rousing speeches that include just three English words: Hillary Rodham Clinton. Then union president Jay Mazur introduces the out-of-state Senate candidate with a rousing tribute to the hardworking new immigrants: "We celebrate the courage to start life anew in a strange and sometimes hostile land."

If you catch his drift.

Finally, Mazur introduces the first lady as "a remarkable woman who has demonstrated grace under fire," and it's her turn at the microphone. The crowd roars again, a lot louder than it did for Brooklyn. It's not quite the electricity that her husband generates, but it's close. And it's all according to the script, most of which has been distributed to the media in advance. Clinton fatigue, to put it mildly, is not a big problem in this room.

"I wish I could bottle this energy!" the first lady shouts in her Midwestern-cheery voice. Then she starts talking about what it means to be an immigrant, and an AIDS activist starts yelling, but she just ignores him, just Keeps Going! about working hard and raising families and playing by the rules, and the heckler is ushered out of the auditorium, and she Keeps Going! about progress and prosperity and the Latino Immigration Fairness Act. "You are the embodiment of the American dream, and I am on your side!" she proclaims. Maybe she's laying it on a bit thick, but the crowd doesn't seem to think so.

"Where these people come from, they see politics in a different light, okay?" says Jose Schiffino, a UNITE organizer. "Believe me, they're going to stand up for Hillary."

That said, it is no accident the little-known Lazio is raising record amounts of money across the country, or that the first lady's critics are flocking to websites like Slaphillary.com and Antihillary.com. People are going to stand up against Hillary, too.

"There are a lot of people out there who don't trust her," says Lazio spokesman Michael Marr. "We expect them to come to the polls on Election Day."

Sticking to the Script

"This is really therapeutic!" squeals the first lady of the United States.

No, she's not talking about campaigning for office. She's talking about carving pumpkins. She's carving a jack-o'-lantern on national TV with Rosie O'Donnell, an unreconstructed liberal who has just noted fawningly that "I care a lot, as you do, about education for our kids." Clinton has been taking this free opportunity to talk about her work with abused and neglected children, and to explain how her parents told her they'd always love her no matter what she did, even if she murdered someone. Although they apparently did say they'd be disappointed.

That is about as close to an unscripted moment as she gets. And the current campaign plan is to stick to the script: The booming economy. Prescription drugs for everyone. No vouchers. Protect the environment. Protect abortion rights. No big tax cuts for the rich. Lazio: Newt Gingrich's deputy whip. Lazio: George Bush supporter. Lazio: Republican. "She's not going to change now," an aide says. "Same old same old. Nothing flashy. No mistakes."

Of all the wrong ideas that pundits had about this campaign last year, the most extravagantly wrong was that the notion that constant exposure to the fierce New York media would make it impossible for the first lady to run on her own terms. The conventional wisdom said that she would be forced to open up, to let down her emotional guard, to let the world see the real Hillary Rodham Clinton. That just hasn't happened. She has talked and talked and talked for 15 months, but she has mostly said what any Democratic candidate in New York would say in the year 2000. She is still the most mysterious woman in Washington.

If Clinton has revealed anything, it's that she's a lot more pragmatic than the tin-ear caricature that emerged after her health care debacle and the travel office firings and her blast-the-prosecutor advice to her husband during The Troubles. She may have summed up her new approach recently at an Upper East Side synagogue, explaining why she wouldn't meet with controversial Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan even if Joe Lieberman says he would.

"Well, I would not because I don't find it would be very useful to me," she said.

The crowd laughed nervously, but she just Kept Going!, practically announcing her aide's secret theory about pandering to Jews. As her Secret Service agents patrolled the synagogue in yarmulkes, as her husband tried to ease tensions in the Middle East, as an obscure GOP congressman accused her of waffling on Israel, the pride of Illinois, Wellesley College, Yale Law, Little Rock, the White House--and now, the pride of Empire State Pride--explained the difference between being a first lady in Washington and being a candidate in New York.

"I've learned from being in the White House and the administration that there are things one does when the whole nation is your responsibility that you do when you feel it would be useful," she said. "But if that would not be useful for me now, I would not undertake that."

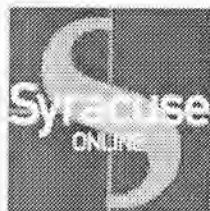
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TODAY'S HEADLINES

HERALD-JOURNAL The Post-Standard Herald American

Clinton to visit Fleming Sunday

By David L. Shaw

Hillary Rodham Clinton is returning to the Auburn area for the third time - but for the first time as a political candidate.

Clinton, Democratic candidate for the U.S. Senate, will attend a Cayuga County Democratic Party rally at 4 p.m. Sunday at the Springside Inn in Fleming.

"We've been trying to get her here for some time. I'm excited it looks like it's going to happen," County Democratic Chairman Chuck Mason said.

Mason said Clinton will be on a campaign bus tour in Central New York Sunday, starting in Rochester and ending in Syracuse. The stop in the Auburn area is the only stop the bus will make between the two cities, Mason said.

She will be accompanied on the bus and at the local rally by Sen. Charles E. Schumer, D-N.Y., who was elected to the Senate last year.

Mason said he expects Clinton to be at the rally for about an hour before leaving for Syracuse.

She was in Auburn in 1998 as part of her Save America's Treasures tour, visiting the Seward and Tubman houses, and in 1999 while on vacation with her family in Skaneateles.

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HERALD-JOURNAL The Post-Standard Herald American

Web site for unsure voters

Can't decide who should be your next president or senator?

Without studying each candidate's stand on the issues, swing voters can be left hanging.

A Web site, <http://www.ivillage.com/election/>, can do the work for you.

Click on the site's "Candidate Match-O-Matic" icon, and you'll begin a questionnaire on your views on issues. When you're done, the site tells you which candidate matches your views the best. With an extra click, it can tell you how much your views match the other candidates.

The service includes separate questionnaires for the presidential race and the race between **Hillary Rodham Clinton** and **Rep. Rick Lazio**.

Besides **George W. Bush** and **Al Gore**, the presidential candidates listed are **Ralph Nader** of the Green Party, **Pat Buchanan** of the Reform Party, **Harry Browne** of the Libertarian Party and **John Hagelin** of the Natural Law Party.

Democrats meet for brunch

The Madison County Democratic Committee will hold a candidates' brunch at 12:30 p.m. Sunday at Lincklaen House in Cazenovia.

Democratic candidates expected to appear are Bill Magee, who is running for re-election in the 111th Assembly District; Phil LaTessa of Syracuse, running in the 48th state Senate District; and Richard Engelbrecht, running for the 23rd Congressional District seat.

Tickets are \$12 and can be purchased by calling 655-8076 or 655-2914.

Pancakes at the fire hall

The North Chittenango Fire Co. will hold a candidates' breakfast Nov. 5.

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candidates' breakfast Nov. 5.

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The fire company always has a pancake breakfast this time of year, so this year members decided to invite candidates for the 48th state Senate District and 111th Assembly District races, member Don Lozipone said.

The breakfast will be from 7 a.m. to noon at the firehouse, 1699 Fyler Road. The cost is \$5.50 for adults, \$5 for senior citizens and \$4 for children 5 to 13. Children under 5 eat free.

family package for two adults and three children is \$18.

Law groups endorse Magee

Magee, D-Nelson, has won endorsements from three law enforcement groups: the New York State Deputies Association, the Police Conference of New York and the Parole Officers Association.

Magee has also been endorsed by the Madison County Fire Chiefs Association. President Scott Holbert said in a written statement that Magee had "demonstrated commitment not only to the interests of Madison County's emergency response community but also ... to the health and safety of the citizens that we are sworn to serve."

Magee has also been named to the Farm Bureau Circle of Friends.

Magee, a Democrat, is running for re-election in the 111th Assembly District against Republican Jim Traub.

Assembly district is topic

WCNY-TV will air a 30-minute documentary Friday night on the 111th Assembly District race.

"Steps to the Statehouse" is designed to be a local companion piece to "The Choice," a series aired on "Frontline."

The candidates, Magee and Traub, have agreed to allow a WCNY videographer to follow them to campaign events.

The documentary will include research on each candidate, positions on key local issues, and financial backing, according to the WCNY Web site.

The show begins at 9 p.m.

Election night dinner at church

The Chittenango United Methodist Church will hold an election night dinner Nov. 7. The chicken-and-biscuit dinner will be 4:30 to 7 p.m. at the church, 205 Falls Blvd.

The cost will be \$6.50 for adults and \$3 for children under 12.

Boehlert loses union support

The United Auto Workers, United Mine Workers and United Food and Commercial Workers unions have voted not to endorse Rep. Sherwood Boehlert this year, possibly the first time in his 18-year tenure. Boehlert's votes in favor of the North American Free Trade Agreement and normalizing trade relations with China did not sit well with local workers, said Myron Kuchera, president of UAW 2243 at Orion Bus in Oriskany.

"He's been very supportive of us, and we've supported him in the past," Kuchera said. "He voted against the way we wanted him to vote. A lot of manufacturing jobs have the potential for leaving."

The three unions represent three-fourths of union workers in Oneida, Herkimer and Madison counties, he said.

The unions chose not to endorse anyone in the race for the 23rd Congressional District. Engelbrecht, a Democrat, and David Vickers, a Conservative and Right to Life Party candidate, are also running for that seat.

Boehlert makes the grade

The League of Conservation Voters announced Tuesday that Boehlert has one of the strongest environmental voting records in Congress.

On its own "scorecard" of zero to 100, the league gave Boehlert a 70 on his environmental record. Republicans averaged about 17 in the House and 12 in the Senate.

"In a time when the majority of Americans are turning to their elected officials to help promote clean air, safe water and healthy neighborhoods, it is clear from his exceptional environmental score that Sherry Boehlert is working to address these quality-of-life concerns," league President Deb Callahan said in a prepared statement.

The Washington-based group has published an

"environmental scorecard" for members of Congress since 1970.

For information, visit the group on the World Wide Web at www.lcv.org.

Candidates add fifth debate

Candidates for the 23rd Congressional District have added a fifth debate to the schedule.

They have been invited to meet at 7 p.m. Tuesday at the Rome Capitol Theater.

Other debates are at 7 p.m. Monday at SUNY Oneonta and 10 a.m. Nov. 5 at Temple Beth El in Utica.

Land claim targeted

Boehlert mailed a two-page letter this month to Republicans who live inside the boundaries of the Oneida land claim.

The letter does not mention Boehlert's race for re-election, but outlines the work he has done in the past two years to attempt to settle the 30-year-old lawsuit between the Oneidas and the state and local governments.

Boehlert took credit for suggesting the judge appoint a mediator and for getting the U.S. Department of Justice to drop landowners from the lawsuit.

Boehlert also said he has met with Rep. Don Young, R-Alaska, and supported Young's unpopular idea of collecting sales taxes from Indian businesses. The bill did not get to the House floor, he said.

The letter came on congressional letterhead but was paid for by the Friends of Sherwood Boehlert campaign committee.

Michelle Breidenbach and Glenn Coin contributed to this report.

Thursday, October 26, 2000

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TODAY'S FEATURED ARTICLE

CAMPAIGN 2000

Who Is Harold Ickes?

A look at the mastermind of Hillary's Senate campaign.

BY MICAH MORRISON

Thursday, October 26, 2000 12:01 a.m. EDT

As the Senate was voting not to remove Bill Clinton from office after impeachment by the House, Hillary Clinton signaled her seriousness about running for the U.S. Senate. She summoned Harold M. Ickes Jr. to a secret meeting at the White House. That day, her campaign began. To this day, Mr. Ickes remains by her side. Despite the low-key title "adviser," he is the dominant behind-the-scenes figure in the campaign.

The secret meeting that launched Mrs. Clinton's candidacy is recounted in Washington Post reporter Peter Baker's new book, "The Breach: Inside the Impeachment and Trial of William Jefferson Clinton." Mr. Ickes doesn't get much attention in the book, but New Yorkers ought to take a close look at the mastermind of the Clinton Senate campaign. A vote for Hillary is a vote for Harold. Should Mrs. Clinton win, she and Mr. Ickes will be poised to take over the New York Democratic Party.

Mr. Ickes is a New Yorker *par excellence*, though his career there is reminiscent of some of Mrs. Clinton's Arkansas friends. As a Razorback, Mrs. Clinton had problems with a miraculous \$100,000 profit in cattle futures, the Castle Grande land scheme, the Rose Law Firm billing records. In moving her residence to New York, she has put herself in the hands of a skilled labor lawyer and former deputy White House chief of staff with a history of representing unions, some of them with eyebrow-raising ties to organized crime.

The son of Harold M. Ickes, FDR's secretary of interior, the younger Mr. Ickes toiled for years in the vineyards of the left wing of Democratic Party politics. In 1977, he joined the influential Long Island law firm of Meyer, Suozzi, English & Klein. Interviewed yesterday, Mr. Ickes expressed surprise that he would be the subject of a newspaper article. "You're doing an article about me? Why?!" He defended his record and at times controversial client list. "I'm head of our firm's labor department," Mr. Ickes said. "We have a lot of labor clients."

There is no evidence of ethical impropriety by the law firm, and Mr. Ickes has never been charged with a crime. But the combative lawyer has tangled with law-enforcement authorities and congressional investigators over many issues--union cases, the Whitewater investigation, the 1996 campaign-finance scandal.

From 1983 to 1991, one of Mr. Ickes's major clients was Local 100 of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers International. In 1992, Local 100 settled a civil racketeering suit charging that the union was controlled by the Colombo and Gambino crime organizations, two New York-based Mafia families. In the settlement, Local 100 President Anthony "Chickie" Amodeo resigned and the union was placed under federal trusteeship.

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According to published reports, during a 1985 interview by investigators, at which Mr. Ickes was present, Mr. Amodeo said he had known Paul Castellano, boss of the Gambino family, for more than 40 years. In 1983, investigators secretly recorded Mr. Castellano and Mr. Amodeo discussing payoffs. Mr. Castellano was taped saying that Local 100 "was my union and I don't want anything happening to it." He was gunned down in 1985. His successor as head of the Gambinos, John Gotti, was convicted of the murder in 1992.

Bill Cunningham, managing partner of Meyer, Suozzi, says the firm "stopped representing Local 100 in January 1992." The firm was "absolutely not" aware of any ties between Local 100 and organized crime. Contrary to published reports, he said, Mr. Amodeo "did not answer any questions in Harold's presence about Paul Castellano."

Mr. Ickes hit the political big time with Bill Clinton. He managed Mr. Clinton's 1992 primary race in New York and ran the Democratic National Convention that year. In 1993, he resigned from his law firm and went to Washington in 1994 as deputy White House chief of staff. According to his 1994 federal disclosure statement, Mr. Ickes had other clients that can be shown to have links to organized crime.

One was the New York City District Council of Carpenters, charged in a 1990 civil racketeering suit with being controlled by the Genovese crime family. The union later agreed to federal oversight. "Our firm represented the Carpenters," Mr. Ickes said yesterday. "I didn't personally represent them."

As head of his law firm's labor department, Mr. Ickes presumably played some role in representing New Jersey Teamsters Local 560, also noted on his federal disclosure statement. The union was accused in a 1986 racketeering suit with using murder and beatings to silence opposition to union boss Anthony "Tony Pro" Provenzano, a member of the Genovese crime family. The charges resulted in the appointment of a trustee to run the union. "I was deliberately very broad on the disclosure," Mr. Ickes said. "But I never personally had a thing to do with them. Again, our firm represented them."

Mr. Ickes's union connections went with him to Washington. Among them was Arthur Coia, president of the Laborers International Union of North America. "Our firm continues to represent Liuna," Mr. Ickes said.

In the mid-1990s, Mr. Coia and Liuna were the subject of a Justice Department probe for links to organized crime. A draft civil complaint said Mr. Coia has "associated with, and been controlled and influenced by, organized crime figures," and that he "employed actual and threatened force, violence and fear of physical and economic injury to create a climate of intimidation and fear."

Liuna gave over \$1 million to Democrats in 1994 and congressional investigators documented more than 120 contacts between the president and Mr. Coia, including an exchange of golf clubs. Mrs. Clinton was scheduled to address the union in February 1994, as the Justice Department was about to move on its civil case. She deferred the address for a year.

Mr. Ickes was involved in Mr. Coia's relations with the White House. "As deputy chief of staff, I handled a lot of matters and Arthur was a person I dealt with," Mr. Ickes said. "I helped set up, and attended, meetings."

The Justice case was never filed. A settlement for a voluntary clean-up of the union was reached in 1995 and many figures linked to organized crime resigned. Mr. Coia retired early this year, agreeing to plead guilty to one count of tax fraud in exchange for a fine and probation.

At the White House, Mr. Ickes's first major assignment was to run the damage control effort against the Whitewater probe. He was soon a focus of attention himself, summoned in March 1994 to testify before Congress about his knowledge of improper administration contacts concerning the Resolution Trust Corp. probe of Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan. That investigation eventually formed the basis of Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr's successful prosecution of the Clintons' Whitewater business partners, James and Susan McDougal, and Arkansas Gov. Jim Guy Tucker, for bank fraud.

Mr. Ickes's power appears to have reached a zenith in the 1996 campaign-finance scandal. Federal investigators place him at the center of a conspiracy to shred the campaign-finance laws.

In a 1998 report to Attorney General Janet Reno seeking an independent counsel, Justice Department campaign-finance task force head Charles La Bella identified Mr. Ickes as the "Svengali" of a shrewdly constructed criminal enterprise. The "campaign finance allegations do not represent the typical criminal matter," Mr. La Bella wrote. "Rather, they present the earmarks of a loose enterprise employing different actors at different levels who share a common goal: bring in the money."

Each aspect of the sprawling campaign finance scandal--the White House coffees, illegal Asian money, the Buddhist Temple affair, soft and hard money, Lincoln Bedroom sleepovers, access to the president, payments for "photo opportunities," flights on Air Force One and Two, participation in trade missions, contacts with unions, membership in various Democratic National Committee forums and related entities--was linked by "certain common themes" and the "conduct of certain figures," Mr. La Bella reported. He focused on Mr. Ickes, who "assumed the role of Svengali, assuming power--with the imprimatur

of the president--to authorize DNC and Clinton/Gore expenditures, award media contracts and direct every aspect of the DNC and Clinton/Gore activities related to the reelection effort."

Mr. Ickes dismisses the La Bella report. "Mr. La Bella never proved anything," he said. "I viewed him as an outright partisan with a vendetta against the Clinton administration."

Despite repeated efforts by Congress, Mr. La Bella, Federal Bureau of Investigation Director Louis Freeh and others, Ms. Reno turned down all requests for an independent counsel in the campaign-finance matter. In 1998, Mr. Ickes returned to legal practice, running Meyer, Suozzi's Washington office and a lobbying firm, Ickes & Enright. In January 1999, Ms. Reno declined to appoint an independent counsel to investigate whether Mr. Ickes had lied to Congress about intervening in a strike on behalf of the Teamsters, major contributors to Mr. Clinton. A month later, Mrs. Clinton began her campaign for the Senate.

From the unions to Whitewater and campaign-finance practices, Mr. Ickes's true role, performed brilliantly, has been as consigliere to the dark side of the Clinton presidency. The great question before New York voters is whether the Ickes style, so successful for the Clintons, will be a template for the future of their state.

Mr. Morrison is a senior editorial page writer for The Wall Street Journal.

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October 26, 2000

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METRO MATTERS

Positioning for Credit on Cancer

By JOYCE PURNICK

THE politicization of diseases is an old story by now. Public officials so routinely enlist in a fight against the most high-profile malady of the day that even those offended by such transparent tactics have come to accept them. After all, political attention raises awareness and money — good things, whatever the motivation.

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It is also a good thing, though, for the public to focus occasionally on how the system works. Hence, we bring you the political subtext of the Breast and Cervical Cancer Prevention and Treatment Act, the one that President Clinton signed in private this week — without benefit of a public ceremony. A routine decision, said the White House press secretary, Jake Siewert, but one that happened to deny Representative Rick A. Lazio — Hillary Rodham Clinton's opponent — a little publicity.

Petty. Mr. Lazio was indeed a sponsor of that new law, which provides at least \$250 million in federal money over five years to treat working-poor women with breast or cervical cancer. You'd think the White House would give Mr. Lazio his due.

But what is his due? Less central than he and his staff members contend, in the estimation of several advocates for the bill and members of Congress. Nor was Mrs. Clinton's role as instrumental as the White House asserts, they say: she was supportive and made some calls, but was hardly in the trenches.

In fact, many lawmakers were involved, the bill's advocates say, and at various times they took the lead while Mr. Lazio, though the lead House sponsor, was not helpful or even reachable — especially when the measure drew Republican opposition. Why? One theory: Mr. Lazio was contemplating running for a House leadership position and did not want to alienate influential Republican

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conservatives, who objected to the bill because it would expand Medicaid.

As one leading lobbyist for the bill put it, "There were people who really played leadership roles. Rick Lazio played a role at times. There were times he made a difference. There were other times that he did not return our phone calls. And times that we had to go around him."

One of the bill's supporters, Representative Anna G. Eshoo, a Democrat of Northern California, goes further. She accuses Mr. Lazio of losing interest in the bill when he was not a Senate candidate, then rediscovering it after Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani announced that he had prostate cancer and dropped out of the race — opening the way for Mr. Lazio.

Before that, she said, he refused to help her find balancing budget cuts to pay for the measure, would not take on two conservative Republican members of Congress who were blocking the bill, and introduced a new version of the measure that had no financing and replaced 300 sponsors (including Ms. Eshoo) with three — Mr. Lazio and one congresswomen from each party who had survived breast cancer.

"This is not a pretty story about him," Ms. Eshoo said. "He introduced a bill without a dime in it. He ditched women across the country."

Mr. Lazio's advisers would not respond to specific charges. His chief of staff, Andy Ehrlich, said only that the congressman was "thrilled this is the law of the land; political credit at this point doesn't matter."

Officials with the National Breast Cancer Coalition, which led the campaign for the bill along with the American Cancer Society, said there was indeed a financing problem and that Mr. Lazio was reluctant to push his fellow Republicans. Ultimately, the financing was restored, backers led by Ms. Eshoo lined up majority support in the House, and a bill passed there and in the Senate this month. Then Representative Sue Myrick, Republican of North Carolina, persuaded the House to pass the Senate version — beating back a potentially fatal conservative amendment.

Many legislators in both the House and Senate were closely involved, said Fran Visco, president of the National Breast Cancer Coalition. Bill-signing ceremonies are nice, but no big deal, she said. "The story should not have been about that, but about the bill that is now law."

SINCE 1990 about 4,000 women have been diagnosed with breast or cervical cancer through federally financed screenings. Most could not afford treatment. The discrepancy came to the attention of Jan Eick-Swigert, an affluent woman from Long Beach, Calif., who has since died of breast cancer. She contacted the National Breast Cancer Coalition, which started reaching out to lawmakers.

Now maybe some women will get help — even without a photo op

at the White House starring candidates with sharp elbows.

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**TIMES
UNION**

By **LARA JAKES**, Political writer
First published: Sunday, October 29, 2000

Clinton, Lazio embark upstate for a final dash

Both camps rallying voters as the race
continues to be tight

[Visit our special section on the Senate race](#)

BUFFALO -- They boarded their respective buses, prepped their stump speeches and headed upstate Saturday for the final days of the once seemingly endless U.S. Senate campaign that promises to be bitterly fought down to the wire.

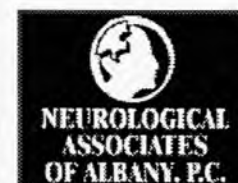
Whether amid bright orange pumpkins or surrounded by small-town supporters at a Elks Club, Democratic candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton and Republican hopeful Rick Lazio aggressively courted voters across upstate's expansive landscapes with Election Day nipping at their heels. New Yorkers head to the polls in nine days in the historic election that will determine whether a sitting first lady will be elected to the U.S. Senate -- or if voters have had enough of the Clinton family after their eight years in the White House.

Despite pleasantly chatting up supporters and cheerfully appearing with other officials and personalities, Clinton and Lazio indicated the race to the finish line will be bare-knuckled. The Democrat started her day by declaring the campaign had hit "a new low" after the state Republican Party admitted to linking her to the kinds of terrorist groups responsible for the fatal USS Cole bombing earlier this month.

Telephone calls from the state GOP charge that Clinton "supported terrorism" by accepting donations from an organization that "openly brags about its support for a Mideast terrorism group -- the same kind of terrorism that killed our sailors on the USS Cole."

Clinton last week returned \$50,000 she collected at a summer fund-raiser after learning that the event was sponsored by a mainstream Muslim group that includes some supporters of Hamas, an anti-Israel

**UNION
COLLEGE**



terrorist group, among its members. But she accused the GOP and Lazio of exploiting the bombing in Yemen this month that killed 17 U.S. sailors.

"I am just outraged," Clinton said Saturday morning while on a three-day upstate campaign swing. "I can't even imagine the kind of tactics that Mr. Lazio is condoning and using in his campaign when they stoop to really the level that I never thought we'd see. What they have done by injecting the deaths caused by the terrorist bombing by these young men and women is just unacceptable and everyone should be condemning it."

Aides to Lazio said the congressman's campaign had nothing to do with the calls, but state GOP spokesman Dan Allen said the party had no intention of disbanding that telephone campaign, which is intended to drive up Republican voter turnout in the tight race.

"We obviously stand by this," Allen said. "We're not going to apologize for Mrs. Clinton's record."

Recent statewide polls have shown Clinton and Lazio battling in a tight race, although the Democrat appears to have a 7-point edge in some surveys. Upstate, which generally constitutes 45 percent of the turnout in statewide races, Lazio has not been running as strong in recent weeks in the traditionally conservative region. His strategists said the congressman will remain upstate -- continuing his constant presence here in the last two weeks -- through Nov. 7.

He spent part of Saturday in Ballston Spa and Glens Falls after appearing on his Long Island home turf with Gov. George Pataki. It was a safe haven for Lazio in Ballston Spa, where a partisan crowd erupted into a cheer of "We want Rick! We want Rick!" when the congressman's Mainstream Express campaign bus pulled into the Elks Club on Hamilton Street.

"Ten more days to celebrate a great victory, and it's going to start right here in Saratoga County," Lazio said. "In ten days, this county is going to send a message to the state and this state is going to send a message to the country. That message is, New Yorkers can govern New York. ... Nobody from Little Rock, Arkansas or Hollywood, California, is going to tell a New Yorker who will represent New York in the Senate next year."

For Clinton, Saturday marked the first leg of a new "Hillary" bus tour in the last major upstate swing of a campaign she spearheaded in the region 16 months

ago. Her three-day trip, which will end in Albany on Monday, serves as a sort of bookend to her infamous and much ballyhooed "listening tour" last year that was meant to acquaint the New York newcomer to the Empire State.

She has since been dogged as a "carpetbagger" -- a title derided as "offensive" Saturday by actor Ben Affleck, who joined Clinton for a rally at Cornell University in Ithaca.

"Hillary Clinton, I mean, since, you know, Rick Lazio was running around the frat house in his underwear, has been a friend of children, has worked hard for women, for working families, for working families," Affleck said, addressing a crowd of students and families.

Clinton, joined by daughter Chelsea and Sen. Charles Schumer during the day, added: "This election is more about your lives and your futures than it is about mine. Because we're going to be electing a new president, we're going to be electing senators, and members of Congress who are going to make decisions about all kinds of issues that are going to directly and indirectly affect your lives."

As they have throughout the campaign, voters in Clinton's path Saturday seemed to intermittently embrace and reject the First Lady. In Ithaca, she was greeted by an enthusiastic crowd -- and a man shouting, "Mrs. Clinton, who did your husband rape today?" In Elmira, she was toasted with apple cider at a farmer's market while Steve and Kerry Plouse, veal farmers, watched with skepticism.

"She's going to get it, just because she's the president's wife," said Kerry Plouse, who said she was surprised and disappointed to see Clinton at the family market. "Just watch."

Then there was Harolyn Giordano, 54, who defended Clinton's out-of-state roots and connections to the scandal-ridden White House -- two of the Republicans' favorite drums to beat against the Democrat.

"She brings with her a wealth of knowledge and experience," said Giordano, who described Clinton as a role model. "I have a real problem with them making this a race about Hillary."

-- Staff writer Dina Cappiello contributed to this report.



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NEWS**Even Politicians Can't Hide Hate**

Ellis Henican

HILLARY CLINTON: Well, he seems like he has a very nice family and that, ah, he, ah, you know, has, ah, worked very hard, ah, and, ah, that, ah, you know, he is an attractive, ah, young man.

Ellis
Henican

RICK LAZIO: I think you are an attractive woman. I think you've got a very nice family. I'm sure you're a very good mother, as well.

This orgy of faint praise didn't come naturally. Gabe Pressman almost had to reach in with dental tools.

But after a couple of well-placed yanks, the veteran TV political reporter managed to extract something nice from each of the candidates for the U.S.

Senate from New York.

Three somethings, actually-clenched-teeth compliments for the other.

This was Friday afternoon at Rockefeller Center, the taping of the final candidates' debate. Barely a third of the way through, Pressman, in the moderator's chair, already seemed to be growing weary of all the angry sniping, all the personal charges, all the condescending back-and-forth.

He noted, not that he had to, that this has been an especially bitter campaign.

Said Pressman: "You would think, from all these things that I read coming over the transom and directly to us on the fax machine, that you dislike each other." Oh, really? Pressman could have chosen any of a thousand examples. He picked four charges more or less at random, two from each campaign.

"Hillary Clinton Plays Politics With Women's Health Again." "The Latest Distortions From the Clinton Campaign." "Lazio Points Finger, Plays Politics Instead of Voting for a Resolution Condemning Palestinian Violence." "Lazio's Soft-Money Hypocrisy." Then Pressman turned to Hillary Clinton, who was sitting stiffly to his left. "Name three things that you like about him," he said.

The first lady did seem momentarily caught off guard.

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And her syntax, normally smooth as a Westchester dinner plate, was all of a sudden dotted with verbal potholes.

But, ah, you know, she tried.

Lazio, who had more time to think of an answer, delivered his response without any audible "ahs" or "you knows." But then again, he probably shouldn't get too much extra credit for that. He had those extra seconds. And he mostly just aped the answers his opponent gave. Nice family, good-looking - yeah, yeah, yeah.

I recount this brief exchange in an hour-long debate not merely because it made the candidates so obviously uncomfortable, even though it was kind of fun to watch them squirm. A special moment had actually occurred.

These two, each as craven as any office-seeker we've ever seen around here, had finally reached a nadir of utter insincerity. Their views on one issue or another - remember issues? - might occasionally be hard to discern, twisted as they are by raging ambition, polling data and focus groups.

But on one subject at least, the feelings of both candidates are blindingly clear.

And identical.

They hate each other, that's for sure.

In truth, this entire U.S. Senate race was born in hatred, which is pretty much where it is likely to die. From the very start, everyone connected to this race has hated everyone else.

I don't need to tell you what a magnet for hatred Hillary Rodham Clinton is. Even in New York. Forty percent of our citizens tell pollsters they positively loathe the woman, wouldn't vote for her if she were running against a fireplug.

Which she might as well be, given the dearth of enthusiasm Rick Lazio has been able to generate.

His single greatest patron in Washington, remember, was House Speaker Newt Gingrich, and you know how people up here hate him.

On May 20, Lazio stepped in for an ailing Rudy Giuliani, a powerful hate-ee then reeling from the one-two punch of a cancerous prostate and a very angry wife. But in truth, Rick and Rudy never got along. Why should they, the way that Rick had been hectoring Rudy months before he dropped out of the race? Rick Lazio was never really a Rudy guy. He was always more a creature of George Pataki and Alfonse D'Amato, who've never gotten along with Rudy. But what's so strange about that? In the Republican politics of New York State, hatred has always been easier to find than love.

So here these last two were on Friday afternoon - Hillary and Rick - sitting together in a chilly television studio, sharing a single table for the very last time.

They uttered the words they were asked to, uttered them as quickly as they could.



Then they, ah, promptly returned to the hateful business at hand.



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NEWS

Clinton to Lazio: Bad Call Says GOP's phone effort a 'new low'

by **Sara Kugler and Stephanie Saul**
Staff Writers

Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday accused Senate opponent Rick Lazio of stooping to a "new low" with a phone-calling campaign linking her to terrorists, and Sen. Charles Schumer joined Clinton in urging Lazio to stop the calls.

The state Republican Party is sponsoring the phone calls that claim Clinton accepted money from a group that brags about its support for the kind of terrorism that killed U.S. sailors aboard the destroyer Cole, according to GOP spokesman Dan Allen. Neither Lazio nor Allen would apologize, and Allen said the calls would continue.

"He ought to call on these people to stop, there ought to be proof that they've stopped and I think they owe an apology to the families of these 17 young men and women," Clinton told reporters yesterday in Ithaca. "It is just a clear example of how desperate and sad their campaign has been." Schumer, who joined Clinton later in the day at a pumpkin farm in Elmira, said the phone calls were a "low shot, plain and simple and he ought to get those phone calls off the air." Schumer said such a campaign tactic "doesn't work - it backfires." Allen said, however, that the calls will continue to thousands of New Yorkers, despite Clinton's complaints.

"The calls are still going. We're not going to apologize for Mrs. Clinton's record," Allen said.

Clinton had accepted \$50,000 in contributions during a June fund raiser sponsored by the American Muslim Alliance, but she returned the money last week following a report that some members of the group have been supportive of violent means to secure a Palestinian state.

Campaigning in West Babylon with Gov. George Pataki yesterday, Lazio at one point seemed to distance himself from the calls, saying they were not made by his campaign.

But he also defended the practice, saying, "We don't need any advice from [Clinton adviser] Harold Ickes or Hillary Clinton on how to run a campaign in New York, especially from people who are now forced to return \$50,000 to people who associate themselves with terrorism and violence in the Middle East." The calls mentioning the Cole apparently are targeted to veterans and others with military connections. The

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targeted to veterans and others with military connections. The Republicans are calling Jewish voters with a similar message about Clinton's Muslim contributors in an attempt to lure them to Lazio's camp.

In another potentially controversial approach, a Republican Party source said the party would begin calling Catholic voters to inform them that Clinton accepted contributions from and hosted White House sleepovers for the former owner of a Chicago strip club. The Clinton campaign said it was aware some of those calls had been made. "It's a continuation of Congressman Lazio's attack strategy," said Clinton campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson.

The phone effort is a sign of the Republican Party's increasing role in Lazio's campaign in a last-ditch effort to assist the Long Island congressman.

Both campaigns, meanwhile, released reports that show their resources are dwindling as the election nears.

Clinton raised \$1.5 million from Oct. 1 through Oct. 18, but spent \$4 million and had \$472,000 on hand at the end of the period. Lazio raised \$3.9 million and spent \$8.7 million, ending the period with \$1.8 million.

Clinton attacked the phone-calling as part of a "continual campaign of insults" as she kicked off a bus tour in Ithaca, where she was joined by daughter Chelsea for a Cornell University rally. Actor Ben Affleck and the band Nine Days headlined the event.

Lazio, meanwhile, appeared with Pataki and congressional candidates Felix Grucci and Joan Johnson at a rally at West Babylon Junior High School before heading to campaign events in Ballston Spa, Glens Falls, Plattsburgh and Lake Placid.

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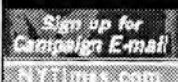
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October 29, 2000

Race for the Senate: Campaigns Soft-Pedal on Children and the Poor

By SOMINI SENGUPTA

The question of government services for poor families and children has largely been absent from the United States Senate campaign trail in New York. And yet it is among the most vexing issues that the next senator will have to face.

In 2002, when the federal welfare program comes up for reauthorization, Congress must decide whether to preserve, raise or reduce current funding levels and assess the circumstances of those who have yet to move from welfare to work. Many Republicans are likely to call for a reduction in funding for Temporary Aid to Needy Families, citing in particular the large drop in the nation's welfare rolls and the substantial surpluses that the decreases have generated over the last three years.

So far, neither the Democratic nor the Republican candidate has said much on the subject. In his stump speeches, Representative Rick A. Lazio has been virtually silent on welfare, and Hillary Rodham Clinton has said little beyond praising her husband's success in "ending welfare as we know

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The first two articles in this series examined the candidates' positions on education and on taxes.

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If the 2000 election were being held today and the candidates were Al Gore, the Democrat, George W. Bush, the Republican, Pat Buchanan, the Reform Party and Ralph Nader the Green Party candidate, would you vote for Al Gore, George Bush, Pat Buchanan or Ralph Nader?

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in "ending welfare as we know it."

But in recent interviews, remarks by the candidates or their spokesmen have yielded a somewhat surprising picture.

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Mr. Lazio says he will seek to expand funding for the program, with an eye toward broadening child care subsidies for those getting off welfare.

"Congressman Lazio believes welfare reform is one of the most important pieces of legislation and one of the greatest successes of the Republican Congress," said a spokesman, Michael Marr. "One area where the congressman thinks it could be made better and stronger is by giving greater flexibility on child care, more money and more flexibility."

Mrs. Clinton stopped short of taking a position on funding levels. "That's something we're going to have to take a look at," she said. "We have to take a hard look at the population."

She said she would, however, require states to provide a more detailed accounting of how they spend their welfare block grants and press for laws to create financial incentives for states that can show success in putting welfare recipients to work. "I'm going to be a strong voice for evaluating what works," she said.

As on many issues, it is difficult to properly compare the candidates' positions on government assistance programs. While Mr. Lazio has been ranked by numerous citizens' groups and advocacy organizations that measure the voting records of elected officials, there is no such measuring stick for Mrs. Clinton. But it is she who has made a name for herself as an advocate for children, despite the absence of a voting record.

She has served on the board of the Children's Defense Fund, the nonprofit organization based in Washington that is famous for its advocacy for public assistance for poor families, children's health insurance and early-childhood programs. Mr. Lazio has a legislative record that includes supporting aid for many children's programs. But he is also criticized for approving most parts of the Republicans' Contract With America, which opposed several entitlement programs.

And while Mrs. Clinton has said she was a driving engine for measures like increased funding for youth leaving foster care and health care coverage for uninsured children, she also sided with her husband, and against many of her friends in the antipoverty world, on the 1996 overhaul of welfare.

At the time, Marian Wright Edelman, president of the Children's Defense Fund and a friend of the first lady's, harshly criticized the president's acquiescence on the Republican-led welfare changes; Ms. Edelman's husband, Peter Edelman, resigned in protest from his administration post.

For his part, Mr. Lazio has voted to expand Head Start funding, to restore a child care block grant that had been slashed, and to restore funding to the Legal Services Corporation, which represents the indigent in court. Along with many Republicans, he sided with the Clinton administration in restoring some benefits to some legal immigrants. On issues considered important to the Children's Defense Fund, Mr. Lazio voted its preferred position 75 percent of the time in 1998 and 66 percent of the time in 1999. (He earned considerably lower points from the John Birch Society, taking its side 30 percent of the time in 1999.)

Neither candidate has taken a visible position on the most pressing antipoverty measures, like the revamping of welfare, said Deepak Bhargava, director of public policy at the Center for Community Change, a nonpartisan, nonprofit group based in Washington. Instead, he said, they have worked on more marginal items.

"Neither of them can be called a staunch defender of antipoverty programs," he said.

Mr. Lazio has sought to make his mark promoting housing measures intended for low-income people, Mr. Bhargava said, but he has also sided with the Republican majority on measures vehemently opposed by antipoverty groups. He supported a House Republican proposal to replace foster care entitlement financing with a block grant.

In 1996, he voted against an amendment allowing states to use block grant funds to provide non-cash assistance to children after their parents' welfare benefits had run out, and voted for an amendment limiting food stamps to able-bodied adults only if they worked. In 1998, he voted against a Democratic amendment to increase Section 8 housing assistance to families leaving welfare. He is not a co-sponsor of either of two bills, pending before Congress, to restore food stamps to all legal immigrants.

While Mr. Lazio's priorities can be viewed through his voting record, Mrs. Clinton's are virtually impossible to assess in the boxing ring of the Senate race.

"Mrs. Clinton's record has to be taken on faith," said Russell Sykes, vice president of the State Communities Aid Association, an Albany-based group that advocates on behalf of low- and moderate-income New Yorkers. "She's not had to be held to the public scrutiny of a vote. It's very easy, absent being confronted with an actual vote on a bill,

to say certain things. We have to basically believe that you support what you say you support rhetorically."

Mrs. Clinton has lately claimed credit for advancing several social service policy measures behind the scenes, saying that she was not interested in "getting credit" at the time, particularly in the aftermath of her failed efforts on health care reform.

On some of these measures, her influence is confirmed by Republican and Democratic lawmakers in Washington. Among the most widely cited is the 1999 Foster Care Independence Act, which nearly doubled federal expenditures on programs for teenagers who must leave foster care between ages 18 and 21. Shay Bilchik, executive director of the Child Welfare League of America, recalled that it was Mrs. Clinton who organized a conference on youth issues and lobbied on behalf of the measure. "That was really the first lady's staff that worked that issue," recalled Mr. Bilchik, who worked in the Justice Department's office of juvenile justice and delinquency prevention at the time.

The bill, which also allowed states and local agencies greater flexibility on how to spend the money, was introduced by Representative Nancy Johnson, a Republican from Connecticut. Mr. Lazio voted along with the overwhelming majority of Republicans for it.

Mrs. Clinton's role in pushing the 1997 Adoption and Safe Families Act, a sweeping law intended to speed up adoption, is somewhat contested. Republican lawmakers insist that the bill was their brainchild. Mrs. Clinton and her allies give her credit for its passage.

Carole Shauffer, executive director of the Youth Law Center, an advocacy group based in San Francisco, recalled that Mrs. Clinton's staff requested that she organize an event where the first lady could talk about the adoption measure. "She was very knowledgeable about the issues, including background that you wouldn't get from just reading the bill," Ms. Shauffer said. "I have no question that this was a personal issue for her."

The measure began with rare bipartisan support, but became fractious over two issues: when and how to terminate birth parents' rights to their children, and how much to spend on programs that prevent children from entering foster care. Some Democrats insisted on additional spending, said a child welfare agency head who was active in lobbying for the measure. Mrs. Clinton, said the official, helped persuade Republicans and Democrats to compromise. A Democratic aide involved in those talks recalled that Mrs. Clinton was vital in renewing negotiations after they broke down. The bill passed on the last day of the Congressional session in 1997. Mr. Lazio voted in favor of it.



"The Republicans will claim credit and the administration will claim credit," Ms. Shauffer said of the adoption law. "And I think they'll both be right."

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October 29, 2000

News Analysis: Clinton and Lazio Both Right on Upstate

By LESLIE EATON

If there is one place that Hillary Rodham Clinton and Representative Rick A. Lazio have butted heads — figuratively, of course — it is in upstate New York. To judge by their schedules (and the television images), the barnstorming candidates have attended every parade, pancake breakfast and preschool pageant north of Peekskill.

Their views on the upstate economy could hardly be more different. Mrs. Clinton sees upstate as deeply distressed, left out of the boom that has transformed New York City. Mr. Lazio contends that it has turned the corner economically, although he acknowledges that more needs to be done. She calls him an ostrich; he calls her a gloom-monger.

But if you travel around the state, reading the newspapers, eating in diners, talking to businesspeople and firefighters and lacrosse moms — behaving, in short, like a candidate without the cameras — you can discover something rather odd: both would-be senators are right.

Not about the name-calling. About the economy.

The upstate economy is certainly not in free fall the way it was just a few years ago, and in some places it has gotten a

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was just a few years ago, and in some places it has gotten a whole lot better. But the economic climate upstate does not seem nearly as vibrant as it does in the Hudson Valley, on Long Island or in New York City. Things are up upstate, but from a very depressed base.

H. Carl McCall, the state comptroller and a likely Democratic candidate for governor in 2002, agrees with Mrs. Clinton, a fellow Democrat. More surprisingly, he also agrees with Mr. Lazio, her Republican opponent. "One candidate has been more critical, which is helpful, and one has been more optimistic," he said. "I think they are both right." How can that be? The employment numbers upstate have improved, he said, but upstate residents "kind of expected to catch the boom downstate they hear so much about, and they know they are not doing as well."

Any understanding of upstate New York requires knowledge of things that may at first seem far afield from economics: history, geography, technology, psychology. And it must take into account one of the most unusual aspects of upstate: its steep population loss.

But getting a grip on upstate is not easy, in part because the place is so big and diverse. Drive north from New York City to Albany, 144 miles, and you will not even be halfway to the northern tip of the state. Hang a left for Dunkirk, and you are in for at least a five-hour drive. (It's 320 miles to the west.)

Blue-collar Buffalo, the state's second-largest city, has a not-so-friendly rivalry with white-collar Rochester, 70 miles away, and neither of them has too much in common with the Capital Region. Every upstate city or town seems to have not only its own favorite food, but also its own favorite sausages, from tiny-tinies in Troy to red hots in Lockport and white hot dogs in between (a Rochester specialty).

Economic conditions vary just as widely. In Buffalo, the number of jobs has edged up just 0.3 percent in the 12 months that ended in September, according to the State Department of Labor. Meanwhile, the average increase nationally was 2 percent, and in New York City the number of jobs rose by 2.5 percent. No wonder Buffalo citizens say they are dubious about the boom.

Head east to Glens Falls, north of Albany, and it is a different story. Jobs are growing there even faster than in New York City, by 2.7 percent. Unemployment is less than 3 percent, meaning that, basically, everybody who wants a job can get one.

Companies in the Glens Falls area, especially those that make medical equipment, are expanding rapidly, said Maury Thompson, the business reporter for The Post-Star in Glens Falls. "Every week I'm writing about 20 new jobs

here, 15 new jobs there," he said.

But whether people are satisfied depends a lot on whom you ask. Mr. Thompson said he was also writing about the woes of workers who until recently made \$12 or \$14 an hour at pulp or packaging plants that are now closed. They found new jobs quickly, but for less than \$10 an hour, so they feel as if they are struggling to get by.

Manufacturing has been declining for decades across America, so some of upstate's troubles are not unique. In some places, like Syracuse, manufacturing employment has actually been climbing, slowly, since 1997. In fact, overall employment has been rising there since 1993.

So why do some people there, and across New York State, describe their cities and towns in apocalyptic terms? The short answer is population loss.

Losing population can have a profound effect on a place. A city's tax collections shrink, but the same number of roads have to be plowed, and services like garbage collection and firefighting still have to be provided. Politicians, fighting over a shrinking pie, become even less cooperative. (Many parts of upstate are famous for their ferocious partisan politics.)

True, unemployment rates are low, but it is not because jobs are plentiful; it is just that workers are scarce. Big companies are often reluctant to move to a place with a shrinking population, for fear that they will not be able to fill future jobs.

And it is all too easy for communities to become insular; there are towns in New York where it seems as if every resident was born at the local hospital. Nostalgia for the glory days can have a tight grip, even if the last great time was when the Erie Canal opened in 1825.

For the worst case, look at Buffalo. From 1950 to 1990, a quarter of a million people — 43 percent of the population — moved away. Of course, twice as many left New York City, but they accounted for less than 10 percent of the population.

Since then, the population trends of the state's two biggest cities have diverged. Because of foreign immigration, downstate has been growing. According to federal census estimates, New York City and Long Island have gained 246,000 residents since 1990, but the total gain statewide is only 206,000. That means the upstate population has continued to dwindle, by about 40,000 residents.

The city of Buffalo now has fewer than 300,000 residents and has lost more than 30,000 people in the last decade, according to Census Bureau estimates. Some of them moved only to the suburbs, but the population of the whole

metropolitan area fell by 4 percent from 1990 to 1999. Rochester shrank, too, as did Syracuse, Binghamton, Jamestown and Elmira.

Utica and Rome, two small and neighboring cities near the heart of New York State, lost more than 7 percent of their population, almost 24,000 people, from 1990 to 1999, according to new data from the Census Bureau. The only metropolitan area that fared worse was Grand Forks, N.D.

Like Syracuse and other places around the state, Utica now finds itself with far too much housing, some of it abandoned, said Kevin M. Kelly, a self-described "social activist of the genteel sort" and president of a retail lumber company in New Hartford, just south of Utica.

Given the nature of his business, Mr. Kelly might be expected to press for people to repair those abandoned homes, which he estimates account for 10 percent of the housing stock. But, he contends, there are just not enough people to fill them; he wants them torn down. "The sooner these buildings are gone," he said, "the better we will feel."

Many people upstate are not waiting for the federal government to solve their problems. They are taking matters into their own hands and trying different approaches.

Buffalo finally abandoned its infighting to start a strong regional advertising effort. In Rochester, small entrepreneurs are picking up the slack left by layoffs at Kodak, Xerox and Bausch & Lomb. In tiny Clyde, retirees have returned home to try to improve the tourism trade. Syracuse is knocking down its abandoned housing, Troy is improving its waterfront, and Ogdensburg, far to the north, is experimenting with industrial recruitment efforts.

But drawing attention to the strengths of upstate may be the most important way that any federal politician can help the region.

Outsiders who travel there are often struck by the beauty of the countryside, the wonderful old houses, the charming downtowns, even the number of golf courses, which, along with the decreasing number of people, make it easy to get a tee time.

Of course, you have to "like the four seasons": upstate-speak for "it snows here." But it snows in Colorado, too, and Colorado is booming.

So as the candidates make their final swings through upstate, a central question remains: "How do you bring back the skilled people who you lost in the calamity of the early 1990's?" asked Marc Goloven, an ebullient economist for Chase Manhattan Bank who sees upstate as a hot growth area. "The major challenge now is to ensure that



people follow the jobs now being created."

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WE WARNED YOU

Sunday, October 29, 2000

We really hate to say we told you so - but we told you so. We said two years ago that if New York were to replace a United States senator of the majority party with a member of the minority party, bad things would happen.

But New York went right ahead and replaced a Republican, Alfonse D'Amato, with a Democrat, Charles Schumer.

Bad things happened.

Here's just one example.

No place in America is more dependent on mass transit than the New York Metro region. And Al D'Amato - working in concert with the retiring Daniel Patrick Moynihan - saw to it that Washington paid sufficient attention to New York's mass-transit needs.

Exit D'Amato.

Enter Schumer.

And New York's cut of federal transit cash promptly fell - from \$196 million in 1996 to \$64 million in 1999.

"We're certainly not getting our share," Steve Weber of the Regional Plan Association told Crain's New York Business last summer.

We'd call that an understatement.

This year alone, New York - with 30 percent of the nation's mass-transit riders - was to get a scant 1.5

percent of the \$1 billion Congress set aside for new projects.

Don't blame this on Schumer. It's how business is done on Capitol Hill - and, besides, what's done is done.

What New York needs now is a U.S. senator of that body's majority party.

Happily, the election of Rick Lazio to the Senate on Nov. 7 is guaranteed to do the trick.

If the Senate remains in Republican hands - and the smart money says it will - Republican Lazio will be well-situated to look after Gotham's needs.

But if it should shift to the Democrats, then Schumer will be the go-to guy. He's good at that.

So vote for Lazio.

We don't want to have to say we told you so ever again.

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Hillary Faces a Disturbing Voter Trend

The First Lady is counting on a strong Democratic turnout next month to beat Rick Lazio in the Senate race.



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While Clinton beat unknown primary foe Mark McMahon by a ratio of more than 4-to-1 statewide, he ran much more strongly in mostly white areas in southern Brooklyn and Queens.

In Brooklyn, McMahon beat Clinton in Borough Park's 48th Assembly District. That could be one reason Assemblyman Dov Hikind has been holding back on endorsing her.

McMahon's 1,861 votes were 59% of those cast, compared with Clinton's 1,305.

He also got 43% of the vote in Sheepshead Bay's 45th District and Bensonhurst's 49th.



Schwartz for NEWS
Mark McMahon

In Queens, McMahon got 37% in the 23rd District, which includes mainly white parts of Far Rockaway, 38% in Richmond Hill's 38th, and 31% in Elmhurst's 30th.

Since nobody knew who McMahon was, those votes can only be seen as anti-Clinton sentiment among Democrats.

It also is clear why her campaign is putting so much effort into get-out-the-vote efforts in black and Latino strongholds, including a scheduled visit this week to Assemblyman Vito Lopez's Bushwick clubhouse.

By comparison, Lazio is scheduled to campaign this weekend in Bay Ridge and Bensonhurst.

Clinton nearly shut McMahon out in the minority community. She tallied 95% in Fort Greene's 57th District and 94% in East New York's 40th — both have mainly African-American populations. She got 93% each in three largely black Queens districts — St. Albans' 29th, Queens Village's 33rd and the 31st, which includes mostly black areas of Far Rockaway.

She got 90% in Lopez's heavily Latino 53rd District.

One place Clinton counts on a strong get-out-the-vote bid is southeast Queens, where veteran City Councilman Archie Spigner's Guy R. Brewer United Democratic Club vows to go all out.

The way Spigner sees it, Queens will need lots of friends in high places because term limits will wipe out all 14 Queens City Council members next year.

"We have the chairs of the rules committee, housing and buildings, public safety, aging, higher education and consumer affairs, two of the three subcommittee chairs on land use and the speaker," Spigner said. "I don't think you'll ever again see such a concentration of influence as you now see in Queens."

Among those being forced out of office next year is Councilman Morton Povman of Forest Hills, who will retire as the longest-serving councilman ever. First elected in 1971, Povman's 30 years will beat by one the record held by the late Arthur Katzman, who represented Forest Hills and Rego Park.

"Nobody will ever beat me as long as there's term limits," said



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Povman, who succeeded the late Borough President Donald Manes in the seat.

100Staten Island Conservatives bounced chairwoman Mary Lou Shanahan this month in a power play orchestrated by Deputy Borough President Jim Molinaro, who wants to succeed his boss — Borough President Guy Molinari — in the 2001 elections.

Carmine Ragucci, who runs the Howland Hook container terminal for the Port Authority, is the new Conservative leader.

The question now is whether Molinaro can parlay Conservative support into backing by the larger Staten Island Republican Party. Assemblyman Robert Straniere — a registered GOPer — also is eyeing the beep job.

A Republican-Conservative split could benefit likely Democratic nominee Jay O'Donovan, who is barred by term limits from keeping his Council seat.

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LAZIO LEADS IN A RAZOR-CLOSE RACE: NEW POLL

Sunday, October 29, 2000

By MAGGIE HABERMAN



THAT'S MY BOY!
*Rick Lazio hugs his
mom, Olive, yesterday in
West Babylon, L.I.*
AP

Rick Lazio is clinging to a slim lead over Hillary Rodham Clinton as their Senate contest enters the final stretch - and has held strong with crucial Catholic and upstate voters, a new Post poll shows.

The statewide poll shows Lazio leading 47.4 percent to 45.1 percent among likely voters - but with a 4-point margin of error, the race remains a statistical tie that's "too close to call," pollster John Zogby said.

The new numbers show that both candidates have picked up support with the crucial pool of undecided voters after nearly round-the-clock campaigning.

Zogby's last Post poll, on Oct. 19, showed Lazio leading, 43 to 42 - also a virtual dead heat.

While Clinton has picked up new support among Jewish voters, Lazio has countered with a boost among Catholics, upstaters and suburbanites.

"Basically, what you have here is a very close race - too close to call," Zogby said.

"When all is said and done, [it's] probably a 1-point race. But the dynamic between the last poll and now is that the undecideds have begun to break, and ... they've broken toward Lazio."

Zogby said the numbers are important for Lazio, and said they reflect the GOP candidate breaking out of

being "just the anti-Hillary."

"Upstate, he's picked up the lion's share of undecided [voters]," Zogby said. "That is what he'll need to [balance out]" her overwhelming support in the Big Apple."

Some recent surveys by other pollsters have also shown the race virtually tied; others show Clinton with a lead of up to 7 points over Lazio. The latest Zogby poll shows that Lazio is ahead upstate, 53 percent to 39 percent.

That means Lazio has managed to maintain the recent support he's received in the Republican stronghold, where Clinton had been gaining ground, although the Democratic candidate has gained 7 points there since the last poll.

Also, after stumping heavily for Catholic votes, Lazio has a wide lead over Clinton with that voting bloc, 59 percent to 34 percent.

The poll of 613 likely voters, taken Thursday through yesterday, also shows Lazio making inroads in the suburbs, 56 to 34. In the last poll, he led by just 6 points.

However, Clinton has picked up undecided Jewish voters and has a commanding lead over Lazio, 69 percent to 27 percent - a gain from the last poll, when she had 60 percent.

The gain came despite a week fending off questions about accepting donations from a group that reportedly supports Palestinian violence against Israel.

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DIFFERENT SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT FOR HILL, RICK

Sunday, October 29, 2000

By CARL CAMPANILE

Education has emerged as a major issue in the campaign for Senate pitting Democrat Hillary Rodham Clinton versus Republican Rick Lazio.

Both candidates have made numerous visits to schools and run ads touting their education records and attacking their opponents.

Clinton has pushed education themes from the outset of her candidacy, though some of her proposals play to the powerful teachers unions that support her.

Lazio didn't outline his educational plans until September, more than three months after entering the race.

One issue clearly separates the two in the debate: Vouchers.

Lazio supports using federally financed vouchers to permit students in failing schools to attend a better public or private school.

Clinton opposes vouchers as undermining the public school system.

"That is the difference between myself and my opponent," Lazio told the Post.

Lazio has proposed \$5 billion in "opportunity scholarships - another name for vouchers - to help parents send their kids to better schools.

"The federal government should not forsake children attending failing schools," Lazio said.

Clinton - like the teachers union leaders who are among her staunchest backers - said vouchers ultimately hurt students in public schools.

She said more funds should be dedicated to improving public schools, not on vouchers.

"I know there are some who believe that vouchers are the way to improve our public schools. I believe they are wrong," she said.

"What they have done is to divert the much needed public funds for the few and weakened the entire system."

Clinton calls for testing candidates in subjects of expertise as a condition of teaching, though the state Education Department already requires teachers to pass certification exams.

Lazio goes further, giving states and school districts the option of testing teachers every five years. Teachers would get two chances to pass the follow-up tests.

"Two strikes and you're out. The stakes are just too high to take chances with our children's education," he said.

The United Federation of Teachers opposes Lazio's proposal, arguing it eliminates tenure protections.

On policy, both candidates support affirmative action - or racial preferences - in college admissions.

Clinton - like the teachers' unions - opposes individual merit pay to determine teacher salaries and raises. Instead, she supports school-based merit pay, offering bonuses of \$5,000 to all teachers for improved performance.

Lazio - like Mayor Giuliani - supports basing teacher pay on individual merit.

On sex education, Lazio said students should be taught abstinence to prevent pregnancies. But Clinton supports counseling children about other forms of birth control as well.

Both back voluntary school prayer. Lazio even voted for a bill that provided aid only to schools that permitted voluntary prayer, an intervention that Clinton opposes.

The debate has sometimes turned into a cafeteria food fight.

Clinton has attacked some of Lazio's anti-education votes in Congress - including ones that would have cut programs, funding of new teachers and abolish the

U.S. Dept. of Education.

Clinton, who once headed the Children's Defense Fund, headed an education reform panel when husband Bill was governor of Arkansas that called for a longer school day and teacher testing. But Lazio blasted the effort, saying spending went up while some test scores dropped.

The federal government finances only seven percent of school funding in the elementary and middle school grades .

But both candidates offer big spending proposals. While Clinton's ideas are in sync with the Democratic Party, Lazio calls for spending far beyond what GOP presidential candidate George W. Bush recommends.

Clinton recommends \$130 billion in additional federal spending on education over the next 10 years, while Lazio proposes about \$100 billion.

"New York is a strong activist state when it comes to education. Lazio can't afford to be as conservative as Bush," said Jack Jennings, head of the Center for Educational Policy, a not-for-profit group.

Lazio would dedicate \$60 billion to finance federally-mandated programs for the disabled. Educators and local elected officials have long complained about having to shoulder the costs for the program.

Clinton proposes \$20 billion.

The federal government now picks up only 12 percent of the costs of special education.

Both candidates propose funds to help hire more teachers and support alternative certification to make it easier for career-changers to become teachers.

Clinton backs some of the plans championed by presidential candidate Al Gore, including spending \$20 billion to expand pre-kindergarten programs, and \$5 billion for after-school programs.

She also supports the hiring of \$100,000 teachers to reduce class size, an initiative of President Clinton.

Lazio would give school districts more flexibility by letting them spend \$10 billion as they see fit.

Both also urged the federal government to spend billions of dollars in school construction, although the first lady charged Lazio flip-flopped on the issue because he voted against school construction proposals

in Congress.

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From: News and Views | Beyond the City |
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Hil: GOP Exploits Tragedy Rips calls about fatal ship blast

By WILLIAM GOLDSCHLAG in Ithaca, N.Y.
and JOEL SIEGEL in New York
Daily News Staff Writers

Hillary Rodham Clinton accused state Republicans yesterday of "exploiting" the bombing deaths of 17 U.S. sailors by blitzing voters with phone calls that charge she has "Arab" donors who embrace such terrorism.

"This is a new low," Clinton said, barely concealing anger as she met reporters in Ithaca. She said rival Rick Lazio and the GOP "owe an apology to the families of the sailors" killed in the Oct. 12 attack against the destroyer Cole in Yemen.

The congressman was unapologetic, even as he sought to distance himself from the phone-bank operation by saying, "These are not phone calls that are done by my campaign."

"We don't need any advice from ... Hillary Clinton how to run campaigns in New York, especially from people who are now forced to return \$50,000 to people who associate themselves with terrorism and violence in the Middle East," he said after a rally with Gov. Pataki in West Babylon, L.I.



Drew AP

Tensions flared between Hillary and Rick at Friday's debate.

The state GOP defended the calls, although a central allegation in them appears to be inaccurate, and the GOP could not provide information to support it.

It was a day of harsh rhetoric that was unusual even for the overheated Senate race, and it suggested that Middle East politics will play a key role in the final days of the campaign.

The GOP phone banks are targeting more than 1 million voters — one message for Jews, another for non-Jews.

Non-Jews hear that "the Daily News reported ... Clinton



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attended a \$50,000 fund-raiser where she accepted a plaque and money from an Arab organization that openly brags about its support of a Mideast terrorism group, conducting the same kind of terrorism that killed 17 of our sailors."

The script read to Jewish voters doesn't mention the Cole bombing, but adds lines to say the "Arab" group backing her supports "Hamas," which "our own State Department calls a terrorist organization because of its attacks on Israeli victims. Mrs. Clinton's actions prove she is no friend of Israel."

The GOP launched the calls after the Daily News reported Wednesday that the American Muslim Alliance took credit for a fund-raiser that produced \$50,000 for Clinton's candidacy.

The group's leader had told The News that while he backs the Palestinian cause through peaceful means "first and foremost," he also accepts UN resolutions that allow for Palestinians to use armed force.

Clinton then returned the \$50,000, saying she was never told of the group's involvement. She said she was offended by remarks attributed to members of the alliance and is a staunch supporter of Israel.

The News story did not state that the American Muslim Alliance backed terror groups, as the phone scripts claim.

It reported that Abdurahman Alamoudi, who has been supportive of Hamas and is a member of another group — the American Muslim Council — gave Clinton \$1,000. Clinton also refunded that money.

GOP spokesman Dan Allen said the scripts would not be changed. He said of the American Muslim Alliance, "To get support from somebody like that is wrong."

Lazio also charged yesterday that Clinton's campaign tried to hide Alamoudi's donation by describing him in records as from the "American Museum Council." A Clinton aide called the discrepancy a typographical error. Lazio and the GOP "owe an apology to the families of the sailors".

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HILLARY BLASTS GOP OVER TERROR-LINK CHARGE

Sunday, October 29, 2000

By GREGG BIRNBAUM and ROBERT HARDT Jr.

Hillary Rodham Clinton said yesterday she was "outraged" the state GOP was making phone calls linking her with the bombing of the USS Cole and demanded rival Rick Lazio apologize to victims' families.

"I believe that the Republican Party and Congressman Lazio owe an apology to the families of the sailors who died in the terrorist bombing of the USS Cole," the Democratic Senate candidate said, blasting the GOP calls as "a new low."

Clinton was reacting to a report in The Post yesterday revealing the state Republican Party is making phone calls to over 500,000 undecided voters, telling them the first lady accepted money from an Arab organization that "openly brags about its support for a Mideast terrorism group, the same kind of terrorism that killed our sailors on the USS Cole."

Lazio made no apology and charged Clinton with trying to hide an Arab-American donation to her campaign. State Republican officials said the calls were appropriate - and will continue.

Seventeen sailors were killed two weeks ago in a terrorist bombing of the guided-missile cruiser Cole off the coast of Yemen.

Clinton joined her husband at the memorial service for the sailors in Norfolk, Va.

"To go beyond the pale, as they've done here, really deserves the condemnation of everybody: Republicans, Democrats, independents, anyone who cares about the quality of our political process," said Clinton, whose campaign also released a statement from war hero Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.) ripping Lazio.

During a press conference on Long Island, Lazio asked in disbelief, "I should apologize?"

Lazio scoffed, "I don't think we need instructions from the Arkansas political machine that Mrs. Clinton affiliates with . . . on how to run New York campaigns."

"Especially people who were forced to return \$50,000 to people who associate themselves with terrorism or violence in the Middle East," Lazio added, referring to a fund-raiser for Clinton that some charge was sponsored by the American Muslim Association.

The Republican Senate hopeful said the calls were not being made by his campaign and that there was no attempt by the GOP to conceal the fact the party was running the phone bank.

Republican Party spokesman Dan Allen defended the calls and said they would continue, along with other calls targeting Jewish voters.

Lazio also repeatedly refused to answer when asked if he believed Clinton supports terrorism, as the GOP phone message charges.

Lazio and Gov. Pataki, who made a campaign stop with the GOP hopeful, accused the first lady of trying to hide the affiliation of one of the Arab-American contributors to her campaign.

The \$1,000 donation - since returned by Clinton - was from Abdurahman Alamoudi, of the American Muslim Council, but it was recorded on the first lady's publicly available campaign-finance report as the "American Museum Council."

"That's the real story," Lazio said.

The Clinton campaign said it was an innocent mistake.

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UNION**

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First published: Sunday, October 29, 2000

Clinton for the Senate

The First Lady offers a bold and practical plan to help upstate

It seemed presumptuous, if not preposterous, not so long ago that Hillary Rodham Clinton might be the next senator from New York. Why her? And why New York? The questions about her suitability as a candidate and her real motives as a political figure were legitimate ones.

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan spoke up about her "Illinois-Arkansas enthusiasm," not quite a ringing endorsement. We drew up a Lettermanesque Top 10 list to question her familiarity with the state and assess her positions.

Close to two years later, however, Mrs. Clinton has emerged as clearly the better of the candidates to replace Mr. Moynihan. Her knowledge of this large and extremely diverse state and her advocacy for government policies on its behalf are most impressive. Both are the result of a tireless campaign where the early blunders have given way to a formidable savvy as a politician in her own right, not just in her husband's inner circle.

Mrs. Clinton has become sensitive, shrewdly so, to the needs of the upstate region. Her emphasis of candor over shielded optimism about the upstate economy is what most sets her apart from her opponent, Rep. Rick Lazio.

Mr. Lazio said in their first debate that the region's economy had experienced improvement, a statement that quickly enough became the source of a rather awkward retreat. Mrs. Clinton is unafraid of the political implications of presenting the region as it is. And she's articulate in describing upstate as it should be -- a leader in an age where the manufacturing economy has given way to the information technology economy. Her support for \$100 million in tax credits for investment in telecommunications infrastructure is a sensible step toward that goal. So is her commitment to encouraging high-tech jobs here and discouraging New York's well-trained work force from leaving.

Mrs. Clinton also has a sound strategy for bringing down energy costs through more deregulation of utilities, and for lowering the region's air fares by having government take the appropriate steps toward fostering more competition among airlines.

She is similarly deft in advocating sensible policies, fiscal and social, on a national and world level.

That's not to say that Mr. Lazio is insensitive to upstate, or that he has little to contribute to the debate about what's best for the region and the state as a whole. But his grasp and vision of New York doesn't match Mrs. Clinton's. She started traveling the state almost a year before he did. Her legwork and homework have paid off.

Mr. Lazio has been an honest and responsive congressman from Long Island, and not the Newt Gingrich clone he's been relentlessly portrayed to be. He's been bold at times, helping to make a ban on "soft money" political contributions the issue it needs to be, and daring to resist more casino gambling as the economic panacea its supporters present it as. Had he been in this race as long as Mrs. Clinton, he most likely would have been able to make a stronger case for his candidacy.

Nor does an endorsement of Mrs. Clinton come without reservation. She invites this criticism: In voting on Supreme Court nominations she would apply too rigid a standard on abortion rights. There should be no such litmus test for judges.

An endorsement also comes with lingering questions about her fund-raising as a Senate candidate and her activities before she became one. If only her mastery in discussing issues and policy extended to questions about herself. She shouldn't be vowing, for instance, never again to use official White House invitation lists for campaign fund-raising purposes. She should have learned from the earlier national embarrassment of renting out the White House to the biggest donors.

She shouldn't be lamenting eight years of being a constant target for government investigators so much as she should be acknowledging her own White House experiences. It wasn't just the intense enmity of the political opposition that put the First Lady's activities under such scrutiny.

But a more forthcoming Mrs. Clinton, as open as she is smart, will do more than earn our deliberative vote, which's she done already. That person will earn our unqualified support.

Such is the challenge for Mrs. Clinton, senator in the making.



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From: News and Views | Opinion |
Sunday, October 29, 2000

Hillary and Rick: Safe, Bland and Dull

As editorial boards endorse candidates, making the case for this or that one, many civic-minded New Yorkers remain undecided. Add me to that number. It's not so much that we're Hamlet-like. We just can't get excited about the choices.



E.R.
SHIPP

Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rick Lazio have yet to convince New York voters to turn out for a race that many have described as dull. The greater the exposure, it seems, the less we know about candidates who are programmed to stay on message. These candidates — as well as Al Gore and George

W. Bush — must have once been so real, so spontaneous. Passionately idealistic, perhaps, beyond the endurance of those around them if they were anything like the politician wanna-bes I've known. But whatever was there has been remixed, kneaded and rolled out into safe blandness. Dullness.

Their issues — and the constituencies to which they pitch their messages — are predictable. With Lazio and Clinton, of late, it's largely Israel, the Palestinians and who loves the former more while condemning the latter more. Truth be told, most New Yorkers don't care who kissed whom (Clinton and Suha Arafat) or who shook hands with whom (Lazio and Yasser Arafat). After all, politicians do such things, don't they? What they don't do enough of is talk candidly about the issues that matter to most of us who trek to those nearly-empty polls.

Playing it safe means that despite the staged disagreement during so-called debates, the differences between the candidates aren't all that apparent on the issues they choose to bring before the electorate. A recent New York Times analysis, for instance, revealed that when it comes to foreign policy, Lazio and Clinton differ "only at the margins." Go figure.

Here are some of my questions: What is the real cost to New Yorkers of some of their proposals — and those of the presidential candidates? What are their views on how government should address the growing gap between rich and poor? Is it realistic to think religious institutions and nonprofits can address the needs of the poor? How would they improve this state's schools?

By what standards would they judge nominees for the U.S. Supreme Court, men and women who will shape policy long after Sen. Clinton or Sen. Lazio — or President Bush or President Gore — has left the scene? Are they rabidly partisan or capable of bringing bipartisan rationality to the Senate?

Though she has crisscrossed New York for 16 months — running in part on her husband's record of political achievement and in part from his record of personal failure — Hillary Clinton still gives the impression that the Senate is not really for her. She can serve humanity better elsewhere, one suspects, than she can as a member of that Club of 100 in Washington. But to paraphrase a jazz standard, it'll have to do until the real thing comes along. (And Hillary will have to do until the real thing comes along for state Democrats, who, in giving the nod to Clinton of Illinois, Arkansas and the District of Columbia, virtually declared they had no worthy contenders among their own ranks.)

When Lazio arrived at Shea Stadium last week for Game 3 of the World Series, he was flanked by Gov. Pataki and Mayor Giuliani, giving the distinct impression that he was being



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propped up by the more substantial guys. It was an unfortunate reminder that Lazio, the un-Hillary, has little going for him but boyish charm. Like Bush, he's one of Campaign 2000's likable lightweights.

A New York magazine poll showed Clinton would win hands-down if the race were merely about issues like improving schools, improving health care, protecting Medicare and Social Security and getting the state its fair share from Washington. She was seen as more intelligent and senatorial.

But Lazio was seen as more honest and likable and, thus, in a close race. Imagine. An election in our grand representative democracy is a beauty contest: Which contestant has the most charm?

Frankly, the only convincing reason to vote for one of them Nov. 7 is that we must.

Voters like myself are 'undecided' because we're uninspired.

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HILLARY DOCTORED HIS IDEAS

Sunday, October 29, 2000

By *ROD DREHER*

THE doctor whose ideas formed the basis for the 1993 Clinton health-care proposal blames "know-it-all" Hillary Rodham Clinton's arrogance, hunger for recognition and ideological rigidity for dooming the plan he'd worked on over two decades.

From the barricades of the Hillary-care revolution, Dr. Paul Ellwood picked up a hard-knocks education in the way the temperamental first lady handles public-policy matters.

"Blame the other side for your own failings, arrogantly approach things that you don't necessarily know anything about and be pretty much for greater government control of things rather than having the private sector involved in solving problems," he says.

"The Bush campaign likes to call the plan a government takeover of America's health-care system," Dr. Ellwood says. "It wasn't when it was handed to the Clintons."

Dr. Ellwood, a physician who describes his political leanings as "obsessively independent," came to the project with more than 20 years of full-time experience thinking about and debating health-care policy. He had worked on health policy with every presidential administration since Lyndon Johnson's.

In 1970, he began convening meetings of professionals from various branches of the health-care industry at his Wyoming condominium. They became known as the Jackson Hole Group.

"This group reached a market-oriented consensus on an approach to health care that was called 'managed competition,'" he says. "There was pretty much agreement that everybody was going to have to make some sacrifices if we were going to proceed in that

direction."

The Jackson Hole Group first came to Bill Clinton's attention during the 1992 Democratic primaries, when a New York Times reporter (!) phoned Dr. Ellwood and asked him to send some material to the Arkansas governor, who felt politically vulnerable on the health-care issue. Dr. Ellwood did as he was asked, and never heard back from the campaign.

Five days after Clinton was inaugurated, he appointed his wife to head a task force charged with developing and selling a proposal to rein in health-care costs and give medical coverage to all Americans.

"Then the next thing we heard was that they were going to appoint this massive committee, and anybody connected with the health-care industry was going to be excluded," he says.

"We were the enemy. We needed to be reformed. You cannot imagine how insulting this was."

The committee Mrs. Clinton eventually assembled was packed with opponents of managed competition, Dr. Ellwood asserts.

"That was a warning. Managed competition really moved health care toward the market, to the right. These advisers were the people who didn't want it that way. They wanted it to be all Medicare."

After first being rebuffed, Dr. Ellwood and several allies got the opportunity to meet Mrs. Clinton to explain their concerns, including those about rumors the Clintons wanted to impose price controls on the health-care industry.

"One of the points I tried to make in the meeting was that health-care costs were moderating, and if they wanted to turn the health-care system against them, they should push the price-control idea," he says.

"When I said that prices were moderating, Mrs. Clinton said 'You're wrong about that!'" he says, still incredulous. "Aside from being a doctor, I had been working on health-care policy for 25 years."

How did Team Hillary mangle the Jackson Hole plan?

"They moved it to the left. They've had much more in the way of public controls and intervention in the plan," says Dr. Ellwood.

"Furthermore, they proposed using price controls as the way of saving money if the market didn't work. We would never have done that. And they were unwilling

to go along with any of the bipartisan approaches."

Mrs. Clinton's unwillingness to collaborate with members of Congress - which the Democrats controlled - is what sticks most in the doctor's mind from those days.

"She found it difficult, I think, to share power and the limelight with other members of Congress."

Although he won't take sides in the New York Senate contest, the physician says he suspects Rick Lazio would be a more bipartisan, collaborative senator.

"He's much less ideological, and that's certainly what's needed if we're going to make any progress on health care, or anything else in the Senate."

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One in nine women will battle with breast cancer.

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FIRST LADY ALREADY FLUNKED A TEST IN EDUCATION REFORM

Sunday, October 29, 2000

By ANDREA PEYSER

HILLARY and Rick want Granville Leo Stevens. Badly. He may be one of, oh, about 36 desperately courted New Yorkers who still don't know for whom they'll vote in the U.S. Senate race. Stevens, who is black and a Democrat, is as surprised about that as anyone.

"The situation is surreal," Stevens, 53, says.

"The Democrats have traditionally been reformers. Now, guess what?

"A lot of the education reforms this year are coming from Republicans. You look at the so-called Democrats, they're anti-reform. They're anti-vouchers. They're for the status quo."

Stevens is the father of a second-grader who attends public school in Manhattan's District 2. Education is his "litmus test" for a candidate. And Hillary Clinton, who touts her record on children and families as second to none, isn't faring so well on the Stevens exam.

This is a hot year for education, as candidates grope for votes by vowing to heap untold riches on public schools. Or, as Professor Joseph Viteritti of New York University put it, "they're staging a bidding war."

But all the noise ignores the fact that the federal government provides a tiny fraction of schools' budgets - less than 10 percent in the city - making a senator's potential impact negligible. Still, Clinton and Lazio have developed education programs that say less about what they expect to achieve than the way they think, and who their friends are.

There are moderate differences. Clinton wants teachers to take competency tests once, as a condition of hiring; Lazio wants to retest them every five years. The vast area where Lazio and Clinton differ can be summed up in a single word:

Vouchers.

Vouchers - using public money to fund private-school tuition for poor students in low-performing schools. Rick wants to use funds from the federal surplus to pay for vouchers, though he prefers to call them "scholarships," rather than risk uttering the V word.

Hillary, who is supported by the teachers' union, wants nothing to do with them.

Voters like Stevens, tired of waiting, believe vouchers are the best bet for saving students now.

Hillary's relatively safe education plan seems at odds with the picture she paints of herself as a fearless reformer of Arkansas' public schools. Perhaps it's time to take a look at what she did there.

While Hillary calls school reform her greatest achievement, her critics might dub it Prelude to a National Health Care Disaster.

In the state that once served as the first lady's political petri dish, Hillary in 1983 was in charge of her then-governor husband's efforts to increase the sales tax. That is, she pushed through a raft of education reforms that enabled Bill Clinton to raise the sales tax by a penny. What did the money buy?

Reviews of Hillary's efforts are mixed: Some classes got smaller. Some standards got tougher. And Hillary angered her union pals by requiring teachers to pass a competency test - a test so easy, someone with an eighth-grade Arkansas public education should be able to pass. Still, it was something.

But as told in "The First Partner" by Joyce Milton (William Morrow 1999), Hillary embarked on her public-relations tour of the state's schools with the reforms already written in stone.

"None of (the proposals), including smaller classes, was a magic bullet that would fulfill the expectations the governor was raising," Milton wrote.

Some smaller school districts were pummeled by a blizzard of required paperwork, and they lost funds due to an initiative to equalize funding. Ultimately, Arkansas' students remained near the bottom of the nation in most measurable areas of academic merit.

Clinton's policy person, Neera Tanden, did not return calls for comment.

Lazio spokesman Bryan Flood said Clinton's dictatorial, big-government style of politics won't fly in New York.

"Mrs. Clinton talks about a 100,000 new teacher program. We don't think we should tell school districts how to spend this money," said Flood. "Leave it to local legislators and parents how to spend tax money."

Stevens' goals are more humble - and profound.

He doesn't want to see another student waste his young life in a failing school.

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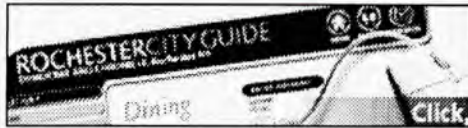
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Making her case, voter by voter

By Michael Caputo
Democrat and Chronicle

(October 29, 2000) -- The automatic doors at the Tops Friendly Market part and in walks the first lady of the United States. She is followed by an entourage of local dignitaries, Secret Service agents, campaign managers and the damp chill of January.

Hundreds inside the Upper Falls Boulevard supermarket applaud. Hillary Rodham Clinton begins shaking hands, signing autographs. The crowd snakes down the aisles, past shelves of beauty products and coolers of meat.

A woman tells Clinton about the perils of the welfare system. An AT&T telephone worker describes her fears of further job losses here.

A Tops employee says, "I work part time, they don't give me benefits. So we need to raise the minimum wage."

Clinton listens, nodding.

"She's going out of her way to demonstrate her empathy," says Mayor William A. Johnson Jr., standing nearby as Clinton orders from a deli and journalists record the event. "That's the way to go."

The 53-year-old Clinton is three weeks away from making formal what seems inevitable -- a run for the U.S. Senate in New York for the seat Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan will vacate. The first stage of Clinton's candidacy, what she calls her listening tour, is winding down.

At this point, the Illinois native -- who has bounced from Arkansas to Washington, D.C. -- has lived in the Empire State for six days.

But the woman who critics say has no home seems right at home with the

Hillary Clinton

Political affiliation:
Democrat.

Born: Oct. 26, 1947, in Chicago.

Residence: Chappaqua, Westchester County.

Personal: Married; one daughter.

Religion: Baptist.

Education: Bachelor's degree from Wellesley College in 1969. Law degree from Yale Law School in 1973.

Experience: Partner in Rose Law Firm from 1974 to 1975. Professor at University of Arkansas Law School in 1974. Chaired the Arkansas Education Standards Committee. Founded Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families. Served on the board of directors of several companies, such as Wal-Mart and TCBY; nonprofit organizations, including the Children's Defense Fund and Arkansas Children's Hospitals; and the Center on Education and the Economy, then based in Rochester. In 1993, chaired the Task Force on National Health Care Reform. Wrote the book *It Takes A Village*.

Political experience: First run for public office.

On the issues

home seems right at home with the crowd. Her celebrity status gives her an entree to voters that few statewide candidates have enjoyed.

The crowd treats her like royalty, never uttering such words as Whitewater, Travelgate, Monica.

Her celebrity is a double-edged sword, however; plenty of people detest the first lady because of the scandals of the Clinton administration. She has tried to keep her distance. Her bumper stickers and lawn signs feature her first name only. Although her daughter, Chelsea, occasionally campaigns with her, the president rarely does.

Yet she can't shake her past. Over the next 10 months of campaigning, when Clinton walks into a mall or visits a local company, she will face those who wear dour expressions and move to the back. Or simply leave.

Just before she dropped by a Chili diner in April, Robert Cronin asked for his food to go. He didn't want to stick around.

"I don't think she's very honest. And why doesn't she run in her own state?" asks Cronin, minutes before Clinton arrives.

Clinton knows about the Robert Cronins of the world. So she sifts through the voters who adore her and those who loathe her, to find the few undecideds she could win over.

As candidate Clinton puts it: "As long as I can make my case, that's all anybody running for public office can ask."

On the podium

On this crisp April morning at the Almeter Dairy Farm in Wyoming County, the parked cars of townspeople and journalists line the dirt road.

Dan Hennenberger, assistant chief of the nearby Sheldon Volunteer Fire Department, is among those gathering in the shadow of a grain silo, where Clinton will speak. He's not sure who gets his vote. But, he says, he couldn't care less about Hillary Clinton's relationship with her husband.

"What (Bill Clinton) did, he has to answer to two people," Hennenberger says while setting up a podium, "the man upstairs and the woman who will stand on this podium."

On the issues

ABORTION

Favors abortion rights.

ECONOMY

Would offer tax credits for new technology investments, assisting small and medium-sized businesses by creating a new technology extension program.

Would make high-speed Internet access more widely available for upstate New Yorkers.

Supports tourism as a primary economic resource. This includes making sure that Congress approves the designation of the Erie Canal as a National Heritage Corridor. Also encourages funding and promotion of major historical sites from the Baseball Hall of Fame to the homes of Susan B. Anthony and Harriet Tubman.

Wants lower fuel costs and air fares.

CHILD CARE

Would invest in more after-school programs.

Would expand the Family and Medical Leave Act.

EDUCATION

Opposes school vouchers.

Supports charter schools.

Would extend learning time and create smaller class sizes.

Would create a National Principal Corps, a new initiative focused on attracting and keeping school leaders, attracting 10,000 principals over five years.

Supports a National Teacher Corps that would help more than 75,000 talented people each year become teachers in

Clinton, wearing a yellow fleece jacket, addresses the crowd of about 70 people while cows with tags in their ears look on blankly. Clinton has never held elective office and has no voting record. Yet she talks confidently about how a dairy compact will help upstate farmers. She calls for lowering, although not eliminating, the estate tax -- important to farmers who want to pass along their family farms.

Hans Boxler, one of a number of farmers who queue up to ask questions, wants her to talk about federal guidelines that force farmers to adhere to strict conservation rules. Afterward, Boxler says he's not sure if Clinton won his vote today, but "her knowledge surprised me."

By this point, Clinton has ended her listening tour and begun speaking. She issued a health care agenda at Strong Memorial Hospital and an upstate economic plan in Buffalo.

She works around the questions about her past, which mostly come during tightly controlled press encounters. She gives one press briefing a day to those reporters who follow her. She grants short one-on-one interviews with local media.

Clinton's past has been dissected time and again in articles and books. Clinton stated more than once in interviews with the *Democrat and Chronicle*: "I'm the most investigated person in American history."

Bring up past problems and she's likely to deflect the question -- and in one-on-one interviews, she can be downright curt.

Her most direct answer comes during the first Senate debate, in September, when *Meet the Press* host Tim Russert asks Clinton whether she would apologize to the American public for misleading them about her husband's relationship with an intern.

"Obviously, I didn't mislead anyone," Clinton replies. "I didn't know the truth."

When Clinton formally accepted the New York State Democratic nomination -- just a few weeks after the Almeter Farms visit -- Irondequoit voter Caroline Ganz, a 54-year-old child care worker, said she was undecided about the Senate race.

A few weeks after the September debate, Ganz says she has moved to Clinton's corner. "She's been tested by fire. She's a different lady than she was before she got into the White House."

One by one

become teachers in high-need schools. This proposal includes an initiative to provide college scholarships to 60,000 young people annually who commit themselves to teach in high-need schools for at least four years.

Would provide federal matching grants to school districts to reduce the size of their schools.

GUN CONTROL

Supports most gun control legislation.

Supports stricter legislation that includes requiring anyone wanting to buy a new handgun to be licensed and getting the Consumer Product Safety Commission to regulate gun manufacturers.

HEALTH CARE

Favors patient bill of rights.

MEDICARE

Would add prescription drug benefit to Medicare.

SOCIAL SECURITY

Opposes privatizing Social Security.

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By late June, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani has long since dropped out of the race. But polls show that his replacement, Rep. Rick Lazio, has picked up much of Giuliani's support.

For Clinton, every vote counts as she continues to court upstate. After a talk in Buffalo, she stops at a mall in nearby Amherst. She shakes hands and meets each person's eyes with her own.

When she reaches Sheila Bunda and her two young sons, Clinton comes to a halt. Bunda grips her hand and says, "I wanted you to understand that I lost my job and I'm having a hard time."

The single mother from Buffalo became unemployed when Key Bank moved its operations to Cleveland.

"I love this area and I don't want to leave it," says Bunda. "I'm going to be looking for specifics from you."

Clinton mentions her economic plan for upstate, promises to send Bunda a copy, even asks about her computer abilities. Bunda says she needs retraining.

"I want to provide you with more support while you go through that period," says Clinton, waving over an aide to get more information from her.

Clinton's campaign later gets Bunda's resume and tries to hook her up with a dot.com company -- to no avail. Despite all that effort, Bunda will later say her vote is going to Lazio because she mistrusts the Clintons.

In her sights

It was there during her discussion with Bunda. It was there when she toured the Jewish Home of Rochester, when she addressed citizens at the Voice of the Voter forum, when she pressed the flesh at the Local 435 Laborers union hall in the city.

"The Gaze" is how Deputy Mayor Jeff Carlson describes Clinton's ability to lock eyes with each person she meets.

"She's never looking over a person's shoulder looking for someone else," says Carlson, who has coordinated Clinton's Rochester appearances. "She doesn't do that politician's wander."

To Marc Tucker, the gaze is emblematic of Clinton's drive. Tucker is executive director of the National Center for Education and the Economy, an organization devoted to education reform that was based in Rochester until five years ago.

In 1988, Clinton was one of the first appointees to the agency's governing board. Clinton became immersed in the effort, promoting the center's 1990 report that offered solutions to the lack of skills young adults and children need in a global economy.

"She laid out a very demanding schedule, visiting governor after governor, talking with state legislatures," Tucker said.

Her intensity manifests itself in other ways.

"She's tough on herself and sometimes hard on other people around her," Tucker said. Clinton's temper could flare when she felt "someone hadn't done the job."

Adam Urbanski, the leader of the Rochester Teachers Association who worked with Clinton on the education center's board, said that only once during a meeting did he see Clinton become frustrated, when someone interrupted her.

"She handled it with a look," Urbanski said, "a look that said, 'I'm not

finished.'

"The gentleman who interrupted yielded. That gentleman was her husband."

The peanut gallery

She sits in the left front pew of Mt. Olivet Baptist Church in the Corn Hill neighborhood on a misty Sunday morning in July.

"Lead her, guide her," the Rev. Dwight Cook proclaims, blessing Clinton.

Then he urges her to disregard cheap shots from afar: "Don't you dare listen to the peanut gallery."

After the service, Clinton wades through well wishers among the largely African-American congregation. One of the parishioners -- Carole VanDerberg of Rochester -- grips Clinton's hand and leans forward.

She praises Clinton for being a strong woman, for advancing even as the critics mount an attack: "You do what you have to do to get where you are going."

Afterward, VanDerberg explains what she meant: "It would have been easy for her to leave it all behind after all she's been through."

After the Mt. Olivet stop, Clinton holds a press conference at the Rural/Metro Ambulance Corps' University Avenue office on the effects of rising gas prices.

Later, in a one-on-one interview, Clinton is asked whether the public's focus on her personal life troubles her, even when it comes as praise.

"I am a persevering person," Clinton replies while signing books and thank-you cards in a cubicle in the Rural/Metro building. "I am a person who believes you have to go forward and not quit."

That's not enough to win over people such as Susan Levinson, a Rochester Democrat. She says she won't vote for Clinton because blind ambition is Clinton's only reason for remaining with her husband -- and because she distrusts her.

In fact, just a few weeks ago, Clinton's credibility was brought into question yet again when an independent counsel report charged her with giving "factually false" -- though not illegal -- sworn testimony in the Travelgate investigation. Clinton denied the charge.

"Right now, I'm one of those middle-aged white women who just can't stand her," says Levinson.

About those who hold this view, Clinton says: "They have every right to whatever opinion they wish to hold. But it's something I hope they will consider in light of what is at stake in this election."

But isn't it difficult to hear people say, "Hillary Clinton, you can't trust her?"

"Look," she responds, straightening up in the metal chair, giving The Gaze. "If I just woke up last year on Sen. Moynihan's farm and said, 'Hmmm, a lot of people told me to run for the Senate. So you know what? I think I'll do it.' I don't think you could sustain that. But . . . I have a strong sense of what I would like to do to make life better for people."

"You listen to the peanut gallery," she adds, "you won't get out of bed in the morning."

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EMAIL THIS STORY

Clinton works the crowd at local union rally; poll shows race is tight in upstate New York

By T.J. PIGNATARO
News Staff Reporter
10/29/00

Like most politicians, Hillary Rodham Clinton, her daughter and her entourage kept some of her biggest fans waiting at least a few minutes extra for her appearance at a local union rally Saturday.

The crowd didn't seem to mind much, greeting her with a rousing chorus of "Happy Birthday," as she made her way into the main hall of the Operating Engineers Local 17 building in West Seneca. Clinton turned 53 on Thursday.

And after all, the first lady's first words seemed to help the crowd understand perfectly the reason for her tardiness: Her campaign bus, which departed earlier from an appearance in Elmira, took a Krispy Kreme detour in the Town of Tonawanda.

From her Western New York doughnut experience, Clinton delved directly into campaign issues.

"I've been telling people around the state, especially downstate, there aren't any better people or harder-working people than the people in Western New York," Clinton said.

"I've never been anywhere in the entire country where people have loved their area more than those in Buffalo and Western New York."

After the applause of the several hundred people gathered in the union hall subsided, Clinton launched into her plan to "get rid of the obstacles" that caused Buffalo's population to drop below 300,000 "for the first time in 100 years" -



SHARON CANTILLON/Buffalo News
Hillary Rodham Clinton makes a plea to get out the vote during her appearance in the West Seneca home of Operating Engineers Local 17.

On the campaign trail

The U.S. Senate campaign between Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rick Lazio

Issue of the day:

Lazio forces try to link Clinton to bombing of USS Cole, noting her campaign accepted \$60,000 from a Boston fund-raiser sponsored by a group that supports the Palestinian organization Hamas. Clinton later returned the money and denied knowing that the group was involved with the Boston fund-raiser.

Lazio: "We don't need any advice from [adviser] Harold Ickes and Hillary Clinton on how to run campaigns in New York - people who are now forced to return \$50,000 to people who associate themselves with terrorism and violence in the Middle East."



Clinton: "I believe the Republican Party and Congressman (Rick) Lazio owe an apology to the families of the sailors who died in the terrorist bombing of the USS Cole."

Where they are today:

Clinton: Addresses the congregation of St. John Baptist Church in Buffalo as part of her weekly appearances in African-American congregations around the state.

Lazio: Addresses the congregation of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, one of the nation's most famous African-American churches. Other campaign stops in New York City.

Latest poll:

Survey released Friday by Goldhaber Research Associates of Amherst shows Clinton leading in Erie County 44.7 to 35.2 percent. That's a drop from a 47.5 to 35.5 percent lead in a September poll.

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"for the first time in 100 years" -
obstacles that continue to chase
young workers out of the area.

She set down a platform for cutting state and local taxes, improving
transportation, cutting utility costs and adding education and training.

"I think we're a better and stronger country than we were in 1992," Clinton said.
"We've got to make sure we are committed to sharing the prosperity not just with
the few but with the many."

On stage with Clinton were county Democratic Chairman G. Steven Pigeon,
Mayor Anthony M. Masiello, Rep. John LaFalce and several other area municipal
leaders.

On a few occasions, the first lady took some shots at her Republican opponent,
Rep. Rick A. Lazio, calling him "the ostrich candidate," unwilling to recognize that
"change is needed" in upstate New York.

She also heavily emphasized the importance of getting all registered voters out
to the polls, saying, "There isn't any more basic obligation of citizenship."

"I've worked as hard as I can for the last 16 months, and I'll work as hard as I can
for the next 10 days," Clinton said. "If you will fight for me for the next 10 days, I'll
get to the Senate and fight for you for the next six years."

During a hectic day of campaigning around the state, Clinton said she was
"outraged" by reports that New York Republicans were linking her to the terrorist
bombing of the USS Cole in phone calls to New York voters.

"I believe the Republican Party and Congressman Lazio owe an apology to the
families of the sailors who died in the terrorist bombing of the USS Cole," she
said.

Clinton called the phone calls "unacceptable," adding, "Everyone should be
condemning it."

Lazio, meanwhile, said New York Republicans did not need "any instructions or
lessons from the Arkansas political machine" surrounding Clinton.

"We don't need any advice from (adviser) Harold Ickes and Hillary Clinton on
how to run campaigns in New York - people who are now forced to return
\$50,000 to people who associate themselves with terrorism and violence in the
Middle East," Lazio said.

He spoke after a rally at West Babylon Junior High School with Gov. George E.
Pataki and two of Long Island GOP congressional candidates. Clinton made her
comments as she arrived in Ithaca to begin a three-day bus trip across upstate.

Setting her off were newspaper reports Saturday that the New York State
Republican Committee had started calling voters to talk about Clinton's links to
Palestinian and Arab-American groups - and by extension, to terrorists.

In the message, voters are told that Clinton accepted money from an Arab
organization that "openly brags about its support for a Mideast terrorism group,
the same kind of terrorism that killed our sailors on the USS Cole."

This past week, the Clinton campaign returned \$50,000 that came from a Boston
fund-raiser sponsored by a group that supports the Palestinian organization
Hamas.

The Clinton campaign denied knowing that the group was involved with the
fund-raiser.

Both candidates were planning swings through upstate over the next three days.
Clinton has stops in Ithaca, Elmira and Buffalo. Lazio planned to spend most of
the remainder of the weekend campaigning everywhere from Plattsburgh to
Rochester.

A New York Daily News statewide poll out Thursday had Clinton leading Lazio,

50 percent to 43 percent, and running close to Lazio in upstate New York.

Also, Clinton's "fuller understanding and appreciation of upstate issues" earned her the endorsement of the Rochester Democrat & Chronicle.

Meanwhile, the New York Post endorsed Lazio in today's edition.

News wire services contributed to this report.

WHAT'S IN IT FOR FREQUENT FLYERS? THE UNITED/US AIRWAYS MERGER

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Sunday October 29 11:49 AM ET

Clinton, Lazio Shore Up Support in New York Race



By Ellen Wulforth

BUFFALO, N.Y. (Reuters) - Battling for New York's Senate seat, Hillary Rodham Clinton ([news](#) - [web sites](#)) and Rick Lazio ([news](#) - [web sites](#)) spent the weekend as candidates often do this close to an election -- trying to shore up

support among their traditional backers.

The Democratic first lady worked crowds in party strongholds in western New York and the scenic Finger Lakes, appealing to union members, college students and black churchgoers, while Lazio stumped in his home turf on Long Island, in nearby New York City suburbs and upstate.

In her sixth campaign visit to Ithaca, a small but strongly Democratic town, Clinton appealed to supporters at a Cornell University rally on Saturday to turn out and vote on Nov. 7.

"This election is more about your lives and your future than it is about mine," said Clinton, who hopes to become the first president's wife to win political office.

Turning to his traditional support, Lazio appeared at two events his campaign dubbed "Rigatoni with Rick" on Sunday, the latest in a number of recent events designed to firm up his appeal among white ethnic voters.

"You know that old saying, 'There's no place like home,'" the four-term House member said on Friday at a Republican dinner dance at a Sons of Italy lodge in Deer Park, Long Island, not far from his home.

"It feels terrific to be back here, to be among my friends, my family, my core supporters, my political base, people that are out there and have been working for me since I was first elected," Lazio said.

Democratic political strategist Hank Scheinkopf said bolstering traditional sources of support is textbook campaign strategy for

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candidates as such a close race heads into its final days.

A poll by John Zogby released by Reuters/MSNBC on Sunday showed Lazio leading Clinton 47 to 45 percent, a narrow edge within the margin of error of plus or minus 4 percent.

In the most recent poll by Quinnipiac University, Clinton was ahead 50 to 43 percent, with a 3-point margin of error, while the latest Newsday poll showed Clinton ahead of Lazio 51 to 45 percent, with a 4-point margin of error.

"The two candidates are actively involved in setting up field operations to make sure their bases are shored up and turn out," said Scheinkopf.

With his "Rigatoni with Rick" and "Lasagna with Lazio" campaign dinners, referring to Italian food, the Republican is seeking traditional ethnic and Catholic support, the strategist said.

"He's shoring up his bases in two ways -- Republican and Italian," observed Jack Coughlin, a retired police detective who attended the Deer Park dinner for Lazio on Friday.

"He's a very nice Italian boy," Coughlin joked as strains of Dean Martin singing "That's Amore" accompanied Lazio's arrival. "He still reaches out to ethnic voters on Long Island."

Clinton, meanwhile, rose early on Sunday to attend services at two black churches in Buffalo.

"With the black churches, she's getting ready to turn out the vote she needs, to turn out what should be her vote," Scheinkopf said.

All the visits to long-standing supporters notwithstanding, neither candidate appeared ready to give up on courting new votes.

Clinton packed her schedule tight on Sunday with a bus tour making at least seven stops across upstate New York, a traditionally Republican area where she has fared better than expected for a Democrat.

Lazio, meanwhile, was headed for a black church in Harlem on Sunday morning, followed by two "Rigatoni with Rick" stops in the New York City boroughs of Brooklyn and Queens and a trip upstate.

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Saturday, October 28, 2000

Rick Rips Hil in Fiery Finale Hits Palestinian link in debate

By WILLIAM GOLDSCHLAG
Daily News Senior National Correspondent

Rick Lazio fought to drive a wedge between Hillary Rodham Clinton and Jewish voters in the final and fiercest Senate debate yesterday by charging she "encourages violence" through her encounters with advocates for the Palestinians.

"When you cavort with terrorists, with people that pronounce that violence and murder can be used as a tool to achieve political ends, you give them credibility. You embolden them," Lazio said.



Drew AP

The First Lady shot back: "I am not only a friend of Israel, but the friends of Israel know that I am."

It looked amicable enough before the debate started, but the gloves soon were off for last night's televised debate between Senate candidates Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rick Lazio.

She ticked off endorsements by two Jewish publications, Holocaust survivor and Nobel laureate Elie Wiesel and Sens. Chuck Schumer (D-N.Y.) and Joseph Lieberman (D-Conn.), both Jewish.

The Mideast issue was one of several that provided fireworks between Democrat Clinton and the GOP congressman from Long Island in their third debate, an informal but tense encounter across a small round table. The moderator was Gabe Pressman of WNBC-TV.

"Order, order. The 'Speaker' wants order," Pressman said at one point to stem the constant interruptions.



With Clinton holding a slight lead in polls, Lazio looked to score points with the story — first reported in the Daily News — of contributions she received from members of a Muslim group whose

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**The two clashed over
Mideast and other hot
topics. WNBC's Gabe
Pressman (c.) moderated.**

members of a Muslim group whose
leader defends armed struggle
against Israel.

Lazio linked the latest flap to her
1998 call for a Palestinian state and
to the Suha Arafat incident, when Clinton kissed Palestinian
leader Yasser Arafat's wife and was slow to condemn her for
accusing Israel of using poison gas. He charged Clinton's
actions "send a message ... to the Palestinian Authority that
encourages violence to be used as a tool to achieve political
ends."

Clinton said, "As soon as I found out the facts, I returned all
the money that was raised."

She told of her call for Arafat "to denounce violence" and her
support for a cutoff of U.S. aid if Arafat unilaterally declared
a Palestinian state.

Looking to reclaim the offensive, Clinton bashed Lazio for
failing to rule out running on the same Independence Party
line as conservative presidential candidate Patrick Buchanan
last summer.

"I wouldn't run on a party line with Patrick Buchanan,
because of his anti-Semitic comments, and you were more
than happy to accept that line," Clinton said.

Lazio said he had told the party he was supporting Republican
George W. Bush.

Clinton also raised charges, citing a News story, that Lazio
"fought to weaken" safety standards for homebuilding and
manufactured housing interests who kicked in \$1 million to
his campaign.

Lazio bristled. "One thing I will not tolerate, and that's being
dragged down into the mud," he said. "My reputation is
impeccable."

Later, during a speech on the lower East Side, Clinton
continued her attack.

In spin sessions after the debate, both campaigns pressed
themes they will stress in the final 10 days of the campaign.

Lazio strategist Mike Murphy said Clinton hurled "one icy lie
after another."

"I think the undecideds now are torn. They know they can't
trust Mrs. Clinton, and they don't know too much about Rick
Lazio," he added.

The Clinton team accused Lazio of being a bully. "Rick came
across as an overeager adolescent — a little too quick to
interrupt, a little too quick to show the minutiae on his mind,"
said Liberal Party boss Ray Harding.

New fund-raising reports showed the First Lady's campaign had less than \$472,000 cash on hand as of Oct. 18, while Lazio had \$1.8 million. The reports show that Lazio raised \$3.9 million Oct. 1-18, for a total of \$32.6 million so far.

Clinton raised \$1.5 million in the period, for a total of \$26 million.

With Joel Siegel

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RETURN OF THE IRRITABLE AND IRRITATING CLINTON

Saturday, October 28, 2000

By ROBERT HARDT Jr.

The first half of yesterday's feisty debate between Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rick Lazio was lifted straight from "The Simpsons."

It was a political food-fight between Lisa, the brainy, know-it-all sister, and Bart, the bratty but lovable brother.

Clinton, who was so cool and in control in her last showdown with Lazio, was "having a cow" (in Bart's words) and seemed genuinely irritated by the Long Island congressman's attacks.

After he pressed her hard on her record as first lady in Arkansas, Clinton replied: "I'm not here to defend Arkansas."

Clinton appeared exasperated by Lazio's early attacks on her positions, shaking her head - and even winking at the camera at one point.

It was everything her handlers wanted her to avoid, becoming the "old Hillary," who was almost smugly dismissive of Lazio's attacks.

Although it was almost certainly scripted, Lazio's strongest moment came when he angrily responded to Clinton's accusation that he took money from the housing industry and then tried to weaken protections for home-buyers.

"One thing I will not tolerate - and that's being dragged down into the mud," Lazio said.

But the second half of the debate seemed to be *stuck* in the mud, as the two candidates settled back into their familiar rhetoric from the campaign trail.

The final 30 minutes prevented Lazio from walking

away with a clear victory - and probably changing many voters' minds.

But the congressman did strike a happy medium between his overly aggressive behavior in the first debate and his lackluster performance in the second.

Perhaps it was their bizarre professed mutual attraction to each other, but both candidates ran out of gas and ended on odd notes.

The first lady weakly compared herself to many of the out-of-town players on the Yankees; Lazio weirdly said President Clinton was coming to New York more often to counter the campaigning of Lazio's wife, Patricia.

In the words of Homer Simpson: "Doh!"

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By **LARA JAKES**, Political writer
First published: Saturday, October 28, 2000

Few kind words in testy debate

Clinton, Lazio emphasize differences in final confrontation

NEW YORK -- From the start of their third and final debate Friday, Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rick Lazio engaged in the kind of bickering that has defined their U.S. Senate campaign. The moderator even tried to bring a kinder and gentler tone to the hourlong forum.

"Name three things that you like about him," Gabe Pressman of WNBC-TV urged Clinton, the Democratic nominee in a race that both candidates say has been marred by attacks, insults and distortions of truth.

Sitting across from Lazio at a round table in the Manhattan studio, Clinton said: "It seems like he has a very nice family, and that he, you know, has worked very hard and that he's, you know, an attractive young man."

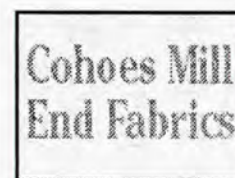
"Well, I think you're an attractive woman," Lazio responded. "And I think you've got a very nice family and I'm sure you're a good mother as well."

"Well, thank you very much. But that's not what this election is about," Clinton said.

It was a light and somewhat awkward moment in an otherwise acrimonious debate during which the First Lady and the four-term GOP congressman from Long Island found little else to agree on. From teacher testing and fund raising to breast cancer research and health care, Clinton and Lazio clashed repeatedly, often interrupting and talking over each other to score their points.

Both succeeded in pointing out their differences on issues, which is what will likely sway undecided voters as Election Day approaches in less than two weeks.

Recent statewide polls suggest that between 7



percent and 15 percent of the state's 10 million enrolled voters are still wary of Clinton and Lazio, largely because of perceived mudslinging in the campaign.

For Clinton, according to pollster Lee Miringoff, the goal Friday was to shore up her support with Jewish voters while appealing to her liberal base to make a strong turnout at the polls. To that end, she reiterated her opposition to periodic teacher testing, school vouchers and limits on abortion that do not take a woman's life and health into account. Lazio supports all three.

She also spoke at length about her decision this week to return \$50,000 in campaign donations from a mainstream Muslim group after discovering that one of its supporters advocated for Hamas -- a terrorist group that has targeted Israelis.

"I did not want anyone to have a false impression about my strong support for Israel's safety and security," she said, adding that she would recommend cutting off aid to the Palestinians should their schools continue to use textbooks with anti-Semitic references.

"I am not only a friend of Israel," Clinton said, "but the friends of Israel know that I am."

Lazio, too, has condemned the Palestinians and their leader, Yasir Arafat, for the latest violence in the Middle East. He hammered Clinton's about-face on refusing to recognize a Palestinian state should Arafat declare one. Clinton has previously voiced support for an independent Palestinian state.

"For eight years, I have been consistent and strong in my support for the security of the state of Israel," he said. "Without equivocation. Without a question mark next to my name."

Clinton shot back: "There is no question mark next to me. There is an exclamation point. I am an emphatic, unwavering supporter of Israel's safety and security and, in fact, I have done it at some cost, indeed, Mr. Lazio."

That was a reference to her refusal to lobby for the state Independence Party's support, which carries 170,000 swing voters, if it meant sharing a ballot line with conservative Pat Buchanan, who has made anti-Semitic remarks. Lazio had unsuccessfully worked quietly to win the line, which eventually went to Independence candidate Jeff Graham. Lazio responded that he supports GOP nominee George W. Bush for the presidency.

Lazio, meanwhile, spent the hour whipping up what pollster Miringoff called his "Hillary-hater" base by aggressively contesting Clinton's words while simultaneously reaching out to women voters who make up the majority of those who are undecided. He and Clinton sparred over the recently enacted Breast and Cervical Cancer Treatment Act -- legislation that Lazio sponsored but that the First Lady said she also pushed for.

"Perhaps you helped in some way, but I never saw you, as the author of the bill ... never noticed that you were involved with it at all," Lazio retorted.

"I was working with (California Rep.) Anna Eschoo, the original sponsor that you cut out ... and I was working with breast cancer advocates who worked so hard to get that bill passed. They deserve the credit," Clinton responded.

"That's false, Mrs. Clinton," Lazio said.

The two also feuded over fund raising -- Clinton hit Lazio for accepting \$1 million in donations from representatives of the housing industry, which he has regulated as chairman of the House subcommittee on Housing and Community Affairs. But Clinton also found herself on the defensive for allowing contributors to stay overnight at the White House, although she insisted there was "no quid pro quo" in her offers.

Predictably, political advisers on both sides were eager to demonize their opponents within moments of the debate's close. Standing on one side of the studio where NBC broadcasts "Saturday Night Live," state Liberal Party Chairman Ray Harding said Lazio came across "as an over-eager adolescent -- a little too quick to interrupt, a little too eager to show the minutia of what was on his mind." Lazio chief strategist Mike Murphy, meanwhile, said Clinton "should work at Burger King -- she likes to serve up whoppers so much."

But Miringoff, the independent pollster for the Poughkeepsie-based Marist Institute for Public Opinion, said Lazio has more to lose from his performance than Clinton. That goes back, he said, to Lazio's persistent and aggressive tone throughout the forum, which may alienate undecided voters who are tired of the bickering.

"He had some rough moments in the debate," said Miringoff, who also watched the forum from the SNL studio. "He was trying to accomplish certain things -- rev up his base, and also reach out to these

persuadable voters -- the latter of which is hard to do when you're doing the first."



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LAZIO DOMINATES

Saturday, October 28, 2000



JOHN PODHORETZ

ANYONE who still thinks Rick Lazio is a lightweight after last night's debate with Hillary Clinton either didn't watch it or is utterly blinded by partisanship.

The Republican congressman was nothing less than extraordinary, demonstrating a command of issues and policy details on matters ranging from education to health care to housing to (especially) the Middle East that put the far more vague and vaguely condescending first lady on the defensive throughout the hour.

Fortunately, Lazio did not spend the hour harping on campaign-finance reform or on being a "real" New Yorker. Instead, the debate was a genuine clash on matters of import - and in every single clash, Lazio prevailed.

On education, Lazio zeroed in on Mrs. Clinton's clever effort to claim she is a supporter of teacher testing when in fact she supports only the testing of newly hired teachers. "It confounds me why you would say to a new teacher . . . [that testing is] OK for them but it's not OK for someone who's been out there teaching for 15 years," Lazio said, pointing out that Mrs. Clinton's position is in thrall to the stand of the teachers unions on this matter. "I'm not trapped by the status quo. I am for competency tests every five years for every teacher."

A rattled Mrs. Clinton tried to rebut Lazio by pointing out that they are both lawyers but only have to take the bar exam once. He had a quick and ready answer: "It is

the case that there is a requirement for continuing education in the legal profession . . . and in the health-care profession. I believe in making the changes that put our children first."

And when Mrs. Clinton repeated her false charge that Lazio has opposed federal spending on new teachers, class-size reduction and school modernization, he was withering: "You know well by now . . . that I have voted twice to reduce class size . . . and twice for new teachers."

On the Middle East, Lazio would not let stand Mrs. Clinton's utterly shameless and dishonorable claim to be an unwavering supporter of Israel: "In 1998, you called for a Palestinian state. You undercut the Israeli negotiating position and the administration had to rush in" to limit the damage.

Making reference to the revelations this week that Mrs. Clinton had hosted supporters of the Hamas terror organization in the White House, Lazio again demonstrated the kind of command of the English language that has eluded George W. Bush: "When you cavort with people [who support terrorism] . . . you give aid and comfort."

Mrs. Clinton turned in her worst performance since the bad old days of 1999, when the nascent candidate did little but make mistake after mistake.

She was reduced to complaining that Lazio was engaged in a "filibuster" before raising the slimiest charge of her campaign - that the Long Island congressman somehow stole the Breast Cancer and Cervical Cancer Treatment Act just signed by President Clinton away from its rightful author, a California congresswoman.

I am no fan of this piece of pandering legislation, but the Clinton claims are beyond the pale just the same, and Lazio put them away easily.

Lazio was just as aggressive as he was in the first debate between them, repeatedly (and accurately) accusing Mrs. Clinton of dissimulating, distorting, speaking falsehoods and outright lying. It's a certainty that he will be attacked in coming days for his tough and confrontational style, as Mrs. Clinton's acolytes attempt to link his demeanor with the supposedly unacceptable "space invasion" he practiced at the end of their first debate.

Nonetheless, for Republicans and for all those who believe it is critical to bring an end to the Clinton era by denying Hillary Clinton a seat in the Senate, last night's debate was a reason to rejoice. Rick Lazio has

become the candidate he should have been all along.

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Lazio, Clinton Spar Sharply in Debate

By Michael Grunwald
 Washington Post Staff Writer
 Friday, October 27, 2000; Page A12

NEW YORK, Oct. 27 — Rep. Rick Lazio (R-N.Y.) didn't march into Hillary Rodham Clinton's personal space this afternoon. But he did get in her face verbally during the third and final debate of their Senate campaign, attacking her for much of the hour as an untrustworthy candidate and a public policy disaster.

Lazio dipped in the polls after his aggressive performance during their first debate last month, as his semi-sprint across the stage seemed to alienate women voters. But while there was no physical confrontation today--the candidates were seated across a table--Lazio was just as aggressive with his rhetoric.

He interrupted the first lady repeatedly, and even raised his voice a few times. Once, as Lazio was accusing Clinton of promoting violence in the Middle East, moderator Gabe Pressman of WNBC-TV broke in: "She has a right to respond."

That said, Clinton often seemed to ignore the substance of Lazio's critiques of her as a big-government liberal who doesn't trust people to make their own choices, except to say that she was running a campaign of issues rather than insults. At one point, she fumbled uncharacteristically over the details of low-income housing legislation, Lazio's main area of expertise in Congress. And when she suggested that he had eased safety standards for manufactured housing to appease his campaign contributors, he angrily pointed out that the Clinton administration had supported his bill.

"That's absolutely false and you know it," Lazio shot back. "There's one thing I won't tolerate, and that's being dragged into the mud."

With a little more than a week to go in the campaign, Clinton has a slim lead in most polls. After a brief flurry of positive advertising a few weeks ago, Lazio has clearly decided he needs to raise more questions



During their third debate, Rep. Rick Lazio and Hillary Rodham Clinton were asked what they liked about one another. Both cited personal qualities such as family and appearance. (Kathy Willens - AP)

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weeks ago, Lazio has clearly decided he needs to raise more questions about the first lady's credibility and ideology to gain ground. This election, he said today, is "based on one simple word: Trust."

Clinton, meanwhile, has framed the election around traditionally Democratic issues: education, health care, the economy, the environment and abortion. In her closing statement today, she adopted the mantra of Vice President Al Gore, who is expected to win New York easily: "You can trust me to fight for you."

During the debate, Lazio blasted Clinton's education reform efforts in Arkansas, her tight alliance with teachers unions, her support for a Palestinian state, her campaign donations from anti-Israel Arab Americans, and her lack of connection to New York. The first lady often laughed openly while he was talking, and several times rolled her eyes. "You don't know where to start with Mr. Lazio," she said after his attack on her "failure" in Arkansas. "He does go on."

Clinton said she was proud of her education reforms in Arkansas, professed independence from teachers unions, said she only supported a Palestinian state within the context of a peace settlement, and noted that she has returned the disputed donations. She tried to defuse the carpetbagger issue with a reference to the Yankees victory in the Subway Series: "I was struck by how people who weren't born in New York delivered for New York."

The afternoon's oddest exchange came after Pressman told the candidates that it seemed as if they disliked each other. Clinton said she had "no personal animus" toward Lazio, and said he seemed nice. So Pressman asked her to name three things she liked about him.

"He's got a nice family," Clinton said. "He's an attractive young man."

Lazio was then asked the same question. He said the first lady was "an attractive woman." "I'm sure she's a good mother," he said.

After the debate, Clinton's spin control team announced that Lazio had proven himself to be a bully. Lazio came to the spin room in the WNBC studios himself to complain that he had never heard so many distortions in an hour.

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NEWS

Their Barbs Fly Final Senate debate heated, contentious

by **Stephanie Saul**
 Staff Writer

Rep. Rick Lazio and Hillary Rodham Clinton traded pointed accusations that each had distorted the other's record in their third and final debate Friday, an encounter in which a composed Clinton dismissed her opponent as "a very attractive young man" when asked to cite three nice things about him.

The Long Island congressman took umbrage at Clinton's suggestion that he tried to soften housing safety regulations in return for campaign contributions. "Let me tell you, there's one thing I will not tolerate, and that's being dragged down in the mud. My reputation is impeccable." Following the debate, he called her comments about his housing record "a distortion." At another point, Clinton said she took "deep, deep offense" at what she called Lazio's mischaracterization of her record on education in Arkansas.

The debate differed in style and tone from the Senate candidates' two earlier encounters. There was no audience, and the debate was taped Friday afternoon for broadcast Friday night, rather than broadcast live, as before.

Both candidates were seated, a less formal style than in the earlier debates, when they were standing at podiums.

But if WNBC's Gabe Pressman thought he was going to get a genteel exchange of ideas like at the seated vice-presidential debate between Joseph Lieberman and Dick Cheney, he was wrong. The jabs began almost as soon as the debate began, but the oddest exchange of the debate was disguised as a nicety, when Pressman asked Clinton to name three things she liked about Lazio.

Clinton seemed almost condescending, damning Lazio with faint praise, when she responded: "Well, it seems like he has a very nice family, and that he, you know, has worked very hard, and that, you know, he's an attractive young man." Pressman asked Lazio to respond: "Well, I think you're an attractive woman, and I think you've got a very nice family, and I'm sure you're a good mother, as well," Lazio said, smiling.

Even as the candidates smiled at each other, the barbs flew, with Lazio almost immediately attacking Clinton as being too

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with Lazio almost immediately attacking Clinton as being too close to the Palestinians.

"It is important for people to understand, when you cavort with terrorists, with people that pronounce that violence and murder can be used as a tool to achieve political end, you give them credibility, you embolden them, and you send a message out to the world," Lazio said.

Clinton, noting her endorsements from Jewish leaders, including Lieberman and author Elie Wiesel, said she had long supported Israel.

"And I've done it at some cost, indeed, Mr. Lazio. When the Independence Party was considering who to nominate, I made it very clear that I would not run on a party line with Pat Buchanan because of his anti-Semitic comments. You were more than happy to accept that nomination," Clinton said.

When Lazio sought to tout his record on housing, Clinton attacked his contributions from the housing industry, saying "at least there is an appearance" that he fought to weaken safety standards for manufactured housing.

"That's absolutely false, and you know it," Lazio responded, later adding, "Never in my life has anybody accused me of doing a single thing because of who supported meI'm sorry to be so emphatic about this." Pressman at times had to call the debate to order as the candidates tried to interrupt one another.

Clinton reacted strongly when Lazio criticized her efforts to boost the performance of Arkansas schools and questioned why she did not want testing of existing teachers, accusing her of being beholden to teachers' unions.

"I'm not strapped by the teachers' unions like Mrs. Clinton is," Lazio said.

"In Arkansas, when you had responsibility for education, the student performance when you left was at the bottom of the barrel That was a failure," Lazio said.

"The work that was done was done at great odds," Clinton said. "Obviously it was a very poor state.

"I'm not here to defend Arkansas. I'm here to run for Senate to represent the state of New York. But I take great, great offense at his mischaracterizing what went on," Clinton said.

"I realize that you don't want to talk about Arkansas, because that experience was a disaster for Arkansas," Lazio said.

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October 28, 2000

Lazio and First Lady Quarrel on Ethics, Israel and Schools

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

Rick A. Lazio and Hillary Rodham Clinton engaged in a quarrelsome hour of bickering and badgering in their final debate yesterday, as they attacked each other's ethics, commitment to Israel and proposals to improve the nation's education system.

Mr. Lazio and Mrs. Clinton turned their third and final encounter of the Senate race in New York into the political equivalent of a food fight, barking out insults, citing damaging newspaper accounts about each other's alleged misdeeds, and



The New York Times

The third and final debate between the major United States Senate candidates, Rick A. Lazio and Hillary Rodham Clinton, which was moderated by Gabe Pressman, center, often turned contentious.

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(Oct. 28, 2000)

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repeatedly talking over
each other.

The moderator, Gabe Pressman of WNBC, seemed at times amused — though at times startled — by the rancorous display between a first lady and a member of Congress that was unfolding within the hushed confines of a third-floor television studio at 30 Rockefeller Plaza. [Excerpts, Page B8.]

Mr. Lazio suggested that Mrs. Clinton's support for a Palestinian state, as well as what he asserted was her association with radical

Palestinian leaders, had threatened Israeli security and undercut the peace process. Mrs. Clinton accused Mr. Lazio of trying to avoid a discussion about his positions on health care and the economy by raising what she asserted were false claims about her commitment to Israeli security.

They accused each other of playing politics on everything from legislation to finance breast cancer treatment to abortion.

But the substance of the debate — and there was some — was frequently drowned out in the theatrics of the moment: Mr. Lazio turned red and angry as Mrs. Clinton criticized his ethics for taking contributions from the housing industry, and Mrs. Clinton folded her arms and looked sternly at him as he blamed her for the quality of schools in Arkansas.

"Can I just try to get the truth through for one moment please, Gabe?" Mr. Lazio said during one of a number of rounds in which both candidates demanded the floor from Mr. Pressman.

"You don't know where to start with Mr. Lazio. He does go on," Mrs. Clinton said at another point, with what appeared to be an exaggerated exhibition of exasperation.

Mr. Pressman, 76, who has been moderating debates in New York politics since 1965, seemed like the teacher trying to take control of an unruly classroom for much of the session. "Order, please, order!" Mr. Pressman demanded. The request often went unheeded.

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demand. The request often went unheeded.

The debate was taped yesterday afternoon at WNBC studios and broadcast last night. The two candidates are seeking to succeed Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a Democrat who is retiring after serving four terms in Washington.

In a departure from the previous debates, where both candidates stood behind lecterns, Mr. Lazio and Mrs. Clinton sat at a round table with Mr. Pressman, with bookshelves at their backs. The absence of lecterns or any time limits lent itself to something of a free-for-all. And by now, both candidates were experienced enough with debating, and with each other, that both seemed comfortable in the setting and primed for a fight.

Of the three debates, yesterday's was nearly as quarrelsome as the first one. Mr. Lazio was noticeably more combative than he was in the second debate, perhaps reflecting the pressure he may feel because of polls that show him slightly trailing Mrs. Clinton.

In this environment, it was hardly surprising that Mr. Lazio seemed startled midway into the debate when Mr. Pressman, reading from a series of e-mail news releases sent out by each campaign attacking the other, inquired if the two candidates disliked each other.

"It's not a matter of personal dislike," he finally said. He returned to what was his standard campaign speech, suggesting that the main differences between them were philosophical — until Mrs. Clinton cut him off.

"This is what's called a filibuster, Gabe," she said. Mr. Pressman then asked Mrs. Clinton to name three things she liked about Mr. Lazio.

After hesitating a moment, she responded, "It seems like he has a very nice family. And that he, you know, has worked very hard. And that, you know, he's an attractive young man."

Mr. Lazio, who is a very youthful 42-year-old, gazed back at his opponent and said: "Well, I think you're an attractive woman. And I think you've got a very nice family. I'm sure you're a very good mother as well."

There was, at that, roars of laughter from the supporters of both candidates who had joined reporters to watch the taping on video monitors that had been set up in another studio, which is normally used by "Saturday Night Live."

At another point, Mr. Lazio became infuriated as Mrs. Clinton suggested — "Let me perhaps enlighten you on his record," she said to Mr. Pressman — that Mr. Lazio had taken campaign contributions in return for supporting a bill

that weakened consumer protections on factory-made housing.

While it is true that Mr. Lazio accepted donations from housing industry executives in the late 1990's, the final bill that passed this year was modified to address concerns raised by consumer groups and the AARP, an alteration that Mrs. Clinton failed to mention when she attacked Mr. Lazio.

"That is absolutely false, and you know it Mrs. Clinton," Mr. Lazio said, a flash of anger in his eyes. "Please, do not make up things."

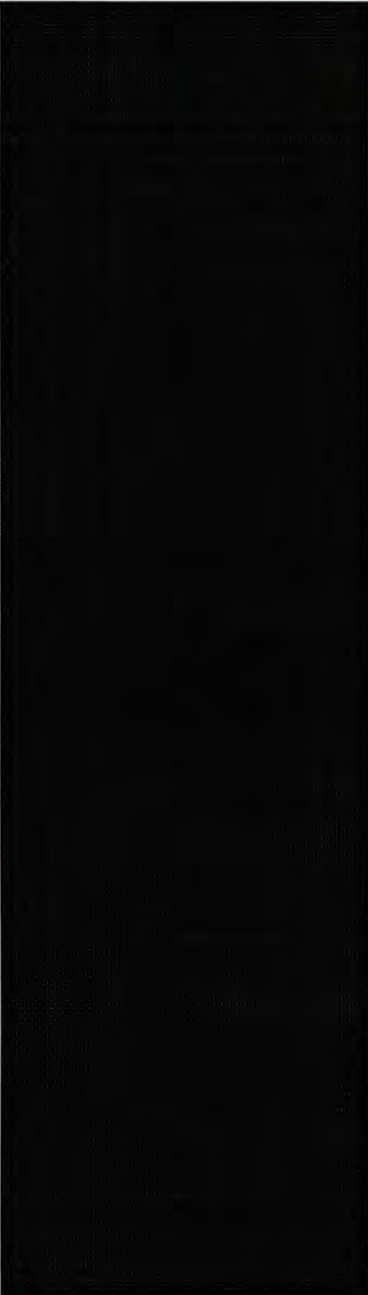
She responded by citing a report in The Daily News, but was interrupted by Mr. Lazio: "Let me tell you something, Mrs. Clinton: In eight years, there's one thing that I will not tolerate, and that's being dragged down into the mud. My reputation is impeccable. My integrity is impeccable. Never in my life has anybody accused me of doing a single thing because of who supported me."

The first lady got her own opportunity to display anger at Mr. Lazio when he attacked her record on Israel, noting that she had been an early supporter of the creation of a Palestinian state and had raised \$50,000 at an event sponsored by a Muslim American group. The group's president has been accused of having expressed support for the right of Palestinians to use armed resistance against Israel. Mrs. Clinton decided this week to return the money.

Mr. Lazio suggested that there was a "question mark" next to Mrs. Clinton on Israel. The problem is "that many people around the world — and the Palestinian Authority — looks at you and your comments and your proximity to the White House and your role in the White House," Mr. Lazio said. "And when you call for a Palestinian state, when you accept contributions from people that support Hamas, when you invite them to the White House, and they're your guests, you send a message out to the world and to the Palestinian Authority that encourages violence to be used as a tool to achieve political ends."

Mrs. Clinton turned sternly to the camera and noted that she had returned the money. "I learned that an organization claimed credit for sponsoring a fund-raiser I attended. And it's an organization whose members have made statements that I find offensive and have condemned. And as soon as I found out the facts, I returned all of the money that was raised because I did not want anyone to have a false impression about my strong support for Israel's safety and security."

She later said, "There is no question mark next to me. There's an exclamation point. I am an emphatic, unwavering supporter of Israel's safety and security."



The two candidates also quarreled over Mr. Lazio's role in Congressional approval of legislation to finance breast cancer treatment for working poor women. President Clinton signed the bill without a ceremony in part, aides said, because he did not want to give his wife's opponent a prominent stage on an issue that could prove potent with women.

Both Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Lazio claimed some credit for the bill getting through, with Mr. Lazio insisting that he was the author of the legislation and had personally pushed it through the House. But the first lady said that her opponent was trying to gain political points with the bill, asserting that he had neglected it until shortly after he entered the race for Senate. "This bill, which he does try to take credit for, the credit really belongs to the breast cancer advocates," she said. "And in fact, I just don't think that this is a bill that we should be playing politics with."

Mr. Lazio interrupted her. "My opponent is playing politics with breast cancer right now," he said.

At Mr. Pressman's urging, the candidates returned to the topic of Mrs. Clinton's residency. Mr. Lazio noted, again, that he lived in New York all his life, and that "you can rest assured no matter what happens with this election, you check on me a year from now," and he would still be in the same Long Island home.

Mrs. Clinton also told Mr. Pressman that she intended to stay in New York for "the rest of my life." And to bolster her case that a non-New Yorker can serve the state, she pointed, if in general terms, to a game between two New York teams that had dominated the news here for the past week. "What I was struck by was how, you know, people who weren't born in New York could deliver for New York," she said.

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October 28, 2000

Excerpts From the 3rd and Last Debate Between Clinton and Lazio

Following are excerpts from the debate yesterday between Hillary Rodham Clinton and Representative Rick A. Lazio, as recorded by The New York Times. The moderator was Gabe Pressman of WNBC-TV in New York:

MR. PRESSMAN . . . We live in an age of polls and focus groups. And many people have the impression that candidates are programmed to respond to issues according to what their advisers believe the voters want. Can you give me one example where you have taken an unpopular course despite what your advisers say because you thought it was right?

MR. LAZIO Sure. Absolutely. I've done that many times, Gabe. In Congress, supporting Nafta and the assault weapons ban after receiving thousands and thousands of calls from people who wanted me to go in a different direction, because I felt it was the right thing to do. I think it's very important to stand up for your beliefs. Even in this race, I know there are a lot of people who would like to see casino gambling. In one of our former debates, I expressed my personal opposition to casino gambling although I believe in the end it's a state decision. So I think there are many, many times when I

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decision. So I think there are many, many times when I have demonstrated independence on a whole range of issues. . . .

MR. PRESSMAN Mrs. Clinton . . . what about you?

MRS. CLINTON Well, I'll give you two, Gabe. You know, back in 1983 — when I was probably the first person in the country who said that we should test teachers — that was extremely unpopular, and it caused quite an uproar. But it was the right thing to do, and I still believe today that we should be testing new teachers and raising standards for our teachers. And then in 1995, when I went to China to speak on behalf of women's rights, there were many people, inside and outside our own government, people literally around the world, who said I shouldn't go, that I shouldn't make a speech, that I shouldn't criticize the Chinese government. . . .

MR. PRESSMAN Do you think that there's a feeling abroad, a feeling among the people of America, many of them, that there's a lot of pandering going on, that there's kind of weather vane changes in positions?

MRS. CLINTON Well, I think that in this presidential year there are very big differences between the candidates, just as there are in my race. Sometimes those differences may not be as clearly stated or defined as I think they would be in the White House or in the Congress. But for me, looking at this election, I'm struck by what different views my opponent and I have, what different views the two presidential candidates that we support have. Everything from how we would use the surplus and protect Social Security and Medicare to education —

MR. PRESSMAN That's not my question. My question is, is there a kind of perception that candidates are weather vanes? That they change according to the polls?

MRS. CLINTON Well, there may be. I don't know. I'm so focused on what I'm trying to do that I'm mostly paying attention to my own race and what I believe.

MR. PRESSMAN And you?

MR. LAZIO Yeah, I believe there is. I think that's why there's a lot of cynicism among young people. They think that people — and I think this White House in particular has been known for its extensive use of polling and focus groups and survey data to make decisions. And I think the American people want someone to lead. They want people to lead. For example, I think it was important when the United Nations Security Council voted to condemn Israel for the use of force, which I think was an abomination. I think it was wrong for America to sit on the sidelines. It didn't take me a day to put my finger up in the wind and decide which way public opinion was going. It took me

only a couple hours to issue a statement expressing strong condemnation —

MR. PRESSMAN You don't use pollsters at all?

MR. LAZIO Oh, of course. I mean, of course every candidate, I think, uses pollsters. The question is whether you determine your positions based on polling. And clearly that's not the case. I just wanted to go back to what Mrs. Clinton said before because I think it's important — on the educational issue. Mrs. Clinton said that she was for teacher testing. Well, but only for new teachers. And what type of testing? In Arkansas, Mrs. Clinton, when you had responsibility for education, the student performance when you left was at the bottom of the barrel. Spending was up. Taxes were up. Student performance at the bottom of the barrel. And out of the governor, now president's own mouth, he said: "Well, we had to adjust the test. We had to dumb down the tests so that teachers could pass." That was a failure. And I think right now I'm for teacher competency exam — examinations for teachers whether they're new teachers, but more importantly teachers that have been in the system for some time. I don't understand why you would not want to have examinations for teachers that were already in the system that are perhaps failing our children.

MR. PRESSMAN Let me ask a teachers type question of you, Mrs. Clinton. About this history in Arkansas, true or false?

MRS. CLINTON Well, it's false, Gabe. And you know, the work that was done in Arkansas received numerous awards and praise, because we really started something that I'm very proud of. And test scores went up in third grade and sixth grade. High school graduation went up. The work that was done was done against great odds. It obviously was then a very poor state. But what's important is what we're going to do in the future. I'm taking the experience that I had where we did test all teachers. And a lot of changes have happened. I've been involved in this now for 17 years, working on behalf of education reform. And I think we know what works. We know that getting classroom size down works. That's why I'm for adding 100,000 teachers to the classroom. We know that modernizing and better equipping our schools works. And we know that high standards works. . . . But what's important is to stay committed to the public school system, not siphon off money, as my opponent would, with vouchers . . .

MR. PRESSMAN We'll get to vouchers. But . . . is it true what he says — that you're for testing new teachers but not teachers who are already in the system?

MRS. CLINTON That's right. And that's what the New York law is. You know, I agree that we should be testing

new teachers. I believe that we ought to have pay for performance where we evaluate teachers. I think we ought to streamline the due process standards so that teachers that don't measure up would no longer be in the classroom. And I have a long record of achievement and advocacy on behalf of improving education

MR. LAZIO See, I have a very different perspective. I have a very different perspective on your record in Arkansas. And I would just urge the voters not to rely on what I'm saying or perhaps even what Mrs. Clinton is saying, with all due respect. But to look it up with their computers, do some research. Because in almost the entire range of student performance . . . there was a dramatic reduction in achievement as a result of —

MRS. CLINTON You know, Gabe, I'm not — I'm not here to defend Arkansas. I'm here to run for the Senate to represent New York.

MR. LAZIO Could — could I just try to finish my point. Gabe, could I finish my point now?

MRS. CLINTON I take great, great offense at his misinterpreting and mischaracterizing what went on.

MR. LAZIO Could I finish my point?

MR. PRESSMAN O.K. You finish your point.

MR. LAZIO I realize that you don't want to talk about Arkansas because that experience was a disaster for Arkansas.

MRS. CLINTON I'm happy to talk about it if that's what you want to spend your time talking about, Mr. Lazio.

MR. LAZIO But what's important —

MR. PRESSMAN Well, let's —

MR. LAZIO Because that's your record, Mrs. Clinton. And with all due respect, you can't run away from your record.

MRS. CLINTON Well, we have — we will have posted on the Web site the facts for anyone who's interested . . .

MR. PRESSMAN . . . There is a difference on the question of teacher testing. We've established that. What about on vouchers?

MR. LAZIO Sure. Well, but could I say also it confounds me, actually, why you would say to a new teacher that just came out of school and has learned, hopefully, the most current up-to-date methodology for teaching, and they're accustomed to using computers as teaching tools in the classroom — why you would say it's O.K. for them but it's

not O.K. for somebody that's been out there and teaching for 15 years and may have lost touch with their ability to use the latest techniques. And I think it's because in the end I'm not trapped by the status quo. I'm not trapped by the student — by the teachers' unions, which I think Mrs. Clinton is. . . .

MR. PRESSMAN Are you trapped by the teachers unions, as he says?

MRS. CLINTON No. In fact I'm very much in line with what I think will work and what experts in the field think. You know, I'm a lawyer. I had to take a bar exam. I think Mr. Lazio's a lawyer. He took a bar exam and he wasn't tested every five years. I happen to think teachers are professionals and should be treated as professionals. That's why I believe that we should test teachers in the beginning to make sure that when they got their teaching degree, when they got their B.A. from whatever school they graduated from, they're qualified. And then I believe we should have continuing legal education . . .

MR. LAZIO Can I try to make a couple points here, because I think there's a major difference between Mrs. Clinton and myself on education? . . .

The truth is . . . that I believe in making changes to put our children first. Mrs. Clinton believes in making sure that decision making on education stays in Washington. I want teachers and parents to make decisions about their education.

MR. PRESSMAN O.K., you have a chance for a rebuttal here, Mrs. Clinton.

MRS. CLINTON Well, thank you, Gabe. I mean, you don't know where to start with Mr. Lazio. He does go on.

But the fact is that when I started back in 1983 and proposed teacher testing, I knew that it needed to be done in that particular circumstance. But we've done a lot to improve standards. But I do want to test new teachers and I do want continuing education and professional advancement and development for our teachers. And I do support pay for performance and I do support adding qualified teachers to the classroom.

Where we part company is that he doesn't support, for example, the 100,000 teachers in the classroom in Congress. And he has not gone along with the bipartisan plan to build and repair our schools so that we actually can have those lower classroom sizes. And he supports vouchers, which I oppose.

So I think that any fair reading of the record would show that we do have significant differences.

MR. PRESSMAN . . . On the vouchers thing.

MR. LAZIO Can I — out of fairness I think it's important. Because Mrs. Clinton has repeated these things several times, both in her commercials, which The Daily News has called her on and called her advertising absolutely false, and now I want a chance to be able to rebut that.

Mrs. Clinton, you well know by now, because I know you're a smart woman, that I have voted twice to reduce class size, twice for billions to help us recruit new teachers. I have been a co-sponsor of bipartisan legislation for school construction. You know that.

What's important here is that we understand the difference between the two candidates. Mrs. Clinton believes that all the decisions should be made in Washington, that we should force categorical programs. I understand that communities should be making those decisions on a community-by-community basis. . . .

MR. PRESSMAN O.K. Let me blow the whistle here on the education issue.

Some headlines from a selection of press releases and commercials by both campaigns: "Hillary Clinton plays politics with women's health again." "The latest distortions from the Clinton campaign."

And from your side: "Lazio points fingers, plays politics instead of voting for a resolution condemning Palestinian violence." "Lazio soft-money hypocrisy."

You would think from all these things that I read . . . that you dislike each other. Is that true?

MR. LAZIO Well, I think that the difference is here, it's not a matter of personal dislike, I think it's a matter for, on our side, to point at the differences between candidates and the philosophy between two candidates.

I think, for example, it's important to point out on a number of different issues that there's a major difference. . . .

MRS. CLINTON This is what's called a filibuster, Gabe.

MR. PRESSMAN Yeah, let me ask you about the emotional content here. Do you dislike him?

MRS. CLINTON No. I think that I have no personal animus at all toward Mr. Lazio. He seems like a very, you know, nice person. I just have a great deal of —

MR. PRESSMAN Well, name three things that you like about him. And you name three things you like about her.

MRS. CLINTON Well, it seems like he has a very nice family. And that he, you know, has worked very hard. And that, you know, he's an attractive young man.

MR. LAZIO Well, I think you're an attractive woman. And I think you've got a very nice family. I'm sure you're a very good mother as well.

MRS. CLINTON Thank you very much. But that's not what this election's about. And what it is about are the very significant differences between us on everything like education and health care and the economy and the environment and guns and choice and Social Security and the budget surplus. . . .

MR. PRESSMAN Let's talk about some of these issues. In recent weeks, scores of people have been killed in the Middle East. Palestinian leaders have blamed Israel and vice versa. Israeli Prime Minister Barak made far-reaching concessions, in his view, to the Palestinians. But in view of what's happened, do you think there should be a Palestinian state now?

MRS. CLINTON Only as part of a comprehensive peace agreement. That's always been my position. That if there were a comprehensive peace agreement that guaranteed Israel's safety and security and the parties agreed at the negotiating table.

But a unilateral declaration is absolutely unacceptable and it would mean the end of any U.S. aid.

MR. PRESSMAN What about you?

MR. LAZIO Well, I guess that's a change of heart for Mrs. Clinton, because back in 1998 you called for a Palestinian state. You undercut the Israeli negotiating position. And the administration had to rush in to try and distance themselves from you.

The problem is . . . that many people around the world and the Palestinian Authority looks at you and your comments and your proximity to the White House and your role in the White House. And when you call for a Palestinian state, when you accept contributions from people that support Hamas, when you invite them to the White House and they're your guests, you send a message out to the world and to the Palestinian Authority that encourages violence to be used as a tool to achieve political ends.

MR. PRESSMAN Wait a minute. Didn't your presidential candidate, George W. Bush, also accept contributions?

MR. LAZIO That's absolutely — well the difference is — it's absolutely wrong for all, it's absolutely wrong for all. The difference, though, on top of receiving the contributions and attending the fund-raiser and being

honored by a group, the leader of which says it is perfectly acceptable to use murder and violence as a tool to achieve political ends, is that people who support the Hamas group, which is a terrorist group, have been invited and courted at the White House, which I think is wrong. And I think it's one reason why —

MRS. CLINTON Am I going to get a chance? I'm happy to sit here and let him go on if that's how we want to spend the hour.

MR. LAZIO But Mrs. Clinton, frankly, that's your record.

MR. PRESSMAN No. She has a right to answer —

MRS. CLINTON But I think it's appropriate, Gabe — after he's done so many, made so many inaccurate statements —

MR. LAZIO Which ones?

MRS. CLINTON You know, Gabe —

MR. PRESSMAN O.K. I'm the speaker of the House, you're a member. Go ahead.

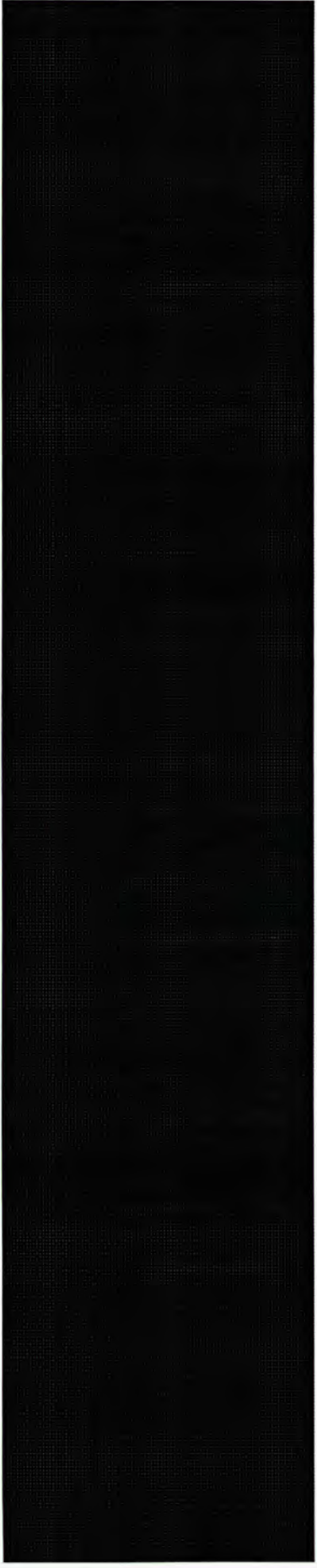
MRS. CLINTON Thank you, Gabe. You know, Gabe, I learned that an organization claimed credit for sponsoring a fund-raiser I attended. And it's an organization whose members have made statements that I find offensive and have condemned. And as soon as I found out the facts, I returned all of the money that was raised because I did not want anyone to have a false impression about my strong support for Israel's safety and security. . . .

MR. PRESSMAN Abe Foxman, the head of the A.D.L., the Anti-Defamation League, says that these organizations, these Muslim organizations, can be in the mainstream when they condemn terrorism.

MRS. CLINTON I agree with that. Abe and I have talked about that. I agree with that. That certainly every American should be part of the political process. But no American should in any way give aid and comfort to terrorists. And it's especially important today when we see the bombing of the U.S.S. Cole and the loss of 17 of our young men and women, which was just an evil act of terrorism.

MR. PRESSMAN Do you have a comment, briefly?

MR. LAZIO I do want to comment if I can. I think first of all that the people of New York want to have somebody who has a consistent record. And for eight years I have been consistent and strong in my support for the security of the state of Israel. Without equivocation. Without a question mark next to my name.



You know, it is important for people to understand, when you cavort with terrorists, with people that pronounce that violence and murder can be used as a tool to achieve political ends, you give them credibility. You embolden them and you send a message out to the world. Now, I think it was important that in the hours after the United States failed to use its veto, to — in the U.N. Security Council — which I think was one of the great mistakes of the last few years, that I spoke out immediately. I'm sure that Mrs. Clinton had a chance to speak with her husband about this, with the president about this, to urge him not to use that veto. I would love to know what the context of the discussion was.

MR. PRESSMAN To urge him not to use it or to use it?

MR. LAZIO To urge him to use the veto.

MRS. CLINTON That was what I urged my husband to do. He made a different decision. But you know, when we're talking about strong and unequivocal support, there is no question mark next to me. There's an exclamation point. I am an emphatic, unwavering supporter of Israel's safety and security. And in fact I've done it at some cost indeed, Mr. Lazio, because —

MR. LAZIO Could I ask a question?

MRS. CLINTON When the independent — let me finish, please — when the Independence Party was considering who to nominate, I made it very clear that I would not run on a party line with Pat Buchanan because of his anti-Semitic comments. You were more than happy to accept that particular line —

MR. LAZIO Mrs. Clinton, that's not totally accurate. That's not totally accurate. First of all, your people —

MRS. CLINTON Well, that's how it was reported.

MR. LAZIO Your people were up there working hard for that, No. 1. No. 2 is —

MR. PRESSMAN They were working hard for the Independence —

MR. LAZIO No. 2, could I —

MRS. CLINTON You know, I've specifically said publicly that I wouldn't take it if they nominated Pat Buchanan. It was up to them to decide what to do and they would not make that —

MR. LAZIO Could I try and finish my point, Gabe, if I can? And I'm happy to try and —

MR. PRESSMAN Why wouldn't you take it?

MRS. CLINTON Because I wouldn't want to be associated with Pat Buchanan, who has a record of anti-Semitic comments. And I made that very clear at the time. You can go back and look at my comments.

MR. LAZIO And you know I answered questions from you, Gabe, how I felt about him and condemned him and the fact that he has been intolerant. But the point is it's very hard to accept a record or a claim of consistency when you called for a Palestinian state with full military powers. It's very difficult to accept that you are a consistent supporter when you stand on the sidelines while Suha Arafat issues a blood libel suggesting that Israelis have been orchestrating an attack on Palestinian women and children with poison. It's very difficult for —

MR. PRESSMAN What about that Suha Arafat thing? As long as you brought it up.

MR. LAZIO . . . for us to imagine you've been a consistent supporter when you refused to support the law which says that we should move our embassy to Jerusalem, not next year, not at the end of the year, after eight years, but right now. For eight years I've wanted the embassy to be placed in Jerusalem.

MRS. CLINTON You know, I can only respond because, you know, as The Forward said when they endorsed me, Jewish voters should reject smear campaigns, inaccurate information —

MR. LAZIO But what's inaccurate about that?

MRS. CLINTON . . . much of which is floating around.

MR. LAZIO But what's inaccurate about that? Be fair.

MR. PRESSMAN Hang on.

MRS. CLINTON You know, my positions — my positions for more than 20 years have been to do everything I could to support Israel and to increase the relationships between the United States and Israel. I've worked on everything from the National Council of Jewish Women's program to bring a pre- instruction, preschool instruction program for children of the United States, you know, to speaking out, time and time again, about violence and terrorism. . . .

MR. PRESSMAN Did you accept the Independence nomination?

MR. LAZIO No.

MRS. CLINTON That's because it wasn't offered.

MR. LAZIO No. It wasn't offered to either one of us, to be

fair about that. . . .

MR. PRESSMAN O.K. Campaign finance. The issue has been raised kind of inferentially previously. But one thing that disturbs people about your fund-raising, Mr. Lazio, is that you've taken contributions from the housing industry, and that you serve on a committee that regulates housing. Is this likely to instill confidence in the voters?

MR. LAZIO Well, I think that if you look at the average donation that I receive, it's like less than \$100, Gabe. We have rejected the use of soft money in this campaign. My campaign has neither raised nor spent a dollar of soft money, which is a very different experience from my opponent, Mrs. Clinton's campaign. We could have easily decided to go down that road of trying to raise a lot of money in very large denominations, but decided against it. I have done a good deal of work in the House of Representatives. Of course I've been very active on housing issues, on helping the homeless, helping poor people with public housing, helping Native Americans. . . .

MR. PRESSMAN But have you gotten contributions, heavy contributions, from the housing industry?

MR. LAZIO We've gotten contributions from a whole range of people with different interests that are important to the quality of life of New Yorkers. Do New Yorkers care about the homeless? I believe they do. And that's why I've authored legislation to help them. Public-housing residents — the most sweeping reform in public-housing history — was authored by me and passed in the House and signed into law, which I'm proud to say.

MRS. CLINTON Well, Gabe, let me perhaps enlighten you on his record, since he did not. He received a million dollars in contributions from the home-building industry and from the manufacturers of homes. And in return, at least there is an appearance that he did several things. He fought to weaken the safety standards for manufactured housing and in-home building.

MR. PRESSMAN True or false.

MR. LAZIO That's absolutely false. And you know it, Mrs. Clinton. Please do not make up things.

MRS. CLINTON Well, Mr. Lazio, you just quoted — you just referred to The Daily News, which ran an investigative article which made exactly that point. In addition —

MR. LAZIO That is absolutely false.

MRS. CLINTON Well, but it appears that —

MR. LAZIO Let me tell you something, Mrs. Clinton, in eight years — there's one thing that I will not tolerate. And

that's being dragged down into the mud. My reputation is impeccable. My integrity is impeccable. Never in my life has anybody accused me of doing a single thing because of who supported me. I am very proud of my record on housing. . . . There's been nobody else in the House of Representatives who's stood up for poor people and to provide them with good- quality housing. Now, are you going to complain about that? The fact that I've been there for the homeless, I've been there to provide housing for people with AIDS —

MRS. CLINTON Well, it's —

MR. LAZIO I've been there for Native American people, I've been there for people who rely on Section 8 . . . that I'm boosting homeownership for our young families.

MR. PRESSMAN O.K.

MRS. CLINTON In fact, I'll be meeting with a group of public-housing tenants this evening because what their memory of that fight was, Mr. Lazio, is that you were trying to remove the caps from the limits that would in some way prohibit a lot of people from being able to have the public housing that they needed because you were going to make it available to more people than just the very poorest of the poor. But let me just go back, Gabe —

MR. LAZIO I'd be happy to talk about housing policy if you want.

MRS. CLINTON . . . for a minute. Because not only — not only is there a problem with the home builders and the safety standards, but the F.H.A. was trying to increase the limits that would enable a person who wanted to be a homeowner to be able to borrow at low interest. And my opponent fought that. He did not want those limits raised and around the time of that fight he received significant contributions from the mortgage banking industry.

MR. PRESSMAN All right, let me —

MR. LAZIO Do you understand that the standards that you're talking about were endorsed by the administration's Department of Housing and Urban Development? Do you understand that?

MRS. CLINTON Do you understand that the standards I'm talking about, that you were trying to weaken, were said by the AARP that they would have put people in danger?

MR. PRESSMAN Alright.

MR. LAZIO O.K. now, they've endorsed the bill. . . .

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Turnout of blacks is key for Clinton

By ROBERT J. MCCARTHY
News Political Reporter
10/28/00

NEW YORK - At 9:30 Sunday morning in the East New York section of Brooklyn, Hillary Rodham Clinton quoted Jeremiah to an African-American congregation from the pulpit of St. Paul Community Baptist Church.

"In Jeremiah, it's written that we stand at the crossroads and look; 'Ask what the good way is and then walk in it,' " she said. "Each of us as citizens and voters has a chance to ask what the good way is - the way not only to walk in, but to vote to ratify it."

In dozens of black churches around New York City and now in upstate cities, too, the Democratic Senate candidate running against Rep. Rick A. Lazio preaches the same gospel.

Here, in New York City's black community - the biggest and most solid Democratic base of all - she claps rhythmically to the choir's high-energy tones and pleads with her supporters to go to the polls Nov. 7.

"Everyone must vote," she said later at Grace Baptist Church in the Westchester County city of Mount Vernon. "It's a fundamental act of citizenship that so many fought for and even died for."

But it's more than fundamental citizenship for the first lady and her candidacy.

Most observers believe that her success in mobilizing this solidly Democratic base will help determine the outcome of a Senate election that just about every poll labels a cliffhanger. There is no doubt about the potential power of black voters in this contest.

"I really believe the margin of victory will be determined by the turnout of African-Americans," the Rev. W. Franklyn Richardson, pastor of Grace Baptist, exhorts from the pulpit just before Clinton's remarks. "We cannot afford to stay home."

That's exactly why Clinton is using one of the most effective political networks in New York State - the power of the black church - to deliver her message and to mobilize her supporters.

Sunday after Sunday, she retells hearing at age 14 the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. preach and how his call to action "changed my life."



Associated Press
Hillary Rodham Clinton listens to the choir at St. Paul Community Baptist Church in Brooklyn last week with the Rev. David Brawley.



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She reiterates her ideas on health care and housing, about creating jobs and increasing the minimum wage. And she does not shy away from the overtly political, responding sharply to Lazio's constant barrage.

"My opponent still has not told the voters what he will do about health care," she said from the St. Paul pulpit. "It's just an agenda of attacks and insults."

At a sidewalk press conference last Sunday outside Grace Baptist in Mount Vernon, the candidate acknowledged the importance of her effort.

"I'm particularly hopeful that there will be a very large turnout of African-Americans and Latino Americans and young people," she said. "I'm blessed to have a lot of strong support in the African-American community."

"But if the people who I'm fighting for and hoping to advocate for don't turn out," she warned, "then it will be more difficult for their views and their needs and aspirations to be successful."

There is no doubt she is connecting with black congregations. She is enthusiastically supported - especially when she mentions President Clinton.

"He's incredibly popular with minorities," said former state Democratic Chairman Al Gordon. "Look at his administration. It reflects the diverse population of America. And look at his policies. They've benefited minorities tremendously."

At Grace Baptist, Elizabeth Lindan typifies the congregation's sentiments.

"She's for us," she said. "She's for all people of color."

And at St. Paul in Brooklyn, Jimmy Man Dobie stood in her white usher's uniform and seemed almost offended by questions about her voting plans.

"I'm a Democrat," she responded. "That says it all."

High volume of voters needed

But getting those Democrats to the polls in large numbers presents a daunting challenge. Democratic strategists such as Gordon recall the 1994 election in which three-term Gov. Mario M. Cuomo was defeated. While New York City and the big upstate cities produced overwhelming support for Cuomo, they didn't generate enough votes to offset huge turnouts in suburban areas that supported Republicans.

Clinton has to "bump up" turnout in those solidly Democratic minority communities, Gordon said, and prevent them from voting just for president, the way many Democrats in 1992 voted just for senator in the contest between Alfonse M. D'Amato and Robert Abrams.

"Even though you have this famous woman and that Clinton name," Gordon said, "you still have a very large percentage in New York City that will not vote and another percentage that will just vote presidential."

But he thinks her strategy will produce results.

"Her approach is refreshing," he said. "So often you see campaigns that shy away from their base at the end. She's going right for the base."

It is in places like East New York and Mount Vernon where Clinton can count on the most solid Democrats.

Her efforts in similar places continue. She spoke at the Baber AME Church in Rochester on Tuesday and plans to address the congregation of Buffalo's St. John Baptist on Sunday morning.

All of this constitutes an important aspect of campaigning for minority votes, because black churches have long served as a forum for candidates who recognize the historical link between politics and inner-city congregations.

The Rev. Bennett W. Smith, the St. John Baptist pastor who formerly headed the 4.5-million-member Progressive National Baptist Convention, has been a White House guest of the Clintons on many occasions. He acknowledges his support for Mrs. Clinton's candidacy and points to the importance of church participation in the political process.

"It was in the churches that the right to vote and the voter registration drives of the South took place," he said. "So as a result of church involvement, black people earned the right to participate. Now we select candidates we think are in the best interests of black and poor people."

Smith calls it a "very effective tool," with turnout rates of 75 to 80 percent among church members in some elections.

That's what Clinton hopes for a week from Tuesday, and much of her strategy will now revolve around that goal.

"The big question is how many people show up, so she's well-advised to play the turnout card," said Lee M. Miringoff, director of the Marist College poll.

Miringoff said his polls register virtually no African-American support for Lazio, leaving Clinton to worry only about how many will actually pull the lever.

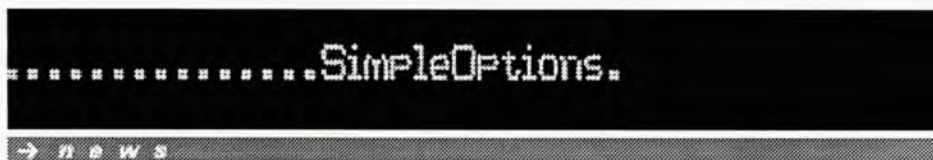
"That's the trick right now for Hillary Clinton. They understand that, and that's why you see them doing what they're doing."

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NewsFlash

UP-TO-THE-MINUTE AP NEWS REPORTS

Post endorses Lazio in U.S. Senate race

The Associated Press
10/28/00 4:19 PM

NEW YORK (AP) -- The New York Post will endorse U.S. Rep. Rick Lazio in its Sunday paper to fill the New York Senate seat left vacant by the pending retirement of Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

Lazio "has built a remarkable record during his eight years in Congress," the Post said in its endorsement, which was released Saturday. "Born and raised here, Lazio understands the issues as only a New Yorker can."

Lazio is the Republican candidate opposing first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in one of the nation's most hotly contested races. Polls have indicated that Clinton is leading in the race.

Lazio "has served his constituents well -- and earned the respect of his congressional colleagues," the Post said. "By contrast, Mrs. Clinton has been openly disrespectful -- indeed, contemptuous -- of Congress for years."

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October 28, 2000

Polling Attack on Mrs. Clinton Is Reported

By CLIFFORD J. LEVY

The New York Republican State Committee is conducting a telephone campaign attacking Hillary Rodham Clinton's record on issues of importance to Jewish voters, and a Manhattan man who received such a call yesterday described it as push-polling — a technique disavowed by reputable pollsters in which a caller claims to be doing a survey but asks loaded questions.

The man, Seth Hulkower, said he was at home about 3 p.m. when he received the call. "She said she was conducting a survey," Mr. Hulkower said. "And then she launched into, 'Did you know that Hillary Rodham Clinton had been a supporter of a Palestinian state before she decided to run for Senate?' At that point, I cut her off."

Mr. Hulkower, 42, said he was about to hang up when he became curious about who was paying for the call, which was made from the offices of West Teleservices, a national telemarketing company, in Lubbock, Tex. He said he asked the woman, who said she did not know. He asked to speak to a supervisor, he said, and the supervisor eventually disclosed that the call was being paid for by the Republican State Committee.

Mr. Hulkower, who said he is Jewish, said he was familiar

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Mr. Hulkower, who said he is Jewish, said he was familiar with the concept of push-polling and considered the call to be a form of it. State Republican officials said they believed that West Teleservices was doing work on the party's behalf, making calls questioning Mrs. Clinton's record on issues of interest to Jewish voters. But the officials said they did not engage in push-polling and always had callers identify themselves as being from the Republican State Committee.

The calls are a new twist in the fierce battle in the New York Senate race over the loyalties of Jewish voters, who are traditionally a reliable Democratic constituency but this year are thought by some Republican leaders to be more likely to abandon Mrs. Clinton because of her positions on the Middle East.

Dan Allen, a spokesman for the New York State Republican Committee, said last night that he was unable to obtain a script of the calls that the committee had made on Jewish issues.

"We are not doing any push-polling, and the phone calls that we made, we have identified ourselves as coming from the New York Republican State Committee," Mr. Allen said. "We have nothing to hide."

Dan McLagan, a spokesman for the campaign of Mrs. Clinton's Republican opponent, Representative Rick A. Lazio, said he was not aware of the calls.

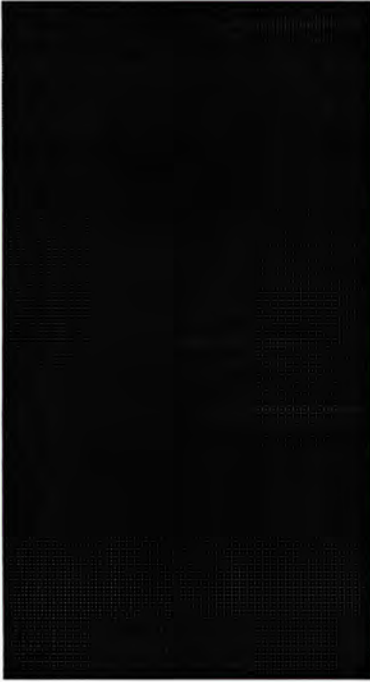
Howard Wolfson, a spokesman for the Clinton campaign, suggested that the Lazio campaign was behind the calls.

"Rick Lazio's campaign promised New Yorkers that it would not push poll," Mr. Wolfson said. "Now we know that isn't true. New Yorkers will absolutely reject Mr. Lazio's desperate tactics."

Mrs. Clinton has sought to bolster her standing with Jewish voters by appearing with prominent Jewish politicians, promoting her endorsement by Jewish newspapers, and speaking out about ensuring Israel's security.

But as violence in the Middle East has flared, the issues have stayed at the forefront of the Senate race. When the United States did not veto a United Nations Security Council resolution criticizing Israel, Mrs. Clinton disagreed with the move, distancing herself from her husband's administration. Still, Mr. Lazio criticized her, saying that she should have exerted more influence over President Clinton.

The Republicans continue to point out that Mrs. Clinton voiced support for a Palestinian state and embraced Yasir Arafat's wife during a visit to the West Bank. And this week, there was a new controversy: Mrs. Clinton's decision



to return \$50,000 in contributions collected at a fundraiser sponsored by an American Muslim group after some of its leaders were accused of voicing support for radical Palestinian organizations.

This is not the first time that push-polling has surfaced as an issue in the Senate campaign. In February, the campaign of Mr. Lazio's predecessor, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, accused the Clinton campaign of making calls intended to spread misinformation about the mayor. The Clinton campaign said that it had not done so.

Push-polling usually arises in frenzy at the end of campaigns, when politicians hope their tactics will not draw scrutiny. Just before the Republican presidential primary last March in South Carolina, Senator John McCain accused the campaign of Gov. George W. Bush of using this strategy, which Mr. Bush denied.

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