

Electionline

New York telephone campaign dropped

One day after Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton pronounced herself the victim of "a new low" in campaign tactics, the New York Republican Party said it is dropping a telephone campaign that linked her to the terrorist attack that killed 17 U.S. sailors two weeks ago in Yemen.

The Republican candidate, Rep. Rick Lazio, said the phone calls were about to stop anyway, and he didn't have anything to do with them. However, he said that the issue they raised was legitimate. "Mrs. Clinton takes money from people who believe violence and terrorism are a legitimate tool," Lazio said. Clinton last week returned \$50,000 raised at an event sponsored by the American Muslim Alliance after it was reported that the group's leader defended the use of armed force by Palestinians against Israel.

The phone calls told undecided voters that Clinton took money from an Arab group that "openly brags about its support for a Mideast terrorism group, the same kind of terrorism that killed our sailors."

Clinton said Sunday that Lazio and the state GOP "still owe an apology to the families who lost their sons and daughters and loved ones on the USS Cole."

Also Sunday, the *New York Post* reported Lazio leading, 47%-45%, but that's within the margin of error, and pollster John Zogby said the race remains "too close to call."

— Kathy Kiely

Poll Finds Little Voter Movement In Race for Senate in New York

By ADAM NAGOURNEY and MARJORIE CONNELLY

Despite three televised debates and a barrage of television advertisements and attacks, voter opinions about Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rick A. Lazio appear largely static as the candidates enter the final week of their contest, with Mrs. Clinton's prospects in the election now very much dependent on the extent her supporters turn out, according to the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll.

The poll, taken Wednesday through Saturday, suggested that some of Mr. Lazio's central attacks on Mrs. Clinton in this final month of the Senate campaign had yet to take hold. Voters overwhelmingly believed that the first lady would do a better job at overhauling the health care system, even after a week of attacks by Mr. Lazio in which he raised her failed advocacy of a national health care plan in 1994. And a slight majority said Mrs. Clinton was the stronger advocate of Israel, despite Mr. Lazio's escalating attacks on her Middle East views at a time of increasing unrest in the region.

But voters were equally divided over which candidate would do a better job of improving the New York economy. Voters upstate, which is overwhelmingly Republican, gave Mr. Lazio a slight edge, despite Mrs. Clinton's persistent attempts to portray Mr. Lazio as unconcerned about upstate economic problems, most recently as she trav-

eled the region this weekend. And respondents to the poll also said that Mr. Lazio deserved the credit for an agreement in the race to restrict campaign contributions, even though most said it would not influence how they voted.

Mrs. Clinton now has an eight-point lead over Mr. Lazio, 49 percent to 41 percent. That is statistically unchanged from the previous Times/CBS News Poll taken in September, when Mrs. Clinton had a nine-point lead, 48 percent to 39 percent. When this latest poll was adjusted to take into account how undecided voters said they were leaning, Mrs. Clinton led Mr. Lazio by 52 percent to 44 percent.

The eight-point lead in the latest Times/CBS News Poll is relatively consistent with the findings of most, though not all, public polls over the last month, and suggests both why Mr. Lazio was attacking Mrs. Clinton so intensely during the last debate, on Friday night, and the air of confidence that has settled in around Mrs. Clinton's camp in recent days.

Still, even with the margin suggested by this poll — which would be considered wide by the standard of recent New York elections — the results suggest abundant reasons for concern by Mrs. Clinton and hope for Mr. Lazio as they enter the last eight days of their contest.

Mr. Lazio's supporters seem much

Continued on Page A24



Rick A. Lazio with Patrick Golden, 2, and his father, Councilman Martin J. Golden of Brooklyn, yesterday. The Republican Party says it has stopped phone calls linking Muslim donors to Hillary Rodham Clinton with terrorism. Mr. Lazio refused to apologize for the calls. Page A22.

Michelle V. Agins/The New York Times

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Poll Finds Little Movement in the Senate Race

Continued From Page A1

more likely to turn out on Election Day, driven less by an allegiance to the Republican Senate candidate and more by their dislike of Mrs. Clinton; 25 percent of Mr. Lazio's supporters cited their dislike of Mrs. Clinton in explaining their choice, compared with just 6 percent of Mrs. Clinton's supporters who said they were motivated to vote against Mr. Lazio.

What is more, if it appears that Vice President Al Gore is going to win New York easily — this poll suggests he is 21 points ahead of George W. Bush in New York, 52 to 31 percent — then Democrats may not bother to turn out in the numbers Mrs. Clinton needs to win the race. If the percentage of voter turnout falls near 45 percent, then Mrs. Clinton's edge in the Times/CBS News Poll shrinks to just a few percentage points.

Mrs. Clinton is clearly concerned about Democrats turning out on her behalf, and she spent much of yesterday urging supporters to be sure to

vote a week from Tuesday, beginning with an appearance at two churches with predominantly black congregations in Buffalo. The poll found that Mrs. Clinton had the support of nearly 9 out of 10 black New Yorkers.

Most analysts also believe that a majority of the undecided voters will end up supporting Mr. Lazio, because at this point they know so much about her that there is little left that she can tell them that would sway their vote. Mr. Lazio's senior strategist, Mike Murphy, made that point last night in arguing that the findings were bad for Mrs. Clinton, notwithstanding the lead suggested in the numbers.

"Upstate, not a single undecided voter is going to vote for her," he said. "We're moving up every day, and our own polls show it even closer."

Mrs. Clinton's pollster, Mark Penn, disputed that argument, asserting that after five months in the race and extensive spending by Mr. Lazio on television advertisements, voters were as familiar with the Republican congressman from Suffolk

Cause for concern in one camp, and hope in the other.

County as they were with Mrs. Clinton.

"People know about him and who he is, and they know about her and who she is," Mr. Penn said. "The undecideds are people who are still holding back from both of them, and are likely to break pretty evenly."

The poll was of 995 registered voters, of whom 871 are considered likely to vote. The poll had a margin of sampling error of plus or minus four percentage points.

The peculiarities of this particularly race aside, the poll for the most part suggests that Mr. Lazio has had difficulty in finding ways to gain traction against Mrs. Clinton. His long-planned assault on Mrs. Clinton's role in the health care legislation, which Mr. Lazio's aides have for months predicted would be devastatingly effective, has not caught on, perhaps because the candidate chose to begin the attack in the middle of the World Series, when campaign coverage was overshadowed.

One in two respondents said that Mrs. Clinton's role in what she herself has acknowledged as a legislative debacle made no difference in their decision on how to vote; nearly one in four said it made them more likely to vote for her.

"What she had to say at the time

about health care reform made a lot of sense," Bruce Gronich, 41 a Democrat and an architect from Plainview, N.Y., said in a follow-up interview. "She was trying to do the right thing."

But Donald Hoffman, 72, a sales manager from Queens, who does not identify himself with either party, echoed some of the criticism that Mr. Lazio has voiced in recent days. "I felt she was out of line in that it was a government function, not the function of an individual, even though she is the first lady," he said. "It was an unauthorized act and she should not have been doing that. I think it was a grab for power for her."

Similarly, the issue that Mr. Lazio adopted as a flagship issue a month ago — trying to force a ban on the use of so-called soft-money for commercials — seems to have won him more good will than actual support from voters. Nearly 80 percent of respondents said that the ban was a good idea, and about 40 percent said that Mr. Lazio deserved the credit for it, notwithstanding Mrs. Clinton's claim that she first proposed the idea. But nearly half the respondents said that would not influence their vote at all.

Mr. Lazio's attempt to invoke Mario M. Cuomo, the Democratic governor who lost a bid for a fourth term in 1994, to discredit Mrs. Clinton also seems problematic. Statewide, only 22 percent of New Yorkers said they had an unfavorable opinion of Mr. Cuomo, who has been out of public life for six years; upstate, that figure is only 28 percent.

On Israel, an issue that Mr. Lazio has made central to his campaign in

How the Poll Was Conducted

The latest New York Times/CBS News Poll of New York State is based on telephone interviews conducted Wednesday to Saturday with 1,255 adults throughout the state. Of those, 995 said they were registered to vote. Interviews were conducted in English or Spanish.

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

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

In addition, the question about voting preferences and other aspects of the 2000

election for the United States Senate are based on the responses of likely voters, weighted to a probable electorate on the basis of intention to vote, attention to the campaign, and past voting behavior, further weighted so that those who reside in New York City make up 31 percent of the entire state, which is the city's typical share of total ballots cast on Election Day.

In theory, in 19 cases out of 20 the results based on such samples will differ by no more than three percentage points in either direction from what would have been obtained by seeking out all adult residents of New York State. For smaller subgroups the potential sampling error is larger. As an example, for the 871 likely voters, weighted to a probable electorate of 667, it is plus or minus four percentage points.

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

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

New York Voters on the Candidates

	CLINTON	LAZIO
<i>Voters who...</i>		
Have a favorable opinion of the candidate	50%	37%
Have an unfavorable opinion	33	28
No opinion	17	35
<i>Voters who say the candidate...</i>		
Has maturity and experience	66	56
Cares about people like you	62	51
Has the right kind of experience	54	58
Has honesty and integrity	51	53
<i>Which candidate...</i>		
Would make decisions you would agree with about Supreme Court nominees	58	43
Would do a better job working to reform the health care system	58	31
Would be a strong supporter of Israel	50	44
Is discussing issues that are important to the campaign	47	29
Would do a better job getting along with and working with other senators	45	42
Would do a better job to improve the New York State economy	44	43
Deserves credit for the soft money ban	23	42

Based on telephone interviews conducted Oct. 25-28 with 995 registered voters throughout New York State.

an attempt to undercut Mrs. Clinton's standing among Jews, 50 percent of respondents said that Mrs. Clinton would be a strong supporter of Israel in the Senate, while 44 percent said the same thing about Mr. Lazio. Seven in 10 respondents who said they were Jewish said they supported Mrs. Clinton.

Since the last Times/CBS News Poll, Mr. Lazio appears to have made up some ground with suburban women, among whom he had been trailing in September. Now, he is leading her among those voters by 48 percent to 38 percent. The previous poll was taken shortly after their first debate, in which Mr. Lazio walked across the stage and demanded that Mrs. Clinton sign a pledge to ban the use of soft money, a move that several analysts suggested was too aggressive and might hurt him among women voters.

Mr. Lazio is leading Mrs. Clinton in the suburbs by a margin of 51 percent to 39 percent. But he continues to have trouble in Republican upstate, which should be his stronghold: the poll found that he was ahead there 50 percent to 40 percent. Mr. Lazio probably must win at least 55 percent of the upstate vote to counteract Mrs. Clinton's advantage in the city, where she is winning 7 of

10 votes.

Mrs. Clinton seems to be enjoying some success with the issues she has raised to date. While Mr. Lazio has sought to connect Mrs. Clinton to Mr. Cuomo, she has moved to link her opponent to Newt Gingrich, the Republican former House speaker. Mr. Gingrich is much more disliked than Mr. Cuomo: one in two New Yorkers have an unfavorable view of Mr. Gingrich.

The poll also found that nearly half the respondents think that Mrs. Clinton was "doing a better job of discussing the issues that are important to the campaign," compared with nearly one-third who said the same thing about Mr. Lazio. That is the kind of measure that politicians watch closely, because in recent years, candidates who are perceived as spending more time talking about the issues rather than attacking their opponents, tend to do well in elections.

Finally, in a bit of good news for Mrs. Clinton, it seems that the first lady continues to be having some success in responding to concerns about where she is from. In this poll, 61 percent of respondents — the highest so far — said it made no difference to them where she was born.

Digest

THE NEW YORK REGION

NEW YORK

Action Not Meant to Offend Muslims, Mrs. Clinton Says

Hillary Rodham Clinton said yesterday that she respected Islam and did not intend to offend Muslim Americans when her campaign decided last week to return political contributions from members of a Muslim organization.

"I think every American deserves to be part of our political process," she said. "I have no difficulty with that at all."

Mrs. Clinton, speaking to reporters aboard her campaign bus, said it had been difficult at times navigating the ethnic politics of her newly adopted state. Mrs. Clinton's decision to return \$50,000 in contributions from members of the American Muslim Alliance has been described by many Muslims as pandering to the state's influential Jewish voters, an interpretation Mrs. Clinton and many prominent Jewish supporters have disputed.

"It has been intense and occasionally it has presented me with a learning curve that I have had to master or at least attempt to," Mrs. Clinton said when asked about the ethnic mix of New York. "But that is part of New York politics. New York is the most diverse place in our country, probably the entire world. So one would expect to find all of the diverse points of view and experiences that people bring from their cultural, and religious, and racial and tribal backgrounds at work in the political mix here in New York."

Dean E. Murphy (NYT)

G.O.P. Ends Phone Calls Linking Some Clinton Donors to Terrorism

By RANDAL C. ARCHIBOLD

The New York State Republican Committee said yesterday that its telephone campaign on behalf of Rick A. Lazio's Senate bid would no longer include calls that referred to the bombing of the destroyer Cole to try to suggest that some of Hillary Rodham Clinton's donors supported terrorism.

The calls including that reference, which Mrs. Clinton had harshly criticized as politicizing a tragedy, ended sometime Saturday after the party's chairman, William D. Powers, determined the script had run its course and not because of the criticism, a spokesman for Mr. Powers said.

The spokesman, Dan Allen, said Mr. Powers felt it had reached enough voters, though he could not provide an estimate for how many people had been called. Altogether, a broader telephone campaign, which began Thursday and was to continue for an undisclosed time, was expected to reach 500,000 people.

State party officials say the telephone campaign will continue with other calls, including some aimed at Jewish voters that question Mrs. Clinton's commitment to Israel.

No apologies for a tactic assailed as politicizing a disaster.

Mrs. Clinton, campaigning in Rochester with Senator Charles E. Schumer, said the decision to end the calls referring to the Cole bombing was not good enough. She repeated her demand of Saturday that Mr. Lazio and the Republican Party "do the honorable thing and apologize." Mr. Lazio refused on Saturday and then again yesterday, saying the Clinton campaign was trying to deflect attention from questionable donations.

"That is so typical," Mrs. Clinton said of the Republican decision. "They should have stopped the calls yesterday when they were caught making those calls. They should clearly take responsibility, as should Mr. Lazio. I believe both Congressman Lazio and the state Republican Party still owe an apology to the families that lost their sons and daughters and

loved ones on the U.S.S. Cole."

Both Jews and non-Jews have received calls. The pitch to non-Jews included a line saying Mrs. Clinton accepted money 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 U.S.S. Cole."

The reference is to contributions Mrs. Clinton accepted from leaders of the American Muslim Alliance at a fund-raiser in Boston in June. Mrs. Clinton returned the money, \$50,000, after learning that the group's leader was quoted as defending a United Nations resolution he interpreted as allowing Palestinians to take up arms against Israel. American investigators say the Oct. 12 explosion on the Cole, which killed 17 sailors, was most likely caused by terrorists but they have not linked the blast to any organization.

The calls to Jewish voters, Mr. Allen said, ask if they knew that before Mrs. Clinton entered the Senate race last year she "supported a Palestinian state and didn't support moving the U.S. Embassy to Jerusalem?" Mrs. Clinton said in June 1999 that she wanted the embassy moved as soon as possible, and

has said she supports a Palestinian state as part of a broad peace plan for the region.

Al Weisel, 37, a writer and editor in Manhattan, said he received a call from the state Republican committee last night asking if he knew "Hillary Clinton supported a Palestinian state and Palestinians." Mr. Weisel, who said he planned to vote for Mrs. Clinton, called the call "disgusting" and "sleazy."

Mr. Allen said the change in the script did not have anything to do with criticism of the content, saying instead that the party is always reviewing and "tinkering" with scripts.

The change came to light through Mr. Lazio, who after speaking at Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, told reporters in response to questions about the calls referring to the Cole, "I don't think they're going to continue to make those phone calls." A spokesman for Mr. Lazio, Patrick McCarthy, said the congressman had heard about the change "through the grapevine."

Mr. Lazio refused to answer questions on whether it was appropriate to use the Cole in the telephone campaign. But he sought to keep the focus on Mrs. Clinton's accepting what he has termed "blood money."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The Washington Times

First lady's staff accused of extortion

By Jerry Seper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Hillary Rodham Clinton's staff threatened to cut off Democratic fund-raiser Johnny Chung's White House access unless he paid \$15,000 to settle a job dispute between Chung and the first lady's former intern, records show.

The Justice Department, in a little-known probe, examined the solicitation as part of the campaign finance task force investigation. The department recommended in a 1998 report that "further inquiry" was necessary in what was described as an apparent attempt by the first lady's top aides to "extort money" from Chung.

That recommendation is now under review by a House committee in an ongoing investigation of suspected campaign finance abuses during the 1996 presidential election.

The recommendation was included in a task force report urging the appointment of an independent counsel in the campaign finance probe. Attorney General Janet Reno later rejected the recommendation.

Task force investigators identified the intern as Gina Ratliff. She sought \$15,000 in moving expenses after accepting a job in 1995 with Chung's California public relations firm — a demand Chung rejected.

The 1998 report of former task force chief Charles G. LaBella and FBI Assistant Director James DeSarno said Mrs. Clinton's chief of staff, Margaret A. Williams, and Evan Ryan, special assistant to Mrs. Williams, told Chung that unless he settled the dispute with Miss Ratliff, "the White House would be closed to him."

"It could be argued that Ryan and Williams were seeking to extort money from Chung to settle Ratliff's claims in return for continued access to the White House, the president and the first lady," the report said.

"Certainly those around the president and the first lady knew that to deny Chung access to the White House would adversely affect his business," it said. "And while Chung may not have been entitled to this access, the denial was used as a threat to extract a settlement of a dispute with a former intern of the first lady."

The report said it was not clear if anyone other than Mrs. Williams and Miss Ryan "were aware of the squeeze being placed on Chung," but the matter warranted further investigation to determine "what the first lady knew and what she did or chose not to do in connection



Photo by Larry S. Glenn/Special to The Washington Times

Democratic fund-raiser Johnny Chung joins the president and first lady for this picture at a Democratic National Committee function.

with the information."

Erica Batcheller, spokeswoman for Mrs. Clinton, who now is a candidate for a U.S. Senate seat in New York, did not return calls for comment after being asked for a response from the first lady concerning the task force accusations.

According to the LaBella-DeSarno report, shortly after Miss Ratliff left the White House for the job with Chung, she was "either fired or left his employment." At any rate, she demanded moving expenses. Chung "disagreed and the dispute got ugly," the report stated.

The report said that in May 1995, when Miss Ryan told Chung that unless he settled the dispute with Miss Ratliff, his White House access would be denied, she "made it clear" to Chung that the order came directly from Mrs. Williams. Miss Ryan later "confirmed" that accusation in an interview with task force investigators.

According to the report, Chung later paid Miss Ratliff \$8,000 through Miss Ryan at the White House. Chung told investigators he felt pressured to make the payment because if he refused, his business would suffer.

"Since Chung's financial well-being depended on continued access to the White House, Chung's business interests dictated he resolve the matter — a fact well known to Williams and others at the White House," the report

said. "As Chung explained in a recent interview, on numerous occasions he informed [Democratic National Committee] and White House personnel that the more access he could get, the better his business would be and the more contributions he would make."

Mrs. Williams has since left the White House and lives in Paris. She has previously denied any wrongdoing. Her attorney, Edward S.G. Dennis Jr., did not return calls left with his Philadelphia office for comment.

In March 1995, Mrs. Williams personally delivered to the DNC a \$50,000 check Chung had handed to her at the White House. That same day, Chung showed up at DNC headquarters with six executives from Chinese government-controlled companies to meet DNC Chairman Donald L. Fowler. Two days later, he and the executives attended President Clinton's weekly Oval Office radio address and posed with the first lady for pictures.

Miss Ryan, a member of Mrs. Clinton's senatorial campaign staff, has not been available for comment.

Miss Ratliff also has been unavailable, but told the House Government Reform Committee in a sworn deposition that when she was introduced to Chung by Mrs. Williams, she was told he was a significant DNC contributor.



New Jersey Democratic Senate candidate Jon Corzine (center) attends a breakfast of the Hudson County Central Labor Council yesterday.

Early Senate favorites see their leads shrink

REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

When voters go to the polls Nov. 7, they will decide which party controls the U.S. Senate, with Republicans defending a slender 54-46 majority.

Thirty-four of the 100 Senate seats are up for grabs. Here are capsule looks at some key races:

Delaware — Two of the most popular politicians in state history, incumbent five-term Republican William V. Roth Jr., 79, and Democratic Gov. Thomas R. Carper, 53, face off in a tight race that shows signs of heating up as voters struggle over a choice between youth and seniority.

Florida — Democrats have a prime opportunity for a pickup, with Democratic state Insurance Commissioner Bill Nelson holding the lead in polls over Rep. Bill McCollum, a House prosecutor during President Clinton's impeachment trial.

Michigan — First-term Republican Sen. Spencer Abraham's once-wide lead over Democratic Rep. Debbie Stabenow has disappeared after two solid debate performances by Mrs. Stabenow and a wave of new television ads on her behalf.

Minnesota — Sen. Rod Grams, most vulnerable of Republican incumbents, struggles to close the large gap in polls against well-financed department store heir Mark Dayton, who has spent his own money heavily.

Missouri — The race was plunged into chaos by the death of Democratic Gov. Mel Carnahan in a plane crash. He was running neck-and-neck with first-term Republican Sen. John Ashcroft. Mr. Carnahan remains on the ballot and the Democratic acting governor wants to appoint Mr. Carnahan's widow, Jean, to fill the spot if Mr. Carnahan wins, although she has not indicated if she will accept. Polls show a surge of sympathy support, but a posthumous win by the late governor is expected to draw a court challenge from Mr. Ashcroft.

Montana — Republican incumbent Conrad Burns faces a stronger-than-expected challenge from rancher Brian Schweitzer,

who has closed a huge early gap in polls to pull even.

Nebraska — Democrats try to hold onto a seat in this firmly Republican state after the retirement of Sen. Bob Kerrey. Former two-term Democratic Gov. Ben Nelson, an anti-abortion conservative, has seen his early lead dwindle against Republican Attorney General Don Stenberg, who is benefiting from the strong support of Nebraska Republican Sen. Chuck Hagel.

Nevada — Republicans have a prime opportunity to pick up a Democratic seat after the retirement of Sen. Richard H. Bryan. Republican John Ensign, a former congressman and 1998 Senate nominee, leads Democratic trial lawyer Ed Bernstein, who is spending his own money heavily on the race.

New Jersey — Big-spending Democrat Jon Corzine, a former chairman of investment bank Goldman Sachs, sees an early lead shrink in his bid to replace retiring Democrat Frank R. Lautenberg. Republican Bob Franks pulls back to within striking range in the latest poll despite an advertising wave by Mr. Corzine in expensive New York and Philadelphia markets.

New York — In the country's most-watched Senate race, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton had pulled into the lead over Republican Rep. Rick Lazio in their bitter fight to take over the seat of retiring Democrat Daniel Patrick Moynihan, but a new Reuters-MSNBC poll gives Mr. Lazio a slight edge. Mrs. Clinton would be the only first lady to win elective office.

Virginia — Democratic incumbent Charles S. Robb, who has shown a facility for come-from-behind wins after his 1994 battle with Oliver North, pulls even with conservative former Gov. George F. Allen after an onslaught of television advertising.

Washington — Republican incumbent Slade Gorton, a top Democratic target, tries to hold off big-spending software millionaire and former Democratic Rep. Maria Cantwell, who is closing the gap in the latest polls but still trails in the latest Reuters-MSNBC poll.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Commentary

A.M. ROSENTHAL

Now that we know Hillary Rodham Clinton so well, there are several things we can better understand about this intelligent and talented person. One is that she believes above all in entitlement — her own. Another is that almost nothing political is too shoddy for her to muddle around in. And we know she believes voters are basically stupid — particularly those who admire her among women, Jews and the poor.

Lots of politicians have the same characteristics. The best reason to select her for examination is that she is convinced she can get away with anything, and has, over and over.

If she succeeds again, in a couple of weeks, she will be elected to the Senate from New York, and off and running for the presidency of the United States. Something to think about, that.

Her belief in her entitlement is woven into her record. No sooner was she in the White House than she took over all planning for a national health plan, which she proceeded to wreck. No person to surrender just because of her own incompetence, she promptly gave herself more power in running the White House. She kept hidden from American voters the tax-paid machinery of her influence and

The entitlement candidate

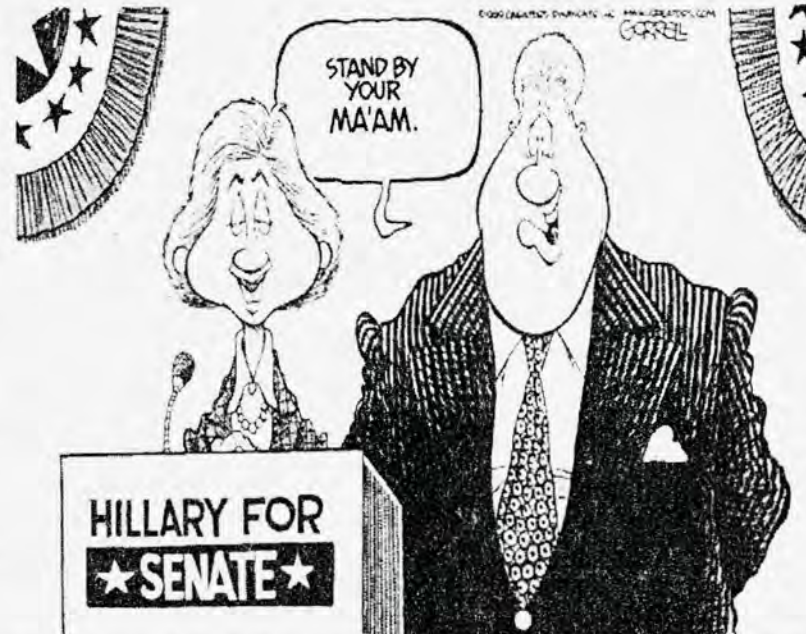
its goals.

But her all-time record of self-entitlement was her decision to run for the U.S. Senate from New York without prior election to anything. She gets her power and fundamental political machinery from the president, who is her husband. She is running on her wedding ring. Women who are mute or accepting about the source of her power pervert the concept and influence of true feminism. Of course, she accepts presidential clout to help her and hurt her opponent, Republican Rep. Rick Lazio.

On Oct. 24, she hit a triple: Participating with her husband in a brilliant piece of political grunge, she brushed off women who are poor, to swipe political credit from Mr. Lazio.

A bill was before Mr. Clinton for signing. It ensured Medicaid coverage for low-income women who were diagnosed, in free screenings, as having breast or cervical cancer. The Clintons were for the bill and Mr. Lazio had been active for it.

Normally such socially attractive bills are signed with ado, before TV and politicians who had a role in their passage. But Mr.



Clinton signed the bill in private — no TV, no politicians, no national notice to low-income women, no Rick. Mrs. Clinton said she had known nothing.

Strange, since a couple of days

before, Robert Pear, a fine no-frills reporter of the New York Times, had written a Page One story about the president's desire for privacy while signing this important, vote-attracting legislation. That gave

Mrs. Clinton plenty of time to call the president and say we should not be *that* shoddy, naughty boy. She didn't.

Mrs. Clinton is superb at not knowing selected matters. Her campaign had taken in \$50,000 from a Boston reception by the American Muslim Alliance. That is barely peanuts compared to what American Jews give her.

The trouble is that among American Muslims who contributed money to the Clinton Senate campaign are people who cry out in defense of terrorism against Israel. One such is Abdurahman Alamoudi, head of the American Muslim Council, who gave \$1,000 to the Clinton campaign and boasts that at the White House he "defended what is called Hamas." It is also called a terrorist group by the State Department.

We did not know about Mr. Alamoudi's views, said Harold Wolfson, Mrs. Clinton's spokesman; the \$1,000 would be returned. But he said before Boston she had met people of Mr. Alamoudi's attitude in Washington — in hopes of "mainstreaming their views." Mr. Wolfson was moved to action when he was told the New York Daily News the next day would break the story based on information received from Steven Emerson, America's never-resting anti-terrorism journalist,

bless him, and written for the paper by Larry Cohler-Esses.

The day the story was published and sank in, Mrs. Clinton said she was giving back the whole \$50,000 and had been misled by the sponsors of the Boston reception. Taking her at her word, it remains puzzling how she had been trying to "mainstream" American Muslims in Washington while in Boston she knew so little about the intricacies of this key community that she had to return \$50,000.

Americans who want to help Muslims should search out Muslim organizations that have a peaceful attitude toward Israel. They are few, with little donation money to hand out. But they know Hamas types are already convinced they are on the right "mainstream" — unceasing holy war against Israelis and all other Jews. The Clinton campaign people apparently do not know that.

But maybe more Americans who are poor, women, Jews and other Hillarian voting targets will know more about her by Election Day, if Mr. Lazio tells them straight out and frequently, in the time left.

A.M. Rosenthal, the former executive editor of the New York Times, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

**Arabs need
U.S. to be
a hero for
them, too**

RICK RIPS BILL'S FOREIGN POLICY AS 'SOCIAL WORK'

AHMED MOSA is an Arab "freedom fighter." He doesn't carry an AK-47 or wish death and destruction on Jews or Israel.

Mosa, 30, is armed only with the scissors he uses in his Brooklyn barber shop, memories of his childhood in a Palestinian refugee camp, and his desire to return to the homeland he says the Israeli military took from his father.

Mosa is no different from thousands of other Arab-Americans in the United States who try to assimilate, join political groups and protest peacefully to exert influence on politicians.

That's why the \$50,000 in campaign contributions Hillary Rodham Clinton returned to Boston Arab-Americans irritates Arabs like Mosa, who feel they are being lumped together with minority extremist groups.

"This is an attempt by



HILLARY CLINTON
Has 7-point lead.

Rick Lazio — in what his campaign billed as a major foreign-policy speech — sharply criticized President Clinton's handling of global affairs on virtually every continent.

Turning to the volatile Mideast, the GOP Senate candidate suggested that the president may have tried to push a peace accord before conditions there were right.

"The artificial time constraints of a presidential term may well have driven the parties toward an unsustainable agreement," Lazio said.

His Democratic rival, Hillary Rodham Clinton, campaigning in Manhattan the

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

day after a storm of controversy over donations from certain Arab-Americans to her campaign, stressed her "strong support for Israel's security."

But the first lady admitted she may not have been effective in getting her pro-Israel views across to voters during the campaign.

"If we haven't done as good a job in communicating that, it's really my responsibility since I bear the message that this campaign stands

for," she told reporters at Grand Central Terminal after greeting commuters.

Mrs. Clinton on Wednesday returned \$50,000 in contributions from a Boston fund-raiser in June, which some say was sponsored by the American Muslim Alliance, although the first lady disputes that.

Never mentioning his opponent in his 30-minute address, Lazio accused the president of "overextending" the U.S. military with "a proliferation of missions with no clear objectives and no clear exit strategy," saying, "The role of American military is not to build nations. It is not to be the world's social worker."

Charging the Clinton administration with an abysmal failure to lead, Lazio said, "When America speaks today, our friends don't believe us quite as much, and neither do our enemies."

From Africa to China to the Mideast, Lazio accused the president of taking credit for — and then squandering — gains made by former GOP presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush.

Dealing with Russia, for instance, Lazio said in his speech at Syracuse University that President Clinton blundered by focusing "on one leader — first [Boris] Yeltsin, and now [Vladimir] Putin."



DOUGLAS MONTERO

some people to exclude Arab-Americans and Muslim-Americans from participating in the American political system," said Hala Maksoud, the national president of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.

"We are Americans and we have the right to freedom of expression . . . When we say, 'End the occupation' we are called terrorist."

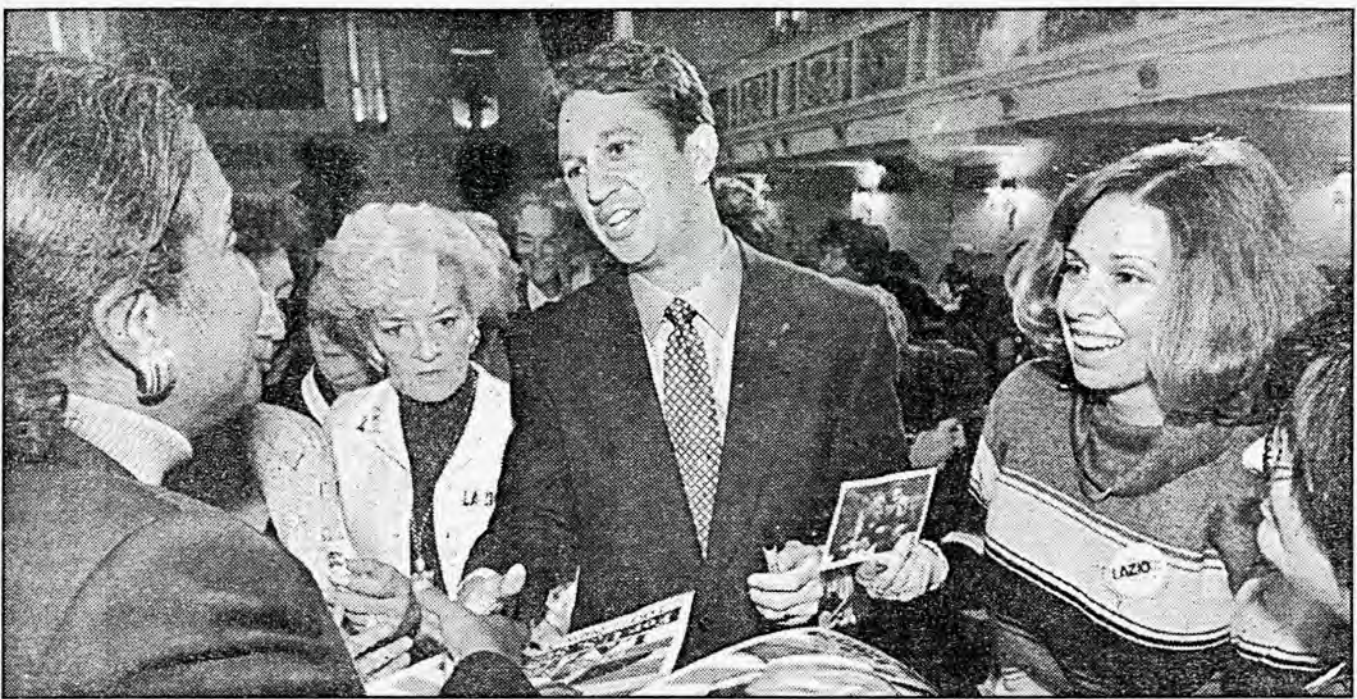
Mosa, who arrived in the States last year, cuts hair to support his wife and three kids ranging in age from 2 years to 2 weeks. His father, Mahmoud, in his 70s, taught him to be a freedom fighter simply by telling him how all 14 members of their family were evicted from their West Bank home and forced to walk to Jordan.

It began in 1948, when the Israeli military confiscated his father's farm. They had owned the land for seven generations, growing olives for a living. In 1968, they were kicked out with only the clothes on their backs.

"It touched [my father's] heart every time he talked about it," said Mosa. "We were stunned watching the way he talked, his reaction, the tears welling up in his eyes."

Their home became a Jewish settlement. Mosa's uncle Musa visited the farm in the 1980s. He was hospitalized for high blood pressure "when he saw what they did

See **MONTERO** on Page 32



MAP OF ATTACK: Rick Lazio, with supporters at a luncheon in Buffalo yesterday, accused the White House of "overextending" the U.S. military abroad and bungling affairs from the Mideast to Africa to China.

AP

Moynihan set to campaign with Hill

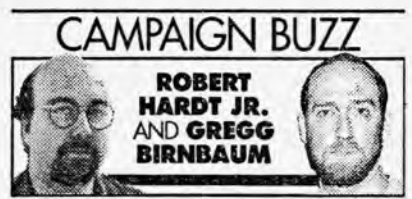
FOR the first time since he appeared with Hillary Rodham Clinton at his upstate farm in July 1999, Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan will be hitting the campaign trail with the first lady next week.

Campaign Buzz has learned that Moynihan has been called on to help his would-be successor at a time when her GOP opponent, Rick Lazio, is citing critical remarks the Democratic senator made about Clinton's failed health-care plan.

Moynihan — who is known more for legislating than politicking — campaigned only two days for Democrat Chuck Schumer in 1998. But polls show that the four-term senator is one of the most popular and respected politicians in the state.

"We've been excited about this for a while, and we're glad we could arrange this," said a Clinton aide.

Schumer — who also has not been



widely seen with Clinton — will be campaigning upstate with the first lady this weekend.

None too soon, it looks as if the last Lazio fund-raising letter is finally arriving in mailboxes — maybe. The four-page mailing, signed by "Rick," makes the customary attacks against the first lady (scandals, Hollywood, left-wing) — but then tells potential contributors this "may be your last chance to make a difference and help defeat Hillary Clinton."

"I may not have another chance to contact you before Election Day," writes the GOP hopeful, who has raised more than \$30 million, much of it by direct mail.

Lazio even asks for forgiveness for the flood of money-seeking mailings over the past few months, saying, "You've probably been swamped with letters from me" and "I hope you haven't been inconvenienced."

The Clinton campaign quickly got its polling operation into gear Wednesday night after questions were raised about a Boston fundraiser where the first lady accepted \$50,000 from Arab-Americans.

About 300 likely voters answered a lengthy phone poll about whether they thought Clinton acted properly by refunding the money and whether they accepted her reasoning for taking the donations.

It's unclear whether the results had been tabulated by Clinton pollster Mark Penn — but it would certainly explain the first lady's unusually cheerful mood yesterday morning while shaking hands at Grand Central Terminal.

Has state Democratic Chairwoman Judith Hope lost her mind?

Rick Lazio received a \$1,000 check from Judith Hope with a letter, saying: "While it may come as a surprise to some, your record persuades me that, this year, I am going to support the Republican candidate for senator from New York. I enclose my campaign contribution and my heartfelt wishes for success on Election Day."

Lazio aides were sad to learn that the Manhattan woman was a different Judith Hope — comedian Bob Hope's daughter-in-law.

Hillary's ethics problems / Editorial: Page 36

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

Page Six

www.pagesix.com

By RICHARD JOHNSON
with Paula Froelich
and Chris Wilson



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Dem stars come out full force at Hill's b'day bash

SO, now, Roseland Ballroom. **Hillary's** intimate little gala of 5,000 thrown by this generation's Elsa Maxwell, **Harvey Weinstein** of Miramax. Plus his brother **Bob**. Plus his mother, who sat at my table confiding: "Harvey, my son, is so wonderful. Not nervous. Imagine, he got **Ben Affleck**, **Cameron Diaz**, **Cher**, such famous people together for the first lady's birthday. He's just wonderful, my son Harvey." An impartial observer.

And the chat around the room? **Him**. What's *he*, the soon-unemployed **Clinton**, do next?

Said one sayer, by Jan. 2 he'll be on Prozac because, "his new toilet paper will no longer bear a presidential seal." Others said he'll write a book, lecture, earn money, since a public service wife can't pay those legal bills. And he'll do make-work, like opening his library.

But Couple Clinton are a two-of-a-kind. She makes history. He now plans a little more history-making.

Upstairs, in a holding room before the event, as he waited with **Chelsea** for the missus who's a little busy these days, he said he's going to start hitting the road for **Gore**. He also said he's very happy, "because the numbers are up for Gore."

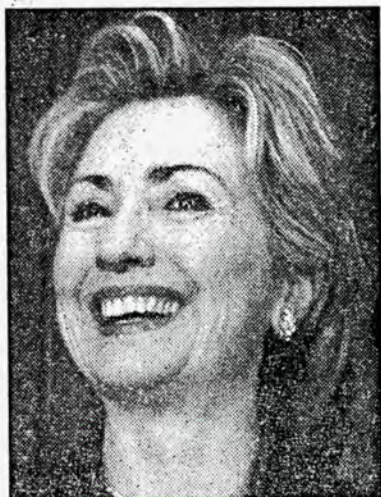
But, on a telephone this week, on a quiet *tete-a-tete*, just a one-on-one phone call with someone trusted, he talked about if Gore doesn't win. He was asked would he ever run again?

Bill Clinton did not say: "Never. *Jamais*. Forget it. You nuts?" Instead, he said: "I'll cross that bridge when I come to it."

The friend persisted and asked again, point blank. "If Gore loses, would it possibly ever cross your mind to actually make the run for the presidency again?"

Replied William Jefferson Clin-

Cindy Adams



Rick Dembow

HILLARY CLINTON Birthday girl.

ton: "I certainly wouldn't rule it out."

The big birthday party jokes were about GOPniks. **Nathan Lane**: "Rudy's not here. He's starring in the Comb-Over Monologues." **Will Ferrell** playing **Dubya**: "I'm governor of what's rumored to be a large state." Somebody else: "**Lazio** keeps saying, 'I'm a real New Yorker.' Big deal. So's **Bernie Goetz**."

Bill laughed. Hill laughed. Chel laughed.

The big givers were out in force. Like **Denise Rich**, who gave a dinner for Bill the week before, Al the week before that, **Tipper** the month before that, and rumor is last year the Abe Lincolns got up to go over for brunch. Denise's next is The

Angel Ball, Nov. 30, Marriott Marquis. A fund-raiser to fight cancer, it honors three titles — **Sir Paul McCartney**, **Queen Noor of Jordan**, former President **Gorbachev** of the U.S.S.R.

"Entertainment will be *NSYNC because, as a songwriter I was supposed to do a song with them, so they're my friends," she told me. "And **Marc Anthony**, because I've written a song for him, and **Natalie Cole**, who's my friend and whose soon-due single, 'Living for Love,' I wrote."

Call (212) 254-6677 for tickets.

I asked **Chevy Chase**, is he taking himself serious, too. Is he going to make speeches on street corners, too. Is he going to run for a government job someday, too. "Please," he said. "Just look at my high school term papers. You'll see I'm not as smart as I think I am." Right — and what better qualifications do you need to run for office?

SO this well-dressed, apparently well-heeled gent ate Lobster Fra Diavolo at Nino's. About to pay his check, he ordered a lobster to go. "I want it live and it must be female," said the guy.

Asked how he wanted it prepared, he said, "Not. I'm taking it to the East River and throwing it in. Everytime I eat a lobster, I throw a live one back. It's my one-man ecology war to ensure that my grandchildren will be able to enjoy these endangered creatures as I do."

Only in New York, kids, only in New York. (And Lord only knows what he does when he consumes lambchops.)

Democrats Love Vouchers, Except for Schools

FOR the finest in liberal flim-flam, listen to top Democrats discuss vouchers.

Albert Gore blames school vouchers for "draining away precious public dollars from our public schools, giving them to private schools that are not accountable." Even worse, the prospect that taxpayer dollars might indirectly finance religious entities gives hives to the voucher-allergic. "I have no idea how anyone could design a voucher system that would meet the constitutional requirements for separation between church and state," Hillary Rodham Clinton told the United Federation of Teachers.

**DEROY
MURDOCK**



But these objections drop like leaves from sycamores when it comes to other voucher programs. Indeed, liberals love vouchers outside K-12 education. Federal Pell Grants, for instance, are vouchers for college kids.

At up to \$3,300 a year, Pell Grants help students enroll in government schools such as UCLA and the University of Michigan — and also at Stanford, Yale and other private campuses. Somehow, liberals don't squawk when a UCLA sophomore transfers to Stanford, thus draining away her Pell Grant from a government institution to a private university.

In fact, Gore said in the final presidential debate that he wants "more Pell Grants for those who are in the lower-income groups."

Pell Grants — fiscal 2000 taxpayer cost: \$7.9 billion — also help scholars study Catholic doctrine at Georgetown University, Mormon theology at Brigham Young and rabbinical practices at Yeshiva.

Such church-state synergy seems not to bother the first lady. As she told the 1996 California Democratic Convention:

"We also need to increase the number and maximum award of Pell Grants."

Liberals even like child-care vouchers. "I will work to expand the Child Care and Development Block

**Al, Hillary and
other Dems need
the teachers'
unions.**

Grant to subsidize child care for nearly 150,000 more low-income children next year," Gore has declared. According to the 1998 Green Book, a House Ways and Means Committee oversight document, the \$3.5 billion federal CCDBG program allows parents to "receive a certificate or voucher that can be used to purchase child care from a provider of the parents' choice . . . which can include sectarian child care providers."

Once more, such vouchers divert tax dollars that could improve government day-care centers and instead help poor parents purchase private or even faith-based child care. In fact, the Allen AME Church's pre-school in Queens has its voucher-funded 3- to 5-year-olds memorize Bible verses.

Liberals only hate vouchers that would modernize government schools that too often transform innocent kindergartners into ignorant 12th-graders lacking basic skills for citizenship or professional success. They truly fear that some voucher-empowered first-grader might flee a government school in Watts and actually learn to read at a quality Catholic academy.

Why? The ugly fact is that those who provide the needy with college degrees, child care, shelter and even groceries lack political punch. Teachers' unions, in contrast, have given \$8,966,859 to Democratic candidates and campaign committees in the 1998 and 2000 election cycles, the Center for Responsive Politics reports. Meanwhile, Republicans received \$324,700 from those unions — just 3.6 percent of the Democratic haul.

The National Education Association's 2.5 million members and the American Federation of Teachers' one million rank and file are among the activists who walk precincts, staff voter phone banks and otherwise flex organized labor's muscle, nearly always for Democrats.

Albert Gore, Hillary Clinton and other Democrats need the teachers' unions and thus continue to eat from their hands. And if poor black and Hispanic kids stay dumb because the NEA and AFT hate school vouchers, so what? To make their omelet, Democrats must crack a few eggs.

Party lines: *people*

Book presents portrait of the White House

Few, if any, political heavyweights were at the White House Visitor Center Wednesday night, but no one seemed to mind. The biggest star at the book party for "The White House: Its Historic Furnishings and First Families" (Abbeville Press) turned out to be the 200-year-old house itself.

The two-hour event, which featured sparkling wines and finger food, also gave guests a chance to view the center's new exhibit, "Furnishing the Nation's Home: Treasures From the White House."

"We've always wished we could show the public some of the great treasures that were in storage," said exhibit curator **William G. Allman**, noting that the style of many of the public rooms is "limited to the first quarter of the 19th century. Some of the great Victorian things just don't fit anywhere."

He easily could have meant the gaudy-looking, yard-long "Hiawatha's Boat," a silver centerpiece bought by Julia Grant, Ulysses S. Grant's first lady. Based on Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's Iroquois poem, it depicts a befeathered Hiawatha astride a viking-type ship, waving a sword.

The book's author, White House curator **Betty C.**

Monkman, seemed clearly relieved that the three-year project finally was finished.

"It was hard," she said with a deep laugh. "I'm not a professional writer."

One of her discoveries was finding out that a president's political persuasion had little to do with the manner in which he furnished the White House. The agrarian James Monroe, for example, refurnished the White House with finely carved pieces from Pierre-Antoine Bellange, cabinetmaker to the French royal family.

"Surprisingly, Andrew Jackson had wonderful silver," Mrs. Monkman said of the backwoods Democrat and popular man of the people, who bought fine flatware and serving dishes from the estate of a Russian minister. "One would not expect that he'd have wonderful taste."

For photographer **Bruce White**, the challenge was scheduling time in a full calendar of public and private events.

"It's a very difficult place to photograph because the rooms only have windows on one side [and] are lit from one direction," said Mr. White, who said he strove to make his photos as three-dimensional (or "touchable") as possible.

— Patrick Butters



Author Betty C. Monkman and photographer Bruce White sign copies of "The White House: Its Historic Furnishings and First Families" at their book party at the White House Visitor Center.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

★ FRIDAY, OCTOBER 27, 2000

What struck your eye when Independent Counsel Robert Ray reported that Hillary Rodham Clinton, contrary to her vows to the public, played a key role in firing seven White House travel office employees back in 1993 and then gave "factually inaccurate" testimony to government investigators?

The saga of the travel office firings fascinates me. Almost a year before the rest of the press recognized the injustice, the *American Spectator*, of which I am happily editor in chief, reported Hillary was behind the firings. The seven White House employees had been summarily thrust into the ranks of the unemployed. One, Billy Dale, had been prosecuted for embezzlement after being smeared by the FBI. All this cruel injustice was visited upon these otherwise ordinary citizens because, as a White House aide's memo quotes Hillary as telling him: "We need those people out. We need our people in."

Stonewalling and otherwise obstructing legitimate inquiries, Hillary has lied about her role for seven years (all the while complaining about the inquiries' cost). Remember, she did not have to lie. There had never been anything illegal about replacing the employees. Yet she lied, possibly to escape responsibility for the brutal way the men were treated and the false charges made against them.

In interviews in the *Spectator*, they described how they were subject to tactics reminiscent of those of a police state. Mr. Dale's defense cost him much of his personal savings before the phony charges brought against him were dismissed by a jury in little more than two hours. It took these men years to put their lives back together.

So, what struck my eye in reading the reports of the independent counsel's final judgment was not the validation of the *Spectator's* account of Hillary's role in Travelgate nor her breezy dismissal of Mr. Ray's findings. What struck me was the White House's continued defaming of its former employees, years after their exoneration. Instead of making some bland response exploiting Mr. Ray's decision not to prosecute Hillary, the White House excreted a statement saying Mr. Ray's report "confirms what we have long said: There were financial improprieties in the travel office," blah, blah, blah. Again, does this treatment of innocent private citizens not summon up thoughts of police-state tactics?

Bill Clinton, Hillary Clinton, Al Gore, and almost all the rest of the eminences in this incomparable administration have been accused of more lying than any administration in history. Many times they have been caught. Sometimes they have been charged and convicted, for instance with contempt of court, and duly fined. But rarely has it been noted that some of their lies have cost ordinary citizens their

The new Tammany candidate



Hillary Rodham Clinton

good names and even their jobs.

Lying can be amusing. It can bring democratic process to confusion. But owing to the power of the federal government, some lies can trample civil rights. Where are the civil libertarians to defend the victims of the Clintons' lies? The only civil libertarians I have seen in action during the Clinton scandals have been those who wax eloquent on the Boy President's right to privacy in conducting sex education classes at the office.

In its historic editorial of Oct. 22, the *New York Times* admirably summed up Hillary's vices when it noted: "The investigative literature of Whitewater and related scandals is replete with evidence that Mrs. Clinton has a lamentable tendency to treat political opponents as enemies. She has clearly been less than truthful in her comments to investigators and too eager to follow President Clinton's method of peddling access for campaign donations. Her fondness for stonewalling in response to legitimate questions about financial or legislative matters contributed to the bad ethical reputation of the Clinton administration." Surprisingly, however, the editorial was not an endorsement of her opponent, but of her.

Who says Tammany Hall is dead? A bully, a liar, a corrupt fund-raiser, a stonewaller, that is just the kind of politician New York Democrats of a certain, shall we say "moral toughness" went for in years gone by. In the continuing political career of Hillary, it is only a matter of time before cartoonists begin to depict her with a cigar between her thick fingers and a silk top hat cocked back on her head. Hillary is a Tammany Hall pol through and through. And if she stomps on a few innocent citizens, so what? As she might have told the editorialists at the *Times*, Tammany's new organ, "We need those people out. We need our people in."

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

If you would like to respond in the FORUM to a Commentary column please e-mail your letter to forum@twtnmail.com. Letters may also be sent — double-spaced and typed — to FORUM, The Washington Times, 3600 New York Ave. NE, Washington, D.C. 20002 or faxed to 202/832-2982. Please be sure to include your daytime telephone number. Letters may be edited for clarity and space.

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PRESERVATION

tics

Clinton to hit key states to stoke party support

By Mimi Hall and Susan Page
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — President Clinton will finally hit the hustings next week, crisscrossing the country to campaign in California and a few other states for Al Gore and Democratic congressional candidates.

After weeks of angst in the Gore campaign over how to tap Clinton's political talents — if at all — in the final days of a close race for the White House, aides to the president and vice president have agreed that Clinton can best be used for get-out-the-vote drives aimed at Democrats in key states.

To that end, Clinton will leave Thursday on a trip that could last through Election Day Nov. 7. He will spend two days in California and then travel to Arkansas, New York and possibly Louisiana and Kentucky. The president also might visit Missouri earlier in the week.

But Clinton will not appear with Gore, a decision made weeks ago by the vice president, who is nervous about rekindling voter antipathy toward the Clinton-Gore administration because of the scandals that have plagued it.

"Al Gore is campaigning as his own man, and he's going to continue to do that," Gore aide Mark Fabiani said.

That attitude has kept Clinton away from public rallies, although he has kept up a frenetic travel schedule to raise about \$100 million for the party and candidates at private receptions.

Now, Clinton will concentrate his energies on wooing undecided voters to the Democratic camp and energizing the party's core supporters to turn out at the polls.

His efforts include:

- ▶ Meeting in Washington with community activists and religious leaders who can mobilize Democratic voters. Today, Clinton will host hundreds of community leaders, most of them African-American, at the White House. Sunday, he plans to visit one or more black churches in Washington. On Monday, he'll meet with religious leaders who back the party.

- ▶ Recording radio advertisements for Democratic candidates and phone messages that will be automatically dialed to likely Democratic voters in districts with close congressional races.



By Ron Edmonds, AP

Birthday bash: Robert De Niro tries to get President Clinton to speak like a New Yorker on Wednesday at a party for Hillary Rodham Clinton.

▶ Staying at the White House through the weekend on presidential business. He will try to reach agreement with Congress on a new budget and tax cuts, and help quell the violence in the Middle East.

Some close to Clinton say that Gore aides say it is in the vice president's interest for Clinton to spend some time in Washington doing his job — and not just to keep him off the campaign trail.

The thinking is that if Clinton is engaged in high-stakes talks with congressional and world leaders, it will remind voters how important the job is — and, the Democrats hope, raise public doubts about whether Republican George W. Bush is up to the task. That is a theme Gore's surrogates have been promoting all week.

Officially, the rallies Clinton plans to attend next week are for House candidates and will be paid for by state and congressional campaign

committees, but they are intended to benefit the entire party ticket — including Gore.

The role of a sitting president in an election campaign is often a source of disagreement.

Clinton's former political director, Craig Smith, said that when he was in the White House, he had looked into roles Clinton and President Reagan played as campaigners in years when they weren't on the ballot — Reagan in 1982 and 1986 and Clinton in 1994. Smith's conclusion: "One-third of the time it helped, one-third of the time it had no real impact, and about one-third of the time it hurt."

Reagan's and Clinton's presence only heightened the anger of some critical voters, who were then motivated to show up at the polls to oppose the candidates the presidents were endorsing, Smith said. "The problem with a visit is that everybody sees it — your supporters and opponents," Smith said.

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R E G I O N

Mrs. Clinton's Archfoes Raise Little but Fury

By CLIFFORD J. LEVY

Conservatives for Effective Leadership was set up last year with an urgent mission: to rain the fury of the right wing — \$10 million worth of fury, its founders promised — on Hillary Rodham Clinton's Senate campaign in New York. The group would expose her record, condemn her agenda and impugn her ethics. Hound her back to Arkansas.

"There's nothing that we won't do to keep Hillary out of office," it declared in a fund-raising letter in the summer of 1999.

But with less than two weeks to go before the election, Conservatives for Effective Leadership has vanished, without playing any role in the campaign. And it is not alone.

When Mrs. Clinton entered the race, many conservative groups huffed and puffed and vowed to defeat her. In all, the groups said, they would pour at least \$35 million and probably more into the New York race. So far, they appear to have spent little — and in many cases nothing — against her.

The groups include Save Our Senate, established by some political consultants in California, and ConserveAmerica, the brainchild of a 29-year-old in Westchester County who said he planned a \$5 million war chest against Mrs. Clinton.

Only one group, the Emergency Committee to Stop Hillary Rodham Clinton, seems to have had any fund-raising success. It had planned to collect \$9 million, and by Sept. 30, had taken in \$1.8 million.

But nearly all those receipts have gone to direct-mail expenses, including fees charged by direct-mail companies with ties to the group's leaders, rather than to the New York race. The group is actually heavily in debt, and owes \$2.4 million for direct-mail expenses.

If anything, the conservative groups have been a liability for the Republican candidate, Representative Rick A. Lazio, who has sought to present himself as a moderate. The Lazio campaign, which has raised money easily, has begun criticizing the groups, saying they cared only about their own interests rather than his election.

It is still possible that a spurt of spending could occur at the end of the race. Mrs. Clinton's aides, while acknowledging that these groups have not been a significant factor so far, say that they fear a sudden at-

tack by an existing or little-known one. They note that just before the Republican presidential primary in New York in March, a newly created group that supported Gov. George W. Bush of Texas paid for commercials attacking Mr. Bush's opponent, Senator John McCain of Arizona.

Created in a blaze of self-promotion, Conservatives for Effective Leadership apparently expired quietly earlier this year. Whether it harvested a major amount of money — and if it did, what happened to that money — is unclear. Though it described itself as a political action committee, it never filed disclosure documents with the Federal Election Commission.

In July 1999, Gary Nolan, a nationally syndicated radio talk show host

The first lady's enemies are not necessarily Rick Lazio's friends.

who was a founder of the group, said the response to its first mailing of 40,000 fund-raising letters was "huge," though he declined to provide details. Mr. Nolan did not respond to three telephone messages seeking comment.

Another founder, Craig Shirley, a political consultant in Washington, sought to distance himself from the group, referring questions to Mr. Nolan. "I really haven't been involved with it in quite a while," Mr. Shirley said.

Only the Emergency Committee to Stop Hillary Rodham Clinton — an alliance of Washington elders like Edwin Meese III, attorney general under President Reagan — appears to have raised significant sums.

But new disclosure records filed with the F.E.C. show that the committee is \$2.4 million in debt to direct-mail companies and consultants, including Richard A. Viguerie, the well-known conservative direct-mail expert with longstanding relationships to the committee's leaders. In other words, the committee has spent nearly \$4 million on fund-raising, and little if anything against Mrs. Clinton.

Oddly enough, in September, the committee made direct contributions of \$1,000 to \$2,000 each to the campaigns of seven Congressional candidates, but not to Mr. Lazio's campaign.

Mark Montini, a spokesman for the committee, which is also known as the Conservative Leadership PAC, defended its expenditures, saying that it hoped to buy commercials attacking Mrs. Clinton before the end of the campaign. "We have a pretty big donor list that we are obviously still working with," he said. "I am very comfortable with where we are."

Mr. Montini said the group had sent a commercial to television stations in New York, though it had not yet bought air time.

The committee paid Mr. Viguerie, the direct-mail consultant, and his associates and companies a total of \$178,000, and owes them \$684,000, the records show. An assistant to Mr. Viguerie said he was not available to comment.

Another group, the American Conservative Union, had said it would spend \$7 million in the race. Its political action committee has collected \$44,000 this year, said the group's executive director, Christian Josi.

Mr. Josi noted that the group had used other funds, which he declined to describe, to mail a slender paper-back titled "Hillary Rodham Clinton: What Every American Should Know" to New Yorkers. He said two million copies had been sent, but that figure could not be independently verified.

While the conservative groups said they were dedicated to defeating Mrs. Clinton, they have been snubbed by Mr. Lazio and his predecessor, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, who dropped out of the race in May.

"The dirty little secret about all these groups all along," said a spokesman for the Lazio campaign, Dan McLagan, "is that they were in it to line their own pockets and make sure that their pets were never in danger of having to eat real pet food. It was never about helping us. We knew that, and the Clinton people knew that. And the supposedly quick-witted New York media should have known that."

What has especially annoyed the Lazio partisans is that by boasting about their plans, the groups provided the Clinton campaign with a convenient foil for its own fund-raising.

ing.

Some of Mrs. Clinton's appeals cast her as an underdog by contending that conservative groups were amassing millions of dollars to beat her. But they neglect to mention that such spending has not occurred.

For several weeks in late summer, Mrs. Clinton parried Mr. Lazio's call for a ban on spending by outside groups in the race by noting that many conservative organizations had said they were planning to aid his candidacy. By doing so, she was able to delay a pledge not to accept so-called soft-money spending by Democratic committees.

In late September, the two candidates agreed to a ban on spending on television and radio commercials by outside groups, though some groups have said they will not abide by it. Those conservative groups that do abide by it can buy newspaper advertisements, engage in direct-mail advocacy and help finance voter drives.

A spokesman for the Clinton campaign, Howard Wolfson, said the campaign was not being unreasonable in assuming that the conservative groups would carry through with their spending goals because there was still time left to go on the attack. "We take them very seriously," he said.

The founder of ConserveAmerica, Carlo Pellicciari, said in an interview that collecting money against Mrs. Clinton was harder than he expected because donors were more willing to give to candidates than to outside groups. While his goal had been \$5 million, in the first six months of this year he took in only \$762, he said, adding that he then stopped fund-raising.

Mr. Pellicciari, who lives in Eastchester, N.Y., and is in the property management business, said most of the outside groups were self-serving because they were not based in New York.

"They saw an opportunity," he said. "I saw an opportunity as well, but you know what, I have a vested interest as a taxpayer of New York."

He acknowledged that in the end, Mrs. Clinton had used the groups to her political advantage.

"I was trying to use her," he said. "And in the same way, she used me. But because she's Hillary Clinton and I'm Carlo Pellicciari, we're not at the same level. And she was better at it than I am."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Lazio Attacks President On Policy In Middle East

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

SYRACUSE, Oct. 26 — Representative Rick A. Lazio offered a broad indictment of the Clinton administration's foreign policy today, asserting that weakness and indecision by the White House over the last eight years had undermined the nation's credibility and contributed to increased turmoil in China, Russia and, most of all, the Middle East.

With less than two weeks left in his campaign for Senate against Hillary Rodham Clinton, Mr. Lazio gave one of the most detailed speeches of his entire campaign, a tough-talking address that echoed the criticisms of the White House made by George W. Bush this year.

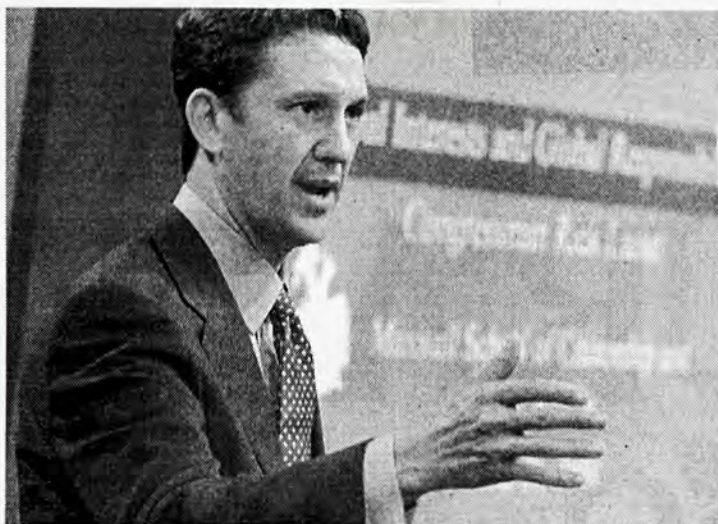
Mr. Lazio did not mention Mrs. Clinton once in his 29-minute speech. But while answering questions after his prepared address, at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, he responded indirectly to the central argument of a foreign policy speech she gave last week: that the nation should play a more aggressive role in world affairs. "The role of the American military is not to build nations; it is not to be the world's social worker," Mr. Lazio said.

Mr. Lazio's main target today was not his opponent, but her husband. He asserted that the president had inherited a stable world and dominant military when he took over the White House after 12 years of Republican rule, and had proceeded to squander "this unique moment of opportunity." Mr. Lazio offered a region-by-region analysis of what he called foreign policy mistakes by Mr. Clinton, which he said had emboldened rogue nations, diluted the strength of the military and left allies unclear of the nation's foreign policy priorities. "When the current administration took office eight years ago, they inherited a world made safer by victory in the cold war and the unprecedented respect for, and deference to, American global leadership reflected by our victory in the gulf war," Mr. Lazio said. "Today, after eight years of foreign policy by spin control, our credibility on the world stage is dissipated. When America speaks today, our friends don't believe us quite as much, and neither do our enemies."

In Mr. Lazio's speech here today and in the one Mrs. Clinton gave last week at the Council on Foreign Relations in Manhattan, the two candidates have introduced an unusual coda to their contest to succeed Daniel Patrick Moynihan: foreign policy.

It is extremely unusual for a candidate to offer a major policy address this late in a campaign, but there were more practical political considerations in Mr. Lazio's decision to give a speech on this topic. In making such a weighty speech in such a solemn forum, Mr. Lazio sought to counter Mrs. Clinton's efforts to use the subject to reinforce doubts among voters about his experience.

Indeed, Mr. Lazio seemed comfortable and in command, both in delivering the written speech and in answering questions from students and faculty, on issues ranging from the role of the United Nations (limited) to how much influence members of Congress should have on the nation's foreign policy (fairly extensive). He ran into difficulty only at one point, referring to the leader of North Korea as "Kim Jong the Second." Mr. Lazio apparently misread the text, which correctly described the North



Associated Press

Representative Rick A. Lazio during a speech at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University yesterday.

Korean leader as Kim Jong Il.

In addition, while Mr. Lazio was pointed and detailed in offering criticism of Mr. Clinton's policies he was comparatively vague in offering his own proposals and did not stop to hold a news conference with reporters today to discuss the speech.

Mrs. Clinton's spokesman, Howard Wolfson, sought to use the subject of foreign policy again today to raise questions about Mr. Lazio's credentials for the job, noting the preparations that Mr. Lazio had made for the speech. "Last week Rick Lazio got a special foreign policy tutorial from Henry Kissinger," he said. "Today, New Yorkers learned he should have

and stand up for our friend Israel while she is under assault," he said.

Mr. Lazio suggested that the president had pushed too hard to force an agreement between Mr. Arafat and Ehud Barak, the Israeli prime minister, out of concern for his own legacy. "The artificial time constraints of a presidential term may well have driven the parties toward an unsustainable agreement due to the emotional and complex nature of the issues involved," he said.

Mr. Lazio said the Clinton administration had erred in its dealing with Russia by putting too much focus on a single leader rather than maintaining contacts with other leaders. "Ensuring Russia's Democratic future requires engaging and supporting not Russia's increasingly autocratic government, but Russian civil society."

Mr. Lazio said Mr. Clinton had also failed to take a tough enough stand against China's human rights abuses. "China must be made to understand that we want better relations — that we want to engage them through trade and other means," he said. "But they must also understand that use of force against Taiwan is a dead-end, and that Taiwan will have the means to defend itself, and the unwavering support of the United States, if Beijing tries."

Echoing a line of attack that Mr. Bush has used against Vice President Al Gore presidential race, he also said the nation's armed forces had been hurt by cuts in defense spending and by being deployed on what he said were too many ill-defined overseas missions. "America is once again headed toward a hollow military: the readiness and morale of our troops is in steep decline."

Criticism of being 'the world's social worker.'

stayed after class for extra help. Without anything original or positive to say, Rick Lazio was forced to continue hurling negatives and playing politics with foreign policy."

Mr. Lazio skipped around the globe in his speech and in the question-and-answer session, but spent the most time talking about the Middle East. He said the United States should no longer seek to play the role of honest broker in Middle East negotiations, and that responsibility for the collapse of the peace process "squarely lies" with Yasir Arafat, the Palestinian leader. "The time has come for the Clinton administration to stop playing honest broker

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hillary's Bull Market

By CLAUDIA ROSETT

In New York's Senate race, Republican Rick Lazio has been too gentlemanly to remind voters of some of the murkier issues surrounding his opponent, Hillary Clinton. Mrs. Clinton's campaign is even crying foul over Mr. Lazio daring to circulate copies of our recent editorial arguing that a Senate victory, given her prominent role in scandal defense, would be an "an absolution of her husband's moral and ethical standards." So we guess it's also up to us to indelicately mention another of those flagrantly disturbing episodes in Mrs. Clinton's career: her quick profit of nearly \$100,000 on a \$1,000 stake in the futures markets.

The big question, still, is whether Mrs. Clinton was, as she said, just well-advised and "lucky," or whether—via the filter of the futures markets—she took a fat bribe and then coolly lied about it.

It has become accepted wisdom that the matter was settled in 1994 when Mrs. Clinton, under public pressure, dressed herself in pink and held a press conference in the White House. Perched under a portrait of Honest Abe Lincoln, Mrs. Clinton described her astounding gains back in 1978-79 as simply "a good investment offered by somebody who knew a lot."

But "good investment" does not begin to describe Mrs. Clinton's highly unusual return of almost 10,000% over 10 months in the futures markets. Back in 1979, that big a lump of pin money came to more than the annual incomes of both Clintons combined. To achieve such gains, Mrs. Clinton—assuming she was trading honestly, not with some private understanding of guaranteed "profits"—had to put many times the family income repeatedly at risk, an odd move if the aim was, as she said, to "try to create some financial security for our family . . ."

In places like the trading pits of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, whence emanated Mrs. Clinton's super-profits, there are pros who know plenty about how things work. "It's a mockery of the profession to say you took a thousand dollars

and made a hundred thousand," says Joe Gressel, a 19-year veteran of the Merc's trading pits. "Around here," he adds, in a sentiment echoed by some of his colleagues, "we're flabbergasted that she's bamboozled the people of New York state."

The basic plot line of Mrs. Clinton's foray into the futures markets (keep your eye on two players—lawyer James Blair and broker Robert "Red" Bone) is that in October 1978, she put up \$1,000 to start trading through Mr. Bone, who worked in the Arkansas office of a brokerage firm called Refco. Mrs. Clinton said she did this at the urging of a friend, Mr. Blair, who until early this year was chief in-house counsel for Arkansas-based Tyson Foods.

Over 10 months, buying and selling futures contracts in a variety of commodities, especially cattle, Mrs. Clinton after various ups and downs had made nearly \$100,000, and in July 1979 got out of the market. While this was going on, Bill Clinton had advanced from the influential position of Arkansas attorney general to the more powerful job of governor.

By Mrs. Clinton's account, she consulted Mr. Blair often during her trading days, but made actual decisions herself. "Jim would call me on a regular basis and I would make a decision whether or not I would trade, and then the trade would be placed. Often he placed it for me. There was nothing wrong with that," said Mrs. Clinton, in her pink press conference.

Maybe not. But did Mrs. Clinton's profits really come from whatever orders she gave Mr. Blair? Or—as some futures experts still wonder—did she have a helping hand at Refco, ensuring her a huge net gain by salting some big winners among otherwise legitimate ups and downs?

By several accounts, there was a lot of latitude at Refco for something Hillary in-

sisted she did not get—"favoritism." According to a market veteran who worked as a clerk for Refco at the time, Mrs. Clinton's version that she called the shots, trade-by-trade, on her relatively small lots of individual deals, is implausible.

The late 1970s brought a roaring and volatile cattle market, and Refco was one of the most fast-and-loose brokerage firms in the business. In the normal course of trading, futures dealers are supposed to specify which trades are done for which customers. But this former Refco clerk says business at that stage was so brisk that Refco deals were done mainly in big blocks—far bigger than Hillary's individual recorded orders. Only later would the brokers code transactions by customer and decide which trade—meaning what profit or loss—to parcel out to whom. "When Hillary came forward and said she was doing her own trades, I knew immediately that she wasn't telling the truth," says this former clerk.

His doubts bear noting, especially because soon after Hillary cashed in her profits, the Merc accused Refco of breaking the rules and Mr. Bone, in particular, of "serious and repeated violations of record-keeping functions, order-entry procedures, margin requirements and hedge procedures." Without confirming or denying the charges, Refco Chairman Thomas Dittmer and Mr. Bone agreed to penalties imposed by the exchange. Mrs. Clinton was among the customers for whom Refco traded without requiring the normal amount of margin money needed to cover likely losses.

The issue boils down to whether Mrs. Clinton was exceptional enough to have been both one of the luckiest amateur futures traders ever as well as a customer for whom Mr. Bone and Refco, while overlooking margin requirements and a host of other rules for at least some of their customers, otherwise played it straight. Or did Mrs. Clinton let Refco fiddle her accounts to deliver huge net gain, while she herself was either too careless to notice, or too dishonest to protest?

The question becomes all the more interesting because it isn't merely a matter of history. There is room to wonder whether there were swaps of favors over the years. Mrs. Clinton's mentor of the market, Mr. Blair, numbers among the Clintons' Lincoln-bedroom guests, both from the early 1990s and the past 15 months. And Mr. Blair's longtime employer, Tyson Foods, has enjoyed boosts from Mr. Clinton since Hillary's trading days. To give a fairly recent example, in 1996 both President Clinton and Vice President Gore went to bat personally to persuade Russia's President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin to continue allowing the import of some \$600 million a year worth of chicken, the bulk produced by Tyson Foods.

Probably the most influential expert on futures seen to have defended Mrs. Clinton is former chairman of the Chicago Merc, Leo Melamed. At the special request of the White House, Mr. Melamed in 1994 looked through Mrs. Clinton's old trading records. He concluded that Mrs. Clinton herself had not violated any rules of the exchange—her broker did that.

But the issue is not whether Mrs. Clin-

ton broke the rules of the Merc, which is what Mr. Melamed chose to address. Rather, it is whether—or to what extent—she knowingly let other people break the rules for her and then lied about it. Interviewed by phone this week, Mr. Melamed said he had been concerned only with the rules of the Merc. As far as any private understanding Mrs. Clinton might have had with her broker, says Mr. Melamed: "Those are not things I was looking at, nor did I give a damn."

Maybe only Messrs. Blair and Bone and Mrs. Clinton herself can say for sure whether she was just a hapless beneficiary of a generous and rule-breaking broker, hand-picked by a clever friend whose company later got some business help from the Clinton administration; or whether she took a payoff and lied about it. Given that Mrs. Clinton is now running for a job of public trust in the Senate—a place where one might want to keep bribe-takers to a minimum—it seems a question still worth asking.



Hillary Clinton

NEW YORK POST THURSDAY, OCTOBER 26, 2000

Cindy Adams



Bill's pulling out all stops for Hill

HIS Excellency the President of the United States of America, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces, Leader of the Free World, husband of New York's GOP Senate candidate, William Jefferson Whatsisface plans to work the phones for his wife.

The last three days before D-Day, Nov. 7, **Clinton** will do his Bubba Blitz. He's calling Hispanics and blacks statewide. His recorded message will tell them to get out the vote. It's a White House dance. The Hustle for **Hillary**.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Israel in the Balance

Arab-Americans' political power is on the rise, while Jews seem to care most about the Democratic Party



**JOHN
PODHORETZ**

THIS election is a time of testing for America's Jews — a test of electoral influence and ethnic will in the face of an Arab uprising against their Israeli brethren in the Middle East and rising Arab-American influence here at home. Two startling developments in the past week, one local and one national, make clear just how high the stakes have become.

Yesterday, the Daily News reported that Hillary Clinton attended a \$50,000 fund-raiser on her behalf in June sponsored by the American Muslim Alliance — a group that supports the use

Has American Jewry devolved into a Democratic Party support group?

of street violence against Israeli civilians. This follows a private session that Mrs. Clinton tried to sneak past reporters this spring, where she collected another \$50,000 at the Washington home of Hani Masri, a Yasser Arafat intimate.

And last week in St. Louis, George W. Bush took pains to mention his concern about the "racial profiling" of Arab-Americans by airport security officers

— a remark carefully calibrated to appeal to the 300,000 Arab-Americans living in the battleground state of Michigan. This marks the first time that Americans of Arab descent have been courted as a distinct ethnic voting bloc in a national debate.

While the views of groups such as the American Muslim Alliance are pernicious — supporting as they do, either implicitly or explicitly, groups like Hamas and Hezbollah that engage in terror not only in the Middle East but also here in the United States — what they are doing is not only permissible but, in some sense, admirable.

As a tiny but growing population inside the United States, they are now coming together in pursuit of what they take to be an important common interest. And they have taken as their model the American Jewish community in the 1960s and 1970s — also tiny in absolute numbers but far more powerful than other groups by dint of the Jewish willingness to vote, to argue with moral urgency for their cause, and to put their money where their mouths are.

The rising influence of Arab-Americans comes at a time of division, confusion and apathy in the Jewish community on matters directly affecting the Jewish people. The unpopular war in Lebanon in 1982 began to eat away at the unanimity of American Jewish opinion about the righteousness of their support for Israel.

Without the unifying effect of support for Israel against the implacable hostility of Mideast Arab states and would-be states, American Jewry has devolved



With Palestinians like these leading the way, the threat to Israel is again high. Will American Jews send the message that they don't care by voting for Hillary Clinton?

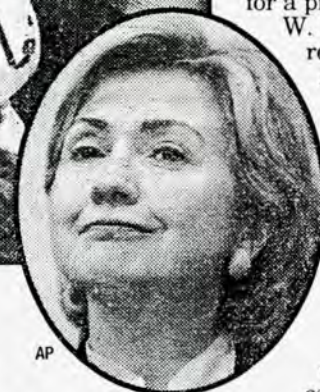
AFP

into little more than a Democratic Party support group that seems far more passionate about the preservation of abortion rights than the security of their uniquely beleaguered people.

That's why the Nov. 7 election is such a crucial moment for the American Jewish community. Whether you call the current state of Israeli-Palestinian relations a war or a "time out in the peace process," the fact is that the Jewish state is now facing peril in a way it has not since 1967.

That peril is not immediate. Israel will prevail in any confrontation with the Palestinian Authority (though hundreds upon hundreds of Israelis will die in terrorist attacks and the tough measures the Jewish state will have to take to combat the insurrection will depress and bewilder the genuinely peace-loving people there).

But the Arab League summit last weekend raised the possibility of Egypt and Jordan severing their ties to Israel if the current face-off with the Palestinian Au-



AP

thority continues — calling into retroactive question the value of any peace arrangements with Arab states. And Israel's one million Arab citizens are threatening to become a fifth column, opening up the prospect of civil war inside the 1947 borders.

At the same moment, American politicians are courting Arab voters and money as never before, even as they continue to voice support for Israel.

These two electoral gambits cannot coexist for long.

And this fact poses a threat to American support for Israel in the long term. It's a vital matter that should concern all Jews, even non-Zionist Jews, because of the possibility of large-scale, pan-Arab and explicitly anti-Semitic war against a nation simply because it is governed by a Jewish majority.

Which makes the Jewish vote in the New York Senate race so important. It is to be expected that Jews will favor Al Gore in large numbers, so there's no way for a protest vote against George W. Bush on this matter will register. The only means American Jews have to send the message that they are willing to band together again on behalf of their people and work against growing Arab-American power is to deny Hillary Clinton a substantial portion of the Jewish vote here.

Without that, Jews will prove they are less committed to Israel in its time of need and more committed to narrow Democratic Party interests than Arab-Americans are to the Palestinians. Jewish influence on U.S. foreign policy, already on the wane, will begin to die.

So, too, will Jews in the Middle East — not to mention the long-standing American commitment to the only democratic state in a sea of totalitarian and tinpot dictatorships. And the lessening of that commitment will do injury to America's soul.

E-mail: podhoretz@nypost.com

Fabulous fakes

Museum owner puts waxworks on the block

By VICKI GRIMSHAW

EVER thought O.J. Simpson, Saddam Hussein and Prince Philip were a bunch of dummies? Well, they are.

They're three of 85 waxwork figures being auctioned off at Manhattan's Guernsey Auction House on Saturday.

The statues, some dating back to the 1920s, are all from the Vermont Wax Museum, which owner Ayt Singer was forced to close down two years ago because of commitments at home in Brooklyn.

Singer expects her figures to fetch between \$2,000 and \$8,000-plus.

"Waxworks are pretty cool and they always provoke comments and reaction. I have one of the painter Raphael in my office and it's a real talking point," she says.

Models at the lower end of the scale include Princess Anne, 70's pop idol David Cassidy and the late Russian president Leonid Brezhnev, while the look-alikes of President Clinton, Elvis Presley and Marilyn Monroe in her famous white "airvent" dress are expected to raise the most.

In an amusing twist, Singer will allow the new owner of Hillary Clinton's waxwork effigy to donate 25 percent of the price to the political party of his or her choice.

"I'm hoping the Democrats will buy her so nothing bad happens to her. I wouldn't want her head on top of any Republican railings," she says.

Hillary was actually carved by Singer's own hand after she learned to



make her own waxworks using wood, plaster and wax.

Singer first gained an interest in waxworks several years ago when she bought an antique wax head then decided to make her own.

"I work from photos and pictures and each one takes about six months to make, from the first casting to finishing the costumes," she says.

She bought other statues from museums around the U.S., then finally decided to set up her own showcase.

When she couldn't find a suitable site in New York, she opened shop in Manchester, Vt., in 1995.

Judging from the Guernsey's catalog, the Vermont Wax Museum was no Madame Tussaud's, but it

Where would you find Elvis hanging out with Fidel Castro, Cleopatra and Hillary Clinton? These wax figures are part of The Fairground, to be auctioned by Guernsey's on Saturday. Jackie O and Martin Luther King (right) are also among some 85 pieces on the block.

N.Y. Post: Tamara Beckwith

proved a big hit with the locals and drew an international crowd.

When her collection goes under the hammer this weekend Singer expects the more better known figures to receive the most bids.

From whom, exactly?

"Hollywood types, people who like unique sculpture, maybe places like the



Hard Rock Cafe, or friends and family of the celebrities. Who knows? Maybe Star Wars' director George Lucas will buy R2D2. He's pretty cool — he lights up and moves."

The wax figures, which are part of a bigger collection called *The Fair-*

ground, will be auctioned at noon Saturday at Pier 92, 12th Avenue, at 55th Street on the Hudson River. Lots can be viewed from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. Friday, and 9 a.m. to noon Saturday. Call Guernsey at (212) 794-2280 for information.

NOT AGAIN!

Strawberry back in jail on drug rap

PAGE 17



Darryl Strawberry

FBI probes Times Sq. terror plot

EXCLUSIVE: PAGE 16

NEW YORK POST

BLOOD MONEY



Red-faced Hillary washes hands of 'tainted' Arab cash

PAGES 14 & 15

Club-hopping guide to N.Y.'s hottest party spots SEE PAGES 54-55

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

IN 'BLOOD MONEY'

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 in large letters.

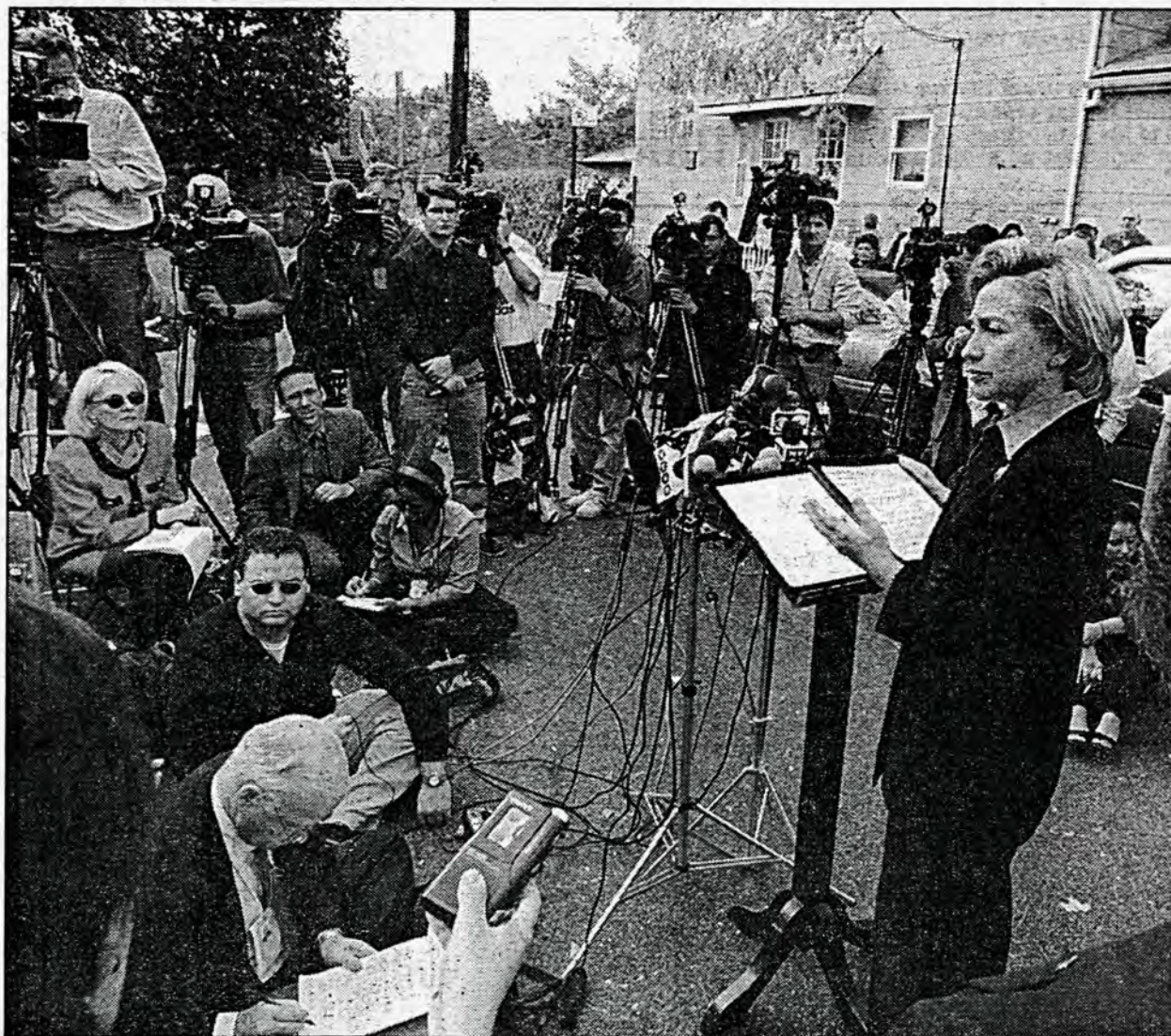
"I get handed thousands of plaques," said Clinton, who posed for photos holding the plaque at the fund-raiser.

"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."



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

Hillary's world /
Editorial: Page 44

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

NY Post
Thursday
October 24, 2000

Both sides press to get out the vote

By ANDY GELLER

Barred from spending soft money, the state's political parties are mounting a massive grass-roots get-out-the-vote efforts in the hotly contested Senate race.

By Election Day, the Democrats and Republicans will have made 8 million phone calls to potential voters and sent out millions of pieces of mail.

Upstate, supporters of Republican Rick Lazio are holding town picnics, sending out 100 volunteers at a time to distribute his newsletter and blanketing the countryside with lawn signs and bumper stickers.

Downstate, union backers of Democrat Hillary Clinton are concentrating on minority and working-class neighborhoods where she desperately needs a good turnout to win.

One reason for this huge grassroots effort is that both candidates agreed last month not to use soft money for TV ads.

"Certainly more resources are available for the get-out-the-vote operation," said state Democratic Party spokesman Peter Kauffmann.

By Nov. 7, the Democrats will have made 4 million phone calls and sent out 8 million pieces of mail, he said.

In addition, the Democrats plan to field 25,000 volunteers on Election Day.

Dan Allen, a spokesman for the state GOP, said the Republicans also plan to make 4 million calls.

The Republicans began their phone operation in August by identifying potential voters, including conservative upstate Democrats whom Allen described as Reagan Democrats.

Now that the campaign is in the homestretch, the GOP is contacting those voters again.

Aiding Clinton's get-out-the-vote effort are big unions like DC 37, the city's largest municipal union.

Spokesman Chris Policano said the union plans to call 100,000 of its 125,000 members by election day.

Local 1199, which represents 200,000 hospital workers, also plans a big grassroots effort.

Spokesman Ken Sunshine said the union never planned to do any TV ads for the candidates.

"Our style is getting out the vote," he said. "We're doing exactly what we planned to do."

PHOTOCOPY
RESERVATION

Meetings stir debate over nature of groups

By NILES LATHEM

Hillary Rodham Clinton has met for years with Muslim groups that critics accuse of anti-Israel and terrorist connections — but some Jewish leaders say the groups are largely mainstream.

The Muslim organizations said yesterday information about Clinton's meetings with them since 1996 was amassed by an anti-terror researcher, Steven Emerson — whom they label a McCarthyite bigot.

The Muslim groups and records confirm the first lady attended eight events in the past four years.

Among them:

■ In January 1996, Clinton met at the White House with groups including the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), which Emerson says has defended Hamas terrorists and attacked critics of terrorism as "racist."

CAIR spokesman Ibrahim

Cooper said his group does not take foreign-policy positions and is involved in domestic matters such as fighting anti-Muslim discrimination.

He called Emerson an "anti-Islam bigot" and defended the visit:

"What's wrong with a Muslim going to the White House?"

■ On Feb. 20, 1996, Clinton hosted a celebration marking the end of the Muslim holiday period of Ramadan at an event organized by the American Muslim Council, which Emerson calls a known supporter of terrorist groups.

In August 1996, she visited the AMC's hospitality suite at the Democratic Convention and was photographed with its then head.

AMC executive director

Aly Abuzaa Kouk told The Post that his group denounces terrorism and added that he is "insulted" by Emerson's questioning of his loyalty as an American.

He said the council's goal is to increase the participation of American Muslims in the U.S. political process.

■ On Jan. 29, 1998, Clinton spoke at a White House event, thanking the Muslim Public Affair Council's Hassan Hayout and Salaam al-Marayati — both of whom have praised Hezbollah, defended Islamic extremists and justified terrorism, Emerson said.

Al-Marayati, the group's head, denied Emerson's charges and said his group disseminates information about Islam because it is

See MEETING on Page 38

Hill's meetings stir a debate

MEETING from Page 15

"the most misunderstood religion in the world today."

Emerson argues that Clinton's connections to the groups are relevant because she has criticized Rick Lazio for attending an event with the Reform Party's Pat Buchanan, and Mayor Giuliani, her former rival, for appearing on the dais with Austrian right-winger Joerg Haider.

Both Buchanan and Haider have been accused of anti-Semitism.

"She can't have her cake and eat it too," Emerson said of Clinton.

Her meeting with extremists "legitimizes militant Islam," said Emerson, who covered terrorism for CNN and detailed terrorist links in a PBS documentary "Jihad in America."

Jewish leaders reacted cautiously to the allegations.

Abraham Foxman of the Anti-Defamation League said the litmus test for suspect groups is whether they've condemned terrorism.

"Most of these groups have not outright condemned terrorism so these are not yet people who have earned the right to be in the mainstream," he said.

Rabbi Abraham Cooper of the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles said some of the Muslim groups Clinton met with are mainstream but CAIR is "right there are the edge."

He noted that CAIR had sponsored a May 1998 event in Brooklyn College at which an anti-Semitic song was sung that went, "No to the Jews, descendants of the apes."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

By John McCaslin

Hot Springs, honey?

Should Hillary Rodham Clinton have rented, rather than bought, that big house in New York?

That's what the National Republican Senatorial Committee is asking upon word that Rep. Rick Lazio, Mrs. Clinton's Republican opponent, is leading the first lady by as many as 18 points in up-state New York.

A recent Zogby poll found Mr. Lazio ahead by a margin of 50 percent to 32 percent everywhere but in New York City. Overall, he leads Mrs. Clinton by one lonely percentage point.

Inside Politics



The vast conspiracy

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton blamed an unnamed "someone" yesterday for her returning \$50,000 raised for her Senate campaign by a group that backs the use of force against Israel.

"All \$50,000, every penny of it, is going back," Mrs. Clinton said, adding that she and her campaign workers had no idea the American Muslim Alliance was behind the June 13 fund-raiser in Boston.

Mrs. Clinton said she thought the event had been organized by

Boston businessman Shahid Ahmed Khan. The Associated Press reported yesterday that no Boston phone listing for him existed.

But the American Muslim Alliance Web site features a photograph of Mrs. Clinton at the Boston fund-raiser holding a plaque inscribed with the group's name.

The New York Daily News quoted the chairman of Massachusetts chapter of the alliance as saying it had taken over sponsorship of the event "about one week" before it happened.

The group's national president, Agha Saeed, has said the Palestinians have the right to use "armed force" against Israel.

Mrs. Clinton stopped just short of blaming a vast conspiracy for the flap.

"Somebody was trying to take advantage of me," the first lady said. "We have 13 days left in this election. Fasten your seat belts. You have no idea what's going to be thrown at me."

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Mrs. Clinton's 'ethical legacies'

“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 Broaddrick 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 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.

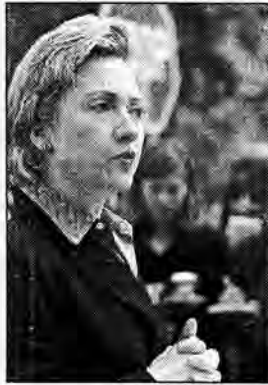
The editorial tries to balance out the very, very bad with something more positive. For example: “She outdid her opponents in visiting the state's 62 counties.” (Really, that's what it says.) “Through the collection of firsthand stories, she learned about economic deprivation, energy costs, taxes, health 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.

Clinton returns Arab-American money

Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton said she didn't know that the American Muslim Alliance was behind a Boston fundraiser in June, and she is returning the \$50,000 it raised. "I strongly disagree with the positions taken by this group." Jewish support is crucial for Clinton in her race in New York against Republican Rep. Rick Lazio, who called the donation "blood money." The alliance's national president, Agha Saeed, has said Palestinians should pursue their own state in the West Bank and Gaza.



By Lynsey Addario, AP

Clinton: Giving back \$50,000 from fundraiser.

Tom Cruise gives first lady birthday hug

Hillary Rodham Clinton danced on stage while the audience at a fundraiser waited for Cher to do her part at the first lady's birthday party at Roseland in Manhattan. Actor Tom Cruise, a surprise guest, gave Clinton a hug. "She looks pretty good for being 53," President Clinton said of his wife, whose birthday is today. "I'd like to say I'm 43, but that's fuzzy math," she said.

— Jeannie Williams

Continued

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 26, 2000 • USA TODAY

Out and about: Catherine Zeta-Jones in a major diamond bib necklace by Fred Leighton, with fiancé Michael Douglas, at Tuesday's New York tribute to designer Tom Ford. *Chelsea Clinton as a surprise lunch patron at Bobby Van's Steakhouse in Washington, D.C., munching salmon with two pals ... Caroline Kennedy Schlossberg at Tuesday's American Ballet Theatre opening ... Drew Barrymore getting a rickety, Colombian-style bus to deliver her, Cameron Diaz and Lucy Liu to Tuesday's *Charlie's Angels* Manhattan premiere; at the party at Henri Bendel, *Angels* producer Leonard Goldberg made sure TV sets were tuned to the World Series. ... Bruce Willis, checking out the Series and the new Times Square Planet Hollywood site, no sooner vacated his Four Seasons Hotel suite Wednesday than President Clinton's people swarmed in to ready it for his visit for Hillary Rodham Clinton's birthday/fundraiser.



News & views

By Jeannie Williams

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 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.

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 Alamousi, a board member of the American Muslim Council, who was quoted in interviews as supporting the radical Islamic group Hamas.

The fund-raising disclosures, reported yesterday in The Daily News, set off a daylong exchange of denunciations between the campaigns in the close Senate race, where both candidates have been wooing Jewish voters. Mrs. Clinton's opponent, Representative Rick A. Lazio, called the donations "blood money."

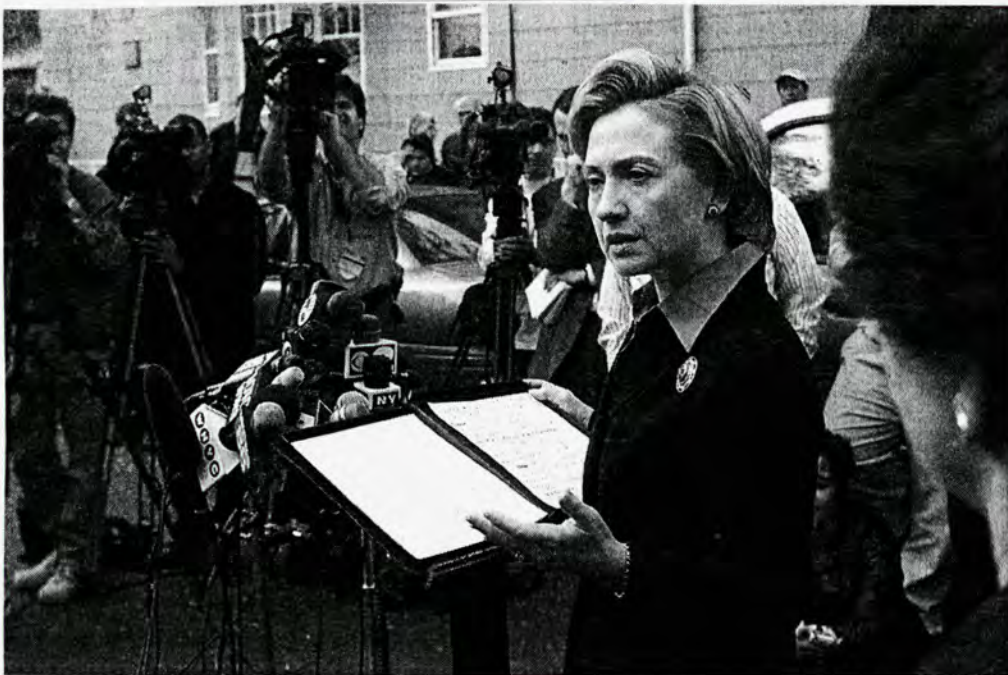
The exchange thrust Middle East politics into the center of the New York Senate race. Rallying to Mrs.

Continued on Page C20



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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



James Estrin/The New York Times

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

Clinton to Return Money From Muslim Group

Continued From Page A1

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 rabbis 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



Suzanne DeChillo/The New York Times

Representative Rick A. Lazio has called the donations to Hillary Rodham Clinton "blood money."

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

Reaction to remarks about the use of force against Israel.

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."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

A Roseland Crowd Wishes Mrs. Clinton a Happy Birthday; the Returns Come Later

By MARC LACEY

President Clinton helped his Senate candidate wife celebrate her 53rd birthday last night, giving her the best possible gift so soon before the election. Rather than presenting her with roses or jewelry, he was the host of a star-studded Manhattan fund-raiser and dinner that funneled \$2 million into Hillary Rodham Clinton's New York Senate bid.

Cher took the stage to serenade the first lady. Ben Affleck, Cameron Diaz and Chevy Chase performed humorous skits. There were more than 1,000 guests in all at the Roseland Ballroom, the actors Tom Cruise and Robert De Niro included, and many of them had written birth-

day checks to help fill Mrs. Clinton's campaign coffers.

"She has the requisite aggression to be a good New Yorker," the president said, describing how she came over to him to introduce herself after he had been staring at her at Yale Law School.

"If you just keep working for 13 more days, she is going to make you profoundly proud," he said, before leading the crowd in "Happy Birthday." "And on top of that, she looks pretty good to be 53 years old."

Mrs. Clinton's birthday is actually today, but with the election less than two weeks away, campaigning will take precedence over celebrating. In the morning, Mrs. Clinton will shake

hands at Grand Central Terminal. Later, she will fly to Albany for an editorial board meeting. Then she will begin preparing for her next debate with Representative Rick A. Lazio, her Republican opponent.

A Lazio impersonator took the stage repeatedly last night, poking fun at the real-life candidate's antics at the first debate, when he strode across the stage to insist that Mrs. Clinton sign a campaign finance pledge. Mr. Lazio's stand-in demanded last night that she sign his yearbook, his guest book and his cast. Each time, he was hauled away by Secret Service agents.

The Republican presidential candidate, Gov. George W. Bush, also appeared by proxy. "When it comes

to wishing people happy birthday, I've crossed party lines and got it done," the stand-in said, mimicking the cadences of the Texas governor and repeatedly mangling Mrs. Clinton's first name. "I wish you a happy birthday, or as they say in Spanish, feliz Navidad." The Broadway actor Nathan Lane acted as moderator, gently poking fun at the birthday girl.

"Her policy on her age is, don't ask, don't tell," he said, adding, "It was many years ago that Hillary was born in New York's outer borough — Illinois." After the show, the Clintons joined the performers and other high rollers at the Hudson Hotel, where it cost \$10,000 to get in and the menu featured braised lamb shank and to-

mato risotto, with pumpkin cheese-cake and warm apple pie à la mode for dessert.

It was a long — and successful — day of fund-raising for the president.

He helped raise \$300,000 for the re-election bid of Representative Gregory W. Meeks, all the more notable because the New York City Democrat faces no opposition.

Then Mr. Clinton was the host at a reception that raised \$1 million for Democratic candidates for the State Assembly.

In all, Mr. Clinton's fund-raising tally for the year has topped \$100 million. He has made dozens of appearances in New York and throughout the country on behalf of his wife.

As Election Day Nears, Lazio Remains Upstate

Region Is No Longer Safely Republican

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

ROCHESTER, N.Y., Oct. 25 — When Rick A. Lazio arrived here for a Monroe County Republican reception this evening, he could be forgiven for feeling that he had been in these parts before. He had. Many times.

In fact, tonight's was the 22nd campaign appearance Mr. Lazio had made in upstate New York over six straight days: from Amherst to Syracuse, from Catskill to West Ghent (it's in Columbia County), and from Utica to Hornell. And he will be back next week.

With two weeks to go until Election Day, Mr. Lazio is devoting a great deal of attention to a part of New York that should be easy country for a Republican. And that is stirring concern among some of his supporters as the geographic forces that have traditionally shaped New York elections appear to be shifting this year — and not necessarily to Mr. Lazio's advantage.

That this is happening is a result of Hillary Rodham Clinton's unusually aggressive effort over the last 15 months in a part of New York that Democrats have tended to neglect. It also reflects what Mr. Lazio's aides say were some miscalculations in his initial approach to upstate, in particular the assumption that Mrs. Clinton would not be received well north of Westchester County.

As a result, while Mr. Lazio is being pressed to spend the final days of this campaign in a region that should be solidly in his corner, Mrs. Clinton is comfortable enough about her Democratic support to spend relatively more time in competitive regions of the state, starting with the New York City suburbs. She is even finding time to venture onto what has been the Republican base: he was in Syracuse on Tuesday and so was Mrs. Clinton, delivering a speech on the economy. It was her third trip upstate in a week.

Mr. Lazio's advisers said the decision to devote so much time upstate was a sign of strength, not weakness, and reflected their confidence of his support in the suburbs. Mr. Lazio's senior campaign consultant, Mike Murphy, argued that the race would be decided largely upstate, and that the region is not as Republican as it once was.

"The upstate hasn't been Republican base country in 15 years," said Mr. Murphy. "It's swing country — and it's swinging our way, and we're winning."

But some senior New York Republicans sympathetic to Mr. Lazio's campaign, as well as some independent political analysts, said that Mr. Lazio should have nailed down upstate by now. They said that the need to tend to his base had emerged as a campaign-ending distraction that was pulling Mr. Lazio away from places where he might more profitably search for support.

"He's constantly in upstate New York — constantly — and that's really killing him," said one Republican strategist, who insisted on anonymity. "He's spending an inordinate time for this late in upstate New York, which prevents him from appealing to suburban voters."

Maurice Carroll, the director of the Quinipiac University Poll, said Mr. Lazio was forced to head upstate now because he didn't do it earlier. "He has to do it," Mr. Carroll said. "She has worked her tail off upstate, and she has cut into the traditional overwhelming Republican preponderance up there."

Further, while Mr. Lazio's aides argued the candidate was keeping a presence in the suburbs through television advertisements, his relative physical absence from the metropolitan area has meant he is not getting the "free media" that comes with television news coverage. Most suburban voters get their news from the New York City television stations, which means that they have not been seeing much of Mr. Lazio.

At the same time, Mrs. Clinton has been a more regular presence on the

news, because of her time spent in the metropolitan area and, not incidentally, the frequent visits by President Clinton, including a fund-raiser in Manhattan tonight.

Political analysts expect that in this election, about 45 percent of the vote will come from upstate New York, 31 percent will come from the suburban counties and 24 percent from New York City. Based on those figures, Mr. Lazio's aides said that in order to counteract the advantage Mrs. Clinton would gain in New York City, which is overwhelmingly Democratic, he needed to draw at least 55 percent of the upstate vote.

But pollsters who have been following the race say that Mr. Lazio has yet to assure himself of that margin. Thus, it was no surprise that Mr. Lazio, after flying back to New York to attend the third game of the World Series on Tuesday, hopped back on his campaign jet for the Monroe County G.O.P. Annual Pre-Victory Grazing tonight. An aide said that he would spend "the vast bulk" of his time between now and Election Day in upstate New York.

Part of what is going on reflects the change in electoral politics in New York. As Mr. Murphy noted, upstate is not as reliably Republican as it once was; Charles E. Schumer, a Democrat, won 45 percent of the vote upstate, when he defeated Al-

Mrs. Clinton is a familiar face in G.O.P. country.

fonse M. D'Amato for a fourth term in 1998, by 8 percentage points statewide.

Mr. Schumer, in an interview, argued that upstate voters no longer automatically view Democrats as loyal advocates for New York City, and thus foes of upstate, as they once did. And while Mrs. Clinton is not from New York State, as Mr. Lazio has noted with some regularity, she is not from New York City either.

By contrast, Mr. Lazio assumed — incorrectly, Mr. Schumer argued — that a Long Island native would not be viewed as another downstate candidate, and thus would be quickly embraced in a way that Rudolph W. Giuliani was not, when he was the Republican candidate for Senate. For a long time, Mr. Lazio's television advertisements included a shot of him walking on a Long Island beach with his family. He dropped the scene at the urging of some Republicans who said that it was hurting him among upstate voters.

Mr. Lazio also let the summer pass without nailing down his position upstate, notwithstanding advice from some New York Republicans that he should, in the words of one, have "camped out" upstate in August. "Upstate has been the battleground all along: Lazio just came to the war late," said Lee M. Miringoff, director of the Marist College Institute for Public Opinion in Poughkeepsie.

For their part, Mr. Lazio's advisers argued that Mrs. Clinton would end up doing relatively poorly in New York City, because of what they asserted was a lack of enthusiasm about her among many Democrats. Still, Mr. Lazio's aides acknowledge that the place to watch is upstate. And there, pollsters and political analysts say, voters are very familiar with Mrs. Clinton, while uncertain about Mr. Lazio, who remains something of an unknown quantity — even to those who, by now, should be pledging their allegiance to him.

"She has really worked hard to convince people that they can trust her," said Donna Colangelo, a 38-year-old cashier at a convenience store near Utica, who described herself as a lifelong Republican, a note of admiration in her voice. "I don't think he's been as aggressive as she is. But he still has time."

NYT
Thursday October 26, 2000

Politics, New York-style

■ Think Arkansas politics are uncivilized? Get a load of a few sentences of a fund-raising letter from **William Powers**, chairman of the **New York Republican State Committee**, begging bucks to beat **Hillary Clinton's** Senate bid. Says Powers' letter:

"She's opportunistic, hypocritical and egotistical.

"She's cold-blooded and hotheaded.

"Hillary Rodham Clinton is abrasive and annoying, brash and bitter, calculating and scheming, distant and deceitful, polarizing and power hungry. In her ruthless quest for power, she claims to be a New Democrat but she's a fraud, a phony and a pretender."

It goes on, but you get the idea. Powers also says Hillary hates Republicans. Gee, why?



ADVERTISING

Marketers Spoof Election, Politics

Continued From Page B1

Coffee count: A coffee vote at 7-Eleven Inc. reflects the continuing closeness of the real presidential race. In a monthlong poll that ended in September, 21% of 7-11 Java drinkers bought 20-ounce cups with "I'm voting for Bush" printed on them, while 20% picked "I'm voting for Gore." A full 59% of the six million cups sold said "Third Party/No Opinion." Final results were tallied at: www.7-eleven.com

Underwear vote: You just knew someone would ask the critical underwear question. For Gap Inc.'s Banana Republic, the answer, in brief, is boxers. Sales of its Republican boxer shorts with elephants are leading Democratic boxers with donkeys, 58% to 42%.

Step-on-Hillary: The Hillary Doormat, a real doormat with a picture of New York Senate candidate Hillary Clinton, is offered by Diplomat Inc. for \$19.95. It comes with a choice of "Hillaryisms," such as "I've always been a Yankee fan." The company is headed by Jazz Perazic-Gipe, described on the website www.hillarydoormat.com as a mom and former professional basketball player.

The other Buddy: At least one new presidential campaign is part of a long-term marketing strategy. The challenge

for Farmington Hills, Mich.-based Compuware Corp., a software developer that also provides online marketing services, was to make Buddy Lee, the longtime "spokes-doll" for VF Corp.'s Lee Jeans, popular with the 17- to 22-year-old culture. The strategy: Create grassroots "buzz" for a Buddy Lee presidential campaign.

"The age group they were after is distrustful of advertising, so we thought we would be much more effective if they heard about the Buddy Lee campaign" on their own terms, says Julia Schneider, manager of client services at Compuware. So Compuware tried to make the presidential campaign look like it emanated from some underground Internet-based faction by infiltrating chat rooms and building amateur Buddy Lee fan club Web sites.

The underground strategy seems to have done the trick. Recently, Time magazine named Buddy Lee a third-party candidate who was more "electable than Pat Buchanan." And the campaign also spawned a partnership with Sears, Roebuck & Co., which now serves as the Official Buddy Lee for President Campaign Headquarters, www.buddyforpresident.com.

The campaign also has accumulated more than 100 postings on its Web site's message board. One reads: "I'm scared of you Buddy Lee."

Hill's helpful hubby a tower of power abuse

AFTER decades of frustration, humiliation, degradation, Hillary Rodham Clinton is learning that her errant husband, Bill, is capable of playing the dutiful helpmate.

Actually, the president of the United States is turning out to be a darn good little campaign wife.

In politics, the function of the campaign wife is second in importance only to that of the intern. It is the wife who stands quietly by the candidate's side,

ever deferential to the boss' every whim.

The good wife will do anything within reason — and a few things without — to make the spouse's day run smoothly.

The wife soothes. The wife feeds. The wife massages. The wife is willing to mess with foreign and domestic policy. The wife is hell on wheels against anyone who gets in the spouse's way.

Nancy Reagan became the modern role model when she was

ANDREA PEYSER



overheard feeding Ronny the correct answers to tough questions. And nobody messed with Barbara Bush.

Hillary Clinton was never so good at playing No. 2 — her ego

won't allow it. But she could take lessons from the master at playing second fiddle.

Yesterday, the president proved his fealty to Campaign Hillary by harnessing his power as president and unleashing it on something petty. Anything to make the long-suffering Mrs. a happy would-be senator.

Coming across his desk was a bill on women's health. A very good bill, one that would ensure that low-income women have access to medical care for breast cancer. A triumph.

Er ... not so fast. The man who pushed through that bill, who worked so hard to see that it arrived on the president's desk intact, was none other than Rick Lazio. The enemy.

So the president would sign this bill privately. Without TV cameras fixed on smiling cancer survivors. And without Rick Lazio.

The bill's boosters — who originally included none other than
See PEYSER on Page 38

NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 25, 2000

Campaign★2000

Hill's hubby a tower of power abuse

PEYSER from Page 19

Hillary — wanted a public ceremony. Women should be made aware, they argued, that they might be now be covered against this dreaded disease.

But if that meant giving Lazio credit, the president would keep the bill in the closet. He would risk having a few women suffer horribly for the greater good of Hillary.

Now, that's loyalty.

It isn't the first time the president's messed around with the power of the presidency, an office that used to be owned by the people — that's you and me — and treated it like his own personal plaything.

When big, bad Rudy Giuliani

was Hillary's Senate foe, the president's crony, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew Cuomo, gave the mayor a public spanking, yanking his control over federal money for the homeless. It was a blatant use of government power to embarrass a Hillary opponent.

If Hillary had to calculate the value of having the leader of the free world on her payroll, the cost of the nation's already-costliest Senate campaign would leap into the stratosphere. How can you compete?

I'm sure Rick Lazio's house on the Island is perfectly comfortable when the in-laws come a-visiting. But Mrs. Lazio, who likes to clean her own, has nothing to compete with the Lincoln

Bedroom when it comes to throwing slumber parties for friends, celebrities and people with more money than sense.

And every time the president comes campaigning, it's on Air Force One.

Guess who pays for that?

So Bill Clinton may have found the role that will sustain him through the humdrum life of a private citizen. The most powerful man in the world may actually enjoy playing the power behind the throne.

Of course, once he's through being president, his value to Hillary drops to the level of a used intern.

Wonder if she'll return his calls?

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

'PETTY' PREZ DISSES RICK



SWEEPING TO VICTORY? Rick Lazio thanks supporter Connie White for her symbolic gift of a "clean sweep" broom at a "Women for Lazio" campaign breakfast in Syracuse yesterday. AP

How does he love her? Let us count the money

Here are some examples of how President Clinton has helped his wife, Hillary, in her bid for a New York Senate seat.

- Overnight guests at the White House and Camp David have included fat-cat donors to Hillary Clinton's campaign.
- The first husband campaigned for his wife at fund-raisers around the country that raked in millions. On Sunday, the president dubbed himself "cheerleader in chief" during a whirlwind tour of New York state.
- Nearly half the private guests invited to White House state dinners this year were big-bucks contributors to the Democratic Party.
- The president decided to hold a private bill-signing ceremony on a breast-cancer bill, denying Rep. Rick Lazio, a major supporter of the legislation and his wife's Senate opponent, a turn in the public spotlight.



N.Y. STATE OF MIND: Hillary Rodham Clinton maps out her issue of the day — the Empire State's population shifts — in Syracuse yesterday. AP

Signs Lazio cancer legislation in private

President Clinton yesterday — with no public fanfare — signed a breast-cancer bill sponsored by Rick Lazio, denying Hillary Rodham Clinton's Senate rival a chance to shine on the White House stage.

As word of the president's decision to forgo a high-profile bill signing ceremony circulated on the campaign trail during the day, Lazio said it was most important for the measure to become law so low-income women can get treatment for breast and cervical cancer.

But before Clinton quietly inked the legislation behind closed doors, Lazio had urged him to stage a public event at the White House because it would draw more attention to the disease, and Lazio even offered to skip a public ceremony if the president didn't want him to bask in the limelight.

"I hope they do have a ceremony, and if it's a condition of having a ceremony that I'm not there for some reason, I can live with that," the Republican said during a campaign stop in Syracuse.

President Clinton's spokesman denied any political motivation and Mrs. Clinton said she never discussed the issue with the president.

White House aides said a ceremony may be held after the Nov. 7 elections.

Lazio advisers said privately they thought the president had blundered because the controversy only served to further spotlight Lazio's breast-cancer prevention efforts, while making the Clintons look petty at the same time.

One of the biggest supporters of the bill, Rep. Sue Myrick (R-N.C.), a breast-cancer survivor, had gathered 61 signatures on a letter she wrote to President Clinton urging a public ceremony to mark the new law.

By Gregg Birnbaum and Robert Hardt Jr. in Syracuse, Brian Blomquist in Washington and Maggie Haberman in New York

Meanwhile, White House spokesman Jake Siewert insisted Mrs. Clinton played an "instrumental" role in passage of the cancer bill — a claim that Lazio said was nonsense.

An aide to Lazio, a co-sponsor of the legislation, said, "We're not aware of any lobbying she did on this issue."

Lazio, a Mets fan, capped off the day with a ride to Shea Stadium on the No. 7 train with Yankee fans Mayor Giuliani and Gov. Pataki for Game 3 of the Subway Series.

Lazio aides planned to pass out to fans 1,000 paper masks featuring the picture of Mrs. Clinton donning a Yankee cap.

When Lazio went to Shea for the Mets' pennant clincher last week, he was greeted with chants of "Lazio! Lazio!" and "Hillary sucks!"

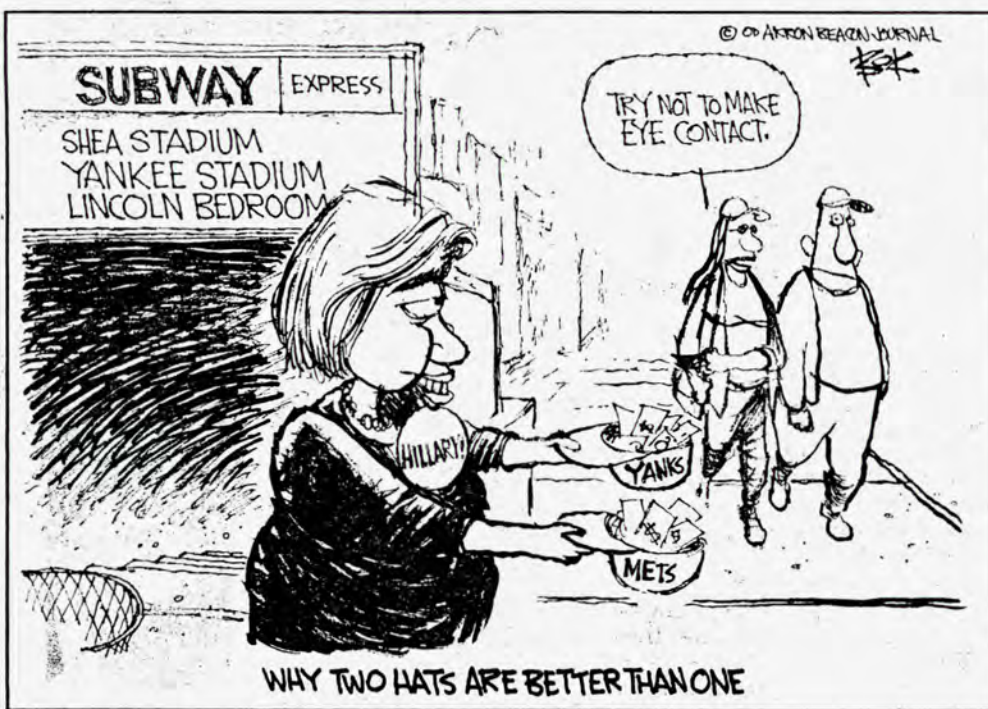
Asked in Syracuse if she'll make it to a Series game, Clinton replied, "Hope so! Hope so!" as she walked away from reporters.

Hillary's REAL record / Editorial: Page 48

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

NEW YORK POST, WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 25, 2000

POSTOPINION



PHOTOCOPY
RESERVATION

Inside Politics



Compiled by Greg Pierce

on Jewish teachings.

This declaration against Mr. Lieberman is not comparable to a Catholic excommunication, which binds the whole church.

Rabbi Yehuda Levin of New York, who was not a participant, estimated the beth din's ruling represents "tens of thousands of Jews in Brooklyn and other parts of the country," and perhaps as many as 150,000 Orthodox Jews.

The Gore-Lieberman press office in Nashville had no immediate response to the excommunication, the news service reported.

forum," he said.

The White House plans to hold an event later in the year to commemorate passage of the breast cancer legislation, along with some other bills signed privately.

No publicity, please

Without ceremony, President Clinton yesterday signed the breast cancer legislation that New York Rep. Rick Lazio helped shepherd through Congress.

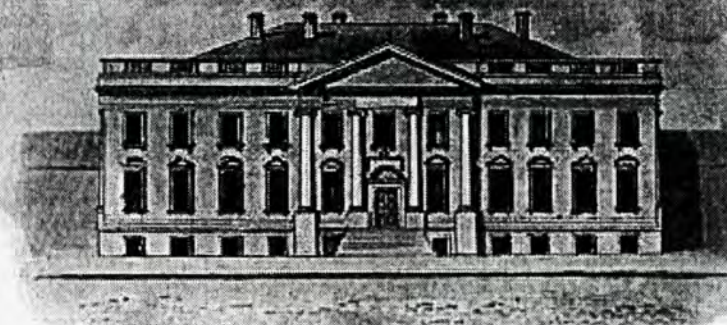
Mr. Lazio, of course, is the Republican opponent of Mr. Clinton's wife, Hillary, in the battle for a U.S. Senate seat from New York.

The legislation would provide health care to thousands of women with breast cancer, Reuters reports.

White House spokesman Jake Siewert said yesterday he was "not aware" of any pressure from Hillary Rodham Clinton or her husband to avoid signing the Breast and Cervical Cancer Prevention and Treatment Act in public.

Mr. Lazio was a key supporter of the bill and would typically be invited to any bill-signing ceremony.

Asked if the bill was being signed privately because it would appear awkward having Mr. Lazio share the stage with the president, Mr. Siewert told reporters: "I don't know that that was the consideration, but I think that whenever we make decisions about bills — we have probably a couple dozen bills awaiting the president's signature now — we always try to decide what the best forum is and what's not the best



In 1807: The earliest known engraving of the White House appears on the title page of *The Stranger in America* by James Cundee.

Cover story: Home at the White House

Where 200 years of memories live on

First families share private times upstairs

By Susan Page
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — When John Adams moved into the White House 200 years ago next week, the plaster was still wet, the drafty rooms only partially furnished, and the president in the final days of a re-election campaign he was destined to lose.

Even so, he was struck by the meaning and emotion of the place. "I pray Heaven to bestow the best of blessings on this house, and on all that shall hereafter inhabit it," Adams wrote to his wife, Abigail, the next day, Nov. 2, 1800. "May none but honest and wise men ever rule under this roof!"

Two centuries later, the current president, Bill Clinton, says he has similar feelings about the place that has been his home for almost two full terms.

"Tonight I'll get back about 1:30 a.m., and I'll still be thrilled when I walk in," Clinton said in a telephone interview Tuesday evening between campaign events with first lady Hillary

Rodham Clinton in New York City. "After eight years, it hasn't lost any of its awe for me as a repository of American history."

Clinton is fond of taking visitors on late-night tours to read Adams' words — carved into the stone fireplace mantel in the State Dining Room on Franklin D. Roosevelt's orders. He points out the bricks off the Truman Balcony that are blackened from the day the British set the house afire during the War of 1812 and the table on which Abraham Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation.

The White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., has become the world's most famous address. With the flag, it's the most recognizable symbol of the United States and an icon of democracy worldwide.

But it is also a home.

Every president since Adams has lived there — rearing children, squabbling with in-laws, coping with life. "When family members are living in that house, there's a kind of dailiness to it," says Susan Eisenhower,



Dec. 9, 1967: President Johnson escorts daughter Lynda Bird to the East Room for her wedding to Chuck Robb.

Please see COVER STORY
next page ►



Eisenhower Library

A 1950s White House Christmas: John and Barbara Eisenhower, back center, with their children, David, left, Mary Jean, Anne and Susan, and with his parents, Mamie and President Eisenhower.

A historian's perspective, 7D

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Spending the night with a ghost

Continued from 1D

Cover story

who took her first step in the Red Room, rode a tricycle on the curved driveway and buried a dead parakeet in the Rose Garden when grandfather Dwight Eisenhower was president. "We all had our birthday parties there. It becomes very much the fabric of your life."

The 200th anniversary of the White House, the executive mansion envisioned by George Washington and inhabited by his successors, is prompting a commemorative postage stamp, several books, a three-day symposium sponsored by the White House Historical Association and a black-tie dinner at the White House.

On Nov. 1, a horse-drawn carriage with an actor aboard will pull up to the entrance in a re-enactment of Adams' arrival.

USA TODAY discussed with Clinton and seven former residents what it's like to live at the White House. Former first ladies Barbara Bush and Rosalynn Carter, presidential daughters Lynda Bird Robb, Susan Ford Bales and Maureen Reagan, and presidential granddaughter Susan Eisenhower were interviewed by phone, fax or e-mail. Former first lady Nancy Reagan relayed comments through an aide.

Carter says the fact that the White House is a home helps infuse it with meaning.

"Americans don't look on the White House as just a place where their president does government business in the Oval Office or Cabinet Room, but a real home where he shares time with his wife, children, pets and personal visitors," she says. "This combination of history, current events and private lives of the first family makes the White House an intriguing place."

An 'oasis of privacy'

More than 1 million tourists a year walk behind velvet ropes to gaze at the formal rooms on the main floor: The East Room, with the Gilbert Stuart portrait of George Washington that was rescued by Dolley Madison during the 1814 fire. (The painting is the only object in the White House known to date to its original days in 1800.) The Blue Room, redecorated by the Clintons in a brighter and more historically accurate shade. The elegant Red Room and Green Room.

But the residence on the second and third floors is off-limits to all but the first family and invited guests. With the presidential retreat at Camp David, those rooms have become what John and Claire Whitcomb, authors of the new

book *Real Life at the White House*, call "a small oasis of privacy" for the first family.

While some presidential libraries feature replicas of the Oval Office, the Richard Nixon Library & Birthplace in Yorba Linda, Calif., displays instead a room from the family quarters. The Lincoln Sitting Room is reproduced, complete with President Nixon's favorite brown plush chair. The embattled president chose to re-create the room where Edward Cox proposed to daughter Tricia and where national security adviser Henry Kissinger rushed in with the historic invitation for him to visit China.

It also is where he handed his letter of resignation to his secretary of State.

The residential floors are surprisingly compact. A broad center hall runs the length of the second floor. The Lincoln Bedroom and Queen's Bedroom are clustered at the east end. At the west end are a master bedroom suite, a family dining room and a small kitchen installed by the Clintons. Facing north in the middle of the center hallway is a narrow space with a window where Lincoln stood to deliver news of the Civil War to people gathered below.

Facing south off the center hallway is the Yellow Oval Room, a favorite spot for Nancy Reagan and others, with its spectacular view from the Truman Balcony of the Washington Monument and the Jefferson Memorial.

Robb, President Lyndon B. Johnson's daughter, remembers when she would bring a date to the Yellow Oval Room — with its "big, nice soft sofa" — while sister Luci would take her date to the less formal Solarium on the third floor.

"Daddy was always one to come in and check on all of us," Robb says. He would pop his head into the Yellow Oval Room to see her, then stride down the hall toward the elevator to visit Luci. "I would scoot and go up the back stairs and warn Luci that he was on his way."

There were more difficult times ahead when husband Chuck Robb was a Marine in Vietnam while war protests raged at home. They married in the East Room in December 1967, and he shipped out three months later. (Robb is running for re-election to the U.S. Senate from Virginia against Republican George Allen.)

"It was very distressing when I was pregnant with Lucinda and Chuck was in Vietnam to be hearing people outside screaming, 'Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill

today?'" Robb says.

At times like that, she says, "you wished the house was a long, long way from everything."

Music and fireworks

Most of the memories are happy ones:

► "We spent a lot of great family time in the Solarium," Clinton says, already speaking in the past tense. The family room has a TV, board games and books. "There's a long walkway up to the Solarium that's just stacked with family pictures that go back to even before Chelsea was born. I've even got a blown-up picture of my first-grade class."

► "Christmas season was the greatest," Barbara Bush says. The music performed by high school choral groups, bell ringers and bands on the main floor would waft to the family quarters.

"We opened the doors to the residence, and the Christmas music filled our floor. Often the grands (grandchildren) would wander down or sit on the grand staircase and listen," she says.

► Susan Ford Bales, the daughter of Gerald and Betty Ford, recalls the night she and a girlfriend decided to stay in the Lincoln Bedroom overnight to test the White House stories that Lincoln's ghost would sometimes appear. "Mother came in at the crack of dawn to wake us up," she says, "with a sheet over her and going 'Oooh-oooh'" in her best ghostly voice.

With 91 maids, butlers, florists, carpenters, curators and chefs directed by chief usher Gary Walters, the White House is not just another house. Clinton waxes nostalgic about the putting green that Eisenhower installed, the outdoor swimming pool that is part of President Ford's legacy, and the movie theater on the ground floor.

For those who have lived there, adjusting to life after the White House can be jarring.

Maureen Reagan's apricot poodle, Willie, spent his formative years at the White House, romping on the South Lawn. When Ronald Reagan's second term ended and Maureen and her husband, Dennis Revell, moved to their own house in California, "we would come home to our tiny backyard, and Willie would look at us like 'Is this it? Where is that big yard?'"

But then, all White House residents are temporary ones.

In the 1920s, Calvin Coolidge was returning to the White House after a walk when a senator facetiously said to him, "I wonder who lives there."

"Nobody," the president replied. "They just come and go."

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Inter

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 25, 2000

New York Report

The New York Times



Associated Press



James Estrin/The New York Times

Hillary Rodham Clinton, left, said in Syracuse yesterday that because of population losses, the work force in parts of upstate New York lacks the skills needed to attract technology jobs. Representative Rick A. Lazio toured a breast cancer screening center at a hospital in Westchester County.

Lazio Criticizes President Over Handling of Cancer Bill

By RANDAL C. ARCHIBOLD

NEW ROCHELLE, N.Y., Oct. 24 — President Clinton is missing an opportunity to promote breast and cervical cancer awareness, Representative Rick A. Lazio said today, by deciding to privately sign a bill that Mr. Lazio had backed.

Speaking to reporters here before touring a breast cancer screening center at a hospital, Mr. Lazio said he believed politics might have influenced the White House's decision not to hold a public bill-signing ceremony.

"I think it's a missed opportunity for the president," Mr. Lazio said, standing before a poster promoting breast cancer awareness month. "I don't have to be there at the bill signing if he feels it's not a politically wise thing for him to do. But it is an opportunity for us to promote breast cancer awareness and cervical cancer awareness."

Mr. Lazio, however, said he believed the priority should be for the president to sign the bill, the Breast and Cervical Cancer Treatment Act, into law. The president did sign the bill sometime today, doing so without ceremony or even a simple announcement by the White House.

The congressman was a leading advocate for the bill as chief sponsor of the original legislation and manager of the debate in the House that led to its approval in May, although Democrats complained that he had lost interest until he surfaced as a Senate candidate that month. Mrs. Clinton, the president said, was also

a major advocate for the bill, which authorizes states to provide Medicaid coverage to low-income women whose breast and cervical cancer is diagnosed in free screenings set up under a 1990 law.

Mrs. Clinton, after speaking on the upstate economy in Syracuse, said today that she was not aware of a decision by the White House to forgo a public ceremony.

"I didn't know about the decision until I read about it," Mrs. Clinton

A chance to promote breast cancer awareness.

told reporters. "The president signs hundreds of bills and they make those decisions. I was also actively involved on behalf of that legislation."

Jake Siewert, the White House press secretary, offered no explanation of why the bill signing was private. "We weigh a number of factors when these bills come up," he said, "and we had made a decision to sign this in private."

He added: "In the end, what matters to us more is the substance of these bills, and this is an important bill. There is more than enough credit to go around. A lot of people worked very hard on this bill, and in

the end, it does some good things for people who are suffering from breast cancer or cervical cancer."

Mr. Lazio has championed his role in the legislation as he seeks to court women.

Mr. Lazio started the day with a "Women for Lazio" event at a convention hall in Syracuse that drew 1,300 women, who paid \$20 each to dine on quiche and listen to Mr. Lazio deliver his stump speech for about 45 minutes. In the works for about three weeks, the event produced one of the largest turnouts at any of his campaign events, and Mr. Lazio and his advisers said the size of the audience was a sign of momentum.

"For me, this is a great kickoff for the last two weeks of the campaign," Mr. Lazio told the audience members, who among the usual bumper stickers and fliers also received nail files with Mr. Lazio's campaign logo on them. "To all the people who talk about a gender gap," he added to laughs and applause, "I wish you would please tell your male friends to make sure they're supporting me, would you?"

Mr. Lazio then flew to Buffalo for a campaign stop similar to one Monday in which he deplored Mrs. Clinton's 1993-94 attempt to remake the health care system.

Mr. Lazio does not have a health care plan of his own but favors passing legislation that would provide tax credits to help people pay for their own insurance. Mrs. Clinton released new radio ads in upstate markets to counter ads Mr. Lazio is running there criticizing her health care pro-

posal.

After his event here, he met his obligations as a Mets fan and attended the third game of the World Series at Shea Stadium. Even this was a campaign event; he rode the No. 7 subway to the game with Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani and Gov. George E. Pataki — in the front car with the Mets logo painted on the front. At the game, his campaign aides handed out masks made from a blown-up picture of Mrs. Clinton wearing a Yankee cap as a way to mock her claim to be a Yankee fan.

Traveling in Syracuse and Rochester today, Mrs. Clinton kept a focus on the upstate economy, criticizing Mr. Lazio for what she has said has been his insensitivity to economic troubles upstate. She said her plan for the region would provide lower utility costs, tax incentives and business partnerships with the state and federal government to create jobs.

Mrs. Clinton, speaking to about 75 people at a community college in Syracuse about an hour after Mr. Lazio left, stood before a large poster that highlighted population losses upstate.

"We've lost all this population in the last 10 years," Mrs. Clinton said. "We've kind of gotten ourselves into a bind because, among the people who have left, are young people who are seeking their fortunes elsewhere. We don't have the work force with the skills we need to attract, in a critical mass, some of the new economy, information technology jobs that I think upstate is natural for."

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Primaries Throw Long Island Races Into Turmoil

Continued from page B-11

County Manager Mike Lapolla, who had the support of the local Democratic establishment and the DCCC, Ferguson was busy taking a second shot at trying to unseat Rep. Frank Pallone (D) in the neighboring 6th district until Franks announced his intention to run for Senate, at which point Ferguson threw his hat into the open-seat race and won a hotly contested, four-way Republican race. Both candidates have had some trouble unifying their parties after the bitter intraparty battles.

In the general election, the candidates have been sparring over health care, education and Social Security. But Ferguson has made inroads into Democratic territory, picking up an endorsement from Ceasefire New Jersey, a gun control group that endorsed both candidates, and a local construction union.

In a sign that the race is critical on a national level, outside groups and the party committees have been heavily involved here. The National Republican Congressional Committee is hitting Connelly for allegedly increasing property taxes while she was mayor — a charge that Connelly's camp doesn't deny, but argues that she is not to blame for the hikes — while the DCCC has been running ads slamming Ferguson's "risky" plan to partially privatize Social Security. Ferguson is also running television spots featuring McCain.

A Democratic poll taken in July gave Connelly a 3-point lead, and this race is likely to go down to the wire. Clinton won the district by 11 points in 1996.

12th district

Incumbent: Rush Holt (D)

1st term (50 percent)

Outlook: Tossup

One of the most competitive and brutal contests in the country is being waged in central New Jersey's 12th district.

The battle pits Holt — who pulled off the upset of the cycle by ousting Rep. Mike Pappas (R) in 1998 — against former Rep. Dick Zimmer (R), who represented the seat for



File Photo by Douglas Graham

He's raising money at a furious pace, but Rep. Rick Lazio still has a lot of ground to make up if he expects to top Hillary Rodham Clinton in the race for retiring Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's seat.

three terms before giving it up to unsuccessfully seek the Senate in 1996.

Pappas also tried to make a comeback this year, but was blocked by Zimmer in a bitter primary that divided the House Republican leadership, with NRCC Chairman Tom Davis (Va.) and Speaker Dennis Hastert (R-Ill.) backing Zimmer, while House Majority Leader Dick Army (R-Texas) and House Majority Whip Tom DeLay (R-Texas) sided with Pappas. However, the rift does not appear to be hampering Zimmer in the general election.

Polls in the race show a tight contest, with a Democratic survey showing Holt with a slight edge and a Republican poll showing Zimmer ahead by 10 points. The fundamental problem is that Holt is a freshman and both sides say a majority of voters don't seem to know who represents them (a significant slice believe it is Zimmer).

However, the DCCC, headed by David Plouffe, who managed the campaign of Zimmer's rival in the 1996 Senate contest, then-Rep. Robert Torricelli (D), has gone after

Zimmer early and aggressively. It raised the ire of the former Member when it ran spots accusing him of never voting for a single education funding bill, which were pulled by local stations because of inaccuracies.

But the biggest controversy in the campaign so far was over a DCCC mailer that accused Zimmer of voting against funding for women's health care and mammograms. Zimmer's mother died of breast cancer, and his three sisters are all survivors of the disease. This led Zimmer to hold a press conference with his sister, Susan Rubin, to denounce the mailer. However, the DCCC insists the mailer is factual, and Holt, noting that his mother is also suffering from the disease, said that their personal experiences shouldn't prevent them from debating the issue.

The NRCC is slamming the DCCC's role in the race, airing spots touting the DCCC as "Liars for Holt" and vowing to make the committee's "campaign of fear and misinformation" an integral part of the race. However, the DCCC argues that voters don't care about its involvement in the contest.

This race is key to Democrats' national prospects — they won't likely capture the House unless Holt wins a second term.

New York

Senate

Open seat: Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D) is retiring

Outlook: Leans Democratic

The dynamics changed significantly in the Empire State following the first debate between first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton (D) and Rep. Rick Lazio (R).

A second televised rendezvous in early October was more polite but likely to have less impact on the race.

Since that first testy face-to-face showdown in September, not only

have independent polls showed the first lady with a widening lead, but the candidates agreed to try to prevent soft-money television and radio advertising by political parties and other outside groups.

Lazio appears to have turned off some voters by marching to the first lady's podium at their first debate in Buffalo and demanding that she sign a ban rejecting soft money. She refused at the time, calling on Lazio to get the signatures of 14 conservative groups training their sights on the race. He did, and after substantial negotiations, the two agreed to swear off soft money for the remainder of the contest in a deal that some groups are already vowing to break.

Soon after, it was revealed that Lazio had a substantial hard-money advantage over the first lady, having raised more than triple the amount of the first lady during September for Clinton. Without outside party spending, Lazio could be in a position to significantly outspend the first lady during the final leg of the campaign. Neither candidate has stopped raising soft money, however, and Clinton accused Lazio of breaking the deal by benefiting from hard-money ads run by the Republican National Committee.

Lazio will need his money edge, particularly upstate, where Clinton kicked off her Senate campaign more than a year ago with a much hyped "listening tour."

Polls show that while the first lady's numbers continue to improve in the heavily Democratic bastion of New York City, Lazio is faring worse in upstate New York than typical Republican candidates. A Zogby International survey taken Sept. 29 to Oct. 1 of 702 likely voters showed the first lady winning the city with 70 percent of the vote — much higher than she was scoring earlier in the year — and Lazio taking just 49 percent upstate. But Lazio, who represents Suffolk County on Long Island, continues to win the suburbs, garnering 59

percent of the vote in the same survey to 35 percent for Clinton.

Several polls have also shown Clinton at or above 50 percent, which is significant for a campaign that did not move past the mid-40s for more than a year.

Lazio seems to have recognized his problem, perhaps belatedly. He is now campaigning in upstate New York with more frequency, backtracking on his statements that the upstate economy is not in dire straits, and running television ads featuring Gov. George Pataki (R). However, the House Member's fundamental problem seems to be that he has spent too much time attacking the first lady and not enough time defining himself. He has begun airing ads touting his experience and leadership in Congress that say "We need to put Lazio's proven experience to work for upstate New York as our Senator."

The presidential race in New York is also an obstacle for the Long Island Congressman. Gore is leading Bush by double digits in the Empire State, and Lazio is reportedly considering phone banks and other tactics to urge voters to punch a Gore-Lazio split ticket.

House

1st district

Open seat: Mike Forbes (D) was defeated in the primary

Outlook: Leans Republican

Republicans made good on their promise to oust Forbes after he switched parties and improved their chances of taking back his House seat while retaining the House majority in the process.

Boosted by a massive NRCC direct-mail campaign aimed at Democratic primary voters that highlighted Forbes opposition to gun control and abortion rights, Regina Seltzer, a 71-year-old retired librarian and environmental attorney, toppled Forbes in the Sept. 12 Democratic primary by 35 votes.

Seltzer spent just \$40,000 on the primary, which national Democratic leaders, eager to see Forbes re-elected, didn't appear to take seriously. And despite the surface embrace by Democrats intent on keeping a House seat, Forbes never won the support of rank-and-file voters in the Long Island-based 1st district. Furthermore, some say the incumbent made a tactical blunder by not airing TV and radio ads during the primary.

Seltzer now faces Felix Grucci, the Brookhaven supervisor and owner of a well-known fireworks company. A Republican poll taken after the primary showed Grucci beating Seltzer by 20 points, with Forbes, who is on the Working Families Party line, coming in second in a three-way matchup. Forbes has said he will not campaign on that line and has endorsed Seltzer.

Grucci does have some baggage — Democrats were running ads claiming his fireworks campaign was responsible for polluting local waterways — and Democrats insist they will continue to target the race. But Seltzer had only \$17,000 in the



File Photo by Douglas Graham

Republicans have produced polls showing Rep. Dick Zimmer leading Holt in the race for a seat he gave up in 1996 for a Senate bid.

Campaign 2000

He's Rick & tired of 'lessons' from Hill's health dud

Hillary Rodham Clinton said yesterday she's learned "many lessons" from her failed 1994 health-care reform initiative — but her rival Rick Lazio insisted she's still wedded to it.

As his campaign unleashed an ad blitz highlighting the doomed plan, Lazio slammed it as a "bureaucratic monstrosity" that Clinton has never disavowed and still wants to put into effect.

Speaking in Albany, the congressman unveiled a huge replica of a 1994 chart produced by Republicans portraying the plan as a massive maze that would be run by a "National Health Board."

"This reflects the vision she still embraces," Lazio said, pointing to the chart

By Gregg Birnbaum in Albany and Maggie Haberman in New York

created by Sen. Arlen Specter (R-Pa.) that became a symbol of everything critics said was wrong with her plan at the time.

Lazio said it "looks more like a map for the New York City subways than a health-care plan." She has not really changed her vision.

The Lazio campaign yesterday began airing a half-dozen radio spots in upstate cities, charging Clinton's plan, which some say is her most vulnerable area, would have devastated hospitals throughout the state.

Outside a New Rochelle

senior center, Clinton defended herself, insisting that Lazio is the one who would hurt New York's health care.

"I think that everybody acknowledges that [the 1994 plan] could have been done differently and better," she said. "But there were also many aspects of the plan that were introduced that were important."

"I think there were many lessons learned from that, and I certainly am applying those lessons in the proposals that I've been making about what we should do now [and] in the future."

In her speech at the Hugh A. Doyle Senior Citizens Center, Clinton accused Lazio of voting to slash Medicare funding.

She also endorsed an Al



ON THE ATTACK: Rick Lazio fields a question during a campaign stop at an American Legion post in Albany yesterday. Lazio unleashed an ad blitz attacking opponent Hillary Rodham Clinton's vision for health-care reform.

Gore proposal to keep HMOs from dumping their elderly policyholders.

Later, Clinton defended her husband's record on issues such as the economy, accusing Republicans of trying to "induce a case of political amnesia in the voters, so that we won't remember what was happening in America and in

New York in 1992.

"Why on earth would we want to reverse direction on what has worked?" she added.

The president was back in the Big Apple, supporting his wife at a fund-raiser in Queens last night.

Meanwhile, the Clinton campaign accused Lazio of going back on his word, that

the first lady's personal life is irrelevant in the race, with a fund-raising letter that includes a newspaper editorial mentioning the Sexgate scandal.

Lazio spokesman Dan McLagan defended using the Sept. 15 Wall Street Journal editorial, and noted the text of the letter never mentions the scandals.

Heads-up Lazio sidesteps Clinton 'sand trap'

HHEY, Rick, watch out for that ostrich!

When Lazio stopped by the Syracuse Zoo on Sunday, his half-hour visit was carefully orchestrated to avoid the ostrich pen — at all costs.

The reason: Hillary is broadcasting ads upstate starring an ostrich as her way of telling voters that Lazio has his head buried in the sand when it comes to understanding the region's economic problems.

Reporters, and a "spy" from the Clinton camp who was trailing Lazio with a video recorder, were salivating at the thought that Lazio might commit an embarrassing gaffe by crossing paths with a real, live ostrich.

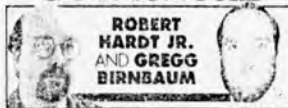
"You really didn't think I was going to let my candidate see the ostriches, did you?" a campaign staffer said later, before revealing the birds were conveniently located in an out-of-the-way corner in the zoo.

Scores of upstate residents who are active Clinton or Lazio supporters are hopping mad that their campaign signs are being stolen from their lawns.

The rash of thefts was first reported last week in Orange and Sullivan counties when Democratic leaders discovered Clinton signs had been repeatedly removed from the front lawns of party members.

And reports out of Rochester indicate Lazio and Clinton supporters are struggling to keep their signs.

CAMPAIGN BUZZ



"I don't think anyone is being sent out to do something so petty," said one Clinton aide.

"There are a lot of strong emotions in the race and people running off with signs is just another signal of people's passions — as misguided as they may be."

Hillary experienced a massive political flashback when she was campaigning in New Rochelle yesterday.

Compare these two quotes transcribed by The Post's Maggie Haberman, who followed the first lady to the Hugh A. Doyle Senior Citizens Center.

Quote #1: "He stood with Newt Gingrich and voted time and time again to cut Medicare ... The reason was to finance a big tax cut for the rich."

Quote #2: "Time and time again, he has followed the conservative Republican leadership in Congress and abandoned the interests of New Yorkers, especially when it comes to health care."

Quote #1 is Clinton on Oct. 27,

1998, attacking Alfonse D'Amato while she was campaigning in the senior center for Chuck Schumer.

Quote #2 was the first lady speaking yesterday at the same center, almost two years after Quote #1, about her GOP senate foe, Rick Lazio.

What will Hillary say for an encore?

Some Lazio supporters are urging Rick to get tough with the first lady.

At a campaign event in upstate Amsterdam yesterday, a woman cornered Lazio and shoved some anti-Clinton literature into his hands, with one flier reading, "Wherever Hillary Clinton goes, crime and corruption follow."

"You can't be a nice guy forever, so start slinging the bull," the woman told Lazio. He thanked her, but had nothing else to say.

Meanwhile, at a Republican dinner for Lazio the other night in Oneida County, hundreds of guests were given a free copy of a special "Senate race" edition of "Hillary Rodham Clinton: What Every American Should Know," from the American Conservative Union.

Jackpot is now...

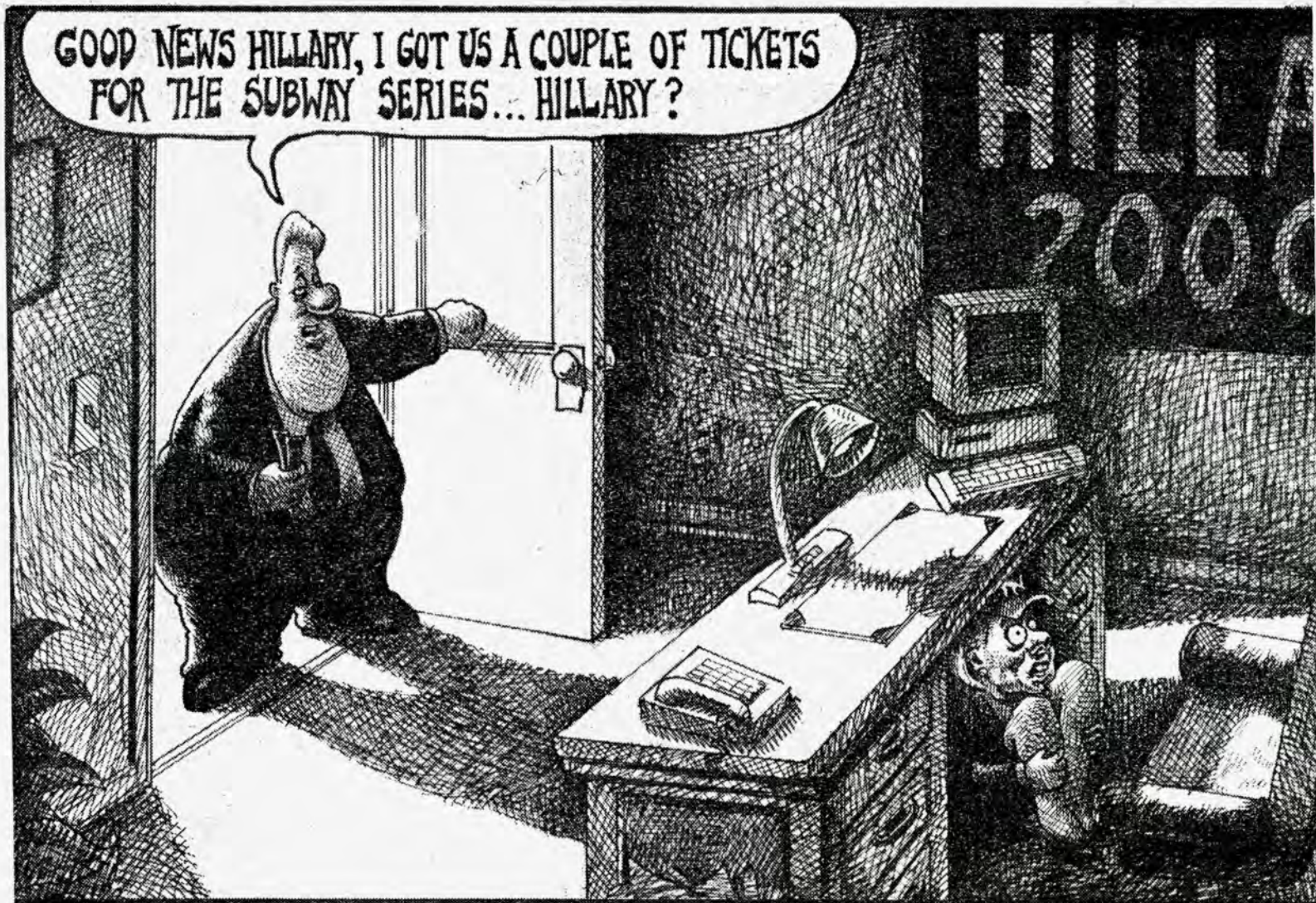
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NEAL TRAVIS
NEW YORK

Newt twist on Bill & Monica

IT WASN'T President Clinton's fault that he fell for the voluptuous charms of White House intern **Monica Lewinsky**. The blame can be placed on former House Speaker **Newt Gingrich**, according to psychoanalyst **Dr. Jorge De Gregorio**, director of New York's Freudian Research Center.

De Gregorio examines the scandal, in a new book from Random House, "My Head and My Heart: Sex, Love, Life and the Unconscious." His conclusion is that Bill was naughty with Monica only because 1995 had been such a lousy year for him. (The shrink doesn't offer any explanation for all those other well-documented Clinton affairs.)

The author, who somewhat naively describes the Monica encounter as "otherwise inexplicable behavior," details the personal and political setbacks Clinton had suffered leading up to Nov. 15, 1995, when he first had his way with Lewinsky.

The Whitewater scandal was in full bloom and **Hillary Rodham Clinton** was being targeted by the media. Clinton had to "fire his longtime political partner, Hillary," De Gregorio writes. "Out of this shadow there emerged Monica Lewinsky as a shining light, who by means of a burning passion invested the president of the United States with the youthful potency he needed." But why did he succumb on Nov. 15? Because it was the first full day of the Gingrich-inspired shutdown of the federal government, when 800,000 workers were furloughed, according to the author.

"He may also have felt his own 'shutdown' ... Looking in the mirror for the ideal, his heart could have been on the brink of breaking; he could see a loss of self-image, his whole self crumbling," according to De Gregorio. And then along comes Monica (as an intern, she hadn't been laid off) — and the rest, as they say, is history.

Endorsements That Damn

W YORK POST, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 24, 2000

POSTOPINION

If Sunday's New York Times endorsement is the strongest case that can be made for **Hillary Clinton's** Senate candidacy, then the first lady is treading on thin ice indeed.

The Times honestly conceded the many reasons why so many people have serious questions about Mrs. Clinton: "New Yorkers deserved to be deeply skeptical ... She had never been elected to public office, yet she radiated an aura of ambition and entitlement that suggested a run for the United States Senate as a kind of celebrity stroll."

The paper also finds her personal character wanting. The Democrat "has a lamentable tendency to treat political opponents as enemies ... She has clearly been less than truthful in her comments to investigators and too eager to follow **President Clinton's** method of peddling access for campaign donations."

And "her fondness for stonewalling in response to legitimate questions about financial or legislative matters contributed to the bad ethical reputation of the Clinton administration."

So why did the Times endorse Hillary Clinton? Well, not because **Rick Lazio** is so bad. In fact, he's just the kind of Republican that the Times loves: a "moderate who would fight to increase the power of his party's small, but important, centrist bloc."

And while Mrs. Clinton may paint him as a **Newt Gingrich** pawn, the Times took pains to note that Lazio "has taken positions far friendlier to working people and the Northeastern region than those" of the party's right wing.

So why vote for Hillary? Well, "she outdid her opponents in visiting the state's 62 counties." (So let's vote for her travel agent.)

Ultimately, however, the Times has decided that Mrs. Clinton is "unusually promising" — and declares that "we are placing our bets on her to rise above the mistakes and difficulties of her first eight years in Washington."

But if she hasn't done so to date, why does the Times think she'll start now — when she won't face the voters for another six years?

All in all, a bizarre endorsement.



Clinton: Slammed by the Times. AP

BUT the prize for strangest endorsement goes to the Newark Star-Ledger, which on Sunday endorsed New Jersey's Democratic Senate candidate, **Jon Corzine**, in terms so harsh and unflattering that GOP candidate **Bob Franks** should use it as campaign literature.



Corzine: Future Ted Kennedy intern? AP

Corzine's "spending on the campaign has been obscene," says the paper. He "misled everyone" and makes "exaggerated claims about his program" — including the fact that "his program would cost much more than he admits." He "lacks political experience and [as senator] for a time would be an intern studying at the elbow of **Ted Kennedy**." Of his insistence on limiting debates, "That may be a good way to sell shoes, but it's not a proud moment for democracy."

Franks, on the other hand, "is the man with experience to burn," a "respected Republican" and "a man of integrity" who "helped balance the nation's budget," who "knows how Washington works" and whose "fiscal conservatism combined with moderate social views make him a natural fit for New Jersey."

This is an endorsement of Corzine?

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Lazio cuts into lead of Hillary in polls

Softening support of Jews a big factor

By Steve Miller
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The turbulent Middle East and vigorous upstate campaigning by Rep. Rick Lazio has cut the lead of first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in the New York Senate race with just two weeks left until Election Day.

A statewide poll, conducted last week by John Zogby, found Mr. Lazio ahead, 43 percent to 42 percent, with 15 percent undecided, including 17 percent of Jewish voters, whose approval is crucial to the first lady's prospects. The poll's margin of error is 4.5 percent plus or minus, meaning the race is deadlocked.

Mr. Lazio, for his part, "didn't do anything" to narrow the gap, Mr. Zogby said.

"He's been staying the same in the polls — around 43 percent. She's been getting hammered by conservative Jews for flip-flopping, and that vote has gone from 5 percent undecided to 17."

Five percent undecided is about average among any group at this late stage of the election season.

Mrs. Clinton had been running ahead in the past two months in the state's two other main polls — by 7 percent in Quinnipiac University polling and by 4 percent in the

see HILLARY, page A10

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The Washington Times

HILLARY

From page A1

Marist College poll.

Quinnipiac University polling had Mrs. Clinton hitting the 50 percent mark last month, a milestone in a tight race.

Last year, Mrs. Clinton angered potential Jewish supporters when she expressed support for a Palestinian state and kissed Mrs. Yasser Arafat after a speech in which she said Israeli soldiers had gassed Palestinian children. She has since told Jewish leaders she considers Jerusalem "the eternal and indivisible capital" of Israel.

"You couldn't pick a single worse issue to be at the forefront of a campaign than an eruption of terror in the Middle East, from Hillary's perspective," said Matt Brooks, director of the Republican Jewish Coalition.

Still, the first lady carries the state's largely Democratic 1.6 million Jewish voters, about 10 percent of the electorate, by 2 to 1.

"Two to one is pretty good among Jewish voters, among any voting group," said Maurice Carroll, director of the Quinnipiac University Polling Institute, which shows Mrs. Clinton ahead 60 percent to 30 percent among Jews. "Could she do better? Sure."

The new numbers come as Mrs. Clinton wears two hats: the New York City candidate who approaches a 70 percent approval there; and the upstate candidate who is earnestly trying to dent her opponent's seven-point lead.

Mr. Lazio recently has begun to campaign in earnest in conservative areas of upstate and western



Hillary Rodham Clinton spends time with a future voter, Ari Weber, 4, and his grandmother, Teddie Weber, yesterday in New Rochelle, N.Y.

New York, hoping to negate Mrs. Clinton's ambitious statewide campaign.

Mr. Lazio was criticized in late summer for not campaigning as hard as the first lady.

"She had closed the gap upstate, but she was campaigning in a vacuum," Mr. Zogby said. "She was all alone there, and as he has started to come up there more, you can see how soft her support was."

Two debates have established Mr. Lazio, a moderate conservative from Long Island, as a contender in the race.

His move in the first debate to physically approach Mrs. Clinton

with a contract to ban soft money advertising was called a "stunt" by his opponent, but ensured Mr. Lazio a place on the lips of New York voters.

A third debate will be held Friday in New York City at WNBC-TV and broadcast statewide at 7 p.m.

Aside from Mr. Lazio's theatrics and the usual tide of press releases disparaging the other side, the campaign has been remarkably typical: plenty of sharp attacks but nothing overtly offensive.

Yesterday was the first mention of the first lady's private life, which Mr. Lazio has said he considers out of bounds.

A fund-raising letter from Mr. Lazio's campaign includes a newspaper editorial that raises the Monica Lewinsky and Gennifer Flowers sex scandals.

"Rick Lazio looked New Yorkers in the eye and told them that he wasn't making this an issue, and now we know that wasn't true," Clinton campaign spokesman Howard Wolfson said.

The letter includes a Wall Street Journal editorial from Sept. 15: "Senator Clinton would represent the perpetuation of the myths of the Clinton presidency, a vindication of its lies large and small, and an absolution of her husband's moral and ethical standards."

The candidates have argued economic policy, Social Security and education with the traditional partisan differences. Mr. Lazio has emphasized the word "mainstream," which is emblazoned on the side of his campaign bus and frequently used in speeches.

Mrs. Clinton, with her trademark barbed eloquence, has set out a list of problems that she can remedy, such as high taxes, poor infrastructure and utility problems.

The first lady tells audiences she will "change the image of upstate New York" and that she favors action to pay down the government's debt by the year 2012.

No one has found fault with her work ethic, which has at times paralleled her husband's stamina.

In the next two weeks, the candidates will go back to their established bases — for Mrs. Clinton, minorities and New York City residents; for Mr. Lazio, the suburban and upstate voters — and encourage those people to vote.

Inside Politics



Compiled by Greg Pierce

See no evil

"Remember all the claims by Hillary Clinton's see-no-evil supporters that the decision by independent counsel Robert Ray not to prosecute her in the travel-office affair 'exonerated' her?" New York Times columnist William Safire asks.

"Some exoneration. We now have the full report of this egregious abuse of power and its six-year cover-up, and the evidence that she has been lying all along is damning," Mr. Safire writes.

"Lest we forget, the central issue was never whether she had the right to pressure her husband's staff to fire seven longtime White House employees and direct the lucrative travel business to her Hollywood cronies and a Clinton cousin. That's just the spoils system.

"The Travelgate issue was and is: Was her sworn denial of any 'role' or 'input' in the firings factually false? Did her pressure cause fearful aides to stimulate a besmearing FBI investigation? Did this lead her Justice Department to bring criminal charges against people later found to be innocent? And did she and her White House minions delay, impede and increase the expense of revealing her improper involvement?

"The inescapable answers are yes, yes, yes and yes. Read the evidence and denials in full (oicray.com) and see how her orchestrated lying continues to this day."

To be decided

"Historians agree: The first paragraph of President Clinton's biography will include Monica Lewinsky, but it's up to Hillary Rodham Clinton, Al Gore, and the economy to finish the rest," Paul Bedard writes in the Washington Whispers column of U.S. News & World Report.

"Should the New York Senate candidate and vice president win in November and the economy remain robust, Clinton's legacy could be rosy. Harvard's Richard Neustadt says a winning trifecta means historians will say he was a president who 'had flaws' but was generally a success. Without them, he just becomes 'the cheese between the sandwich of Bush and Bush.' And with that as a legacy, Neustadt tells Whispers, the 20-somethings who'll be penning Clinton's biography in years to come 'will deal harshly with him' as 'a guy who wasted his time.'

"Ditto from political author Michael Beschloss, with this addition: 'A real Mideast agreement, that's an accomplishment.' Like the last six presidents didn't think of that. In fact, few historians think there's much 11th-hour spadework the president can do to influence his eventual legacy in the history books. Neustadt's suggestion: 'Pray.'"

PHOTOCOPI
PRESERVATION

Lazio and Clinton Take Each Other to Task Over Health Care Efforts

By RANDAL C. ARCHIBOLD
with DAVID CHEN

COLONIE, N.Y., Oct. 23 — Representative Rick A. Lazio today intensified his criticism of Hillary Rodham Clinton's failed health care reform effort six years ago, unleashing a new series of advertisements and deriding her effort as "bad medicine for New York."

The multipronged offensive, 15 days before the election, represented an effort by Mr. Lazio, the Republican Senate nominee, to attack his Democratic opponent on an issue his advisers say is among Mrs. Clinton's most vulnerable.

Mrs. Clinton fired back by criticizing Mr. Lazio's Congressional voting record on health care issues, saying bills he supported would have deprived New York of billions of dollars in health financing — cuts that her campaign argued would have crippled hospitals across the state. She also hammered away at Mr. Lazio for never issuing a proposal of his own to improve the health care system.

Just a few days after he released his first television commercial criticizing her health care proposal, Mr. Lazio today released radio advertisements tailored to each of several upstate markets that assert, among other things, that Mrs. Clinton's plan would have put "one-seventh of our economy under government control." They also mention Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan's criticism at the time that the plan would devastate teaching hospitals by reducing the number of foreign medical

graduate students. In an interview today, Mr. Moynihan rose to Mrs. Clinton's defense, noting that she supports his current legislative efforts to finance the hospitals.

Mr. Lazio has often called Mrs. Clinton's former plan a "disaster," but he had never offered a detailed critique until today. And he resurrected ammunition used by leading Republicans at the time, arming himself with charts to show how complex her proposals were.

The congressman called Mrs. Clin-

Stark differences on visions of medical insurance.

ton's failed proposal the most glaring example of her attempt to legislate. As Mr. Lazio seized on an issue that remains of critical importance statewide, the first lady enjoyed the benefit — for the second day in a row — of having her husband, President Clinton, stump around the state extolling her years of public service in an attempt to rebut Mr. Lazio's charge that she has no record.

Mr. Clinton appointed the first lady to lead a task force in 1993 that, largely in secret, developed a proposal to remake the nation's health care system. The panel's goal was to clamp down on soaring health costs and guarantee that all Americans

would have health insurance. Mrs. Clinton has said that she made a mistake in trying to push such an ambitious proposal through a Republican-controlled Congress. Legislators contended at the time that she was trying to do too much at once and criticized her for an unwillingness to compromise. The plan failed in 1994.

Mr. Lazio said Mrs. Clinton's proposal would have cost at least 72,000 jobs (he said at various points of the day 73,000 and 75,000), citing a report by the American Legislative Exchange Council, a conservative group of state legislators. Mr. Lazio also reprised criticism from the time that teaching hospitals could be threatened with closure.

Mr. Lazio, who has issued multi-billion-dollar proposals aimed at improving education and cutting taxes, did not offer a health care plan of his own. When asked why by reporters, he did not respond but said he would continue to support legislation that would help people pay for insurance through such means as tax credits.

Mrs. Clinton's plan, he said, was "bad medicine for New York, it was bad medicine for America and that's why people from both parties threw up their hands and said we cannot have this."

Mr. Lazio stood in front of a chart, prepared in 1994 by Senator Arlen Specter, Republican of Pennsylvania, that depicts a tangle of boxes and lines meant to illustrate Mrs. Clinton's plan and to emphasize its obtuseness.

Mrs. Clinton, he said, designed and pushed the plan in a way "contrary

to the kind of process that you would have if you were an effective legislator, reaching out, building consensus and listening to different views, even criticisms."

He added: "It's very important for a good legislator to listen to criticisms so they can meet that criticism and overcome it if they can. But that was not the experience of Mrs. Clinton."

"We have two different visions of health care," Mr. Lazio said, "one that would provide more choice and empower patients and physicians, to have more control over their health care decisions, and one that would entrust federal bureaucrats and give people fewer choices and less control over their lives."

Mrs. Clinton, speaking to reporters after touring a retirement center in New Rochelle, conceded today that she should have proceeded more cautiously on health care reform, but she stood by the concept.

"I think that everyone acknowledges that it could have been done differently and better," Mrs. Clinton said. "But it was taking on a very important challenge, a big issue facing us then, and facing us now, which is: How do we provide quality, affordable health care to every American?"

Mrs. Clinton said that Mr. Lazio had not offered a comprehensive plan.

"My opponent has still not told us what his plans are," she said. "He has no health care agenda; just an agenda of attacks and insults."

She added: "I think this election is about you. My opponent thinks it's

about me."

Mrs. Clinton's campaign office released a statement that attacked Mr. Lazio for his support of a 1995 budget proposal that she said would have eliminated \$24.4 billion for New York hospitals and would have reduced Medicare and Medicaid financing. Her campaign office included a list of hospitals around the state that it said would have lost millions, from Buffalo to Long Island.

Mrs. Clinton lent her support today to another health care proposal, one offered by Vice President Al Gore and Senator Joseph I. Lieberman that would double the penalty for health maintenance organizations that drop older Americans on Medicare. The managed care groups that withdraw such coverage now are prohibited from returning to a market for two years. Under the Gore-Lieberman proposal, that ban would be four years, Mrs. Clinton said.

In an interview, Mr. Moynihan, the Democrat whose seat Mr. Lazio and Mrs. Clinton are vying for, expressed concerns that his initial criticisms would be misconstrued as opposition to the concept of universal health care. Although he stood by his quote, he said, "I was very much in favor of a health care plan."

He said he took offense at Mr. Lazio's using his name in the radio advertisements, as he did when Mr. Lazio used his image in a television advertisement earlier this year.

"I do not enjoy seeing my name in Mr. Lazio's advertisements," Mr. Moynihan said, "because it gives the false impression that I support him, and I do not."

Lazio and Clinton Stake Out Foreign Policy Differences Only on the Margins

By CHRISTOPHER MARQUIS

For all their sniping about misplaced kisses and handshakes abroad, Hillary Rodham Clinton and Representative Rick A. Lazio largely share a foreign policy agenda based on expanding trade, paying America's bills at the United Nations and forgiving some of the debt of many developing nations.

Both candidates for Senate from New York support normalizing trade with China as a prod for political reform, moving the American Embassy in Israel to Jerusalem as a sign of commitment to the Jewish nation, and maintaining sanctions against President Fidel Castro of Cuba until democracy takes root.

Their positions on key foreign policy issues likely to require Senate action are so similar that they are largely indistinguishable, according to independent analysts as well as a review of their public remarks, Mr. Lazio's voting record and his responses to questions submitted by The New York Times.

But that does not mean that the candidates are prepared to declare a common worldview. Locked in a gloves-off campaign that is intensified by New York's media glare and its ethnic and religious mix, Mr. Lazio and Mrs. Clinton have sought advantage by calling attention to marginal but incendiary topics, like his 1998 handshake with Yasir Arafat, the Palestinian leader, and her kiss of Mr. Arafat's wife, Suha, last year.

Such jousting has largely substituted for a full-throated debate on foreign policy, especially as the candidates have sought to make inroads with politically important groups, including Jews, Puerto Ricans and Irish-Americans.

"You see catering to ethnic groups," said Robert Jervis, a professor of political science at Columbia University. "Mostly, you don't see much foreign policy at all."

Still, on close analysis, differences emerge in the way Mr. Lazio and Mrs. Clinton view America's role in the world.

She is a proponent of internationalism, contending that Americans should not limit their notion of the national interest to the traditional

areas of military conflict, terrorism and trade. The United States' foreign policy objectives, she says, should include the fight for women's rights, as well as the struggles against deadly diseases, extreme poverty, forced migration and environmental degradation.

Mrs. Clinton did not respond to questions submitted by The Times, but in a speech last week before the Council on Foreign Relations, she said her expansive view was where realpolitik met "real-life politics."

"There is a refrain that runs through some of those arguments," Mrs. Clinton said, "that we should intervene with force only when we face splendid little wars that we surely can win, preferably by over-

For candidates, a lot of sniping, but few areas of genuine disagreement.

whelming force in a relatively short period of time. To those who believe we should become involved only if it is easy to do, I think we have to say, 'America has never and should not ever shy away from the hard task if it is the right one.'"

The debate over when America should become involved in foreign strife surfaced again last week as a presidential campaign issue when George W. Bush's top national security aide, Condoleezza Rice, declared that a Bush administration would withdraw United States peacekeeping troops from the Balkans. Vice President Al Gore denounced such a move, saying it would deal a "damaging blow" to NATO.

Mr. Lazio supports what he calls "global engagement," but on a more limited level. He stops short of backing Mr. Bush's call for a withdrawal from Bosnia and Kosovo, but he warns that Mrs. Clinton's attempt to broaden American objectives overseas is too costly and could distract the military from its principal mis-

sion.

"I would take exception with her if she is trying to suggest that we ought to commit troops any time somebody asks," he said. "We've got to make some very tough decisions, and those decisions include having to say no sometimes."

Mr. Lazio said the United States should commit troops overseas only when there is a clear military objective and an exit strategy.

In 1994, he joined House leaders in calling for a withdrawal of American troops from Haiti. Two years later, he supported a ban on sending ground troops to Bosnia, and this year he voted to withhold payment for American operations in Kosovo until the president certified that Europeans were meeting specific burden-sharing targets by April 2001. Mr. Lazio did support airstrikes against Yugoslavia last year in defense of Kosovo Albanians.

Both candidates are proponents of free trade. Mr. Lazio voted in support of enforcing trade rules through the World Trade Organization, backed the North American Free Trade Agreement with Canada and Mexico, and sought to extend some Nafta benefits to Central America and the Caribbean.

Mrs. Clinton qualifies her support for trade expansion, asserting that it is ultimately self-defeating for the United States to try to remain an "island of prosperity" that ignores depressed living standards abroad. "Ensuring fair labor standards, environmental protection and transparency in international organizations should go hand in hand with free trade," she said in her speech before the Council on Foreign Relations.

Mrs. Clinton, who said she had visited every continent except Antarctica since moving to the White House, discusses foreign affairs with confidence and polish, whether examining nuclear tensions on the Indian subcontinent or sympathizing with Colombia's president in the battle against narcoguerrillas.

Mr. Lazio's work in Congress has been concentrated in the House Banking and Commerce Committees. Although he has not yet appeared before the Council on Foreign

Relations, the elite East Side forum for foreign policy devotees, he burnished his credentials last week by winning the endorsement of Henry A. Kissinger, the former secretary of state.

Both candidates have flipped on important positions in recent years. Mr. Lazio, for instance, voted in July against forgiving hundreds of millions of dollars in foreign debt held by developing nations. Three months later, he came out in support of debt relief. The congressman's stance on national missile defense has also changed. He voted against a bill last year that called on the president to deploy the antimissile shield as soon as technologically feasible. He now supports deployment of the shield.

Mrs. Clinton, who expressed fears that a missile shield could unleash a new arms race with Russia and China, said she supported a "limited" system as soon as its effectiveness can be proven.

Mrs. Clinton's most marked shift involves her support, expressed two years ago, for an independent Palestinian state. Facing the anger of Jewish voters in recent months, she has since toughened her stance toward the Palestinians. This summer, she called for the United States to cut off aid if Palestinian leaders declare statehood absent a peace settlement with Israel. And she said her embrace of Mrs. Arafat last year was a mistake.

Earlier this month, Mrs. Clinton pointedly put the onus on Mr. Arafat and the Palestinians "to end the violence" that erupted after the visit of Ariel Sharon, the hard-line Israeli politician, to Muslim holy sites in Jerusalem.

With Jews, in particular, she is helped by her marriage to "the most popular president among the Jewish community in decades," said Ira Forman, executive director of the National Jewish Democratic Council.

But Mr. Lazio has sought to cut into that support, inspired perhaps by the success of Rudolph W. Giuliani, the Republican New York mayor, among Jewish voters. Pro-Israel lobbyists in Washington describe Mr. Lazio's voting record as "perfect" in terms of maintaining sanctions

against Israel's enemies and using foreign aid to strengthen Israel's hand in the peace process.

While Mr. Forman, a Democrat, calls the candidates' positions on Israel "indistinguishable," Matt Brooks, executive director of the Republican Jewish Coalition, asserts that Mrs. Clinton has raised suspicions about her loyalties.

Mr. Lazio "has been the beneficiary of Mrs. Clinton's mistakes," Mr. Brooks said.

Some have watched the elaborate jockeying over Middle East policy with distaste.

Hussein Ibish, communications director for the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, said, "Both candidates have pandered most shamelessly" by "demonizing" the Arafats. Moving the American Embassy to Jerusalem, which they both advocate, would "disrupt the peace process beyond recognition," Mr. Ibish said.

But other analysts say the candidates are merely acting within the time-honored tradition of assimilating the aspirations of New York's dominant ethnic and religious groups. Their challenge lies in finding the right balance between national and local interest.

"It's a very complicated problem for the candidates," said Walter Russell Mead, senior fellow for United States foreign policy at the Council on Foreign Relations. "Things can backfire on you. You want to pander, but you don't want a reputation as a panderer. It's a matter of finding the sweet spot."

Hispanic leaders complain that they have largely been ignored by the candidates, written off by Mr. Lazio and taken for granted by Mrs. Clinton.

One exception has been Puerto Ricans in New York, who saw Mrs. Clinton twice clash with her husband over policy. She initially opposed his offer of clemency last year to 16 members of the Puerto Rican independence group known as F.A.L.N. who had been imprisoned, provided that they renounced violence. Then, facing the anger of many Puerto Ricans in New York, she backtracked, saying she had spoken too soon.

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August 11, 2000, Friday ALL EDITIONS

SECTION: NEWS; Page A04

LENGTH: 2408 words

HEADLINE: KEY PLAYER IN LABOR LAWS / TRAINING BILLS HELPED BY HILLARY

BYLINE: By **Elizabeth Moore**. STAFF WRITER

BODY:

Drifting through Farmingdale High School, Jackie Rindos knew she liked art class and psychology, felt misunderstood by her family and had seen how cruel people can be. She did not know these were job skills.

Not until an art teacher nudged Rindos to take a taste of the real world in Patricia Graham's "internship class." While some kids headed for emergency rooms and others for offices, Graham found Rindos a placement as an art therapist four days a week at the Helen Kaplan Intermediate Care Facility for mentally retarded adults in Plainview. Once she got past her fear and discomfort with the residents and came to know them as people, the work she was doing began to amaze her.

"It's like finding the true meaning of what life is," said Rindos, 18, who fit in so well she was hired back for the summer and plans to start work in September on a degree in art therapy from C.W. Post in Brookville.

Farmingdale's internship class is one of dozens of programs around New York State funded under a federal law first drafted and promoted a decade ago under the leadership of **Hillary Rodham Clinton**.

Then the first lady of Arkansas, Yale-educated partner in a Little Rock law firm and a prominent education reform advocate, Clinton had been hired by the bipartisan Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce to head the effort to implement dramatic changes in the way the United States trained its work force for a rapidly evolving global economy.

For a year or so, Clinton and her colleagues crisscrossed the country meeting with executives, educators and Democratic and Republican governors, testifying before state and congressional committees, and lobbying the Bush administration for the proposals in the commission's report, "America's Choice: High Skills or Low Wages!"

Clinton would later be investigated for her \$ 101,630 fee and cleared. But the actual work she did on the project has gone almost entirely unnoticed, even as her Senate opponent, Rep. Rick Lazio, challenges her to "name one thing she's ever done for New York." Clinton herself has said little about it, choosing instead to talk about her advocacy for children and families at the White House and to claim credit for helping pass bills such as the Children's Health Insurance Program and adoption and foster care measures.

But three federal laws have been spun off from a bill Clinton helped draft in 1991 with aides to Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts. One of them was the \$ 1.6 billion School to Work Partnership Act of 1994 that sent \$ 50 million to New York to fund five years of pilot programs like that at Farmingdale

High School. The second law created the National Skills Standards Board, a business-labor coalition that has been drafting a comprehensive, voluntary system of training standards and certificates for every major industry. Then in 1998 the Workforce Investment Act was passed to organize a confusing welter of more than 75 different state and federal job programs at user-friendly "one-stop shops," including ones opening in Hauppauge, Freeport, Hempstead, Long Beach and Jamaica. Lazio voted for all three of the measures.

Republican Gov. George Pataki expects the Workforce Investment Act "to be a catalyst for the development of a truly effective system," state Labor Commissioner James J. McGowan said in a statement posted on the department's Web site.

Clinton was by no means the sole architect of the job-training initiatives that had represented the consensus of opinion and research by a broad spectrum of government, labor, industry and educators, a trend whose momentum was carried forward after she moved on to other projects. "It was a strict business relationship," she said of the consulting work.

But the story is worth retelling because it was the last thing she did before her husband declared his candidacy, and it shows how she had come to be viewed by policymakers before coming into the national spotlight. Later, she would gain notoriety for the failure of the administration's health care proposal, which she headed, and for eight years of scandals and investigations.

Lazio's **campaign** has hammered away at those themes.

"In fact, her only experience in drafting legislation ended in disaster," Lazio wrote in an Aug. 7 fund-raising letter, referring to health care.

But Nick Littlefield, Kennedy's longtime chief of staff on the Labor and Human Resources Committee who worked closely with Clinton and her policy staff, said the first lady had played an "integral role" in shaping the job-training laws, as well as in every piece of progressive Clinton-era legislation on health, children's issues and national service.

"She was facilitating all this legislation, consulting and advising, but the point was to have the credit go to the legislators and to the president," Littlefield said. "They all got the credit, but she did the work."

Like the health-care effort, the America's Choice report was an expansive undertaking, involving more than 2,000 interviews at more than 550 U.S. companies. Clinton went forth across the nation calling for a complete retooling of the way Americans are prepared for the job market, including doing away with high school diplomas in favor of an educational model closer to that of some European countries. Participants give her mixed reviews, but the leading industry, government and education figures who called on her saw nothing foolhardy about the scale of their enterprise.

"This is the first time that a comprehensive national system like this has been attempted," said James Houghton, a former chief executive officer of Corning Inc., of the National Skills Standards Board he now heads, in a statement last year.

The Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce was launched in Rochester in 1990 by the National Center on Education and the Economy, a Carnegie Corporation spin-off where then New York Gov. Mario Cuomo served as honorary chairman and **Hillary Clinton** as a trustee on a board that also included David Rockefeller Jr., Apple Computer chairman John Sculley and Eastman Kodak CEO Kay Whitmore.

Headed by consultant Ira Magaziner, who would later lead the Clinton health care effort, the commission was co-chaired by two former labor secretaries, Republican Bill Brock of the Reagan administration and Carter-era Democrat Ray Marshall.

Their central concern was the slipping economic position of U.S. industry relative to other countries and the weak skills of its work force. "Many of our companies were beginning to believe they could not

compete with the Japanese and the Germans," said Marshall, who had served on the board that rescued the Chrysler Corp. from insolvency and had traveled as a trustee of the Carnegie Corporation to those countries learning humbling lessons about how much better they prepared both school kids and mid-career workers for success at work. "Our schools were still turning out the kind of people we needed in the 1950s and 1960s," when rote, repetitive assembly line tasks were the norm in industry, Marshall said. At a time when American workplaces were demanding increasing sophistication and adaptability, U.S. students not bound for college were getting few job skills and little or no guidance or employment services.

The commission urged a series of changes in schools and government: Establish a new Certificate of Initial Mastery, to be earned by age 16. Students could then choose to work, to gain occupational training or to prepare for college. A comprehensive system of technical and professional certificates should be created for students and adult workers. Employers should be called on to invest at least 1 percent of payrolls in training and retraining. And a network of training boards should be created to organize and oversee the new offerings.

"We were suggesting major changes," acknowledged Marc Tucker, president of the national center. And while the commission's heavyweight membership was a reflection of broad sentiment that such changes were warranted, "Nothing sells itself. It's an enormous competitive bazaar of ideas out there," Tucker said.

Clinton started out as one of the more active but less visible advocates for the America's Choice report, first unveiled at a June, 1990, ceremony.

The Clintons then were bright lights in a small circle of governors who had become opinion leaders on education reform, the hot governing topic of the day. A stream of staff jobs and seats on corporate and nonprofit boards, commissions, and studies over the years, as well as chairmanship of the Children's Defense Fund, had kept **Hillary Clinton** involved in domestic policy debates and in regular touch with a wide network of public officials, business, union and community leaders and academics.

Her kitchen at the Arkansas governor's mansion has been described as a kind of down-home think tank, where friends from all over the country munched chocolate chip cookies and kicked ideas around late into the night. By that time she had waged five political **campaigns** with her husband and run his education agenda, including a proposal to raise teaching standards in exchange for better teacher pay.

In those days, "there was an incredibly bipartisan, friendly, collegial atmosphere among the governors, between the parties," Clinton said, recalling warm relations with President George Bush and Barbara Bush. "We used to get good ideas from each other."

It was possible to have "good, vigorous debate" strictly on the merits of a proposal, Clinton said. "I was there to work."

It was "a very smart move to bring her in here," because of her close contacts with governors, said Brock, a former Republican National Committee chairman, calling Clinton "obviously intelligent and knowledgeable and competent to deal with this subject."

Clinton advised the report's framers to bring in political sponsors and devise a media strategy well before they released it if they wanted to make a splash, Marshall recalled: "Politicians...might not read the report, but they are vigorous readers of the press and watchers of television," Marshall said.

She and Magaziner condensed the report into an easy-to-read five-page article with a dramatic warning: "What we are facing is an economic cliff-and the frontline working people of America are about to fall off." They began a schedule of meetings with state agencies, unions, the Bush administration, and a dozen Republican and Democratic governors.

"She could go into any audience, whether local business leaders or school community or the teachers or the parents or the governor's office or Education Secretary Lamar Alexander's office and basically

relate, and get them excited," Magaziner said.

Clinton meanwhile had worked with Kennedy's staff to draft a bill based on the report and had lined up bipartisan sponsorship in both houses that included Sen. Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) and Reps. Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.) and Ralph Regula (R-Ohio). Two days after the bill was filed in the Senate, on Oct. 3, 1991, Bill Clinton declared his candidacy for president, and **Hillary Clinton** withdrew from the project. The bill went to the back burner for the duration of the **campaign**.

But her husband made those ideas a "mantra" in the **campaign**, she recalled. That yielded mixed results. Enamored with having employers chip in 1 percent of their payroll for continuous worker training, Bill **Clinton** upped **Hillary's** incentive-based proposal to a "requirement" of 1.5 percent. That sounded too much like a tax, which soured the enthusiasm of businesses that had earlier liked the idea, Marshall said.

The explosion of the information economy and record low unemployment since then may have made a training mandate unnecessary, said **Hillary Clinton**, who believes "there's been a sea change in the American business community's understanding of how to attract and keep qualified workers."

After Bill Clinton won office, America's Choice was suddenly just one of many policy goals competing for attention. With some reluctance, Magaziner recalled, he and **Hillary Clinton** agreed to let others carry it forward while they ran the health care effort. In 1996, then state Attorney General Dennis Vacco launched a probe of **Hillary Clinton's** fee. Seventeen months later, he said he had decided she had earned her pay.

Magaziner and Clinton never managed to stir much enthusiasm for scrapping the high school diploma system, a change that would disrupt long-entrenched traditions of team sports and afterschool activities that are cornerstones of community life. But raising standards for non-college bound kids has caught on. Oregon, Rhode Island, Kentucky, Massachusetts, Washington and Connecticut have adopted the certificate of initial mastery or a variant of it, according to the national center spokesman Joseph Garcia.

The School to Work funding, always intended as seed money, is due to end after next year in New York, and already many programs-like the one Jackie Rindos participated in at Farmingdale High School-are scrambling to replace their financing. And Brock says he is disappointed in what he considers slow progress at the National Skills Standards Board, though he calls the one-stop job center legislation "a substantial step forward." He gives the federal successes a grade of C but only a D for work at the state level.

"She didn't have much time before she got diverted into things like **campaigns** and being first lady, to be fair," Brock said. "We didn't get a lot of translation at the state level, and that was her responsibility."

But Marshall calls Clinton's contribution "enormously helpful."

Clinton herself does not seem to have wasted much energy grading her own work. "When you put out a report like that, you know that you're going to set a sort of a benchmark, but the political process will only get you a certain way there," she said. "That's all that can realistically be accomplished."

Rindos, the Farmingdale high school graduate, says she is happy with the results she had an opportunity to sample. "I don't really know her," she said of Clinton, but "I think they should make every student take that class."

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HEADLINE: Hillary Clinton for the Senate

BODY:

When **Hillary Rodham Clinton** arrived in their state 16 months ago, New Yorkers deserved to be deeply skeptical. She had not lived, worked or voted in New York State. She had never been elected to any public office, yet she radiated an aura of ambition and entitlement that suggested she viewed a run for the United States Senate as a kind of celebrity stroll. She seemed more at home at East Side soirees and within the first lady's question-free cocoon than in unscripted conversations with voters or the political press. She encountered civic doubt and open hostility from predictable sources, as well as a surprising resistance from feminists offended by her passive response to the marital humiliations inflicted by her husband.

But in the intervening months, Mrs. Clinton has shown herself to be an intelligent and dignified candidate who has acquired a surprising depth of knowledge about the social-services needs of New York City and the economic pain of the upstate region. Her political growth has been aided by her combat with two worthy Republican opponents, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani and his successor as the G.O.P. candidate, Representative Rick Lazio. With full respect for their abilities, we endorse Mrs. Clinton as the one candidate who will best fill the vast gap that will be left in the Senate and within the Democratic Party by the retirement of Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

As a neophyte, Mrs. Clinton began her campaign with a number of clumsy statements about sports teams and girlhood vacation visits to the state and with a much-ridiculed listening tour among handpicked audiences. But as her confidence mounted, she outdid her opponents in visiting the state's 62 counties. Through the collection of firsthand stories, she learned about economic deprivation, energy costs, taxes, health crises and troubled schools. She came out of those grueling months knowing more about the state than most candidates who qualify by birth as what Mr. Lazio calls "real New Yorkers."

Handshaking her way through town squares and state fairs, she also shed her earlier political shell as a cosseted, sloganeering ideologue. The first lady from Arkansas evolved into an Empire State candidate whose grasp of local issues complements a deep, if untested, understanding of national and international matters from her days in the White House. She also communicates an unfeigned empathy for the struggles of poor families, schoolchildren and professionals in the health care, education and social-service fields.

The hesitancy among some voters, however, has been understandable, and we share some of those concerns. Her health care task force failed to deliver the promised reform. The investigative literature of Whitewater and related scandals is replete with evidence that Mrs. Clinton has a lamentable tendency to treat political opponents as enemies. She has clearly been less than truthful in her comments to investigators and too eager to follow President Clinton's method of peddling access for campaign donations. Her fondness for stonewalling in response to legitimate questions about financial or legislative matters contributed to the bad ethical reputation of the Clinton administration. 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.

We believe, however, that Mrs. Clinton is capable of growing beyond the ethical legacies of her Arkansas and White House years. She has shown a desire to carve out a political identity and create a legislative legacy separate from her husband's. Certainly, no one can doubt that she combines his policy commitments with a far greater level of self-control and a steadier work ethic.

In a move that should serve as an example to other campaigns around the country, Mrs. Clinton bucked the advice of old-line Democrats and agreed to a ban on soft money for this campaign. It was a bold and important step since the ban hurt her own campaign more than that of Mr. Lazio. Although she has come late to the cause of campaign reform, we believe that she would be a firm vote in support of the McCain-Feingold soft-money ban and that she would work tirelessly toward the long-term goal of full public financing of election campaigns.

Although we are endorsing Mrs. Clinton, we want to commend Mr. Lazio for his effort. He has refused to complain about getting a late start. Despite his moments of macho exuberance and his excessive persistence in trying to exploit the carpetbagger issue, he has so far resisted making this a low-road campaign. He has described himself as a Republican moderate who would fight to increase the power of his party's small, but important, centrist bloc in the Senate. On housing, banking laws and the environment, he has taken positions far friendlier to working people and the Northeastern region than those espoused by his party's Senate majority leader, Trent Lott.

Even so, most Republican members of the Senate will be pulled to the right and pressed to support programs that are generally tailored to the needs of the South and West, rather than to those of Northeastern urban areas. Mr. Lazio argues that if the G.O.P. holds control of the Senate in the Nov. 7 election, it would serve the state to have him in the majority caucus. We understand the logic of that position and might find it persuasive in some races. But we have concluded that Mrs. Clinton is an unusually promising talent and it would be better for New York to fight for its causes with two powerful, progressive voices: hers and that of the state's senior Democrat, Senator Charles Schumer.

On foreign policy, Mr. Lazio and Mrs. Clinton have presented themselves as firm friends of Israel, and in our view, Mr. Lazio has not enhanced his foreign-policy credentials by trying to take advantage of Mrs. Clinton's comments on Palestinian statehood and the awkwardness of her encounter with Suha Arafat. Mrs. Clinton has, in fact, acquired a useful education in international affairs through her travels and activities as first lady. The speech that she made to the Council on Foreign Relations last week set forth a broader, more sophisticated vision of America's place in the world than anything Mr. Lazio has offered so far. He has simply stated misgivings about the Clinton administration's record of foreign engagements, while Mrs. Clinton has sketched a program that looks at environmental, health and human rights issues, as well as security concerns.

Contemplating Mrs. Clinton's campaign convinces us that she fits into two important New York traditions. Like Robert F. Kennedy, she taps into the state's ability to embrace new residents and fresh ideas. She is also capable of following the pattern, established by the likes of Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Moynihan and Jacob Javits, that finds New York senators playing a role on the national and world stages even as they defend local interests.

The building of such potent Senate careers requires a grasp of foreign and domestic policy, coupled with negotiating ability and, usually, a burning commitment to one's home state and to a few key concerns. We think Mrs. Clinton better represents the full package of skills than does Mr. Lazio. Her economic plan for upstate offers hope for an area that has not reaped its share of today's financial harvest. Her understanding of how to balance energy issues with crucial environmental protection seems sharper. Mrs. Clinton can guard against Supreme Court nominees who would compromise the constitutional right to abortion, while Mr. Lazio would be hobbled by party ideology and discipline.

Finally, on the key issues of health care and education, Mrs. Clinton has the knowledge and the instincts to make a lasting impact on the Senate, on national policy and on the everyday lives of New Yorkers. We are placing our bet on her to rise above the mistakes and difficulties of her first eight years in Washington and to establish herself on Capitol Hill as a major voice for enlightened social policy and vibrant internationalism.

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Lazio leading

Rep. Rick Lazio has pulled ahead of Hillary Rodham Clinton in the latest polls while apparently picking up no new support.

A New York Post/Albany Times Union survey of 504 likely voters conducted Wednesday and Thursday by John Zogby's independent polling firm found Mr. Lazio leading by one percentage point, 43 percent to 42 percent.

"The remarkable thing about this is that Lazio did not go up — Hillary went down," Mr. Zogby said.

"She was pulling ahead, but she's had a bad week or so. What we found was, first of all, Hillary dropping from 48 percent support to 42. Lazio's not moving at all. But the six points that Hillary dropped all went into the undecided column and were mainly among Jewish voters in New York City, where undecideds went from 5 percent to 17 percent."

Mr. Zogby said the numbers indicated that some "soft" Clinton supporters have moved into the undecided category, possibly because of Mr. Lazio's intense campaigning upstate in the last two weeks.

But the poll finding wasn't all good news for Mr. Lazio.

"It suggests that he's either not doing enough or not doing it right — that he's essentially polling the anti-Hillary vote, and that's about it," Mr. Zogby said.

Across the state, the vote breaks down like this:

- New York City — Mrs. Clinton, 60 percent; Mr. Lazio 28 percent.
- Upstate — Mr. Lazio, 50; Mrs. Clinton, 32.
- Suburbs — Mr. Lazio, 46; Mrs. Clinton, 40.
- Jewish — Mrs. Clinton, 60; Mr. Lazio, 23.

The undecideds in all four above categories ranged from 14 percent to 18 percent.

Inside Politics



INSIDE THE BELLWAY

By John McCaslin

Carpetbagger calling

Only recently did Rep. Rick Lazio start chasing the carpet Hillary Rodham Clinton rode to New York.

And it might be paying off for him.

Last week, the Republican senatorial candidate put out two new television ads in which ordinary New Yorkers were asked to "name three things Hillary Clinton has done for New York."

The locals we saw couldn't think of anything.

Now, in the days since the ad blitz began, Mrs. Clinton's once-impressive poll numbers have started to drop. The latest Zogby poll, in fact, has the two candidates virtually deadlocked.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Clinton keeps eye on Mideast while stumping for wife

JOHNSON CITY, N.Y. (AP) — President Clinton worked upstate New York for votes for his wife and contributions to her Senate campaign yesterday, interspersing his political duties with calls to the Middle East because of the fragile cease-fire there.

Mr. Clinton kept a rally here waiting for several minutes as he telephoned Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak, reiterating his desire that both Israel and the Palestinians adhere to the cease-fire agreed upon last week.

Afterward, he visited the resort town of Alexandria Bay, greeting a crowd of several hundred in a hotel disco overlooking a placid blue lake. When someone yelled that the fishing was good, he quickly replied: "The fishing may be good, but we've got to reel in some votes."

The crowd was exuberant. They chanted, "Hillary, Hillary," and Mrs. Clinton wasn't even there.

But Hillary Rodham Clinton was there later yesterday at a rather sedate rally in an auditorium at Hofstra University on Long Island. She strode onstage with her husband and daughter, Chelsea, and extolled the tax cuts, economic and social agendas of "the Clinton-Gore-Lieberman-Clinton team."

"That is the winning team. We know there is work still to be done," Mrs. Clinton said. She tore into her



U.S. Senate candidate Hillary Rodham Clinton talks to the Rev. David K. Brawley yesterday at Brooklyn's St. Paul Community Baptist Church.

Republican opponent as "illogical," lost in "fuzzy thinking" and determined to "induce a case of political amnesia, so that none of us remember what it was like in 1992," before her husband became president.

For his part, Mr. Clinton said his wife and the two top Democratic candidates are more willing than Republicans to work through differences with their political rivals.

"Don't you worry about Al Gore and Joe Lieberman and Hillary," Mr. Clinton said. "We're willing to work in a bipartisan fashion. We're just not willing to be run over."

Earlier the president joked, "My party has a new leader, my family has a new candidate, and I'm sort of the surrogate-in-chief." He disputed critics who say the first lady is unfamiliar with upstate New York's economic pressures, saying

"My party has a new leader, my family has a new candidate, and I'm sort of the surrogate-in-chief."

—President Clinton

"she understands" because of her advocacy work in rural areas when he was governor of Arkansas.

He said the same holds true with the vice president. "Al Gore grew up in Carthage, Tenn., as well as Washington, D.C.," Mr. Clinton said.

As he did at an earlier rally in Johnson City, the president said Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign against Republican Rep. Rick Lazio was "inevitably playing out against the background of the national election." He said the two Senate candidates are highlighting the same differences that exist between the presidential candidates, Democrat Al Gore and Republican George W. Bush.

"We're for better government, and for smaller government. Our candidates favor a tax cut we can afford," Mr. Clinton said.

"There are big differences here, in our economic approach to keep

the prosperity going, in our social approaches, whether it's on education or health care or the environment, or crime," the president continued.

Mr. Lazio, attending an event yesterday outside an Italian-American community center, took the president to task for campaigning across the state for his wife.

"The Middle East burns and the president is flying around at taxpayer expense to campaign, as does Mrs. Clinton. ... I wish the president would spend a little more time signing bills to end the marriage penalty, to eliminate the death tax, to make sure we deliver for New York," Mr. Lazio said.

When Mr. Clinton's plane landed in nearby Binghamton, he was greeted with a smattering of applause from a few local officials. He chatted with them for several minutes, then returned to Air Force One to place a call to Mr. Barak, but couldn't get through.

Mr. Clinton finally reached Mr. Barak from Johnson City, his next stop on the campaign trip.

Yesterday's total take was nearly \$530,000, with more money to come from events through next week. In all, the president was raising more than \$700,000 for either Mrs. Clinton's campaign or New York Senate 2000.

Campaign ★ 2000

HILL & RICK HEALTH-'CLUBBED'

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Trade blows over her failed '94 plan

A health-care battle broke out on the Senate campaign trail yesterday, as Hillary Rodham Clinton traded bitter barbs with GOP rival Rick Lazio over the first lady's doomed 1994 initiative.

The first lady blasted Lazio from the pulpit at two black churches, saying she's ready for a fight over her failed health-care-reform bid.

The Post reported yesterday that Lazio's campaign will start blanketing upstate radio airwaves today with ads highlighting the plan, which some believe is the first lady's weakest political link.

Campaigning upstate, Lazio told reporters at a stop in Rochester that "New Yorkers are not going to allow her to run away from" the plan, which would have "crushed" the state's health-care system.

The exchange took place as President Clinton went to four New York state fund-raisers as part of a "Bubba blitz" aimed at boosting his wife's campaign coffers.

At St. Paul Community Baptist Church in Brooklyn's East New York, Mrs.

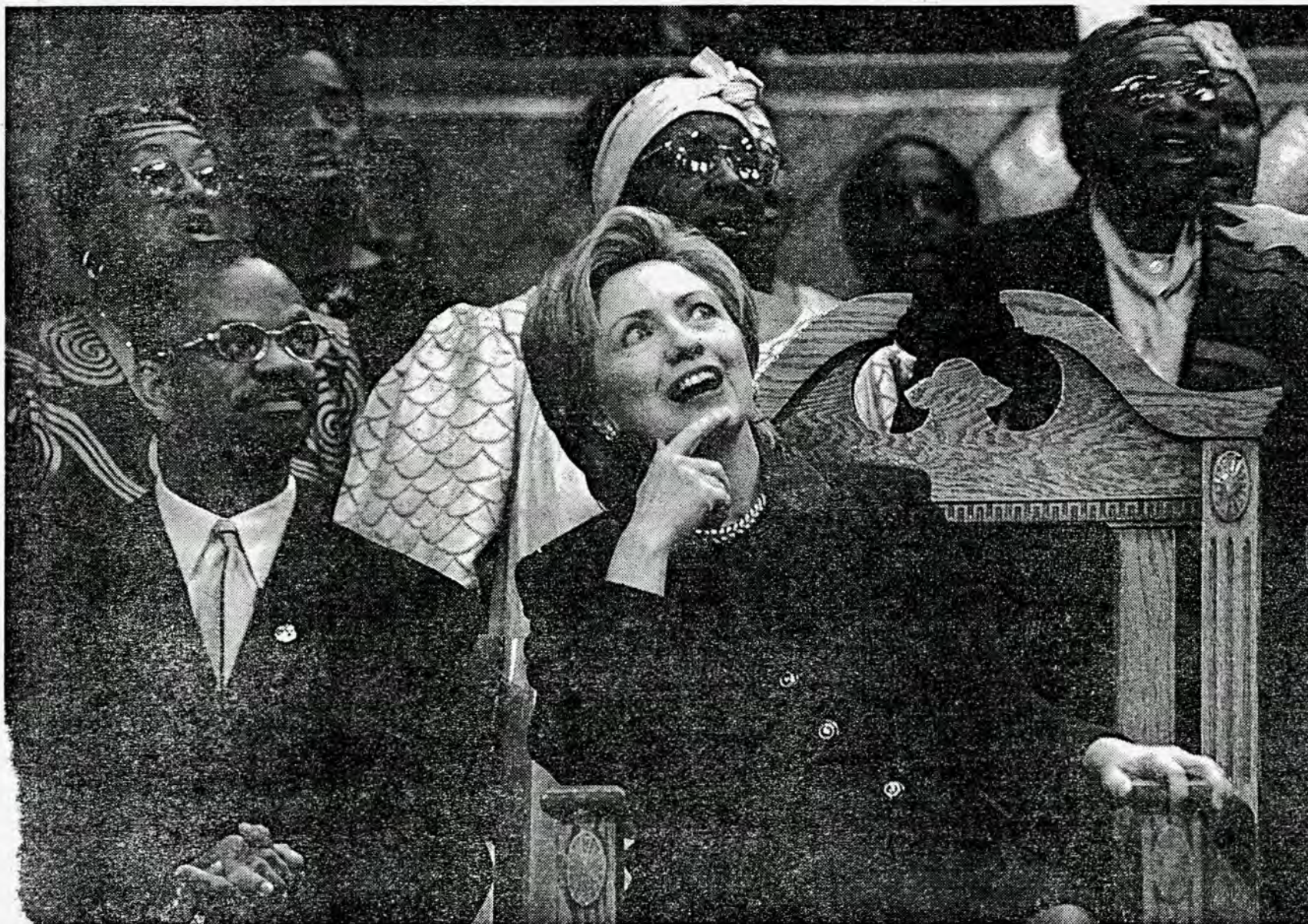
By Gregg Birnbaum in
Rochester, Kenneth Lovett
in Johnson City, N.Y.,
and Robert Hardt Jr. and
Maggie Haberman in
New York

Clinton told the congregation, "Today, I read in a newspaper that my opponent is planning to attack me on health care. Well, here I am."

"He wants to talk about what went wrong in 1994. Well, that's fine. I'm going to talk about what we can do right in the year 2000."

"My opponent still has not told the voters of New York what he would do to address the problems of

PUMPED-UP PREZ: President Clinton appears with Margaret Coffey, chairwoman of the Broome County Democratic Committee, while raising money for his wife's Senate campaign yesterday in Johnson City. Reuters



HILLARY'S OWN PRAISES: Hillary Clinton, with the Rev. David K. Brawley, told the congregation at St. Paul Community Baptist Church in Brooklyn yesterday: "My opponent . . . wants to talk about what went wrong in 1994 . . . I'm going to talk about what we can do right in the year 2000." AP

health care in our state. He has no health-care agenda. He just has an agenda of attacks and insults."

Mrs. Clinton repeated the remarks at the Green Baptist Church in Mount Vernon.

Lazio shot back, "Good. Let's talk about the fact that even the Democrats — people in her own party, people like Chuck Schumer, people like Mario Cuomo — said that her plan was an absolute disaster for New York. It would have destroyed 75,000 jobs."

The Long Island congressman also slammed Mrs. Clinton for claiming he has no health plan. She has revealed a number of health-care proposals; Lazio hasn't.

Lazio pointed to his congressional record, saying he supported doubling federal funding for health research, and cast votes in favor of a prescription-drug benefit and legislation to facilitate coverage for uninsured people who have jobs.

The president stumped for his wife before a crowd of 1,500 supporters in Johnson City, just outside Binghamton. He later attended fund-raisers in Alexandria Bay and at Long Island's Hofstra University.

His final stop was with his wife at a Big Apple fund-raising reception headlined by Elton John.

The total raised yesterday was expected to be around \$500,000.

New York Report

YNE A25

MONDAY, OCTOBER 23, 2000

The New York Times

Buffalo, Often Butt of Jokes, Is Serious Senate Battleground

By RANDAL C. ARCHIBOLD

BUFFALO, Oct. 22 — The Queen City is finally being treated like one, at least until Nov. 7.

The jokes — about snow in June, the struggling Buffalo Bills, dat accent — have been put in a lockbox. New York's candidates for the United States Senate have lavished attention and resources on this city and its suburbs, mindful of recent statewide campaigns that have established Buffalo and surrounding Erie County as an electoral touchstone.

Political analysts say that it would be very difficult for a Democrat to win statewide office without winning Erie, to compensate for the bedrock support Republicans can count on in the rest of upstate. So both candidates are trying to capitalize on the shifting, unpredictable political dynamics here, a classic bellwether "swing" area that, were it not for New York City, would be the dominant region of the state.

Although Democrats hold a 132,000-person margin over Republicans in voter registration, the county has a sizable number of what were once called Reagan Democrats, working-class Catholics of Polish, Irish and Italian ancestry without a

firm allegiance to either party.

Ed Kolenko is a registered Democrat who twice voted for Gov. George E. Pataki and is now leaning toward Hillary Rodham Clinton. "I trust what Hillary's saying more than Lazio," he said.

Peter Marini, a Democrat who has voted for Mr. Pataki, President Clinton, former Senator Bob Dole and last year, for Charles E. Schumer, a Democrat, for senator, said he now leaned to Representative Rick A. Lazio. "I'm tired of the Clintons," he said. "Hillary is smart and I may go with her, but there is something about Lazio and new blood that I like."

With a laugh, he added, "And Lazio is Italian like me."

He was only half joking. Ethnic politics do play a big role here.

With that in mind, Mrs. Clinton brought a Democratic Irish stalwart, Senator Edward M. Kennedy, to a rally here the other night. "The Kennedys are gods up here in the Irish community," said Gerald M. Goldhaber, a professor at the State University at Buffalo who has conducted polling for Democratic and Republican candidates and is the president of Goldhaber Research Associates.

A 'swing' region receives lavish political attention.

And Mr. Lazio is suddenly invoking his Italian heritage — telling stories about his grandmother Rose's journey here decades ago — at stop after stop, not just here but also in other Italian enclaves.

Both camps say that by Election Day they will have visited Erie County more than two dozen times since May, when they received their parties' nominations.

Both campaigns have saturated the airwaves here with commercials — a recent Lazio ad included people wearing Buffalo Bills caps — and say their internal polling shows they are running strongly here.

An independent poll of 400 likely voters in Erie and Niagara Counties, conducted by Goldhaber Research Associates, suggested that Mrs. Clinton was leading 50 to 36 percent, with 13 percent undecided. The poll, con-

ducted Oct. 17 to 19 and released on Friday, had a margin of sampling error of 4.9 percentage points.

Some high-profile victories in recent years have cheered Republicans and, Mr. Goldhaber said, buttressed the theory that "people here don't vote party line, they vote economic issues."

Republicans in the last decade have taken control of three prominent countywide offices — county executive, comptroller and sheriff — although Democrats have maintained a majority in the 17-seat County Legislature since 1982.

Mrs. Clinton has seized on the economy as an issue here, unveiling a plan in February aimed at bringing relief to the area, and knocking Mr. Lazio at every turn for his more optimistic outlook on things.

The Erie County Republican chairman, Robert E. Davis, who helps to coordinate Mr. Lazio's campaigning in Erie County, said: "The issue has been so spun by the Clinton folks that we need to be a little bit more aggressive on these things. Lazio has had to spend more time defining what his plan is. Frankly, it's similar to 1994. It's not brain surgery here. Cut taxes and create jobs. We have

direct mail pieces that address that. We need to build on that."

Asked if Mr. Lazio still had time to persuade people of his concern for the economy, Mr. Davis replied, "We don't have a choice, do we?"

Such sentiments arose the other night at a bar Mr. Lazio visited to watch the first game of the World Series. "Property taxes have to be lower so small businesses can come in here," said David W. Gacioch, 34, an independent who owns a property management company and is supporting Mr. Lazio.

Others had chosen their candidate based on other issues, though the fluid nature of their party affiliation was evident. John Maney, 60, who worked as a police officer and correction officer in New York City before retiring, said he considered himself an "independent" registered Democrat. He had intended to vote for Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, whose place Mr. Lazio took when the mayor dropped out for cancer treatment. Now, he favors Mrs. Clinton.

"I would've preferred Giuliani," he said. "I liked what he did in New York City. No one really knows Lazio, he's from the wrong end of the state for me now."



James Estrin/The New York Times

The Rev. Johnny Ray Youngblood helped Hillary Rodham Clinton from the pulpit after she addressed his congregation yesterday at St. Paul Community Baptist Church in Brooklyn.

Clintons Campaign Together in New York

President Draws Crowds and Money for First Lady's Senate Race

By ABBY GOODNOUGH
and ADAM NAGOURNEY

HEMPSTEAD, N.Y. Oct. 22 — President Clinton flew into New York today to lend his assistance to the Senate campaign of Hillary Rodham Clinton — and the presidential campaign of Al Gore — traveling from one end of the state to the other as he denounced Republicans and declared that his wife and the vice president would assure the continuance of his policies once he leaves office in January.

"You will never know, because I don't have the words to say, how hard she has worked, because I don't have the words to say," Mr. Clinton, his voice hushed and trembling, said at a \$50-per-person Democratic rally at Hofstra University tonight, his voice hushed and trembling. "This is the first time in 26 years that they're having an election and I'm not on the ballot. But I care more about this election than any one I've been involved in."

"I have never known anybody else in public life who had the combination of brains and heart and caring and tenacity and ability to imagine solutions and get people together and get things done than Hillary has," Mr. Clinton said, his hand thrust in his pocket and speaking over rolling rounds of applause. "She will be a worthy successor to Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Robert F. Kennedy."

At that, the crowd — which had interrupted Mr. Clinton's remarks with shouts of "four more years" — rose to its feet. Mr. Clinton turned and tightly hugged his wife, as the first couple's daughter, Chelsea, applauded from a seat behind them on the stage.

Mr. Clinton's appearance here tonight came on what was by far the most active day of campaigning that

the president has done on his wife's behalf since she entered the Senate race a year and a half ago. Mr. Clinton appeared at four fund-raising events across New York today; Mrs. Clinton joined him at two of them: here at Hofstra University and later tonight at a fund-raiser in Manhattan that featured Elton John, the singer. He also appeared upstate in Johnson City, N.Y., with Representative Maurice D. Hinchey, a Democrat of Ulster County. Mrs. Clinton's aides said that the events raised about \$530,000 for her campaign.

That said, the trip by Mr. Clinton today was not that much about raising money for his wife's campaign, particularly given the expense that is

Criticism for Republicans and praise for a wife and the vice president.

associated with bringing a sitting president to town to campaign for any candidate. Rather, it marked a considered escalation in Mrs. Clinton's campaign-ending strategy of trying to cast the contest in sharp party terms, and to deal with what has been one of her persistent problems: How to assure that Democrats, who make up a majority of voters in New York, vote for the Democratic candidate for Senate.

And by intention or not, Mr. Clinton's rollicking and emotional introduction of his wife tonight seemed to energize even Mrs. Clinton, who discarded her usually placid campaign

speaking style and offered a series of sharp and mocking attacks on her opponent, Representative Rick A. Lazio.

"My opponent goes around saying, 'Eight years is enough,'" Mrs. Clinton said. "The first time I heard it, I thought, maybe I misheard. Eight years of a great economy? Eight years of declining crime rates?"

"Where is he living and who is he representing?" she asked. "The other team is kind of banking on that sort of — to coin a phrase — fuzzy thinking. They want to induce a case of political amnesia so none of us can remember what it was like in 1992."

Mr. Lazio's senior campaign adviser, Mike Murphy, said he did not believe that Mr. Clinton's visit to New York would help the first lady at all, and that it would instead reinforce what he described as the impression among many New Yorkers that the president was "trying to shove his wife down their throats."

Mr. Murphy also attacked the presidential visit as "a million-dollar gift from the government," questioning why federal taxpayers should be paying for Mr. Clinton's visit to help out his wife, and why local New York taxpayers should be paying for the security costs associated with a White House visit.

"They are dragging the president and his imperial staff all over upstate New York, blatantly campaigning for his wife," Mr. Murphy said. "We're talking about the million-dollar tab."

The White House press secretary, Jake Siewert, said that Mrs. Clinton's campaign was reimbursing the federal government for President Clinton's trip, using the standard reimbursement formula that is used when Mr. Clinton makes a political trip. "There's nothing official on this trip, so it's actually 100 percent paid for by the campaign," Mr. Siewert said.

What that means is that Mrs. Clinton's campaign is responsible for reimbursing the White House for the equivalent of first-class airfare for the president and his staff, as opposed to picking up the entire cost of the C-9 that was used to fly up Mr. Clinton, his staff, and his Secret Service contingent.

NYT

Monday October 23, 2000

THE PRESIDENT

Clinton, Sounding Like a Candidate, Rebuts Bush's Attacks

By ABBY GOODNOUGH

ALEXANDRIA BAY, N.Y., Oct. 22
President Clinton plunged into the presidential race today, forcefully butting Gov. George W. Bush's attacks on his administration and giving an extensive listing of his accomplishments in a fund-raising swing through upstate New York.

It was almost as if he were campaigning for himself. And, though his remarks today were full of praise for Vice President Al Gore, the president hinted at an afternoon rally here that Mr. Gore had not tried hard enough to emphasize the differences between his philosophies and Mr. Bush's. Mr. Clinton has privately said as much to friends and aides, complaining that Mr. Gore was not effectively arguing the Democrats' case.

Though the point of Mr. Clinton's trip was to raise money for the Senate campaign of his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, he devoted a good portion of his speeches to defending his policies and urging that they be continued. At one stop, for example, he listed more than a dozen ways the nation had improved since he was elected, noting things like smaller welfare rolls, lower crime rates, cleaner water and safer food.

Although he never mentioned the Republican presidential candidate by name, Mr. Clinton referred to several criticisms that Mr. Bush has made throughout his campaign, especially in recent debates with Mr. Gore.

And he energetically praised Mr. Gore's proposals, despite the vice president's continuing efforts to distance himself from Mr. Clinton. But Mr. Clinton also suggested that Mr.



Agence France-Pr

President Clinton, speaking yesterday at a fund-raiser for Hillary Rodham Clinton, in Alexandria Bay, N

Gore and his running mate, Senator Joseph I. Lieberman of Connecticut, could be selling those proposals better.

"I've read very carefully, obviously, what the vice president and Senator Lieberman have said," Mr. Clinton told a crowd of 1,000 in this hamlet near the Canadian border, at a rally that raised about \$40,000 for Mrs. Clinton's campaign. "But I've carefully studied what their adversaries have said, their opponents. I listened very carefully to all the debates. And what I want you to know is that I'm kind of concerned when I read in the press that people can't quite understand what the differences are and maybe they're not clear."

At another rally for Mrs. Clinton in Johnson City, in New York's Southern Tier, the president challenged Mr. Bush's frequent claim that a vote for Mr. Gore would be a vote for the status quo.

"The issue is not whether we're going to change but how we're going

to change," Mr. Clinton said. "Are we going to build on the progress of the last eight years or go back to a failed policy we already tried in the past? That is the issue in this election."

Referring to another of Mr. Bush's favorite campaign themes, Mr. Clinton said the presidential election was not about "whether the Democrats should be rejected because of the partisanship in Washington."

He tried to cast doubt on Mr. Bush's claim that he is the only presidential candidate who could work well with both major parties, pointing to several of his own initiatives that received bipartisan support.

"The Democrats favor bipartisanship and our record is that," he said to applause.

In yet another swipe at the Bush campaign, the president scoffed at Mr. Bush's contention that Mr. Gore wants to protect "big government." Mr. Clinton boasted that the federal government had 300,000 fewer workers than when he took office in 1993,

Focus of fund-raiser for a Senate race shifts to the presidential contest

and that he had eliminated 16,000 pages of federal regulations. He said that Mr. Bush's tax cut proposal was fiscally foolish, and that Mr. Gore's proposed tax cut was right because "we've got to have some money to invest in education, health care, in the future of the country."

"Do you want to keep the prosperity going and extend it to people in places left behind?" Mr. Clinton said. "We tried it our way for eight years before. Our way works better than their way. We need to keep changing in the right direction to keep prosperity going in America."

ON THE WEB

"Political Points," a live broadcast on the World Wide Web, presents up-to-date video coverage of the campaign Monday through Friday at 1:30 p.m., Eastern time. The Webcast is a joint production of The Times and ABC News. It remains available all day at The New York Times on the Web:

www.nytimes.com/politics

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A Verdict on Travelgate

The independent counsel Robert Ray has concluded that Hillary Rodham Clinton was "factually false" in sworn testimony about her role in the firing of seven members of the White House travel staff in 1993. At the same time he has concluded that he cannot prove beyond a reasonable doubt in court that her statements were "knowingly false," and therefore will not pursue criminal charges against her. Judging from the voluminous public record, Mr. Ray's decision to drop the case is legally sound. Judging from the same record, his characterization of Mrs. Clinton's account of her role in the matter also seems on the mark.

Except for new detail, the report adds little of substance to the preliminary findings Mr. Ray released in June. Our main quarrel with Mr. Ray involves timing — that is, the decision to release the report only three weeks before voters go to the polls to choose between Mrs. Clinton and Rick Lazio in a closely contested Senate race. Mr. Ray and his staff argue that three weeks is enough time for the public to digest and debate the report and that delivering it earlier would have been procedurally difficult. But as the decision not to prosecute was made months ago, they could and should have avoided dropping reports during the September-October campaign season. As a practical matter, however, the report is likely to have little direct impact, beyond feeding the unease of those who already have doubts about Mrs. Clinton.

As to Mrs. Clinton's truthfulness, the underlying issue is whether she had any "input" or played a

"role" in the firings, which were themselves legally permissible. On at least two occasions, including sworn testimony to the independent counsel in 1995, she denied playing such a role — a point made again this week by her lawyers, who said that while Mrs. Clinton had been concerned about financial improprieties in the travel office, she did not "knowingly" intend to influence the decision to fire the seven employees. Mr. Ray, although conceding that he could not prove a criminal case against Mrs. Clinton, clearly did not believe this account. He cited conversations and memorandums suggesting that the firings had occurred because White House aides understood that that was the outcome desired by a powerful and persistent first lady.

Mr. Ray has two tasks remaining. He must complete the final report on the Whitewater land deals, in which he has already found no grounds for bringing criminal charges against Mrs. Clinton or President Clinton. He has also said that once Mr. Clinton leaves office, he will decide whether to charge him with perjury or obstruction of justice in connection with testimony in the Paula Jones case and the grand jury investigation into the Lewinsky matter. Common sense and scholarly legal reflection should lead Mr. Ray to decide not to indict Mr. Clinton. That the president lied is clear, and that the matter was adequately dealt with through the impeachment process is equally clear. Prosecuting a former president for offenses that received full hearing and sufficient punishment in a Senate trial would set a bad precedent.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Cindy Adams



First kid is now a fine young lady

CHELSEA CLINTON. A really really nifty young lady. As the years, hairdressers and makeup experts have polished her mom, so has this daughter osmosed from teenhood to beautyhood. Her coloring's beautiful. In person, the newly shortened and well-streaked blond hair makes her even more stunning than the photos. Perfect skin. Rosy, flawless. Perfect makeup. The absolutely right red lipstick. Perfect figure. Perfect wardrobe. Perfect manners.

So, she, too, looking to be in politics?

"No," she told me. "Or at least I don't think so. It's not my plan for right now. I do love traveling about with my mother, though. Later today we're on our way upstate. And I'm enjoying all this very much. It's fun. It's special. Meeting new people, seeing different places and learning new things is an exciting experience.

"But what I believe I will devote my career to is some kind of public service."

Chelsea Clinton. The heart of a social worker, the face of a glamour girl.



AP

CHELSEA CLINTON
Good breeding shows.

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RESERVATION

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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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REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Bronx Cheer

"That question doesn't even deserve a response. I've said all I have to say about that."

—Hillary Clinton, asked if she advised her husband and other U.S. officials on whether to veto or abstain on the recent anti-Israeli resolution at the United Nations.

"I said I was glad that it was over after all these years, millions of dollars, and I really have nothing to add to that."

—Hillary Clinton, in response to the release of the report by Independent Counsel Robert Ray concluding that her sworn answers on the firing of White House Travel Office employees were "factually false."

"We're trying as hard as we can to figure out what we can do because I'd love to be able to go to at least one game."

—Hillary Clinton, on the subway World Series.

Mrs. Clinton has been campaigning imperiously up and down New York state, conducting carefully staged affairs but avoiding press conferences and sending underlings to answer for her on countless shows from "Meet the Press" to WABC radio. In her first debate with Rick Lazio, her partisans complain that he "invaded her personal space." She ventured out for an on-the-record meeting at the Council on Foreign Relations Tuesday, and actually had to face an impertinent journalist, Deroy Murdock.

She flatly refused to answer his U.N. veto question, one much on the minds of the New York Jewish community.

With the Yankees and Mets in the World Series, the issue now is whether she will deign to show her face. "I know there are some days that are absolutely impossible," she told the Associated Press. She can't come to the opener Saturday because she has a fund-raising event in Washington. She can't come to Game 2 in Yankee Stadium because she's attending a fund-raising concert for her by Elton John. For Game 4 on Wednesday, she's scheduled to attend a birthday fund-raiser for herself in the Roseland Ballroom.

Game 3 might run into another fundraiser, but our guess is that in the end her campaign will figure out some carefully protected way for her to show. As close Clinton-watchers, we suspect that her curious reticence has an entirely concrete basis. To wit: No few fans resent her invasion of their personal space, and especially her latter-day embrace of the Yankees. It wouldn't do much good for her politically or personally to come before a massive television audience at Yankee Stadium and meet with a Bronx Cheer.

She was after all roundly booed at a rally of Jewish Americans last week when she stated she had opposed the U.N. resolution condemning Israel on which the U.S. had abstained rather than cast its veto. "Then why couldn't

you convince your husband?" many in the crowd yelled at her, though they got no more answer than Mr. Murdock.

Of course, Mrs. Clinton has made a career of ducking tough questions. In all her years as First Lady, she has held one press conference, appearing in her now-famous pink suit to explain her astonishing \$100,000 profit in the commodities market. No one ever told her about her margin calls, the Yale lawyer said.

The full report on the Travel Office affair came out Wednesday. Independent Counsel Ray focused on Mrs. Clinton's sworn deposition denying "any input" on the decision to fire the Travel Office staff with either White House Chief of Staff Thomas ("Mack") McLarty or White House administration chief David Watkins.

Mr. Watkins, in a memo confirmed by his grand jury testimony, said that she told him, "We need our people in there." He added that there would be "hell to pay" if "we failed to take swift and decisive action in conformity with the first lady's wishes." Mr. McLarty told the grand jury that Mrs. Clinton also told him that Travel Office staffing needed to be "carefully reviewed and probably changed."

Mr. Ray concluded that "as a matter of historical fact, Mrs. Clinton's input into the process was a significant—if not the significant—factor influencing the pace of events in the Travel Office firings and the ultimate decision to fire the employees."

Mr. Ray decided not to seek a criminal indictment, however, since "there is insufficient evidence to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that Mrs. Clinton's statements to this Office or to Congress were knowingly false."

Her lawyer David Kendall issued a statement attacking Mr. Ray as "partisan" and saying Mrs. Clinton had no "decision-making role" in the firings. It all "boils down to a semantic quibble," he said—that is, what the meaning of "is" is.

Former Travel Office head Billy R. Dale, who was promptly acquitted when the Reno Justice Department charged him with embezzlement, had a different take. "Everyone, especially Robert Ray, knows Hillary Clinton lied under oath about her role in firing me and my colleagues," he said. "It is disappointing that the Office of Independent Counsel, which is charged with enforcing the law, would not prosecute her simply because of a fear of what a Washington, D.C., jury might do."

With less than three weeks until Election Day, Mrs. Clinton has dodged the hard questions well enough that she's near the magic 50% mark in some polls, though more than 15% behind Al Gore in the state. But she's not had a good week; it seems that New Yorkers are recovering their legendary toughness and getting fed up with stonewalling about Israel, commodity trades, the Travel Office and now the World Series. As Yankee philosopher Yogi Berra said, "It ain't over till it's over."



AP Photo/Susan Walsh

PHOTOCOPY
RESERVATION

Poll-vaulting Rick leads Hill — but barely

NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 20, 2000

Campaign 2000

By GREGG BIRNBAUM,
ROBERT HARDT Jr.
and MAGGIE HABERMAN

Rick Lazio has tied up the Senate race with Hillary Rodham Clinton — gaining crucial ground with voters upstate, where he's focused his attention over the last two weeks, a new Post poll shows.

In fact, the statewide poll shows Lazio leading Clinton, 43 percent to 42 percent. With a margin of error of plus or minus 4.5 points, the race is deadlocked, pollster John Zogby said.

The poll shows Lazio gaining critical ground with voters upstate — a Republican stronghold where Clinton had made inroads in recent weeks — and now leads his Democratic rival by 18 points, 50 percent to 32 percent.

A Sept. 9 Post poll showed Lazio leading upstate by just 7 points, 49 percent to 43 percent.

But the most surprising results show the pool of undecided voters swelling with people who had said before that they supported Clinton.

"The remarkable thing about this is that Lazio did not go up — Hillary went down," Zogby said.

The number of undecided Jewish voters has grown to 17 percent, Zogby said, though Clinton still leads that voting block, with 60 points to 23 points.

Zogby attributed Clinton's overall drop to more "effective" campaigning by Lazio — including TV ads raising her "carpet-bagger" status — and controversies surrounding her positions on the Middle East.

"She's been taking a bit of a pounding in the Jewish community," Zogby said.

Lazio also may have gotten a bump from GOP presidential hopeful George W. Bush, who's closed the gap in New York with rival Al Gore to just 12 points.

But he noted that Lazio's overall numbers have stayed virtually unchanged since he entered the race in late May — even after a weeks-long, "positive" advertising blitz.

"It suggests that he's either not doing enough or not doing it right — that he's essentially polling the anti-Hillary vote, and that's about it," he said.

The poll, taken Wednesday and yesterday among 504 likely voters, also showed Clinton's New York City numbers slipping to 60 percent, while Lazio has 28 percent.

In the suburbs, Lazio edges Clinton out, 46 percent to 40 percent.

Meanwhile, both candidates campaigned around New York City yesterday.

Clinton picked up an endorsement from a senior citizens advocacy group, and later joined presidential candidate Al Gore and running mate Joe Lieberman at a labor rally in Manhattan.

Gore last night rejected any at-



FLOWERY PRAISE: Hillary Clinton accepts a bouquet in New York yesterday from a senior center representative. N.Y. Post: Don Halasy

tempts by state Republicans to have New Yorkers vote "Gore/Lazio."

"There is only one candidate for the United States Senate who is part of the Gore-Lieberman team, and that's Hillary Clinton," he said at the rally.

Both Senate candidates, along with Gore and Bush, last night attended the annual Alfred E. Smith dinner, a Catholic charities fund-raiser.

Two days after Clinton delivered a speech on foreign policy,

Lazio moved to show he's also up to speed on world affairs — picking up an endorsement from former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger.

"My interest is constructive foreign policy," Kissinger said during a news conference with Lazio, after the two met privately for a half hour to talk about world affairs.

"I would like to see a Republican in the Senate," added Kissinger, who has been supportive of GOP causes and candidates in New York.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Candidates settle on Oct. 27 debate date



DIPLOMATIC TIES: Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger endorses Rick Lazio yesterday as the Senate hopeful looks on. AP

GET ready for Round III of the Senate debates.

Rick Lazio and Hillary Rodham Clinton have tentatively agreed to an Oct. 27 showdown on WNBC-TV/Channel 4, Campaign Buzz has learned.

Both campaigns have been privately wrangling for weeks over a date for the third debate, to be hosted by Gabe Pressman, dean of the city political press corps.

The Subway Series further complicated negotiations — with next Friday being picked because it would fall between a potential Game 5 and Game 6.

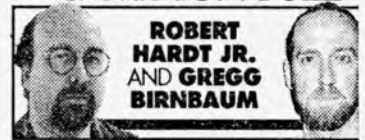
"It's safe to say that viewership would be almost nonexistent if we were going against baseball," said one campaign insider.

While neither campaign has been publicly pressing for a third debate, aides to both candidates said they didn't want to be perceived as chickening out or insulting Pressman.

The hourlong debate is set to be taped in the afternoon and broadcast at 7 p.m.

What's going on with Mayor Giuliani and Lazio?

CAMPAIGN BUZZ



The mayor brushed past Lazio's press conference at City Hall the other day without much as a hello, and was a no-show in Borough Park, Brooklyn, on Wednesday night, when he was expected to campaign with the GOP Senate hopeful.

Lazio explained Rudy's absence to hundreds of Hasidim who were gathered inside a *sukkah* for the harvest holiday Sukkot, saying that he had spoken to the mayor earlier and that Giuliani "was not feeling well."

That comes just after Giuliani and Lazio unexpectedly bumped into each other in the tunnel under Shea Stadium during one of the Mets' league-championship games. The two spoke briefly and appeared cordial, but they never ended up sitting together.

See **CAMPAIGN BUZZ** on Page 2

Candidates settle on debate date

CAMPAIGN BUZZ from Page 8

together, as had been planned.

Lazio took in one \$1,000 contribution last month that he probably wished he hadn't.

Developer Thomas Kontogiannis cut his \$1,000 check to Lazio on Sept. 7 — just weeks before *The Post* and other newspapers reported that he's being probed by the Queens district attorney's office.

A Queens grand jury is hearing evidence to determine whether a former schools superintendent steered three contracts to Kontogiannis' associates in exchange for thousands of dollars in gifts and payoffs made through a series of real-estate deals.

Kontogiannis has previously run afoul of the law.

He and an official at the U.S. Embassy in Athens were arrested by the FBI for taking bribes to provide phony U.S. visas. Both pleaded guilty, and Kontogiannis was sentenced to five years' probation.

Lazio has finally uttered the dreaded "V" word — voucher.

Stumping for votes in Borough Park — where school vouchers are one of the top concerns because many Jewish parents send their kids to religious schools — Lazio twice proclaimed his support for vouchers.

"We set aside \$5 billion for our parental-choice program, which would be a voucher program," Lazio said in the home of the rabbi who leads the Syrian Jewish community.

Lazio has previously been loath to say the word "voucher," because consultants warn it has negative connotations. Lazio instead calls his school-voucher plan "opportunity scholarships."

New York Post
Friday October 20, 2000

PHOTOCOPY
RESERVATION

NEAL TRAVIS NEW YORK

Series may outstrip 'Naked Chef'

THE joy over the Subway Series is not universal. Party planners, event promoters, restaurateurs and theater and cinema owners expect one of the most important weeks of their year to be a total bust in a city gone baseball mad.

Take the American launch of **Jamie Oliver**, aka "The Naked Chef" (for his method of stripping recipes down to bare essentials). The foodies have been buzzing about Oliver's arrival on our shores for months, but now, his handlers are concerned that Series mania will cause his soufflé to fall flat.

Poor Jamie, who's British and probably wouldn't know a pop fly from a Pop Tart, is doing the "Today Show" Tuesday morning, followed by "Live With Regis." There's a big party to launch him and his book, "The Naked Chef," that night, and those invited are going to have to make the awful choice between meeting the 25-year-old sensation or watching what's cooking at Shea.

(I'm sure Oliver will survive this cultural clash — his cookbooks have already sold more than 1.5 copies million in Britain, and his TV

show will start airing on the Food Channel Nov. 4. But if he wants the attention he's due next week, maybe he'd better literally get naked.)

Sunday night, Fox will be in competition with itself with a special screening of 20th Century Fox's eagerly awaited "Men of Honor" flick up against Game 2 on Channel 5. On Wednesday, self-proclaimed Yankee fan **Hillary Rodham Clinton** may take a hit if supporters skip her 53rd birthday fund-raiser at Roseland in favor of Game 4. And another British author, **India Knight**, will also be up against the national pastime when Houghton Mifflin puts on a party for her "My Life On a Plate" — which has absolutely nothing to do with making it home. And so it goes. **Frank Pellegrino Jr.** is hastily installing a huge flat-screen TV in his hot new Midtown eatery, Baldoria, but even sports bars aren't sure that the Series will be a bonanza for them. "The interest in these games is so intense that many fans will want to stay home in front of their sets and really concentrate on the games," one bar owner says.

Cindy Adams



■
SO, Hillary, what's the first thing you're going to do the first day after the election?

"Well," she smiled, "If I win I'm going to make a whistle-stop tour all around the state. I'm going to say thanks to all my supporters. I'm going to say thanks to everyone who worked hard to explain me, to defend me, to argue for me and to apologize for me."

Since it feels like they've been campaigning 12 years straight, one of her war-weary soldiers sighed: "And the *next* day we'll sleep. And the day after that, sleep. And the day, week and month after that — sleep!"
■

Campaign★2000

Bad news for Hill: Cops can vote, too

THE hood had shot eight bullets at Sgt. Mike Mulcahy and his partner, and he could have got lucky with a ninth and splashed both their brains across 157th Street.

Mike, working out of the 33rd Precinct in Washington Heights on that hot July night in 1998, felt the bullets whistling past him, but managed to act as cool as a November breeze.

His gun barked — so humanity and the court system didn't

have to worry about another mutt fowling society.

"Politicians don't know about those moments. They hear about them, but never experience them. No cop likes to draw his gun, but it hurts when you get attacked for doing your job," said Mike, who has 110 decorations.

"She just plays to the press and politics."

He was talking about Hillary Rodham Clinton, who was presumptive enough to call the

**STEVE
DUNLEAVY**



tragic, accidental death of Amadou Diallo a murder in the weeks before Mike's colleague Sgt. Sean Carroll and three other officers were cleared of any wrongdoing.

Even before Rick Lazio walked into the Castle Rock Restaurant in The Bronx, I knew who Mike was voting for.

Sgt. Freddie DeLuca, at 57, is the longest-serving sergeant in the NYPD, and he now works in the Terrorist Task Force at a time when this country has a sense of the jitters.

"She [Hillary] called our guys murderers. I have a wife, two sons and a daughter of voting age, cousins, nephews, nieces. Who do you think they will vote for?" he was saying.

"They [the Clintons] are just not law-enforcement people — and they don't deserve our vote."

Gathered at the Castle Rock were hundreds of sergeants headed by Sergeants Benevolent Association President Bernie Pound, together with Tony Garvey, president of the Lieutenants Benevolent Association and John Driscoll, president of the Captains Endowment Association.

They represent the guys and women who have busted their humps, busted their heads and brought crime to an all-time low. They represent the very people Hillary, to the great applause of the Rev. Al Sharpton, wants to have supervised.

She, hubby Bill and Janet Reno want to put a federal monitor over this country's best

police department to watch them.

"This stinks," said Bernie Pound. "It has politics all over it."

Then Rick Lazio came through the door, and the applause was so loud I thought my ears would fall off.

"We don't need some federal intervention, we don't need federal monitors coming in," said Lazio.

"There is not a group of people I am more proud to stand with. It's an unbelievable success story how you men and women have lowered the crime rate."

Pound told Lazio: "You are among friends here today to tell you we stand behind you and want you to be the next senator."

With that endorsement, Lazio has picked up the Patrolmens Benevolent Association, the SBA, the LBA and the CEA — 32,000 cops in this city.

Lazio didn't get Sharpton's endorsement, but Hillary did. Lazio is not wringing his hands.

Freddie DeLuca said: "Do you know how many votes 32,000 cops translates into? Many of us have big families and lots of friends."

And Yankee fans have a long memory, too.

Hillary's Fall Cla\$\$ic

NEW YORK POST, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 20, 2000

IM going to be rooting for the Yankees," says Hillary Rodham Clinton — and who's to doubt it: The Quinnipiac poll says New Yorkers prefer the Bombers, 47 percent to 34.

This is a margin wider than any the first lady has enjoyed in her own Fall Classic.

Which explains the rooting.

But what does "rooting" mean, in Clinton-speak?

It doesn't seem to include a trip to the ol' ballyard.

Game One of the first Subway Series since 1956 will find the first lady not at 161st Street and River Avenue — but in her favorite town, doing her favorite thing.

She'll be in D.C. — where people routinely sell their souls (but not, anymore, to play outfield for the hapless Senators. They split in '71).

She'll be fund-raising.

Will she have one eye on the tube? Only if there's a silver tray on top, for the checks.

How about Game Two, also in The Bronx?

She'll be in Manhattan, fund-raising — with a little help from Elton John.

Tommy John, maybe.

But Elton John?

Maybe he'll write a song for her.

Come Game 3, Tuesday night at Shea, she'll be 342 miles up the New York Thruway, in Rochester.

Fund-raising.

For Game 4 — also in Queens — she'll be back in Manhattan, at a birthday party in her honor.

Fund-raising.

Hmmmm. A Subway Series hasn't happened in 44 years. Hillary's fund-raisers happen every 44 minutes.

If she's a Yankees fan, then I'm Miller Huggins. (Memo to Hill: He managed the Yanks from 1918-29 and has one of the four monuments in the park beyond the Stadium's center-field fence, which you can get to from ...

Oh, forget it.)

It's true. She just doesn't know New York.

She for sure doesn't know from a subway series.

How *could* she — being from Chicago and all, where *nobody* knows what's it like to have the home teams playing each other in the World Series?

Lazio knows. He may not know how to make political hay from a Subway Series — but he knows what's about to happen.

He's even been to Shea this year — just the other night.

And when the fans recognized him, the rude things they said about Hillary — it was a chant, actually — can't be printed here.

Then they cheered Rick.

Thing is, the fans see right through Hill.

Just like David Cone did a year ago, at the White House, when the Bombers came calling and the first lady famously plunked that Yankees' cap on her noggin.

"I've never seen her at Yankee Stadium," Cone said later.

And nobody ever will.

Because there are funds to be raised elsewhere.

And because she doesn't dare show her face.

(Just for the record: Go Yanks!)

E-mail: mcmanus@nypost.com



**BOB
McMANUS**



She's from Chicago.

Reuters

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

INSURANCE
BELTWAY

By John McCaslin

"Exhausted and ecstatic"

Not a guy

Finally, regarding our item this week about Rep. Rick Lazio visiting the Kingston Rotary's Pumpkin Festival in Ulster County, N.Y., only to be "horrified" to come face-to-face with a guy wearing a Hillary Rodham Clinton mask, a certain woman writes:

"That guy that was in a Hillary mask . . . was a female, through and through. Although my name may throw some, my appearance surely DOES NOT. Toni."

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

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

The most flummoxing fact of this election cycle, the one most likely to rate a line someday in "Ripley's Believe It or Not," is the all-powerful, near-sacred taboo against mentioning the salient event of the Clinton years. (Hint: It begins with an "I.")

While the two main candidates who aspire to the Oval Office buzz on about who will pass out more pills, they keep silent on impeachment, that historic episode that divided America for the duration of a bloodless, though bitterly uncivil war. In a way, we won't know that war's outcome until Election Day.

But even then we'll have to read between the lines. While a Gore victory gives credence to the Clintonian record, and a Bush victory cleans house, the profound political and constitutional questions around impeachment remain undiscussed and unresolved. The self-censorship of this baffling blackout, adhered to by candidates and media alike, seems to reflect their vision of a society that may enthusiastically consume vast quantities of sex and violence, but

Diane West is an editorial writer for The Washington Times.

What impeachment?

Both parties duck discussion of "I"-word

is too terribly fragile to withstand a public debate on the merits of impeachment, and how it relates to the selection of our political leaders.

As Washington Post reporter Peter Baker pointed out this week, we don't know whether Vice President Al Gore believes perjury and obstruction are excusable when they are related to adultery. Or whether the vice president would still say, as he did on impeachment day, that Bill Clinton is "one of our greatest presidents." And where does Gov. George W. Bush stand on all of this?

Inquiring minds are reduced to sifting through the coded scraps of Republican speechifying — namely, the Bush team's mantra to restore dignity to the presidency — to decipher the most general GOP point of view.

The elliptical nature of the rhetoric does a disservice to the electorate. Presumably, focus groups — you know, the ones that say after the 118th presidential debate that they haven't heard enough about the candidates' prescription drug plans — are unanimously opposed to hearing more. But it could be that what appears to be a self-preserving strategy of political reticence not only shortchanges the voters, but also shortchanges candidates at every level as well.

The amazing fact is — and this is hard to believe inside the Beltway — the corruptions of the Clinton-Gore years are far from familiar to voters. I have met actual living, breathing Americans who, in the case of a college-

educated and politically interested Westchester County, N.Y., matron (and Hillary Clinton supporter), knew nothing — nothing — about Travelgate. Then there was the Los Angeles man, a college-educated professional, who had never before heard of Al Gore's Buddhist Temple fundraiser. In other words, there are countless likely voters who simply don't get the delicately vague allusions to honor or lawbreaking that are occasionally made on the hustings.

Take the stump speech of Rick Lazio, that nice young man running for Senate against Mrs. Clinton in New York. Mr. Lazio will at times state, yes, elliptically, that the New York Senate race "will determine whether character still counts in public service . . . [and] whether the rule of law applies to all or just to some privileged people." When, during his last debate with Mrs. Clinton, Mr.

Lazio was asked to explain how such generalities specifically apply to his opponent, he responded by not responding. "I think it's important that I talk about myself . . . integrity in terms of my public service . . . role model for my two little girls . . . role model for other children . . . the dream of being able to represent the people of New York . . ." Let's just say this head-tucked,



knee-hugging answer doesn't exactly give the lady who never heard of Travelgate the moral reason to reconsider her support

for the first lady.

There are exceptions — one, anyway. As the Los Angeles Times reported this month, "Against the advice of his campaign advisors, Republican U.S. Representative James E. Rogan won't stop talking about his prominent role in last year's impeachment trial of President Clinton. The two-term congressman from Glendale even had the idea for a poster that features a photograph of the 13 Republicans who served as prosecutors during the trial. Most are wearing somber expressions, but Rogan, standing in the center, is smiling."

Smiling. Voters need to hear Republican candidates — smiling — make the case against the Clinton-Gore legacy of lawbreaking, legal shading and ethical corner-cutting, just as they need to hear Democratic candidates — smiling? — defend that legacy. Of course, that's not going to happen in a big way any time soon. But when it does, it may become possible to shake off the corruptions and corrosive cynicism Clintonism leaves behind. And that should give everyone something to smile about.



Diana West

In Senate Race, What's Past Is a Present

Clinton Ads Link Foe to Ex-Speaker; Lazio Ties First Lady to Arkansas Tax Hikes

By HOWARD KURTZ
Washington Post Staff Writer

Hillary Rodham Clinton may be trying to beat Rick Lazio for a Senate seat, but she seems far more determined to run against Newt Gingrich.

"What does Rick Lazio think of Newt Gingrich?" asks an ad that the first lady launched last week. Lazio is seen as saying on "Meet the Press": "I think he was an important historical figure."

The narrator moves in for the kill: "Lazio did serve as Newt Gingrich's deputy whip. And he still says he has absolutely no regrets about voting with Gingrich to take \$270 billion out of Medicare. No regrets about voting to shut down the Department of Education. If that's Rick Lazio's view of history, think about what it could mean for our future."

Mike Murphy, Lazio's strategist, called the Gingrich theme "an old, dead mule they're beating again. If Mrs. Clinton wants to run against Newt Gingrich, she should move to Georgia."

Rep. Lazio, for his part, seems determined to run against Clinton's past, with not-so-subtle allusions to the president's record and the first lady's veracity. "What's Hillary Clinton's record on taxes? Expensive," says a Lazio ad. "Hillary Clinton has supported 15 tax increases, including higher taxes on Social Security benefits. Hillary Clinton: You just can't trust her. On taxes."

Mandy Grunwald, Clinton's media adviser, noted that some of the tax hikes her candidate supposedly "supported" took place in Arkansas. "It's a totally ridiculous charge," she said. "I think they've been reckless with their facts."

But Murphy says Bill Clinton's record is fair game and that his wife "is trying to play a duplicitous game in which she was the secret, behind-the-scenes inspiration for any administration success, and any administration failure she was desperately fighting."

As they duel on the airwaves in the country's most closely watched Senate contest, Clinton and Lazio have tried to paint themselves as sensible moderates. But while their on-again, off-again agreement to ban "soft-money" ads has drawn more national attention, it is the ideological warfare that more accurately reflects the parameters of the 2000 congressional elections.

"Every second word out of her mouth is Gingrich," said Mickey Carroll, director of the Quinnipiac Poll. "What she's trying to do is say, 'Look, this guy is a right-wing Republican.'" As for Lazio harping on the "trust" issue, Carroll said, "people's minds depict President Clinton looking into the camera and saying, 'I never had sex with that woman.'"

started-it-first battle on the airwaves. "Compare: Congressman Rick Lazio is running a positive campaign about his accomplishments for New York," says one of his ads. "Hillary Clinton is running a negative campaign because she has done nothing for New York. Her new ad contains five gross distortions in just 30 seconds."

Howard Wolfson, Clinton's spokesman, scoffed at the charge, saying, "He couldn't get through his

announcement speech without going negative."

The candidates have blamed each other for third-party ads as well. After a Republican Leadership Council ad pictured Lazio with retiring New York Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D), a Clinton counterattack ad noted that the pictures were spliced, demanding: "Stop the deception. Rick Lazio, be straight with New Yorkers."

When the state Democratic Party

ran a spot in which "real" New Yorkers criticized Lazio, his response ad zeroed in on one of them: "Meet Carol—8 Years on the Democratic Assembly payroll. Another phony ad from Hillary Clinton."

Lazio spokesman Michael Marr said the campaign will keep hammering at the first lady's credibility because "there is a very high percentage of New Yorkers who believe Mrs. Clinton's trustworthiness can be questioned."

THE WASHINGTON POST



Lazio, trailing in the polls, has about three times as much money—\$6.2 million, as of Oct. 1—for a closing blitz. A new attack spot yesterday blares that "the Daily News says Hillary Clinton's ads have, quote, twisted the truth to the breaking point."

The contest has started echoing the presidential race as well. "Rick Lazio's tax plan costs more than a trillion dollars," a Clinton ad says. "And just like George Bush, Lazio's plans squander the whole surplus." But Clinton draws her figure from a liberal advocacy group, and Lazio supports reserving more than half the surplus for Social Security and debt reduction.

Clinton, like many Democrats, has tried to paint her opponent as a conservative obstructionist on health care. "The Senate just voted to kill the patients' bill of rights, by two votes," one of her ads says. "Hillary supports it. In the House, Rick Lazio voted against the bill. . . . Rick Lazio. The more you know, the more you wonder."

Lazio replied with an ad featuring his wife, Pat. "It's a shame, but Mrs. Clinton's campaign isn't telling it straight about Rick Lazio and health care," she says. "Rick voted for a patients' bill of rights." That measure was a GOP substitute prohibiting patients from suing health maintenance organizations.

The first lady, of course, is vulnerable on health care, having suffered a spectacular defeat in 1994 when she led her husband's effort to reform the system. Yet, she invokes that failure in two ads. "When her health care plan was defeated, she kept on fighting step-by-step and made a difference—mammograms covered by Medicare, longer hospital coverage for new mothers," one says. Grunwald said such ads provide "a bit of inoculation" while reminding people that Clinton still supports health care improvements.

Lazio, whose ads invoke the carpetbagger issue by calling him "one of us," features two wheelchair-bound New Yorkers in one of his spots. "Rick Lazio wrote the work incentives bill that protects disabled people from losing their benefits," it says. And that's true. The problem: thanks to inaction by the state legislature, the law hasn't taken effect in New York.

"To me, the entire ad is cynical, manipulative and a lie," Grunwald said.

Such rhetoric has spawned a you-

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Candidates Trade Barbs For Charity

Bush and Gore Meet At Al Smith Dinner

By ADAM NAGOURNEY

The campaign for president made a rare stop in New York last night, as Gov. George W. Bush and Vice President Al Gore gave dueling pointed speeches before a white-tie audience that included two people who had previously kept a distance from those two presidential candidates: Hillary Rodham Clinton and Rick A. Lazio.

The setting was the annual Alfred E. Smith Memorial Foundation Dinner, the charity fund-raiser sponsored by the Archdiocese of New York, whose invitation proved the impetus to nudge the four players in the two biggest political races in the country — for president and senator from New York — to share dinner and a stage last night.

For Mr. Gore and Mr. Bush, it was a rare opportunity, aside from their three debates, to speak from the same stage, albeit under the historical guidelines of these dinners: Speeches should be funny, and not stumpy. But they are allowed to have a political point, and both candidates seemed to approach the evening as another night of competition.

To laughter, Mr. Gore offered a few self-deprecating jokes about some of the things that had caused him some complications this year. "This dinner represents a hallowed and important tradition, which I actually did invent," he said evenly. And he offered a few remarks at Mr. Bush's expense that drew some hoots from the crowd: He noted that the namesake for the dinner had run for president on a plan to "build a bridge to the 1930's."

"And I must say it's quite a tribute to Governor Smith that Governor Bush has adopted the same agenda," Mr. Gore said.

Mr. Bush responded with the same mix of jokes and barbs. "This is an impressive crowd," he said. "The haves and the have-mores. Some people call you the elite. I call you my base."

Mr. Bush ended his speech with a tribute to Cardinal John J. O'Connor and a mention of the "rights of the unborn," a line that drew heavy applause from most people in the room — but not Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Gore.

But an equally compelling drama yesterday involved two people who were not even permitted to speak at the dinner tonight — Mr. Lazio and Mrs. Clinton, as they responded, in notably different ways, to the presence of their party's presidential candidates in their backyards.

For Mrs. Clinton, it was, it seemed, an opportunity, and she leapt at the chance to campaign, for the first time since last March, with a politician who polls show is significantly more popular among New Yorkers than the first lady. With much fanfare, she appeared with Mr. Gore and his running-mate, Joseph I. Lieberman, the Connecticut senator, and thrust herself between them in a photo, as she sought to cast the contest in sharply partisan terms.

The Washington Times

★ FRIDAY, OCTOBER 20, 2000 / PAGE A2H

"I am proud to be on that team, because it is the Gore-Lieberman-Clinton team that will keep the prosperity and the progress going in America," Mrs. Clinton declared to shouts and cheers. "We have to get out and make sure our team wins."

By contrast, Mr. Lazio and Mr. Bush barely crossed paths yesterday. They held no joint events. And when Mr. Lazio appeared at news conference with Henry A. Kissinger, the former secretary of state, a Democratic Party activist showed up with a life-size cutout of Mr. Bush in an attempt to create the photo opportunity that Mr. Lazio seemed intent on avoiding.

And at the dinner tonight, an event where seating charts are perhaps overly scrutinized for political significance, Mr. Lazio sat on the opposite side of the stage from Mr. Bush; even Mrs. Clinton sat closer to the Republican candidate for president than Mr. Lazio did.

Mr. Lazio and Mr. Bush have not appeared together in New York since July 16. Mr. Lazio has, in his campaign, gone to great lengths to distance himself from Mr. Bush, whom Mr. Lazio's aides view as a drag on his own candidacy in New York.

It was the first time in 12 years that the two major party candidates for president had attended the dinner, and as such, it made for as grand an entrance into national politics as the newly installed archbishop, Edward M. Egan, could have hoped for.

The dinner, in the grand ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria, was oversold, with attendees at the white-tie affair drawn by the prospect of presumably seeing the next president of the United States.

Mrs. Clinton and Mr. Gore last campaigned together on March 20, in Albany, though they have appeared together at other political events, most recently a fund-raiser at Radio City Music Hall last month. Part of that is because there has been no real reason for Mr. Gore to come to New York, given his large lead in polls in the state.

PHOTOCOPY
RESERVATION

POSTOPINION

PHOTOGRAPHY
PRESERVATION

In the last few weeks, as she's watched searing TV images of violence erupting in Israel, Dina has been thinking a lot about Hillary Clinton's name.

Several months ago, the 35-year-old Westchester mother of two told me she would never support the "arrogant" first lady, but when Rick Lazio failed to impress her, Dina began to waver. Then Israel came under siege — and now Dina, a major contributor to the United Jewish Appeal, has made up her mind.

"I keep remembering how during Bill Clinton's first campaign she swore she wanted to be called Hillary Clinton," said Dina. "And then the day after he was elected she suddenly announced she would be known as Hillary Rodham Clinton. I know it's a small thing, but to me it's represents what you want to sell versus who you really are. How I can I trust what she's saying about Israel?"

The most recent polls show Clinton ahead of Lazio, but the volatile situation in Israel may be hurting her with Jewish voters, where she had been ahead.

Since her campaign began, Clinton has worked hard to convince Jews that her reputation as pro-Palestinian was unfounded, and her efforts had paid off. But

Hillary's Trust Deficit

now that Israel faces perhaps its greatest crisis since the 1973 Yom Kippur War, some Jewish voters — particularly those who were still undecided — are again questioning her sincerity.

"I think a large segment of the Jewish vote is now up for grabs," said one high-ranking New York Democrat. "It really depends on how Clinton's campaign deals with this in the next few weeks. I think they should be getting her into more and more Jewish centers to reassure people. She really has to work on people's fears."

Some Jewish leaders suggest that Jewish backing may be beyond her control, dependent on her husband's policies and unfolding events in the Middle East. At last week's Support Israel rally, as Clinton reiterated her belief that the United States should have vetoed the U.N. resolution condemning Israel, hecklers shouted, "Tell your husband!" The impli-



**MEREDITH
BERKMAN**

cation: If she were truly a friend of Israel, she would use her considerable influence.

"What she said at the rally was not that different from what Lazio said," one leader told me. "But he's been saying these things for 10 years and she doesn't have a legislative record. She hugged Suha Arafat and has a history of alignment with the more dove-ish wing of the Jewish community. People are weighing in their minds: 'OK, she's hawkish now, but will she revert back to who she was?'"

Pollster John Zogby believes that Clinton's numbers among Jews (though difficult to track) will drop even if she continues to promote Israel precisely because the perception is that she's significantly changed her views. Earlier this month, he found that she had 71 percent of Jewish voters to Lazio's 23 percent, but he wouldn't be surprised if the number is closer to 50 percent at the end of the

month.

"She had a Lieberman bounce and now there's a crisis bounce the other way," said Zogby, an Arab-American who points out that Clinton's ostensibly pro-Israel statements are alienating that group. "It's a very simple political rule regardless of what the issue is: Voters as a whole and voters within a bloc always oppose what they see as disingenuousness. In this case, she has ... raised the hackles of Jewish voters who are now beginning to say, 'If she can do an about-face in such a short time, which is her face?'"

Some of Clinton's Jewish supporters argue that if the first lady has changed her tune, it is because she has immersed herself in learning about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and now understands that her some of her earlier positions may have been misguided. "The Hillary Clinton of a year-and-a-half ago is not the Hillary Clinton of today," said a lawyer active with her campaign.

To voters like Dina, that analysis is, at best, terribly naive.

"Above all, Hillary is pro-vote," she said. "She wants Jewish voters now, but I'm not sure she'll have our interests at heart later on." E-mail: mberkman@nypost.com

Brit brigade stumps for Hillary

**Page
Six**

www.pagesix.com

By RICHARD JOHNSON
with Paula Froelich
and Chris Wilson

Hidden cost

HILLARY Clinton has enlisted the aid of a crack campaign team of British Labor Party apparatchiks to help her try and defeat Rick Lazio, PAGE SIX has learned.

Sources tell us that about a dozen operatives of the Labor Staff Network, comprised of the underlings of left-leaning members of the British Parliament, have been canvassing Westchester and Manhattan on her behalf.

David Evans, a spokesman for Prime Minister Tony Blair's Labor Party, confirmed that the earnest, twentysomething team of U.K. Clintonistas have crossed the pond to stump for Hillary. "I understand a group of them traveled to New York about a week and a half ago to help out," he told us.

"They are on holiday, they're doing this in their spare time. They just enjoy campaigning and they want to work for Hillary.

"It's a social club. It's not officially connected with the Labor Party. They're the staff who work for Labor MP's [Members of Parliament], they are not Labor Party staff.

"The Labor Party is not officially endorsing any American election. They're doing it on their own."

Clinton campaign spokeswoman Karen Dunn said she wasn't aware of Hillary's English Auxiliary, but sources tell us that the Brits have been hitting the pavement for her campaign for weeks.

"They've been mostly campaigning up and down Westchester," a source reports. "They're all young, in their 20s and they're very committed to helping Hillary win."

One bizarre rumor surrounding Hillary's British battalion was that they were staying at a nunnery — St. Cecilia's Convent on East

106th Street. But Father Francis Skelly, a convent spokesman, said, "They're not staying here. If they were, we'd know about it."

Meanwhile, while Blair may be rooting for Hillary, the PM's own popularity is slipping steadily with British voters.

A new poll by Britain's Guardian newspaper has 42 percent of those quizzed describing Blair as "arrogant" (up 13 points from just last month), and just 19 percent seeing him as "honest."

Politicos point out that, "The Clintons were helpful to Blair when he was campaigning. Now he's paying them back."

But it gives Lazio another arrow for his quiver. As one gleeful Republican put it yesterday: "Hillary's from Arkansas, but she gets her money from Beverly Hills and her foot soldiers from across the Atlantic."

NEW YORK POST, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 19, 2000

Anti-Hillary 'Emergency'

EVEN if GOP Senate candidate **Rick Lazio** wanted to call the conservative attack dogs off, he can't. A group titled the "Emergency Committee to Stop **Hillary Rodham Clinton**" just sent out a mailing to New York voters asking for \$9 million for a 15-day media blitz to highlight "Mrs. Clinton's record of corruption and her ultraliberal agenda."

While Lazio has mostly stopped advertising paid for on his behalf with "soft money," this new group — which numbers former Attorney General **Ed Meese**, **Ronald Reagan** adviser **Lyn Nofziger**, former GOP presidential candidate **Alan Keyes** and good old "B-2 Bob" **Dornan** on its committee — doesn't feel bound by any agreements the candidates may have made.

Travelgate prober: Hill lied, but I can't prove it

By BRIAN BLOMQUIST
Post Correspondent

WASHINGTON — Independent Counsel Robert Ray's Travelgate report slams Hillary Rodham Clinton for giving "factually false [and] inaccurate" testimony, but says there wasn't enough proof to prosecute her.

Released by a three-judge federal panel yesterday, three weeks before Clinton faces Republican Rick Lazio in New York's Senate election, Ray's report contains few new details about Clinton's role in the Travel Office fir-

ings.

That much was known four months ago, when Ray wrapped up the probe.

But the language of his report shows Ray thinks Clinton lied in sworn statements to independent-counsel investigators, to Congress, and to the General Accounting Office when she denied she had any role in the firings.

Ray also concluded that Clinton left herself just enough wiggle room to get

away with it. Over and over, he wrote that there was "insufficient" evidence to prove that she committed perjury.

Campaigning in Syracuse, Clinton said: "I said when (the Independent Counsel's office) issued the press release some months ago that I was glad that it was over after all these years and millions of dollars, and I really have

See **TRAVELGATE** on Page 18

Prober's certain Hill lied

TRAVELGATE from Page 10

nothing to add after that."

Two former high-ranking White House officials, Mack McLarty and David Watkins, both testified that Clinton pressured them to fire the travel office workers.

A White House review later revealed that the Clintons planned to replace the workers with a charter company owned by their pal, Harry Thomason.

In her sworn deposition, Clinton was asked: "Who ultimately made the decision, to the extent that you know, to fire the employees from the travel office?"

Mrs. Clinton responded: "Well, the best I know is David Watkins and Mack McLarty, I assume, based on what I have learned since and read in the newspapers."

"Did you have any role in it?" the independent-counsel investigators asked.

"No, I did not," she replied.

Ray, in his 243-page report, wrote that "substantial evidence exists that portions of those statements were factually false." He cited eight occasions when Clinton told White House aides she wanted the workers fired.

In an appendix to the report, Clinton's lawyer, David Kendall, wrote that Ray's language was "highly unfair and misleading" and said the probe has "largely been a wasteful partisan extravagance."

Clinton's GOP Senate rival Rick Lazio, who hadn't read the report, said: "Integrity needs to be restored to our public service" and that "the rule of law of applies to all of us, and not just to some of us."

Both Clinton and Lazio Seek Support Among Jews

By RANDAL C. ARCHIBOLD

Rick A. Lazio and Hillary Rodham Clinton campaigned for support among Jewish voters yesterday, with Mr. Lazio meeting rabbis and Orthodox Jewish leaders in Flatbush and Borough Park, and Mrs. Clinton visiting a synagogue damaged in a suspicious fire in Syracuse.

Mr. Lazio, a Suffolk County Republican, also sought to expand his electoral appeal by assembling a group of little-known Democratic supporters on the steps of City Hall.

For the second time in two weeks, Mr. Lazio trumpeted the endorsement of Dr. Mark S. McMahon, the physician who ran an unsuccessful primary against Hillary Rodham Clinton last month, as he once again assailed Mrs. Clinton's run for Senate in a state she is not from.

"There is one thing that we all share: we are all New Yorkers," Mr. Lazio said, as some of his supporters shouted "right on," and other members of "Democrats for Lazio" popped open umbrellas to protect themselves against a rain storm.

"We put New York first," Mr. Lazio continued. "We expect leadership for New York, from New York. We expect someone to be in the Senate who will put New York's interest first."

As Mr. Lazio spoke in the rain, another well-known Republican, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, emerged on the steps.

He ignored the cluster of politicians and reporters, not an unusual sight there, and hurried off without acknowledging the man who filled the void when he dropped out of the

Recurring themes and recurring endorsements in a Senate race.

race.

Later, the mayor said that he had seen Mr. Lazio on the steps, but had not been informed that Mr. Lazio was coming to his office.

"I didn't know he was going to be here," Mr. Giuliani said.

Dan McLagan, an aide to Mr. Lazio, said that Mr. Lazio's campaign had informed Mr. Giuliani's office that Mr. Lazio would be showing up on his doorstep.

"The mayor's office was fully aware of the endorsement press conference today," Mr. McLagan asserted.

"We did not personally and specifically invite the mayor because, well, he's a Republican."

In her third straight day in upstate New York, Mrs. Clinton addressed a Baptist convention at a church in downtown Syracuse, invoking the fire that damaged Temple Beth El there and the explosion in Yemen on the destroyer Cole to stir the predominantly black gathering.

"These two events certainly reminded me forcefully of how much we have to be grateful for," Mrs. Clinton said.

"I believe that our politics should



James Estrin/The New York Times

Rick Lazio, a Republican, met with Democratic supporters yesterday.

reflect our best values," she said. "This election on Nov. 7 will determine whether we keep expanding the circle of opportunity to include more and more Americans, whether we will be satisfied that we have done so well in the last eight years or whether we will build on the strong foundation that has been established."

She added, "The good way is toward equality."

Mrs. Clinton inspected the fire-damaged parts of the synagogue, which was still heavy with an acrid, smoky smell and bore the marks of the fire last Friday in charred walls and sagging roof girders with Rabbi Irvin Beigel and Jackie Kassel, the president of the 200-family congregation, at her side.

The authorities have called the fire arson, but have established no motive.

"It's a terrible reminder of what can happen, but it is also, talking to people here, the rabbi and president of the congregation, a very encouraging and optimistic note that they're getting right down to work and they're going to be back here worshipping and carrying on the life of the community," she said.

Mr. Lazio's decision to hold a second news conference announcing his support by Dr. McMahon was the target of some joshing by Mrs. Clinton's campaign, which fired off an e-mail press release headlined, "Newsflash: McMahon Endorses Lazio ... Again!"

"Today's endorsement is the most exciting thing that has happened to the Lazio campaign since the last time Mark McMahon endorsed the congressman.

"Mr. Lazio must be very proud of such a high-profile endorsement since he keeps announcing it," said Mr. Wolfson, a Clinton spokesman.

Quiet Political Force: Chelsea Clinton

By DEAN E. MURPHY

She rarely says a word, at least not near a microphone. She stands behind her mother, careful not to upstage her. She is kept far away from reporters, just as she has been throughout the past eight years.

But with Election Day less than three weeks away, Chelsea Clinton, the first daughter, is showing up more and more across New York, quietly, politely, cheerfully — and judging by her popularity on the campaign trail, quite successfully — lending support to her mother's candidacy for Senate.

Ms. Clinton is typically mobbed by autograph seekers, pulled into countless photographs and pressed for details about her school, her family and the campaign. Most everyone has an opinion about her appearance, from her hair to her toothy smile to her graceful handling of sometimes overeager admirers. At a recent gathering of black businesswomen in Manhattan, Ms. Clinton desperately tried to steer well-wishers toward her mother, but most of them would hear nothing of it.

"She is really a good role model for people our age who are looking for somebody well put together," said Lori Romus, 22, who answers phones at the Erie County Democratic headquarters in Buffalo and who has twice attended events where Ms. Clinton accompanied her mother. "She is really remarkable and strong and a survivor."

Hillary Rodham Clinton, who as first lady has made protecting her daughter's privacy a top motherly duty, has been looking more at ease drawing Ms. Clinton into the senatorial spotlight. Some of the fascination with Ms. Clinton is undoubtedly due to her parents' success in shielding her from public scrutiny in the past. More than a few in the crowds around Ms. Clinton have said they dislike the Clintons but feel sorry for their daughter and are curious about what she is like.

Mrs. Clinton's Republican opponent, Representative Rick A. Lazio, has two daughters of grade-school age. From the beginning of the race, Mr. Lazio has effortlessly and naturally integrated them into his campaign, letting them quietly speak to his stature as a family man. His children appear in one of his television advertisements.

Chelsea Clinton, 20, does not appear on any of the first lady's advance schedules, and Mrs. Clinton's campaign staff members say her recent appearances are not part of a larger strategy to counter Mr. Lazio's family portrayals or to highlight Mrs. Clinton as a mother. (Mrs. Clinton's news aides say they are typically left in the dark about whether Ms. Clinton will even attend an event.) But when Ms. Clinton does show up, Mrs. Clinton quickly draws attention to her daughter, often in a passing reference but also in ways intended to drive home a point or win favor with an audience.

"She is really blossoming and has developed so well as a young adult," said Kernie L. Anderson, general manager of WLBI-AM and WBLS-FM radio stations, who



Reuters

Hillary Rodham Clinton and Chelsea Clinton at a service yesterday in Norfolk, Va., for the sailors who were killed on the destroyer Cole.

played host last week to the mother-daughter Clintons at the small-business fair for black women in Manhattan. "I heard so many comments about how pretty Chelsea is and what warmth there was there," Mr. Anderson added. "They just loved her."

In recent days, Mrs. Clinton has invoked her mother-daughter relationship in speeches about the importance of family, even mentioning Ms. Clinton during last week's debate, when she explained why she had stood by President Clinton despite his marital infidelities. Ms. Clinton was seated in the front row of the studio audience.

At a speech Tuesday to the Council on Foreign Relations, Mrs. Clinton interrupted her remarks to acknowledge that her daughter had arrived, using the moment to say that her foreign policy vision was "about the future of our children's lives." Later that day, at a fundraiser for women at the Waldorf-Astoria with Caroline Kennedy as host, Mrs. Clinton spoke warmly about her discussions with Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis about raising a child in the White House and the importance of protecting "the normalcy" of a political family.

On Tuesday afternoon in Buffa-

lo, Ms. Clinton received her most rousing ovation to date. She was introduced by Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts during a raucous old-style Democratic rally at the Buffalo Irish Center. The crowd of more than 400 cheered wildly when Ms. Clinton stood and smiled demurely. Even the dignitaries on stage were moved to their feet. She said not a word, however, leaving it to her mother to acknowledge her admirers.

Ms. Clinton has appeared on the campaign trail off and on over the past year, but with only a few weeks left in her mother's Senate race and a few months left in her father's presidency, she has been spending more time with both parents in their official and unofficial capacities.

Aides to Mrs. Clinton said Ms. Clinton, who has taken off a semester from her studies at Stanford University, realized that this political season was a once-in-a-lifetime moment for her family, and she did not want to miss it. The decision to lend personal support to her mother's campaign, but to leave the talking to the candidate herself, was Ms. Clinton's alone, a campaign official said.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

New Criticism of First Lady In Final Travel Office Report

By NEIL A. LEWIS

WASHINGTON, Oct. 18 — In his final report about the firing of seven longtime employees of the White House travel office released today, Robert W. Ray, the independent counsel, asserted that Hillary Rodham Clinton had given "factually false" sworn testimony when she minimized her role in the incident.

The disclosure of the 243-page report added several details about Mrs. Clinton's role, but its terse conclusions were announced last June when Mr. Ray said there was insufficient evidence to seek criminal charges against Mrs. Clinton.

For the first time, Mr. Ray disclosed parts of Mrs. Clinton's 1995 deposition he now says are demonstrably false. The report also discloses some of the grand jury testimony of others who spoke to Mrs. Clinton about the travel office.

Mr. Ray said, as he had in June, that Mrs. Clinton had played a far greater role in the dismissals than she had admitted. The report cited evidence that she had repeatedly expressed concerns about the travel office to White House officials who eventually fired the employees as a result of what they had perceived to be pressure from her to do so.

But in her first detailed rebuttal to Mr. Ray, Mrs. Clinton insisted through her lawyer that she had always testified accurately and fully about her role in the deliberations that led to the dismissal of the seven travel office employees in May 1993. The workers were replaced with people the Clintons knew.

Mrs. Clinton's rebuttal was made in an appendix to the report released today and was signed by her lawyer, David E. Kendall. In essence, Mrs. Clinton said she had expressed legitimate concerns about how the office was run and had not intended for her comments to be taken as the equivalent of orders to fire the travel office employees.

Clinton's behavior in the travel office controversy was made public less than three weeks before Election Day. She is running for the Senate from New York.

At a news conference in Syracuse today, Mrs. Clinton told reporters that she would not respond — beyond the statement by Mr. Kendall — to the report's assertion that her testimony had been inaccurate.

But she added that when Mr. Ray first announced his conclusions in June, "I said I was glad that it was over after all these years, millions of dollars, and I really have nothing further to add to that."

Her Republican opponent, Representative Rick A. Lazio of Long Is-

Continued on Page A21

Mrs. Clinton Faulted in Travel Office Report

Continued From Page A1

land, said today that he had not read the report, but he said: "We believe that character counts in public service. Because we believe that integrity needs to be restored to our public servants."

The timing of the report's release is the result of decisions made by Mr. Ray and a panel of three federal judges that supervises his office. Mr. Ray filed the report three months ago and the law provided that the panel could release it after 90 days in which those named in it could review it and provide comments.

In the newly disclosed testimony by Mrs. Clinton in July 1995, she appeared to flatly deny that she had any role in the dismissals. The report also contains some of the grand jury testimony of David Watkins, the White House aide with whom Mrs. Clinton spoke by telephone about making changes in the office. Mr. Watkins was the official who actually dismissed the employees.

In his grand jury testimony on Feb. 8, 1995, Mr. Watkins expanded on observations he made in a 1993 memorandum that he wrote to Thomas F. McLarty III, the former White House chief of staff, in what he called an effort to cleanse his soul.

In the memorandum, Mr. Watkins wrote that "there would be hell to pay" if "we failed to take swift and decisive action in conformity with the first lady's wishes." He also wrote that Mrs. Clinton had told him, "We need our people in there."

In his grand jury testimony, Mr. Watkins said Mrs. Clinton told him "there are too many leftovers that can create and cause us problems."

Mr. Kendall, Mrs. Clinton's lawyer, said in his statement that Mr. Ray's conclusions were inconsistent because he acknowledged that there was no evidence Mrs. Clinton knew her interest in the travel office "might impel others to take action."

In addition to challenging the report's conclusions, the Kendall statement harshly criticized Mr. Ray and the office of independent counsel, saying the report was highly unfair, misleading and rife with innuendo. Mr. Kendall said in the statement that the report was a political document that buried evidence demonstrating Mrs. Clinton's innocence.

"At the end of the day, these investigations have largely been a wasteful partisan extravagance," Mr. Kendall wrote. Moreover, he said, the final report included significant evidence that Mrs. Clinton was justified in raising concerns about financial improprieties in the office.

The report is one of three that Mr. Ray has completed since taking over the office from Kenneth W. Starr a year ago today. He has also concluded that there was no need for criminal prosecution in the White House's improper acquisition of hundreds of F.B.I. personnel files or in the investigation of the Whitewater real estate transaction in Arkansas.

It is unclear if the latest findings about Mrs. Clinton will have any effect on her Senate race.

White House officials have said repeatedly that voters long ago factored in the investigations involving Mrs. Clinton during the Clinton presidency. In addition, her rebuttal today was only the latest in a years-long effort by Mrs. Clinton and her supporters to portray the independent counsel's investigations as partisan.

The underlying issue in the dispute between the independent counsel and Mrs. Clinton is Mr. Ray's assertion that she had a role in the firings, despite her insistence in sworn statements that she did not. Mr. Ray cited eight conversations she had with senior White House employees expressing serious concerns about retaining the travel office staff.

The report said: "It is, in the independent counsel's judgment beyond peradventure that as a matter of historical fact, Mrs. Clinton's input

into the process was a significant — if not the significant — factor influencing the pace of events in the travel office firings and the ultimate decision to fire the employees. Accordingly, the independent counsel concludes that Mr. Clinton's sworn testimony that she had no input into Watkins's decision or role in the travel office firings is factually inaccurate."

In the rebuttal, Mr. Kendall argued on Mrs. Clinton's behalf that Mr. Ray has misinterpreted her statements and that the sides disagreed over the meaning of the word "role" when she was questioned.

Reminiscent of other controversies in the Clinton administration over language, Mrs. Clinton's lawyers argued that the issue "boils down to a semantic quibble." Mr. Kendall argued that Mrs. Clinton said she had no "decision-making role" in the firing — not that she had not played any role whatsoever. The firing, he said, was solely the decision of Mr. Watkins.

But the issue of the language is complicated. In her 1995 deposition, Mrs. Clinton was asked if she had "any role" in the firings and she replied, "No, I did not."

She was then asked by a prosecutor if she had "any input with either Mr. McLarty or Mr. Watkins as to that decision." She replied, "I don't believe I did, no."

Even more broadly, the controversy in the final report involves the precise nature of Mrs. Clinton's role in the White House and whether her expressions of concern were just that, or the virtual equivalent of orders to subordinates.

President Clinton issued a statement at the White House in which he said that Mr. Ray's report "confirms what we have long said: there were financial improprieties in the travel office, the firings were lawful, and the decision to remove the travel office employees was made by White House staff, not the first lady."

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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THURSDAY, OCTOBER 19, 2000

Hillary Clinton gave "factually false" testimony on firings at the White House travel office, but won't be indicted, the White-water prosecutor said. He released his report on the 1993 incident three weeks before the vote in the first lady's New York Senate race.

* * *

PHOTOCOPY
RESERVATION

Thursday October 19, 2000

The Washington Times

'Satanic dialectic'

"Hillary Rodham Clinton wasn't the only politician at the annual Gay and Lesbian Pride March in Manhattan last June, but she got the most notice.

"The police had trouble controlling the crowd as she walked behind the Radical Faeries, which featured a man on roller skates who was wearing a silver cape, a tiara, a jockstrap, and nothing else. . . .

"Now that Vermont has legalized 'gay marriage' and New York has strengthened its 'hate crime' laws, the homosexual movement seems to be on a roll, gathering support from just about every direction. . . .

"Any creature of polity that does not respond to aggression is doomed. The 'happiness' or complacency of the American people will not be disturbed by truth, nor can it be. Revolutionary reconstruction of the culture can proceed without protest, signified by the smiley-face of Hillary Rodham Clinton, who has 'always fought for children' in an abstract and governmental way.



Hillary Rodham Clinton

"And the satanic dialectic, which we have accepted, grinds on inexorably."

— J.O. Tate, writing in "Cultural Revolutions," in the November issue of *Chronicles*

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RESERVATION

Nation

Overtime costs escalating for White House domestic help

By Steve Miller
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The hospitality of the White House this year will cost taxpayers nearly three-quarters of a million dollars in overtime for the domestic help needed to make the Clintons' guests comfortable, according to a congressional report.

A report compiled by a House Appropriations subcommittee says an estimated \$715,567 in additional funding is needed to cover wages this fiscal year, the most in President Clinton's term.

"That [amount] is three times the figure last year," said Rep. John E. Peterson, Pennsylvania Republican. "The question that answers is that last year wasn't a political year. I personally don't think anybody has ever used the White

House as a massive fund-raising machine as much as this administration has."

The report tracked all domestic staff overtime since 1992, the last year in office for President George Bush. The figure for that year was \$388,472.

White House spokesman Elliot Diringer said the figure for this year is incorrect, although the numbers from previous years are right. The reimbursable amount for this year is actually \$292,686, he said.

The numbers released include all overtime for the 86 full-time employees assigned to the White House and their works at state dinners, coffees and overnight stays.

Of the staffers, 36 are employed as butlers, cooks and maids.

Overall, the Clinton administration has spent \$4 million on domestic staff overtime since 1992, according to the report.

Mr. Diringer said "there may be some confusion about those numbers." The figures were calculated by a committee clerk using documents provided by the White House.

Much of the overtime spent by the White House — up to 50 percent since Mr. Clinton took office — is used to pay stewards and chefs who have to work long hours when the first family entertains guests or when emergency meetings are called in the evenings.

Friends and donors in the guest suites can order food and choose from token gifts. Extra staff is used during those stays.

"It doesn't look like there is anything illegal going on," said Elizabeth Morra, a spokeswoman for the House Appropriations Committee. "It's just that the jump in costs this year is high."

She added that overtime related particularly to overnight stays could not be calculated because the White House has not released that information.

"If we had the dates, it might be possible to match up the overtime associated with overnight stays," Mrs. Morra said.

The White House was rebuked in 1998 for blocking a probe into the cost of Lincoln Bedroom sleepovers. The House Treasury-Postal subcommittee, which oversees the president's offices, froze \$630,000 for overtime pay for East

Wing stewards and kitchen help to speed up the process of obtaining costs.

That investigation was prompted by 900 Lincoln Bedroom sleepovers in the first year of the administration.

Another list of 404 sleepover guests at both the White House and Camp David was released Sept. 22. That list covered 13 months, from July 1999, when first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton embarked on a "listening tour" of New York to ponder her U.S. Senate bid, to the end of August.

Guests included 109 donors to her campaign. It also included contributors of nearly \$2 million to the Gore 2000 campaign and the Democratic National Committee.

All told, about 40 percent of the recently named guests have con-

tributed more than \$5 million to various Democratic political committees.

The White House does reimburse particular departments for costs associated with most events, although there is no budget set for most dinners.

While reimbursement is a moot issue — after all, government money comes from the people — Mr. Peterson said there should now be a law prohibiting donors from sleeping in the White House.

"The White House is for personal guests of the president," said Mr. Peterson, who authored legislation that would require candidates using government transportation to immediately disclose the cost. "But the White House is not the place for big givers."

Hillary role in firings identified

Ray says a jury would not convict

By Jerry Seper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Hillary Rodham Clinton played a key role in the firings of seven White House travel office workers and later gave false testimony in denying her involvement, but she won't be prosecuted.

Independent counsel Robert W. Ray, in a final report released yesterday, said the first lady's sworn testimony denying any involvement in the firings was "factually inaccurate."

Nevertheless, he concluded he could not win a case against the first lady before a Washington jury, where the Clintons are popular and where juries have a history of leniency with defendants.

"The overwhelming evidence establishes that she played a role in the decision to fire the employees and provided input into that decision," the report said. "Thus, her statement to the contrary under oath was factually false."

"The evidence, however, is insufficient to show that Mrs. Clinton

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• Overtime costs escalating for White House domestic help. A3

HILLARY

From page A1

knowingly intended to influence the travel office decision. ... Thus, absent persuasive, corroborated and admissible evidence to the contrary, there is insufficient evidence to prove beyond a reasonable doubt that Mrs. Clinton's statements were knowingly false."

The report chronicles an elaborate White House effort to replace travel office workers with friends and cronies of the Clinton administration — including Hollywood producer Harry Thomason, who first urged Mrs. Clinton to get involved.

Mrs. Clinton denied under oath to a House committee, Mr. Ray's office and the General Accounting Office that she had any involvement in the firings of the seven workers, including the office's director, Billy R. Dale, who later was charged with embezzlement.

Mr. Dale, acquitted in the case by a jury in Washington, said yesterday he was "disappointed" with the decision not to prosecute the first lady.

"Everyone, especially Robert Ray, knows Hillary Clinton lied under oath about her role in firing me and my colleagues," he said. "It is disappointing that the Office of Independent Counsel, which is charged with enforcing the law, would not prosecute her simply because of a fear of what a Washington, D.C., jury might do."

The report, released just 20 days before the election, is expected to be raised by Republicans in that closely fought race. The first lady dismissed the findings at a campaign stop in Syracuse, N.Y.

"Most New Yorkers and Americans have made up their minds about this," she said. Asked whether she was concerned about the report's release so close to the election, she said, "That's something I have no control over."

Her Republican opponent, Rep. Rick Lazio, told reporters, "We believe that character counts in public service and ... we believe that integrity needs to be restored in our public servants."

The 243-page report was released by a three-judge panel of the U.S. District Court of Appeals for the D.C. Circuit, which oversees the independent counsel's office. It was made public after parties named in the document had time to review it and respond.

The report was given to the court in June by Mr. Ray, who said at the time that Mrs. Clinton played a role in the travel office firings despite her sworn denials, but that he would not bring charges.

In a written response to the report, Mrs. Clinton's attorney, David E. Kendall, disagreed that his client's testimony was false.

"The suggestion that Mrs. Clinton's testimony was 'factually inaccurate' as to her role in this matter is contradicted by the final report itself, which recognizes she may not have even been aware of any influence she may have had on the firing decision," he said.

"The OIC's choice of language is thus highly unfair and misleading," he said. "It is regrettable that the final report could not have been as fair as it is lengthy."

The White House, in a statement, said the report "confirms what we have long said: There were financial improprieties in the travel office, the firings were lawful, and the decision to remove the travel office employees was made by White House staff, not the first lady."

The travel office workers were fired in 1993 after Bill Clinton took office. Because they served at the pleasure of the president, they could have been terminated without cause. But the administration sought to justify the firings by calling in the FBI to investigate accusations of financial improprieties.

The independent counsel's office, then led by Kenneth W. Starr, received jurisdiction in the case in January 1996, after a memo by White House aide David Watkins surfaced showing that he felt "pressure from above" to fire the workers.

The Washington Times

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 19, 2000

He told the House Government Reform Committee that Mrs. Clinton gave no specific order for the firings, but made it clear in a May 1993 phone call that that was his only option.

But in July 1995, Mrs. Clinton told the independent counsel's office in a sworn deposition at the White House that she had no role in the firings.

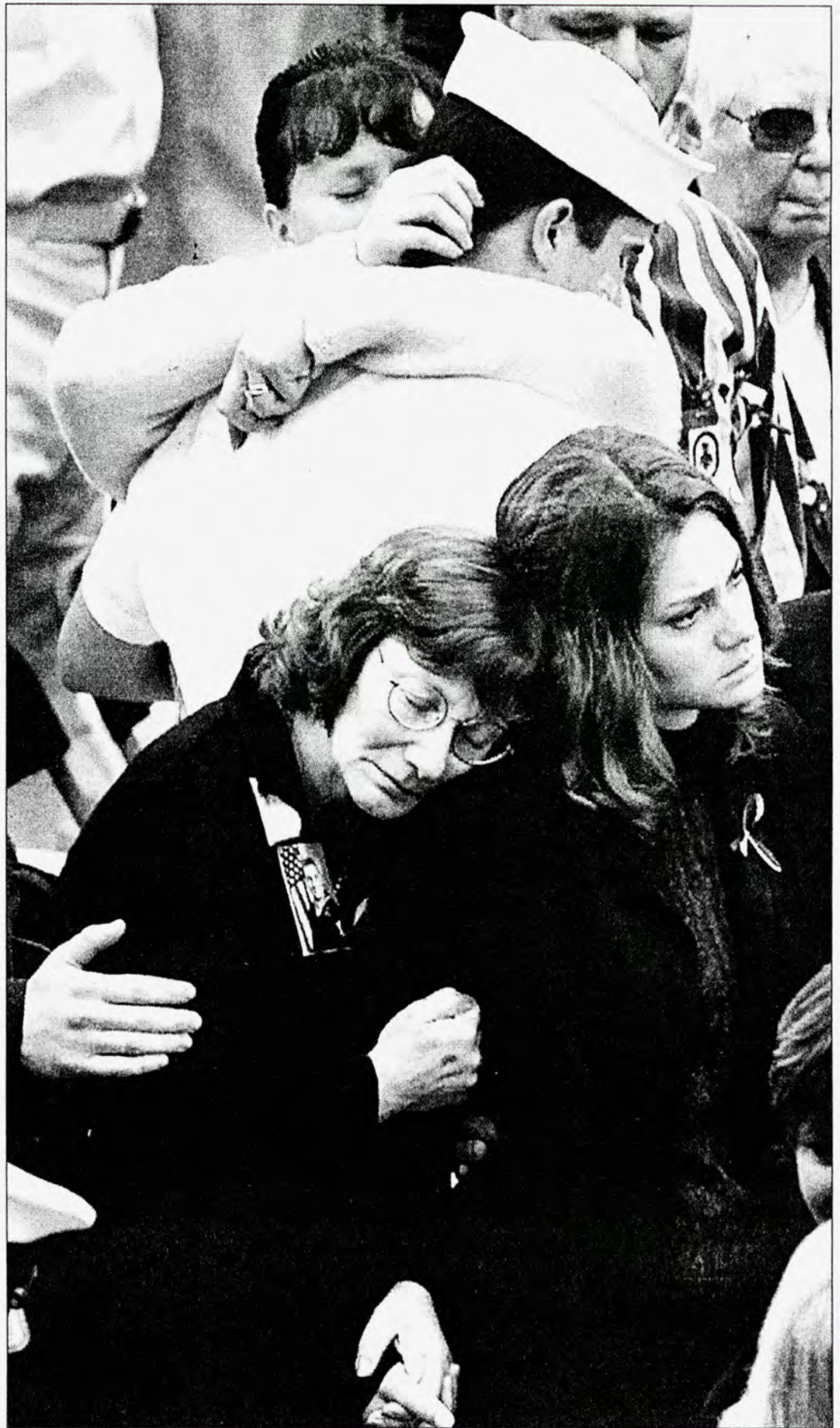
Portions of a transcript of that testimony were released for the first time as part of the Ray report. They show that when the first lady was asked if she had any role in the firings, she responded: "No, I did not." When asked if she had any input in the decision, she said: "I don't believe I did, no."

"Who ultimately made the decision, to the extent that you know, to fire the employees from the travel office," investigators asked Mrs. Clinton.

"Well, the best I know is David Watkins and [then-White House Chief of Staff] Mack McLarty, I assume, based on what I have learned since and read in the newspapers," she said.

• Steve Miller contributed to this article.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



Reuters

After memorial: Members of Petty Officer Marc Nieto's family, front, comfort each other. Nieto was killed on the USS Cole. Behind them, Seaman Apprentice Andrew Nemeth, who was injured, hugs his mother.

...investigators searched for the

PALESTINIANS

ation

Leaders vow justice for 'act of pure evil'



By Mario Tama, Agence France-Presse

Eulogy: "All of these very different Americans, all with their different stories, their lifelines and their love ties, answered the same call of service."



By Steve Helber, AP

Trumpets: A sailor plays his trumpet at the end of a memorial service at Norfolk Naval Station.

At memorial for sailors, Clinton and military officials promise that America's search for those behind bombing of USS Cole will be relentless

By Blake Morrison
and Jessie Halladay
USA TODAY

NORFOLK — During a solemn ceremony attended by thousands of mourners Wednesday, President Clinton and top military officials vowed to bring to justice those responsible for killing 17 sailors aboard the USS Cole in Yemen last week.

"America will not stop standing guard for peace and freedom in the Middle East or throughout the world," Clinton told mourners, including 36 survivors of the attack, their families and the families and friends of those killed.

"Those who perpetrated this act," warned Gen. Henry Shelton, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, "should never forget that America's memory is long."

The hour-long service at the Norfolk Naval Station included speeches by Clinton, Shelton, Defense Secretary William Cohen and Navy Secretary Richard Danzig. They remembered the fallen sailors as heroes who gave their lives in the service of a grateful country.

"We mourn brothers and sisters, mothers, fathers and those who will never be mothers and fathers," Danzig said. "We grieve because we couldn't protect them. Instead, they died protecting us."

Cohen called the terrorist attack, simply, "an act of pure evil."

"Death snatched them away in one violent, unsuspecting moment while they were making sure America and its friends slept easily in a dangerous world," Cohen said. He warned those responsible for the bombing, "Our search for you will be relentless."

The apparent suicide bombing tore a hole in the ship's side Oct. 12. In addition to the 17 killed or presumed dead, 39 sailors were injured. Two of the most seriously wounded remain hospitalized overseas, but 36 of the 37 who had been transported to the Naval Medical Center in nearby Portsmouth attended the service, some on stretchers and in wheelchairs.

Capt. Martin Snyder, a senior attending physician, said that "for a lot of them, this is closure."

Before the service, Clinton met with the injured sailors and with 85 family members of the sailors killed in the attack. Clinton traveled with top administration officials and daughter Chelsea. First lady Hillary Clinton joined them in Norfolk.

Clinton
salutes the
survivors, 1A

Continued on 18A▶

Report Cites Clinton Part in Travel Office Firings

First Lady Made 'Inaccurate' Statements, but Evidence of Illegality Was Insufficient, Counsel Says

By BILL MILLER
Washington Post Staff Writer

First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton played a key part in the firings of White House travel office employees and made "factually inaccurate" statements to investigators when she denied a role in the matter, an independent counsel said yesterday in a report that revisited one of the first major controversies of the Clinton administration.

Independent counsel Robert W. Ray said Hillary Clinton was likely the driving force behind the 1993 firings, even though she insisted she had no role. But Ray reported that he could not prove to a jury that Clinton either knowingly lied or obstructed justice during a series of investigations into the matter.

According to Ray, Clinton might not have realized that her concerns about the office led aides to fire the entire travel staff.

Ray's decision to end a five-year investigation without criminal charges was announced in June, when he submitted a report on the travel office probe to a special three-judge panel. The report itself remained under seal until yesterday, when the panel from the U.S. Court of Appeals unanimously agreed to make it public, along with the written responses from Clinton's lawyer and others, which were submitted in recent weeks.

The latest development comes as the first lady enters the final stretch of her Senate campaign in New York, where she is in a tight race with Rep. Rick Lazio (R).

The evidence is insufficient to show that Hillary Clinton "knowingly intended to influence the Travel Office decision or was aware that she had such influence at this early stage of the Administration," Ray wrote in the 243-page report.

In a written response appended to the report, Hillary Clinton's attorney, David E. Kendall, said Ray's contention that she made

factually false and inaccurate statements was "highly unfair and misleading." Kendall wrote that Ray's report concluded that Hillary Clinton "may not even have been aware of any influence she may have had on the firing decision."

At the White House, spokesman Jake Siewert said the report "confirms what we have long said: There were financial improprieties in the travel office, the firings

were lawful and the decision to remove the travel office employees was made by White House staff, not the first lady."

The travel office probe was one of three investigations completed by Ray in recent months. In March, he announced that his office had determined that no crimes were committed by Clinton administration officials who obtained hundreds of FBI personnel files of

In New York yesterday, Clinton noted that she had said in June that she was glad Ray's investigation was over "after all these years and millions of dollars. I really have nothing to add to that."

Lazio told reporters that "we believe that character counts in public service."

The report provided few new details, but offered the first detailed analysis of Ray's view that no criminal prosecutions are warranted. The bottom line, according to Ray, is that there is "insufficient evidence" to support charges.

The investigation delved into allegations that Clinton and David Watkins, a former White House administration chief, lied or obstructed justice in connection with their 1995 statements about the May 1993 firings of seven travel office employees. The employees, responsible for arranging press travel, were fired and replaced with Clinton friends and relatives. Congressional critics said the firings appeared motivated by cronyism.

Watkins had said that he acted after outside auditors found evidence of financial mismanagement

in the office. But soon after the firings, the White House began backpedaling. Five employees were given other jobs and one retired. Billy Ray Dale, the office's former director, was charged with embezzlement but acquitted.

The firings led to a series of other investigations by the General Accounting Office, Congress and, finally, an independent counsel. Kenneth W. Starr began investigating the matter in 1995; Ray succeeded him in the job a year ago and wrapped up the probe.

Ray concluded that the firings were legal, noting that the employees were political appointees who could be removed without cause and that the concerns about financial problems were legitimate. He next turned to the question of who triggered the dismissals, and whether Hillary Clinton had attempted to illegally cover up her role in the matter.

Investigators reviewed, among other things, a 1993 draft memo from Watkins in which he said he reluctantly fired the travel office employees at Hillary Clinton's "insistence."

employees hired in the Reagan and Bush administrations. And last month, he said he will not prosecute President Clinton and Hillary Clinton on charges stemming from the Whitewater real estate deal and other Arkansas business transactions.

Ray is moving forward with a grand jury probe concerning the president's statements on the Monica S. Lewinsky matter.



BY BRAD RICKERBY—REUTERS

Hillary Rodham Clinton said in June she was glad the probe was over.

"We . . . knew that there would be hell to pay if . . . we failed to take swift and decisive action in conformity with the First Lady's wishes," Watkins wrote. He added in the memo that then-deputy White House counsel Vincent Foster and Hollywood producer Harry Thomason—a friend of the Clinton family—pressured him to act.

From the start, Hillary Clinton said she had voiced concerns before the dismissals about the allegations of financial mismanagement and recommended that appropriate action be taken. But she denied playing a role or having any input in the firings when questioned under oath in a deposition taken by Starr's prosecutors in July 1995.

Ray said her statements were "factually false," noting that she had eight separate discussions about the issue with Watkins, then-White House Chief of Staff Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty, Foster and Thomason. However, Ray said he is unable to show that Clinton ordered Watkins to act or had the other aides communicate her wishes to him.

PHOTOGRAPH BY
PRESERVATION

WANTING what you can't have is only human, but it's a phenomenon perfected in New York. Only yesterday Rudy Giuliani was the Senate candidate everyone loved to "dis."

Not now. If the election were held today, 49 percent of 600 likely voters polled for New York magazine say they would love to vote for the mayor. Only 42 percent would vote for Hillary Rodham Clinton.

This seven-point margin mirrors almost exactly the polling percentages in the race between Hillary and Rick Lazio, the actual Republican candidate. Only it's the first lady who appears to be coasting toward a victory next month.

Hillary has been campaigning nonstop for nearly a year, and it

Suzanne Fields, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated. Her column appears here Monday and Thursday.

Hillary coasting to victory But now, Gotham favors Giuliani

shows. She appears to have worn away at least a little of the emotional animus that dogs her everywhere she goes. Michael Wolff, writing in New York magazine, even sees the first lady as this generation's Richard Nixon: She won't ever escape the scorn of half the population because so many people see in her their own "dark side." That seems to be OK with the other half.

"Any conjecture, allegation, or accusation about Hillary becomes, if not the truth, a working metaphor," he writes. "What is the most wrenching, painful, shameful thing she could have done (or had done to her) to have gotten this far?

She would have done it (or endured it), don't you agree?"

He continues: "Not since Richard Nixon has the essential humanity (does she think what we think, feel what we feel, bleed what we bleed?) of a politician been so much the underlying issue."

This is ironic, because Hillary's first real job out of Yale Law School was a position on the Senate committee studying the impeachment possibilities against Richard Nixon. So maybe the old school yard taunt, flung back at bullying accusers, is right: "It takes one to know one." (And my daddy can lick your daddy.)

Which brings us back to Rudy

Giuliani. The tough, abrasive mayor who cleaned up the city that everyone assumed no one could ever make livable again is probably still as tough and abrasive as he ever was, and that was enough to make a lot of New Yorkers grow tired of him. He wasn't showing nearly as well in the public opinion polls last January as he shows today. But he was available then, and he isn't now, so naturally that makes him more attractive now.

Not with everybody, of course. Some of the Republican barons here in New York are sympathetic, but only up to a point, with his health concerns. They notice how healthy he looks, and how unhealthy Rick Lazio's numbers look. "He wanted to be a candidate for the Senate badly," the wise-

crack about Mr. Lazio goes, "and he got his wish, he is running badly." They grumble that if the mayor isn't history already he'll be history long before his term ends on New Year's Day 2002, and it serves him right for letting their side down.

Even if he had lost, the barons generally agree, the mayor would have had a future in the party, perhaps as a candidate for governor two years hence. But now, though he is not yet 60, his history is over.

His health aside, His Honor may be more astute than his critics. When everyone was saying that Hillary's carpetbagger status would kill her in Gotham, the mayor might have known better. Hillary Clinton was actually made for New York. Besides, calling a Southerner, even a pseudo-Southerner from Illinois via Arkansas, a carpetbagger bends irony out of shape.

When New York magazine's pollsters asked 600 professionals from across the state for their impressions of the two Senate candidates, they got interesting

answers. Reporters, editors and others from newspapers, television stations, magazines and book houses by the expected overwhelming margin (62 to 25 percent) like the first lady best. Despite her debacle with the health care initiative, so do surgeons, physicians and various medical administrators (60 to 35 percent). Trial lawyers like her, and so do "fashionistas" and Madison Avenue hypesters. Only on Wall Street does Rick Lazio have more friends than the first lady, and there by only a razor-thin margin (54 to 52 percent).

The first lady, whatever her politics (still evolving, with the trademark Clinton self-interest always at the top of the agenda), turns out to be the perfect celebrity candidate, famous for being famous and forgiven for everything because she is famous, and nowhere is this more appreciated than in the city that imagines itself to be the manufacturing center for celebrities and fashions. And what is fashion, after all, if not the yearning for something you can't have?



Suzanne Fields

A Gore is running for the wrong office. So often did he talk about "fighting"

Fightin' Al

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

would think that protecting the existing education cartel and the teachers unions that profit from it

asserting that they would be the primary beneficiaries of Mr. Bush's proposed tax cut. It's a