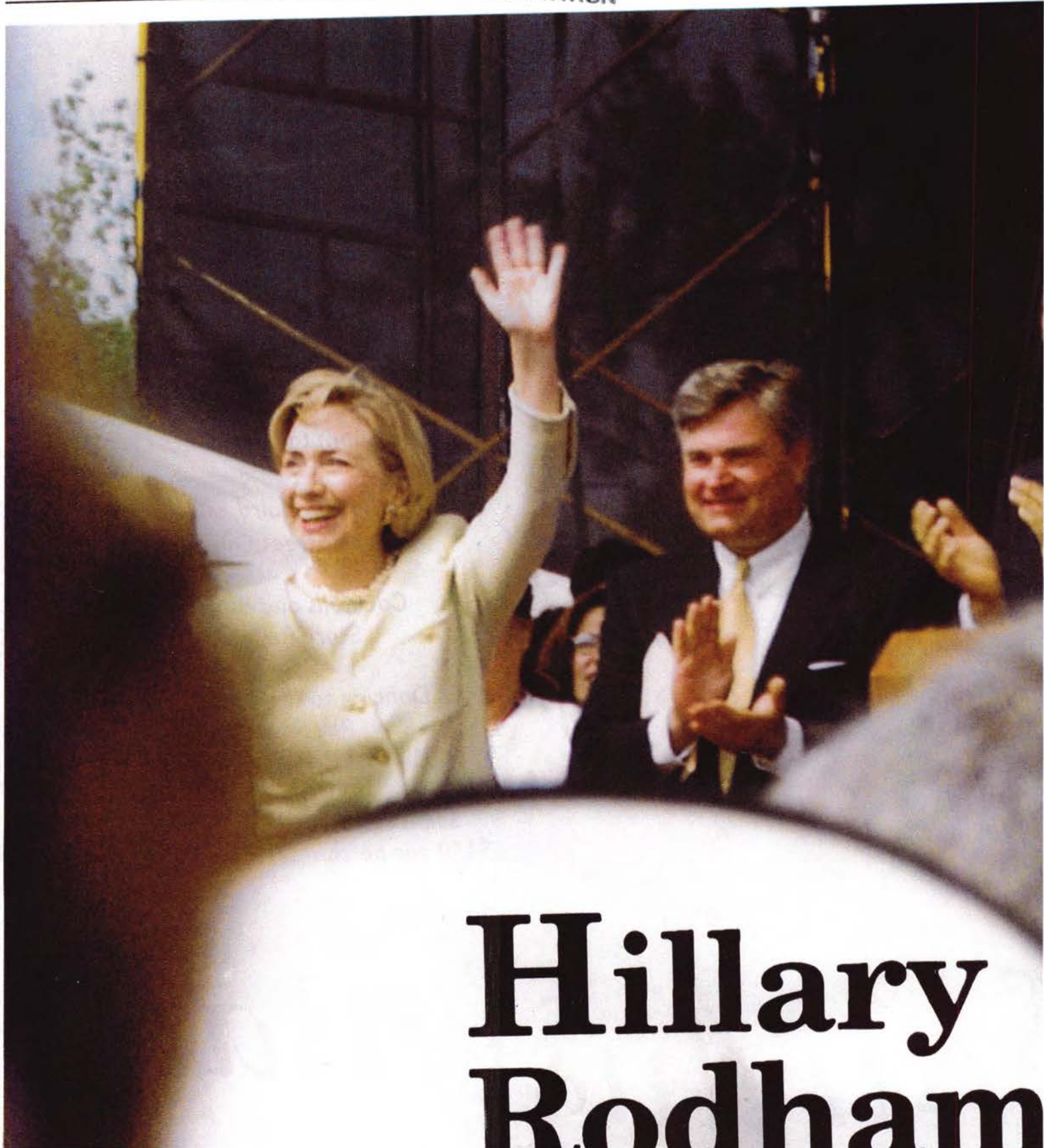


Network

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PRESERVATION



**Hillary
Rodham**

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PRESERVATION



History, GOP fight favor Hinchey bid

By KEVIN HARLIN
Journal Staff

ITHACA — Although the visit of first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in support of incumbent Rep. Maurice Hinchey ups the ante for Republicans in the 26th Congressional District, the race in 1998 likely will not be the hot contest to watch that it was in 1996. Two years ago, Republicans poured resources and big-name support, such as former Vice President Dan Quayle, into the district in an attempt to unseat the liberal Democrat, whose many pollsters said held a precarious seat in Congress.

But after defeating Republican challenger Suzanne Wittig that year — and without a clear Republican candidate for

the national party to support this year until after September's primary — Hinchey could be as secure as any incumbent this time around. Last time, although no residents of the White House wandered into the district, Hinchey did get a visit and support from Donald Fowler, then head of the Democratic National Committee.

On the Republican side, Quayle talked to journalists from across the district in a conference call in 1996, touting the Republican, Conservative and Right-to-Life candidate Wittig, a Kingston businesswoman.

The fourth-ranking Republican in the House of Representatives — Ohio's John

See HINCHEY, 4A

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Hinchey

(Continued from Page 1A)

Boehner — also stumped for her, urging voters to retire his liberal House colleague.

And both the Democratic and Republican national committees pumped the maximum amount allowed under federal campaign finance laws — \$61,000 — into their respective candidate's race that year.

But this year, three men — Clinton-dale radio entrepreneur William "Bud" Walker, anti-abortion activist Randall Terry and Binghamton attorney Douglas Walter Drazen — are vying for the nomination.

And state and federal Republican committee spokesmen say they will not endorse any of them until after the voters make their choice in September's primary.

That means that even though Walker has the endorsements of the county Republican committees in the district — including Tompkins County — he or another primary winner would likely limp out of a brutal election on Sept. 15 with only seven weeks to focus his and the party's energy on Hinchey.

In that same time, the incumbent

the support the liberal Democrat has given in Congress to a sometimes beleaguered president. Although he has bucked the president on such major issues as the North American Free Trade Agreement and the assault weapons ban, a Congressional Quarterly analysis showed that he voted with the Democratic Party line 97 percent of the time in 1997.

But despite the incumbent advantage, this is no district that any Democrat should take for granted, said Matt McHugh, the Democrat who represented it from 1975 to 1992.

Republicans outnumber Democrats 127,719 to 121,333 as of April 1. And Hinchey barely won his first two races in 1992 and 1994 — both times squeaking in by about 1,000 votes.

Also, independent voters play an important role in the oddly drawn 26th District, which runs from Ithaca through Binghamton to the Hudson River.

For example, in Ulster County — the only county completely encompassed in the district — there are 33,921 independent voters, slightly more than either registered Democrats or Republicans.

CLINTON IN CRISIS

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Back at the
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**More Trouble
From Monica's
Testimony**

Thursday
August 20, 1998



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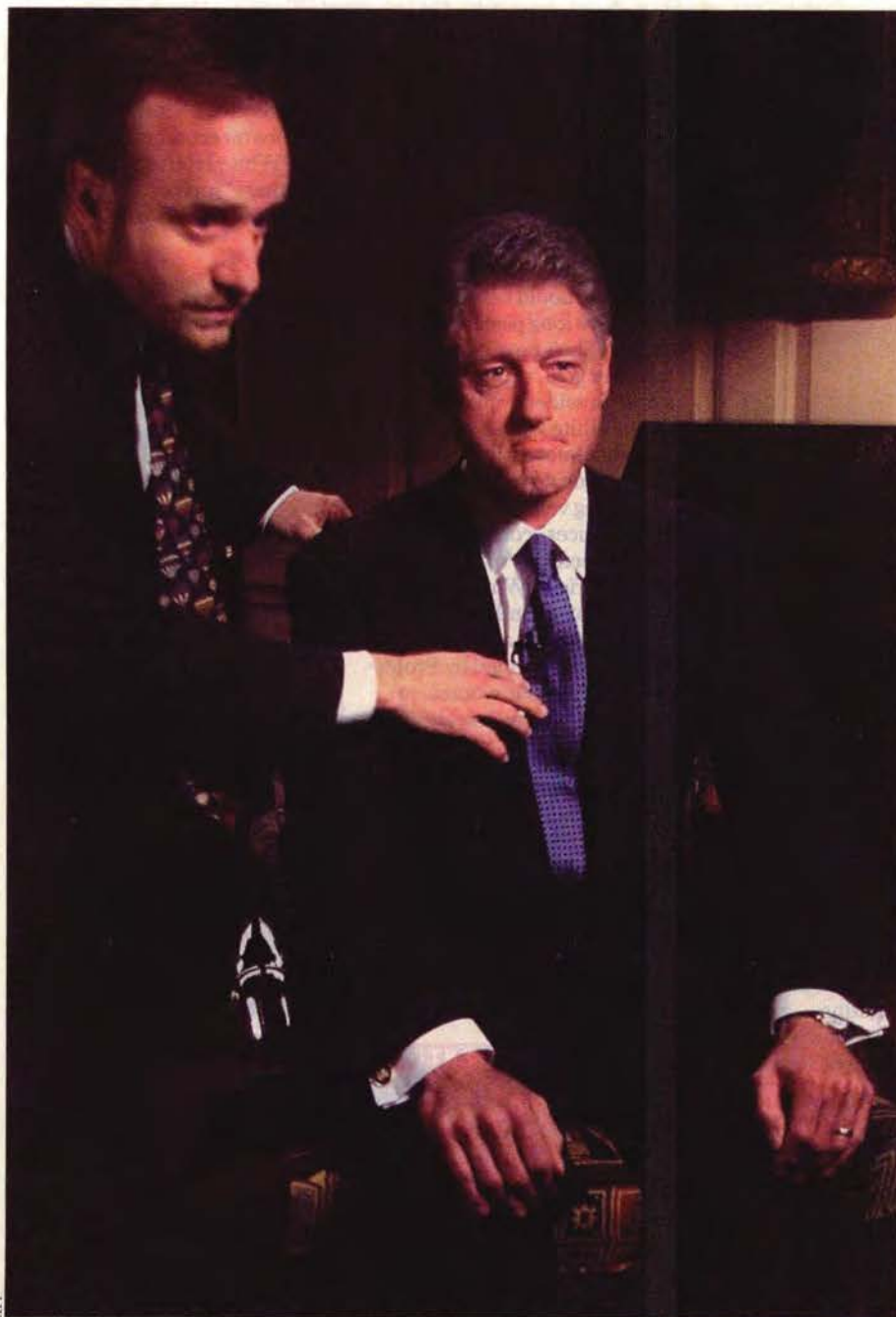
SCANDAL

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PHOTOCOPY
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SPECIAL REPORT: It was a week of extraordinary political drama. The president launched an attack on terrorism just days after publicly admitting a long-denied infidelity. How Kenneth Starr backed Bill Clinton into a corner, and how the president is struggling to show that he can still lead. **Page 16**

COVER: Photograph by Pete Souza — Chicago Tribune.

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Newsweek

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Yeltsin with the crew of the Peter the Great, a missile cruiser
RUSSIA

Yeltsin's Ruble Trouble

RUSSIAN PRESIDENT BORIS YELTSIN VOWED NOT TO DE-value the ruble to prop up the ailing economy. Last week he effectively did just that by letting the ruble find its own value on the currency markets. In an interview with the Russian magazine Itogi (published in association with NEWSWEEK) last week, Prime Minister Sergei Kiriyenko defended the turnaround, saying any other course "would have risked a total collapse of the political and economic system." So far, the gamble has paid off, at least on the economic side of the ledger. "We are only fighting the financial crisis," Kiriyenko told Itogi. "We are not fighting ... each other." But days after Kiriyenko's comments, the Duma, the communist-controlled lower house of Parliament, passed a nonbinding resolution that Yeltsin should resign.

JON BENET

Voice From the Past—Maybe

Boulder police have long focused on the whereabouts of Jon Benet Ramsey's brother, Burke, as a key to reconstructing events the morning his sister was killed. Last week a tabloid reported that an enhanced version of Patsy Ramsey's 911 call, made by a California lab at the cops' request last year, makes it pos-



The Enquirer story

sible to hear Burke, then 9, speaking in the background. Burke's presence would contradict the Ramseys' claim—and the boy's own statement to police, NEWSWEEK has learned—that he slept through the ordeal. A prosecution source tells NEWSWEEK that the tape is inconclusive: "Some people believe they hear [a voice] and some don't, even after listening 10 or 15 times." Getting the tape admitted as evidence, the sources say, would be an uphill fight.

FIRST LADY

Hillary's 'Vital Voices'

HER HUSBAND'S LEGACY IN doubt, Hillary Clinton is quietly building a separate portfolio that should keep her in the public eye long past his presidency. "She's never deviated from her goal, which is creating a post-presidency platform," says a White House adviser. With her international celebrity as an advocate for women, one promising vehicle is a series of "Vital Voices" conferences begun by Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. While visiting Belfast next month, Mrs. Clinton will keynote a Vital Voices conference attended by Protestant and Catholic women, including 14 who won seats in



Hillary on the Vineyard

Northern Ireland's new legislature. In October, she'll go to Uruguay for a Vital Voices conference on economic issues. One White House aide calls the meetings "sort of a Renaissance Weekend of the world."

BOSTON FAX

Frat Row

Boston University cracked down on its own fraternities years ago. Now BU is cracking down on MIT frats, too. Last month a BU police officer was seriously injured by a beer bottle tossed from the roof of an MIT frat adjacent to the BU admissions office. The frat says summer boarders, not frat members, were to blame. MIT, still reeling from the drinking death of a frat pledge last year, expressed outrage, and its Interfraternity Council fined the frat and banned alcohol at the house. A city housing panel ordered a similar ban. That's not enough for BU. A BU lawyer says the school plans to pursue a civil suit against the frat to compensate the university and the injured officer. Says an MIT official, "We want to be good neighbors and expect our students to be good neighbors as well."

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM WATCH

Compartments of Bill Edition

Great things, cruise missiles. Not only do they moderately damage terrorist bases, they completely obliterate impeachment talk—at least for a few days. Not that we're saying ...

Roles	Conventional Wisdom
Apologizer ↓	Utter disaster: Too angry, too lawyerly, and he never apologized. CW sez: Try again.
Husband ↓	Not only did he lie and cheat, he made her look bad on the "Today" show.
Boyfriend ↔	Downside: "Selfish" lover. Upside: Remembered to wear that special tie. How sweet.
Witness ↓	"I'll testify completely and truthfully." Except when he doesn't like the question.
Boss ↓	Hung loyal aides, cabinet out to dry. Buck up, staffers—he lied to everybody.
Commander ↑	This compartment still watertight. The CW even believes he's not Wagging the Dog.

Joe Lockhart, king of hearts

Plus the surrogate first lady, our man in Rangoon, and more

Why was **Joe Lockhart** tapped to fill the job of White House press secretary being vacated by **Mike McCurry**? A big reason, Whispers hears, is the aggressive way Lockhart, as deputy press secretary, laid into the editors of the *Dallas Morning News* in late January. The clash was over a potentially devastating rumor that a Secret Service agent was prepared to testify that he saw **President Clinton** and **Monica Lewinsky** in a compromising situation at the White House. Partly because Lockhart was able to cast doubt on the story, the *Morning News* retracted the piece from its Web site and pulled the story after it appeared in an early edition. His dogged advocacy impressed the first couple. Another Lockhart advantage: He plays hearts, one of the president's favorite card games.

Squeezing Tommy

President Clinton is for expanding health care coverage, right? So why is his administration refusing requests by several governors—including Republicans such as Wisconsin's **Tommy Thompson**—for waivers that would allow them to use a new children's health care block grant to also provide coverage for uninsured low-income adults? Because by doing so, the administration hopes to force the governors to pressure their allies in Congress to fund a bigger program aimed explicitly at uninsured adults.

Thus spake Chuck

After being elected president of the National Rifle Association, **Charlton Heston** uttered his first commandment (er,

policy suggestion): Thou shalt enforce gun laws already on the books. Specifically, he called on the Clinton administration to replicate Project Exile, an intense effort by federal prosecutors in Richmond, Va., to enforce federal firearms laws, which has helped cut the city's murder rate in half. The White House, normally eager to promote promising government initiatives, has adamantly resisted Heston's idea. The official reason is that federal prosecutors should set their own priorities. Unofficially, Clinton partisans haven't wanted to let the NRA appear to dictate government policy. But that might happen anyway. Last week, NRA allies in

the Senate attached \$3 million to an appropriations bill forcing the Justice Department to try the Richmond idea elsewhere. The House is likely to agree.

Transferred to Mongolia

Sen. Jesse Helms won't comment on the rumor that his decision to delay the nomination of **Kent Wiedemann** to be U.S. ambassador to Cambodia has to do with the claim that Wiedemann, when he was chargé d'affaires at the U.S. Embassy in Burma, arranged an involuntary transfer to Mongolia of a man then working for the International Republican Institute in Rangoon—a man

who was romantically linked to a Republican Senate staffer.

Bucks for the GOP

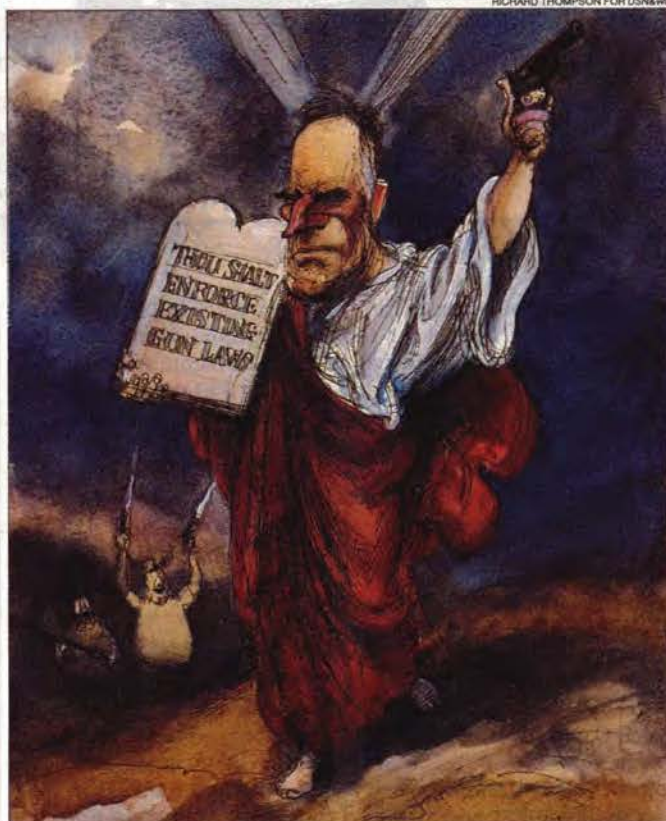
Chicago, the "city on the make," has the inside track to host the 2000 Republican Party convention over San Antonio and New York. Party leaders were impressed with the amount of private money that local Republicans promised to raise. You'll recall that Chicago businessmen kicked in \$14.3 million when the Democrats came to town in 1996, money that covered everything from fresh flowers on Michigan Avenue to shuttle bus service to the convention site. Last week, San Antonio tried to one-up Chicago, guaranteeing each GOP delegate a car and driver during the convention.

Shilling for Al

No, **Hillary Rodham Clinton** will not play a formal role as a strategist in Al Gore's presidential campaign in 2000, contrary to impressions left with some participants at a mid-July political forum that she hosted at the White House. But she probably will serve as a surrogate, rallying key Democratic constituencies for Gore, including women and social activists.

Is it dead yet?

Sign number 37,258 that the cold war is really, really over: Israeli cabinet minister **Natan Sharansky** recently hosted a dinner for **Nikolai Kovalyov**, head of the Russian intelligence agency formerly known as the KGB. The dinner took place at the Jerusalem Hilton on July 16—almost 20 years to the day after Soviet courts,

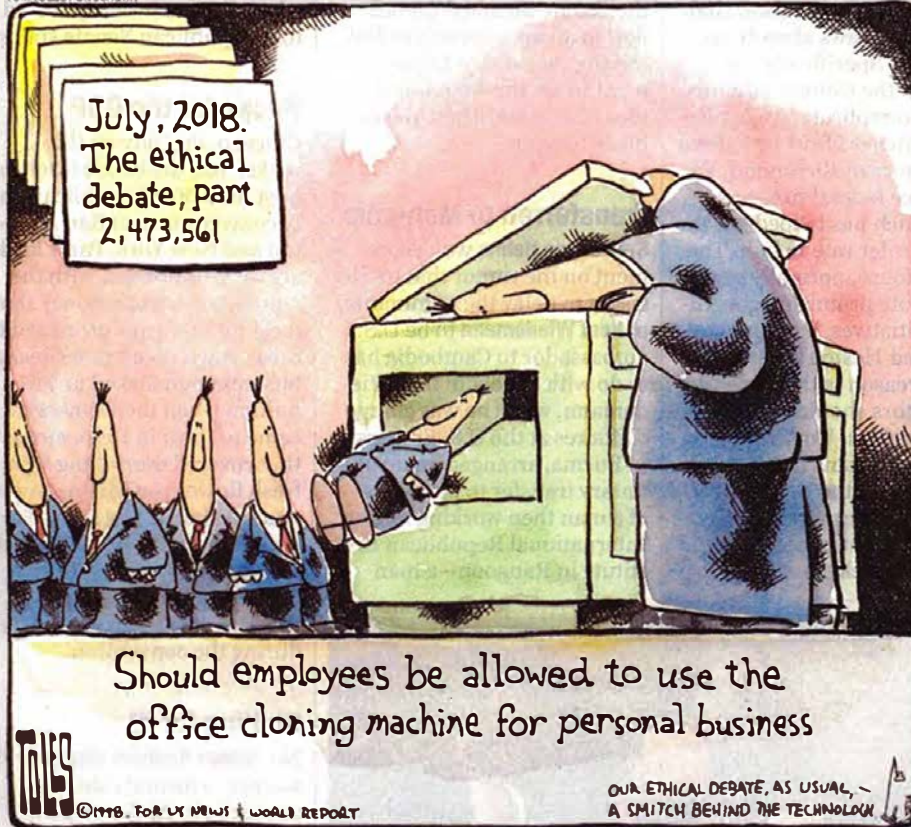


NRA leader Charlton Heston makes headway with his "policy idea."

"There's rattlers big enough up there to puke up a buck deer."

Clay Hardin, sheriff, Andrews, N.C., on the mountains where bombing suspect Eric Robert Rudolph may be hiding

TOM TOLES FOR US NEWS & WORLD REPORT



"Mr. Kendall will work with Mr. Starr's office to try to ensure that the grand jury gets the information that it needs."

Mike McCurry, White House spokesman, confirming negotiations for the president possibly to testify in the Monica Lewinsky investigation

"We're prepared to act alone if necessary."

Walter Slocumbe, defense under secretary, on U.S. military options to end violence in Kosovo

"She's had 10½ years to come and tell somebody under oath her story."

S. Barrett Hickman, Dutchess County, N.Y., judge, on rape accuser Tawana Brawley's final failure to appear in court

with KGB assistance, sent Sharansky to prison for 13 years for "espionage." (Sharansky was eventually released and emigrated to Israel in 1986.) Sharansky, Israel's point man in dealing with Russia, hopes to gain Kovalyov's cooperation in stemming the flow of ballistic missile technology to Iran.

For argument's sake

Does this argument work for you? When Democrats ran Congress they raided the Social Security trust fund to pay for welfare and other wasteful social programs. Therefore, it's only fair for the Republican

Congress to spend some of the projected federal budget surplus, which—Democrats insist and Republicans deny—means continued raiding of the trust fund. Persuasive or not, that's an argument Hill Republicans will start deploying this week.

Club dues

House Republican leaders last week demanded that senior members kick in hefty campaign contributions to the National Republican Congressional Committee. The leaders themselves—including Speaker **Newt Gingrich**, Majority Leader **Dick Armey**, and Majority Whip **Tom DeLay**—each po-

nied up \$500,000. They expect a minimum of \$100,000 from each committee chairman and \$50,000 from every subcommittee chairman. Their goal: an \$8 million war chest by the end of August, to fund an election eve blitz of issue ads to counter a similar blitz expected from the Democrats.

Naked in Guadalajara

There's only one word to describe the agents who have been assigned to the new "safe houses" set up in various Mexican cities by the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration: brave. American and Mexican

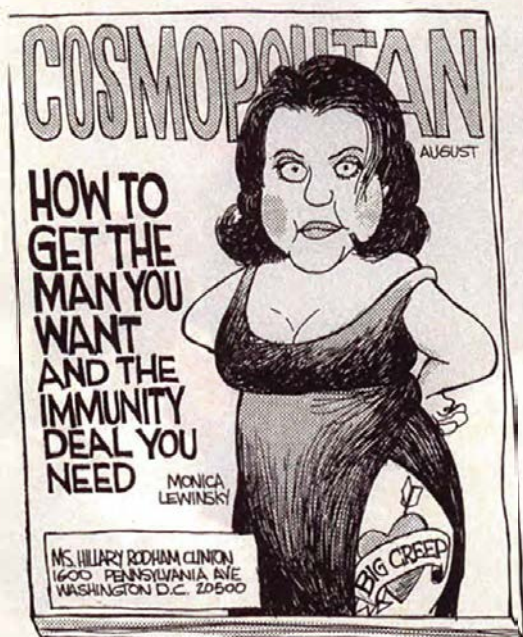
agents will work together in the safe houses to try to bring down the infamous Mexican drug cartels. But the traffickers seem already to have found out where the safe houses are, and, says a U.S. government official, "I'm assuming they know who our agents are." Another problem: The Mexican government won't let U.S. drug agents in Mexico carry firearms.

By Paul Glastris with Kenneth T. Walsh, Ronald Brownstein, Ted Gest, Jonah Blank, Gary Cohen, Major Garrett, David Makovsky, and Linda Robinson

E-mail address:
whispers@usnews.com

"He's pleased that things are working out for her."

White House spokesman **Mike McCurry**, on President Clinton's reaction to news that Monica Lewinsky reached an immunity deal with Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr



© 1998 DARCY—PLAIN DEALER

"She kept it as a souvenir. How sick is that?" Book agent **Lucianne Goldberg**, who advised Linda Tripp to record phone conversations with Lewinsky, on the dress the former intern claims bears physical evidence of a sexual encounter with President Clinton

"There'll be the Pinto with the exploding gas tank, flammable pajamas, asbestos and breast implants, the whole history of medical malpractice." Consumer advocate **Ralph Nader**, on the Museum of American Tort Law he hopes to open in Winsted, Conn., his hometown



© 1998 BRENN—ASBURY PARK

"Why sell drugs and risk a huge sentence, when you can make all kinds of money in telemarketing with less risk and a kiss if you get caught?" **Barry F. Elliot**, head of the Ontario Provincial Police's Operation Phonebusters, on the growth of telemarketing scams

"In a world-title fight, if I hit an opponent and his eye fell out of his head, I'd eat it before he could pick it up and put it back in." TV boxing analyst **Bobby Czyz**, explaining to New Jersey's State Athletic Control Board how the "performance blackout" that sometimes affects fighters led former heavyweight champion Mike Tyson to bite Evander Holyfield's ear during a 1997 bout

"Jesus would puke." Rev. **Nancy Jo Kemper** of the Kentucky Council of Churches, on the state legislature's decision after lobbying by some pastors to lift a ban on concealed weapons in houses of worship



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"It's not my house, and I could care less." **O. J. Simpson**, on hearing that his former home in the Brentwood section of Los Angeles, from which he was evicted last year after defaulting on the mortgage, had been demolished by its new owner

"This is the best thing for the Republican Party here since they won the Civil War." **Roger Morris**, a political writer in Santa Fe, N.M., on the growing popularity of the state's Green Party, whose candidates tend to attract Democratic voters

"I wouldn't feel right just sitting back and saying, 'I want a new stadium.'" New York Yankees owner **George Steinbrenner**, who for years has demanded a new Yankee Stadium, indicating publicly for the first time last week his team's willingness to help pay for one

With Monica talking, the president must decide how, at long last, to explain himself

BY HOWARD FINEMAN AND KAREN BRESLAU



RON HAVIT—SABA

IT WAS THE KIND OF WHITE HOUSE party Monica Lewinsky would have wanted to attend: soft drinks in the East Room, the best and brightest on hand, Bill Clinton there to talk of lofty things. The president himself seemed upbeat, glad to be among War Room alumni at the early-evening event, a farewell party for an idealistic staffer named Sylvia Mathews. At 33, she was a soldier in the Clintonian meritocracy, a policy wonk from West Virginia who won a Rhodes scholarship and a pivotal White House job, deputy chief of staff. Now she was moving to the budget office. She and Clinton exchanged toasts. He thanked her for her work; she praised him for making her one of "the first members of my generation to help balance the budget."

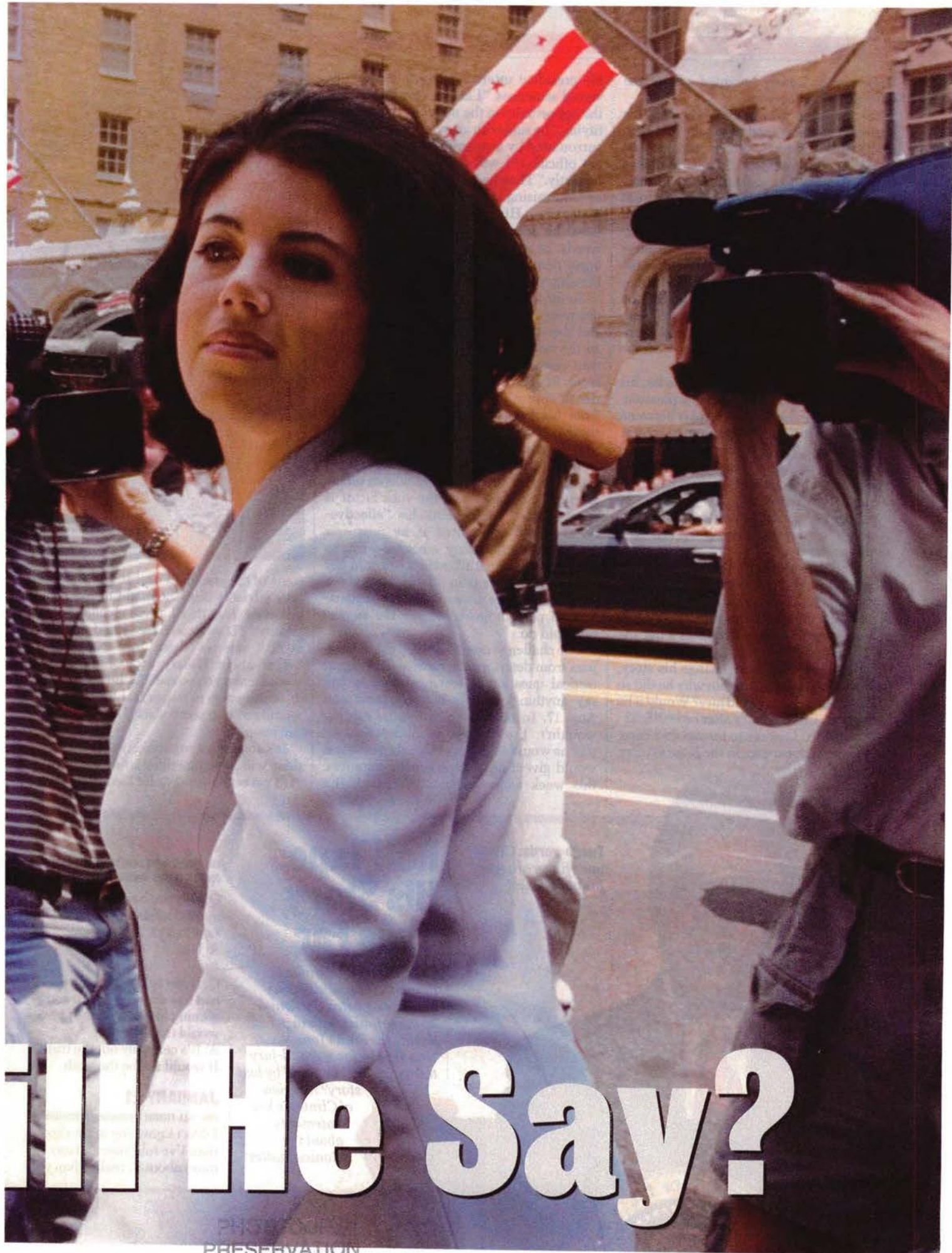
But there were other voices in other White House rooms that day last week—and other books to balance. Before the party, the president huddled with his private lawyer, David Kendall. A day earlier, Lewinsky had agreed to cooperate with Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr, and to say that she and Clinton had had a sexual relationship. Faced with that, and a subpoena from Starr, Clinton made his own deal. He would "voluntarily" testify to a grand jury on Aug. 17 in a live link from the White House. After Kendall announced the bargain, and Clinton went to the East Room, White House lawyers in the counsel's office were channel-surfing for news. To their chagrin, they found it: Lewinsky had turned over a cocktail dress with a visible stain. It was, she claimed, Clinton's semen.

SHAWN TIEW—THE WASHINGTON POST

Turning up the heat: Lewinsky arrives at her lawyers' offices to seal the deal with Starr; meanwhile, Clinton agreed to testify before the grand jury

What W





Will He Say?

PHOTOGRAPHY
PRESERVATION

"Here we go again," groaned one of the counsel's office lawyers.

Yes, here we go again. What does the president say now, and to whom, and then what? Bill Clinton's future may not be found in the budgets Sylvia Mathews writes, but on the cocktail dress Monica Lewinsky once wore. If there's solid proof the president lied under oath, even a squeamish Congress—hardly eager to explore the sex life of a fellow politician—may have no choice but to start impeachment proceedings. And even if the dress fails to produce damning evidence, the master politician's final exam is at hand. The task: to salvage his dignity and shore up his credibility for his last two years—and, inevitably, for history.

If Clinton has not told the truth so far, his options are stark, none of them pleasant, and all involve the tricky interplay between what he says to the grand jury and to voters:

- Does he stick to the story he told in the Paula Jones case last January, and risk being accused of committing perjury if he isn't telling the whole truth?

- Does he "amend" his story, and thereby admit he perjured himself the last time he was under oath?

- If he doesn't change his story, should he give the public an explanation of his relationship with Lewinsky, since "sources close to the investigation" almost certainly will once they hear the details of what she has to say?

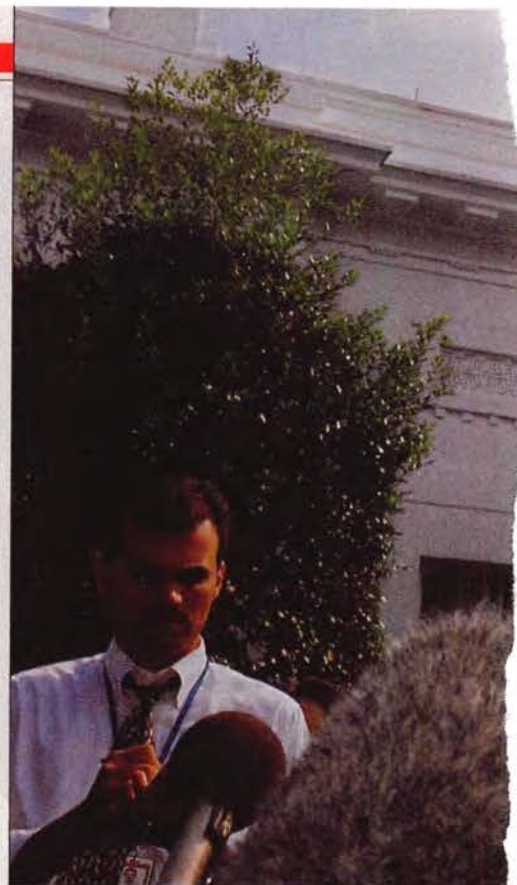
- If the president *does* change his story, won't he then have to explain why he did so to the public and the grand jury? Would it be better to do that before or after he testifies?

It's a difficult needle to thread. In a carefully staged appearance in the Rose Garden last Friday, the usually volu-

ble president uttered only a few carefully vetted sentences. "I am looking forward to the opportunity in the next few days of testifying," he said with an overly casual smile, surrounded by a stone-faced choir of cabinet officials. "I will do so completely and honestly." Then he jetted off for a weekend of fund-raising and star-schmoozing in the Hamptons. His spinners noted how relaxed he seemed. But listen again to the words: he didn't use the occasion to once again deny that he had had a sexual relationship with Lewinsky.

So far, and without all the facts, a scandal-weary public is withholding judgment. But the trends for Clinton aren't positive. In the new *NEWSWEEK* Poll, only 23 percent now believe his past denials, down from 32 percent in January. The president's approval rating has fallen 10 points from his personal best of 70 percent. If there is "strong evidence" that Clinton lied under oath, or that he encouraged others to lie, substantial numbers of those polled think the Hill should boot him from office. Even if he comes clean, the yuck factor is strong. Most voters think his "effectiveness" would be limited if he now—six months after the story emerged—admits that he had sex with Lewinsky or told her to lie. Voters remain ambivalent about whether Clinton owes them an explanation: 47 percent answered yes, but 49 percent said no.

The challenge now is to keep those numbers from deteriorating further. The urgent tactical question is whether Clinton will say anything publicly between now and Aug. 17. In the Rose Garden, he said he wouldn't. For the record, aides insisted that he wouldn't. Rumors that the president would give a mea culpa speech sometime this week were vehemently denied. But



some of the president's most intimate longtime advisers think he might have to—if it becomes clear that he will change his testimony. "It's something you'd want to avoid," one of them told *NEWSWEEK*. "What about Hillary and Chelsea? That would make you pause. But he may have to do a mea culpa in hopes that the grand jury would cut him some slack." Or the American people.

It's somewhat more likely that the president will say something *after* he testifies. "Do we really want to let Ken Starr be the



Tough words: Clinton's finger-wagging January denial

Roll Tape: His Story Thus Far

Since the scandal broke in January, the president has publicly repeated the denial he made under oath in private during the Paula Jones case. Now that he faces grand-jury testimony, will he stand by his story? A review of Clinton's key statements about the Monica matter:

JANUARY 17

THE PRESIDENT'S DEPOSITION IN PAULA JONES'S SEXUAL-HARASSMENT LAWSUIT

Q: Did you have an extra-marital affair with Monica Lewinsky?

A: No.

Q: If she told someone that she had a sexual affair with you beginning in November of 1995, would that be a lie?

A: It's certainly not the truth. It would not be the truth.

JANUARY 21

NPR "ALL THINGS CONSIDERED" INTERVIEW

I don't know any more about it than I've told you, and any more about it, really, than you



PHOTOS BY RON HAVIV—SABA

A small loop: Because of Starr's subpoena power, the president can safely speak to just two people: his lawyer, David Kendall (left), and Hillary

producer of the Bill Clinton story?" asked one White House aide. Meanwhile, Clinton will do more fund-raising trips and political events—designed to attack the GOP as the "do-nothing" Congress—and then hunker down with Kendall to prepare for his testimony. White House aides have convinced themselves that the timing is good: the week that American TV viewership is usually at its yearly low. Hillary isn't expected to be near the White House when Clinton is being deposed, but then the family will depart together for Martha's Vineyard, a tableau tai-

lored for the cameras on the South Lawn.

For now, the White House predicament is a spinner's nightmare. Clinton's standing is in the hands of his private lawyers and in the state of the evidence. If investigators find DNA on the dress, Starr will surely seek a blood or other body sample from the president. That could produce a constitutional confrontation all too characteristic of the post-O.J. age. Even if the dress fails to deliver the goods for prosecutors, Lewinsky is spending hours telling her side of the story to the independent counsel—and

Clinton must figure out how to respond to questions, under oath, about what he may have said into Lewinsky's answering machine, what she told Linda Tripp and what the Secret Service may have seen.

The spinners are also hampered by the fact that they are out of the loop. Before the subpoena was issued, Kendall would regularly brief White House counsel Charles F. C. Ruff, who would in turn pass along whatever he could to the political types. Now everyone's shut out except Bill, Hillary and Kendall. A sometime member of the circle is



do. But I will cooperate. The charges are not true. And I haven't asked anyone to lie.

JANUARY 21

PBS "NEWSHOUR WITH JIM LEHRER"

It means that there is not a sexual relationship, an improper sexual relationship, or any other kind of improper relationship.

JANUARY 22

AT THE WHITE HOUSE WITH PALESTINIAN LEADER YASIR ARAFAT

The allegations are false, and I could never ask anybody to do anything other than tell the truth. Let's get to the big issues there—about the nature of the relationship and whether I suggested anybody not tell



the truth. That is false ... I'd like for you to have more rather than less, sooner rather than later. So we will work through it as quickly as we can and get all those questions out there to you.

JANUARY 26

WHITE HOUSE EDUCATION NEWS CONFERENCE

I'm going to say this again: I did not have sexual relations with that woman, Miss Lewinsky. I never told anybody to lie, not a single time.

JULY 31

WHITE HOUSE ROSE GARDEN APPEARANCE

No one wants to get this matter behind us more than I do—



except maybe all the rest of the American people. I am looking forward to the opportunity in the next few days of testifying. I will do so completely and truthfully. I am anxious to do it. But I hope you can understand why, in the interim, I can and should have no further comment on these matters. Thank you very much.

Mickey Kantor, a Washington trade lawyer who goes back with the Clintons for decades, and who materializes whenever there is a legal-political crisis.

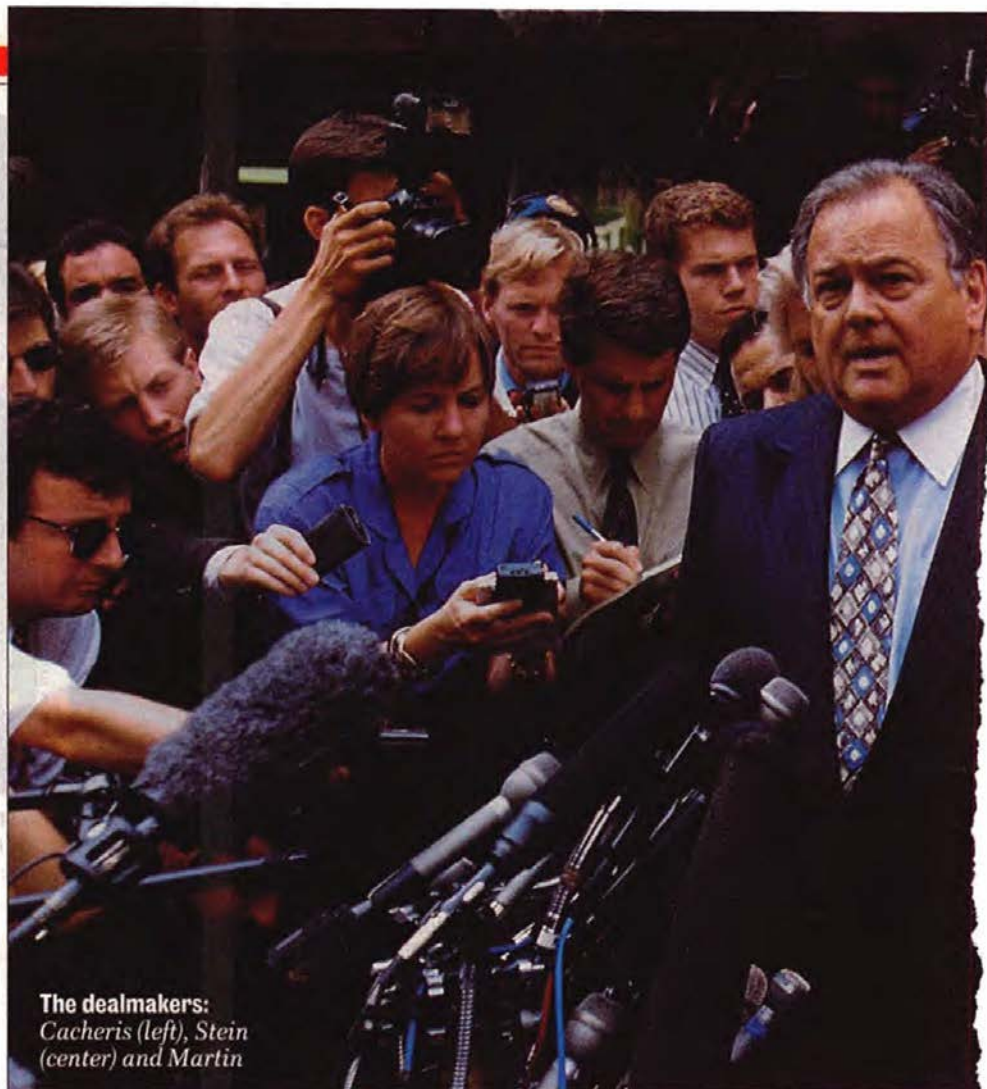
Everyone else is freelancing, prepared to argue in favor of whatever legal move the First Firm chooses to make. White House aides, *NEWSWEEK* has learned, drew up a long list of arguments to make if the president had decided to ignore the Starr subpoena. In fact, *NEWSWEEK* has learned, Kendall and Ruff declined to acknowledge the existence of the subpoena because neither considered it constitutionally valid—and both wanted to reserve the right to provoke a constitutional confrontation over it.

But Democrats on Capitol Hill, led by House Minority Leader Dick Gephardt, privately advised otherwise. Most are lawyers, believers in the sanctity of the legal process—and jealous guardians of their own subpoena power. Among the White House staff, sources tell *NEWSWEEK*, chief of staff Erskine Bowles has always favored “disclosing more, sooner rather than later,” as one of his friends put it. Then again, Bowles has long been way out of the loop—and he’s thinking of running for governor of North Carolina.

In Congress the idea is to stay cool. The deeper the scandal, the calmer the Democrats try to behave. House Speaker Newt Gingrich has admonished his troops to tout their legislatively “massive accomplishments,” and not the “I word.” No one knows the timing of the report. GOP leaders say they are hoping for a week’s advance notice so they can enact rules to limit members’ access to it. With Congress gone next week for the summer, and back for only one month after Labor Day, it would be hard to hold serious hearings before the election. In the interim, Rep. Henry Hyde, chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, counseled calm. “Be judicious,” he told members. “Don’t speculate. Maintain the dignity of the institution.”

Clinton is doing what he can to maintain the dignity of his institution, and his own standing in history. On the day that Lewinsky cut her deal with Starr, the president was in the Capitol Rotunda. He gave a spare and moving eulogy in memory of the two officers who had been slain there in the line of duty. The aim of a good life, he said, was to love justice and do mercy. That evening he attended a private, no-press dinner in Georgetown given by Irish-American Democrats. Peace negotiator George Mitchell praised the president, portraying him as a heroic figure who had given the Irish the chance to live in peace and unity. According to eyewitnesses, Clinton looked very tired, and at least once seemed near tears. Everyone put it down to his love of Ireland.

With MATTHEW COOPER



The dealmakers:
Cacheris (left), Stein
(center) and Martin

Lewinsky vs

LATE LAST FALL, MONICA LEWINSKY had something she wanted to show her friend Linda Tripp. She opened up the closet in her Watergate apartment and pointed to a blue cocktail dress. It bore the stain of President Clinton’s semen, Lewinsky told Tripp. The former White House intern claimed that she would never wear the dress again—or have it cleaned. A few nights later, Tripp told her pal, literary agent Lucianne Goldberg, about what she had seen at Monica’s apartment. Goldberg had encouraged Tripp to tape her phone conversations with Lewinsky, as self-protection against White House attack and as proof of Clinton’s scandalous behavior. Now, according to Goldberg, the two women discussed purloining Lewinsky’s dress to obtain irrefutable evidence.

But how? Perhaps, on a return visit to

Lewinsky’s apartment, Tripp could lift the dress, throw her overcoat over it and walk out. Goldberg wondered if there was a way to test the garment to see if the stain was really the president’s semen. So she called her client and close friend, former Los Angeles homicide detective Mark Fuhrman, of O. J. Simpson fame. Is there any way to get a DNA sample from such a garment? she asked. Sure, said Fuhrman. Get a Q-Tip, some sterile water and a plastic baggie. Run the Q-Tip over the stain, throw it into the baggie and take it to a private lab.

Tripp and Goldberg may have cooked up an even more elaborate ruse to get at the dress. According to a source familiar with the investigation, Lewinsky remembered getting a call from Tripp in November or December. Tripp told Lewinsky that she was so broke that she was selling her own clothes. Would it be possible, Tripp asked,

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PRESERVATION

LEFT TO RIGHT: RON HAVIN—SABA, ROBERT GIROUX—GAMMA-LIAISON



Genial but direct:
Starr cut out his own
hawkish deputies

Clinton

From a cocktail dress to phone tapes, Starr, with Monica's help, charts an alleged relationship. Behind the deal.

BY MICHAEL ISIKOFF AND EVAN THOMAS

to borrow some of Monica's? When? asked Monica, who was not at home at the time. Right away, said Tripp. She suggested that Lewinsky tell the doorman to let her in the apartment. When Lewinsky hesitated, Tripp asked, "What, you don't trust me?"

Nothing came of these plots. "We were just two girls having a Nancy Drew fantasy," says Goldberg. But the dress acquired a life of its own when the Lewinsky story broke in late January. At first, tabloids screamed about the "Love Dress." When the garment failed to materialize, press critics began to write about the "phantom semen stained dress." Now that the dress sits in an FBI lab, undergoing tests to deter-

mine whether the stain is semen and, if so, whether it matches the president's DNA, it looms as a threat to the Clinton presidency.

The case against Bill Clinton may finally be coming together. It is in many ways the same case that Americans first learned about when the scandal became public last January. What's changed is that Monica Lewinsky is now willing to tell her story to the grand jury under oath, and Bill Clinton has volunteered, however reluctantly, to submit to the prosecutor's questioning. The president is undoubtedly in a tight spot, caught in his still-unexplained relationship with Monica Lewinsky and enmeshed in a web spun by Tripp and Goldberg.

Lewinsky, who has been spending several hours a day talking to prosecutors, may begin testifying as early as this week. Informed sources say her account of a sexual relationship with the president is essentially the same one she first offered to tell Kenneth Starr—in exchange for a promise of immunity from prosecution—last January. Why did it take Starr so long to strike a deal?

Part of the problem was trust. Starr's team thought that Lewinsky's first lawyer, William Ginsburg, was unreliable and a little flaky. By contrast, Starr has known and liked one of Lewinsky's new lawyers—Jake Stein, a respected Washington lawyer and himself a onetime special prosecutor—for

In the **NEWSWEEK** Poll, **59%** do not tend to believe Clinton's denials that he had a sexual relationship with Monica Lewinsky. **23%** do tend to take his word

FOR THIS NEWSWEEK POLL, PRINCETON SURVEY RESEARCH ASSOCIATES INTERVIEWED 609 ADULTS BY TELEPHONE JULY 30-31. THE MARGIN OF ERROR IS +/- 4 PERCENTAGE

PHOTOGRAPH
PRESERVATION

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

many years. Talks between the two sides had come to a halt two weeks ago when Starr called Stein directly. In order to remove any bad blood between the prosecution and Lewinsky's defenders, Starr cut his more hawkish deputies out of the negotiations. In their place he substituted Sam Dash, an old Washington hand (he had been the chief counsel of the Senate Watergate Committee) who had an easy relationship with Stein and his co-counsel, Plato Cacheris. Meeting at Dash's home over bagels, the two sides worked out an arrangement that would allow Lewinsky to give prosecutors a preview of what she would be willing to say under oath. Early last week Lewinsky flew from her home in Los Angeles to a secret meeting with prosecutors in New York City, far from the Washington

media stakeouts. Questioned first by a friendly lawyer from Cacheris's office, then by the prosecutors, Lewinsky talked for four and a half hours. By the next morning, the two sides had a deal.

Starr's team had some extra leverage to make sure Lewinsky was willing to tell the whole truth. Sometime last winter, Lewinsky had given the dress to her mother, Marcia Lewis, for safekeeping. That made Lewinsky a possible target of Starr's probe, a reality that was brought home to her when she was summoned before the grand jury last February—and collapsed under questioning. Under last week's deal, Lewis is also immune from prosecution.

The hard-liners on Starr's team had been hesitant to offer promises of immunity to Lewinsky without very specific promises of testimony in return. They felt badly burned by former associate attorney general Webster Hubbell, who promised to give testimony in the Whitewater investigation in return for Starr's help in securing a lighter sentence after Hubbell pleaded guilty to overbilling his law clients in 1994. The prosecutors believe that Hubbell basically pulled a bait-and-switch, refusing to say much of anything once he had a deal. Starr's team was determined not to make the same mistake with Lewinsky.

In addition to the dress, Lewinsky

Close encounters:
An Oct. 23, 1996,
fund-raiser at the
Sheraton Washington



turned over tapes of several voice-mail messages allegedly left by Clinton. The president's words did not seem sexually suggestive—"Hey, it's me," he reportedly said. "Sorry I missed you." But the familiarity between the chief executive and former intern was embarrassing. "There's always been an assumption that the president wouldn't be stupid enough to leave his voice on an answering machine," said one disheartened White House aide. More dangerous are the gifts that Lewinsky turned over to the president's secretary rather than comply with a subpoena in the Paula Jones case.

In the tape recording of a conversation between Lewinsky and Tripp last December that NEWSWEEK was permitted to hear, Lewinsky was eager to get rid of any incriminating presents. She referred to an official White House photograph and worried that the inscription from Clinton was so personal that lawyers for Jones would use it against her. She told Tripp that she had tried to call Betty Currie, the president's secretary, to ask for a clean copy of the picture so that she might have one to give Jones's lawyers. But on the tape, she complains that Currie was unavailable. There may also be another photo of interest to the prosecutors. According to Goldberg, Lewinsky was photographed standing beside the president in the Oval

Office. She was wearing a blue cocktail dress.

If the reported stain on the dress turns out to be the president's semen (the lab tests may take several weeks), Clinton has an immediate perjury problem. Last January he denied under oath in his Jones deposition that he had ever had "sexual relations" with Lewinsky. Lying about a sexual relationship in a deposition in a civil case may not be perceived as a serious offense. Lying before the grand jury in a criminal investigation is more grave. It would surely be an indictable offense in a normal criminal probe. Less certain is whether it is an impeachable offense in Congress, which will probably serve as Clinton's judge and jury.

The ultimate focus of Starr's case is not sex, but obstruction of justice. Under the immunity deal worked out between Starr and Lewinsky's lawyers, described to NEWSWEEK by a knowledgeable source, Lewinsky will testify that she and the president discussed cover stories designed to keep their alleged relationship private. Lewinsky reportedly will say that at a meeting at the White House in late December, she told the president her worries about the subpoenaed gifts, which included a brooch and a book of poetry. The president did not directly tell her to lie, she says. Rather, he spoke hypothetically. If you don't have the gifts, he allegedly said, you can't turn them over. Such a veiled suggestion would hardly be the kind of evidence a

Regardless of what happens in the courts or Congress, **47%** think the president owes the country an explanation of the Monica matter; **49%** say he doesn't



Family matters: Monica gave her mother, Marcia, the dress for safekeeping sometime last winter

The gatekeeper: The president's secretary, Betty Currie, allegedly collected his gifts to Lewinsky



prosecutor needs to win a conviction for obstruction of justice. But physical evidence makes the case far stronger.

Much depends on the testimony of Betty Currie, who allegedly took back the gifts, and who has by now been thoroughly grilled by prosecutors. Clinton cannot afford to contradict her. It is more than likely Clinton knows what she told the grand jury—under a “joint defense agreement,” lawyers for witnesses like Currie, other aides and various Secret Service men routinely share information with Clinton’s lawyers. But the president can’t be sure he knows everything Starr knows, and one false step before the grand jury puts him at risk.

Normally, a grand jury “target” like Clinton would simply invoke his Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination. But a president cannot afford to be seen hiding behind the Fifth. Likewise, the White House decided it was too politically risky to argue that, under the Constitution’s separation of powers, the chief executive cannot be forced to testify by the judicial branch. Last week the tough-minded judge on the Clinton case, Norma Holloway Johnson, sig-

naled that she would reject any such argument. In return for the president’s “volunteering” to appear before the grand jury on Aug. 17, Johnson ruled that the president could testify via camera from the White House. Jurors will be able to submit questions through the prosecutor, who will be in the room with the president. Unlike most grand-jury witnesses, Clinton will be allowed to have his lawyers by his side.

Starr may have some problems with his own case, including sparring between his two main witnesses, Lewinsky and Tripp. They disagree on a number of points. For instance, Lewinsky says that Tripp urged her to keep the stained dress, while Tripp says it was Lewinsky’s idea. Tripp insists that she repeatedly urged Lewinsky to break off her relationship with the president. The two former friends also tell different stories about the so-called talking points. Last Jan. 14, just before the scandal broke, Lewinsky handed Linda Tripp a three-page document advising her on how to testify in the Paula Jones case about an alleged sexual encounter between the president and Kathleen Willey, a White House

volunteer, in November 1993.

Willey had described the encounter to Tripp, but now, the talking points suggested to Tripp, “you do not believe that what she claimed happened really happened.” Back in January, Starr’s deputies thought the talking points could be the “smoking gun” in an obstruction-of-justice investigation, and strongly suspected that Lewinsky knew more than she was willing to reveal in her lawyer’s initial negotiations with the special prosecutor. Convinced that Lewinsky could not have written the talking points, Starr’s men believed that she must have had help from the White House, possibly from Clinton or Bruce Lindsey, his close personal adviser.

But last week Lewinsky told investigators that she did write the talking points herself—and that her only help came from Linda Tripp. Tripp has acknowledged talking to Lewinsky about what to say when testifying about the Willey incident, but she hotly denied any role in writing the talking points. She has told conservative columnists that she received veiled threats from Lindsey to modify her version of events about the Wil-

If the situation boils down to Monica’s word against Clinton’s, **39%** are more likely to believe Lewinsky’s version; **36%** lean toward the president’s; **25%** don’t know

ley incident as she first described it to *NEWSWEEK* in August 1997. According to Tripp, when Lewinsky handed Tripp the talking points, she warned, "The president expects you to be a team player. He feels you screwed him in the *NEWSWEEK* article." Lewinsky told Tripp that she and her children would be "in danger" if she failed to change her story, according to Tripp. It is not known if Starr's investigators have turned up any evidence that these alleged threats

ROBERT GIBSON—GAMMA-LIAISON



Tripp Speaks Out

After her eighth grand-jury session, Tripp (right) publicly defended herself on the courthouse steps. Her statement:

Good afternoon.

I'm not a public speaker. I am going to have to refer to my notes. Please bear with me. I've just completed my testimony before the federal grand jury. This has been a lengthy process and, as I'm sure you can imagine, a very difficult one. While I am relieved that the testimony has come to an end, I am glad to have fulfilled my legal obligation to the grand jury by testifying truthfully and completely. I hope—I sincerely hope—that all remaining witnesses will do the same. I am encouraged that it appears from press reports that Monica [Lewinsky] has decided to cooperate with the independent counsel. The facts will show that time after time, I urged her to tell the truth right up until the end.

I understand that there has been a great deal of speculation about just who I am and how I got here. Well, the answer is simple. I'm you. I'm just like you. I'm an average American who found herself in a situation not of her own making. I'm a suburban mom, who was a military wife for 20 years, and a faithful government employee for 18 years. I never, ever asked to be placed in this position. Because I am just like you, I ask you to imagine how you would feel if someone you thought was a friend urged you to commit a felony that could jeopardize your job, potentially put you in jail and endanger the well-being of your children. Imagine how you would feel if your boss' attorney called you a liar in front of the whole country. And imagine if that boss was the president of the United States. Imagine how you would feel if your employer illegally released your confidential records to the media, then demoted you and cast you aside for daring to tell the truth. Imagine how it would feel to see the pain in your children's eyes when they hear a seemingly endless barrage of lies about their mother, a mother who is not going out to defend herself.

As a result of simply trying to earn a living, I became aware between 1993 and 1997 of actions by high government officials that may have been against the law. For that period of nearly five years, the things I witnessed concerning several different subjects made me increasingly fearful that this information was dangerous, very

were real. Lindsey denies making any threats.

Starr's team had also been eager to investigate whether Clinton tried to buy Lewinsky's silence by helping her get a job. Presidential pal Vernon Jordan has acknowledged arranging for her to see several potential employers, including Revlon. But this part of Starr's probe appears to have flagged, possibly for want of solid evidence about Clinton's role or motives.

The White House does not want to openly antagonize Lewinsky before she testifies. Last week presidential spokesman Michael McCurry rather unconvincingly stated that the president was pleased that "things are working out" for Lewinsky. But behind the scenes, Clinton's lawyers are collecting dossiers on the former intern turned witness for the prosecution. Through leaks to the press, they will likely depict her as a flighty young woman who has told so many stories about her relationship with Clinton that none can be believed. David Kendall, the president's private lawyer, has been reaching out to lawyers for other witnesses to learn more about Lewinsky. "There is a mountain of evidence that undermines [Lewinsky's] credibility," says one lawyer who is familiar with Lewinsky's version of events. According to this source, some of Lewinsky's secretly recorded statements to Tripp, as well as some of her later recollections, can be documented as untrue. "She puts him in places where he

"This investigation has never been, quote, 'just about sex' "

dangerous, to possess. On Jan. 12, 1998, the day I approached the Office of the Independent Counsel, I decided that fear would no longer be my master.

This investigation has never been, quote, "just about sex." It has been about telling the truth. The truth matters. For example, it matters that you know now that I have testified to the fact that I had nothing, let me repeat, nothing to do with preparing the so-called talking points. Allegations to the effect that I contributed to or assisted in any way with the creation of the talking points are as illogical as they are patently false. I have been vilified for taking the path of truth. I've been maligned by people who have chosen not to tell the truth, and who know that they are not telling the truth. That's a pretty frightening thing. To cast me in the role of the villain, they have enlisted legions of paid prevaricators. Not surprisingly, many in the entertainment industry have chosen to ridicule me as well, going so far as to even make fun of my appearance in a manner so mean and so cruel that I pray none of you is ever subjected to it. Despite all of that, I bear no malice toward anyone in this case. I have never had any political agenda. I still don't. I have been honored to serve presidents in both parties.

I want to say a word about the people who've supported me throughout this ordeal. I don't believe they're Washington insiders. I don't think that they're the politically connected. But they have made a noticeable effort to have their voice heard and to support me and my family. It has meant a great deal to us. So for all of that, I thank each and every one of them. I'd also like to take this opportunity to thank the men standing with me today for their unfailing support and superb counsel. Anthony Zaccagnini, Joe Murtha and Philip Coughter. I certainly could not have gotten through this without the love and support of my children, Ryan and Allison, who are here with me today, and a very strong extended family. I believe in our country. As I said, I'm no different than any of you. I believe you have the right to tell the truth under oath, and I believe you have the right to do so without fear of retribution or worse. I hope that when all the facts are revealed, you'll understand that it is a right all of us should be fighting for. Thank you.

can't be and has him doing things that couldn't have been done," says this lawyer.

Kendall's firm, Williams & Connolly, is known for its scorched-earth defense of corporate executives and public officials accused of crimes. A standard tactic is to accuse the prosecutor of misconduct. Kendall has already persuaded Judge Johnson to question Starr about illegal leaking of grand-jury secrets by the independent counsel's team, and Kendall is sure to develop other lines of attack. In a normal criminal case, these defense countermoves sometimes succeed in getting the whole case thrown out.

Clinton's problem is that he is not just any target. The

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Constitution does give the president a measure of protection. Under the separation of powers, the chief executive probably cannot be tried and convicted by the judicial branch while serving in office. Starr's team, NEWSWEEK has learned, has discussed indicting the president for obstruction while he is still in office, but holding off on the trial until he is a private citizen. More likely, however, Starr will send any evidence of criminal

wrongdoing to the House of Representatives, where, under the Constitution, the president can be impeached for "high crimes and misdemeanors."

Impeachment hearings are inevitably political as well as legal. Is lying under oath about sex a "high crime"? Is obstruction of justice? For the moment, Congress appears to be loath to decide. But Starr will eventually submit his report, as he is required to do un-

der the special-prosecutor act. And at some point, though probably not until after the November elections, the House is likely to begin hearings. At that time, Lewinsky could be called as a witness, and the public will finally be able to hear her story. The question now is whether the president wants to explain himself first.

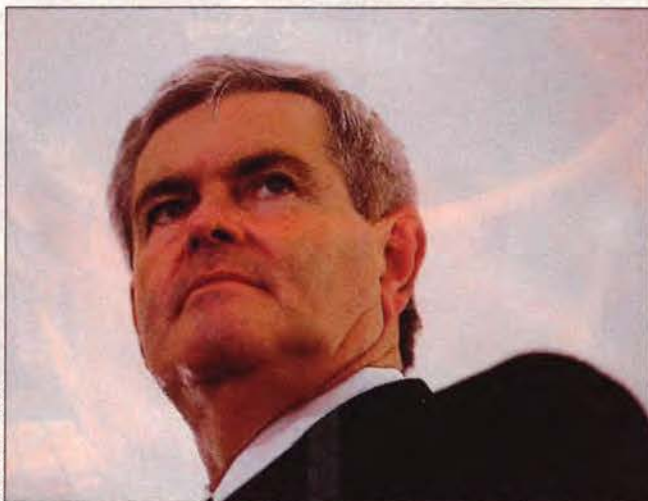
With DANIEL KLAIDMAN and
MARK HOSENBALL

Confounding the Right

To a wary and divided GOP, Clinton can seem both contemptible and charming. BY DAVID BROOKS

EVERY FEW DAYS AN e-mail message goes out to Republican insiders from Rich Galen, the director of GOPAC, Newt Gingrich's favorite political-action committee. After Monica Lewinsky was granted immunity last week, Galen wrote, "The notion of twisting slowly, slowly in the wind has popped back into my mind." The comment is symptomatic of the way Republicans are now talking about Bill Clinton: they would like to see him as a lame duck caught in a trap of his making. But in their secret thoughts, Beltway conservatives are nervous. Clinton is forever on the verge of destruction—until he somehow saves himself. They remember, for example, that Gingrich declared a revolution to roll back Clintonism—and then found himself "melting" in the president's beguiling company.

Bill Clinton could talk himself out of trouble again—and that drives conservatives crazy. In fact, the role the president plays in conservative psychology is one of the great underdescribed topics in the capital. To the right, he is an enigmatic, contemptible and, to some, even charming figure. This fractured view of Clinton helps explain why Republicans may be reluctant to stage passionate impeachment hearings. To understand



Grudging admiration: Pros like Newt envy Clinton's skills

this, you have to realize that there are three, not one, Republican parties at the moment. The factions:

The Pros. These are the professional politicians, the congressmen and the consultants. They regard Clinton a bit like the way Salieri viewed Mozart in "Amadeus." They know he lacks character, but they envy his inner feel for politics. Because they can't understand him (who can?), the pros are always shifting gears. In April, Gingrich accused Clinton of orchestrating "the most systematic, deliberate obstruction of justice in American history" and vowed to mention the scandal in every speech. But since then, the Republicans have defeated Clinton

initiatives like tobacco legislation. The pros are now confident they will pick up seats in the fall, and they don't want to overplay their hand on the scandal. So Gingrich has backtracked again. On July 14 the speaker told GOP House members to adopt a "calm position" on Lewinsky.

The Bottom-Liners. These are the regular Republicans, the money-makers from Wall Street and Main Street. They don't admire Clinton, but they view him and the whole mess as if from a great distance. They watch the CNBC business programming, not MSNBC's "NewsChat." They fear that political turmoil might scare away the foreign investors who have helped

drive the financial markets upward, and they're nervous about any development that might distract the nation's true leaders: Robert Rubin and Alan Greenspan. For the bottom-liners, Clinton is just part of the furniture: he may not be a great man, but the good times aren't going to get better if he's driven from office.

The True Believers. For these conviction conservatives, Clinton is the issue. They are intellectual activists, social conservatives and Rush Limbaugh adherents who believe the president has corroded America's values. He has, in their "Book of Virtues" view, inured people to evasions, deceptions and unfaithfulness. He has defined the presidency down and inverted morals to the point that sophisticated winks at adultery and bearing false witness—two of the Ten Commandments—while smoking or taping Monica Lewinsky are reviled. But this is the smallest faction within the party.

The upshot: even if the president admits he hasn't been truthful, his opponents' cultural calculus is good for him. The most powerful group, the pros, and the most numerous faction, the everyday Republicans, both want to avoid an impeachment confrontation. The conviction conservatives may fill the air with calls for justice, but don't look for a frontal assault on Clinton unless the Starr report is far worse than anything we see now. He's slipped away before, and may again.

BROOKS, a senior editor of *The Weekly Standard*, is a NEWSWEEK contributing editor.

OPINION

Hanging in the Hamptons

An old-line Long Island observer on an enclave that's going Hollywood and hosting the president

BY MICHAEL M. THOMAS

IT WASN'T ALWAYS HELICOPTERS AND Hollywood. Until the mid-1980s, the Hamptons—a few hundred square miles on Long Island's South Fork, a two-hour drive from New York City—were fairly quiet. Sandwiched between Peconic Bay and the Atlantic Ocean, the area's accessible rusticity, wide, sandy beaches, excellent golf and tennis and spacious turn-of-the-century "cottages" attracted affluent families who, whatever their background, took on an unassuming, low-key coloration that seemed to go with the place.

That was before glitz trumped gentility;

before local markets started selling cherries at \$10 a pound, before 60,000-square-foot houses rose from rural fields and reservations for Saturday-night dinner had to be made six months in advance. This Hollywood-Wall Street Hamptons is the one the Clintons came to visit last week. For most of the country, the occasion must have seemed impossibly glamorous: the First Couple overnighthing at the Steven Spielbergs' and hanging out at the home of Alec Baldwin and Kim Basinger. But the Hamptons the president circulated in is a Hamptons that people like me, who put down roots here 30 years ago and more, scarcely recognize. His ex-

cursion casts light on the Hamptons' newer affluent families, who, whatever their background, seem to make virtues of conspicuous consumption, personal publicity, VIP treatment and the apparent conviction that one's wealth and celebrity cancel out one's obligation to live by the rules. Despite public outcry, for example, Sony Music CEO Tommy Mottola has hired an army of lawyers to overwhelm local objections to his building a 200-foot dock at his new Sag Harbor house. (If you've ever had a zoning battle, you know how it goes: the well-off and the connected usually win.)

To be fair, this sort of thing started long before the Clinton years. Beginning around 1982-83, when the Great Bull Market took off and the Newhouses handed Vanity Fair to Tina Brown, the Hollywood-Wall Street nexus of money, power and celebrity came howling into the Hamptons. You knew there was a sea change when Saul Stein-

The President's Weekend Power Trip

The Hamptons, where lobster salad goes for \$42 a pound at gourmet shops and the initiation fee at the Atlantic Golf Club is \$250,000, hosted the Clintons last week. They schmoozed with stars and raised plenty of political cash. Some highlights of the visit:



1 From the airport the Clintons traveled to the Spielbergs' home



2 Later they dined with mogul Bruce Wasserstein and his wife, Claude



3 Clinton gave his radio address at the Amagansett Fire Department



4 Taking time out from the glitz, the First Lady chatted with local kids



5 The president played a round at the Atlantic Golf Club in Bridgehampton



6 Jonathan Sheffer hosted a cocktail party for the Clintons



7 Kim and Alec Baldwin held a fund-raiser at their Amagansett home



An eclectic mix in East Hampton

A sampling of the Hamptons' rich and famous:

Chevy Chase
Sean (Puffy) Combs
Nora Ephron
Robert D.L. Gardiner
Carl Icahn
Bianca Jagger
Billy Joel
Calvin Klein
Henry Kravis
Peter Matthiessen
Lorne Michaels
Ronald Perelman
George Plimpton
Lee Radziwill
George Soros
Martha Stewart
Jann Wenner
Kurt Vonnegut

Why the President Should Tell All

A former adviser makes the case for full disclosure—even if Clinton has to admit he's shaded the truth so far. BY GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

TWO DAYS AFTER CHRISTMAS 1991, ABOUT 20 OF US ON THE Clinton team met for a strategy session in the basement of the governor's mansion in Little Rock. As we reviewed potential 1992 problems, I mentioned the candidate's draft record. "We're going to need some tighter answers," I said. "It's going to come back." The governor launched into a passionate tirade against the Vietnam War and declared that he'd rather lose the election than say it was right.

That wasn't my point, of course. But raising such a sensitive subject in a big meeting was a rookie's mistake. I had painted Clinton into a corner, and he responded by resenting the question and repressing the answers. Later, a couple of us approached the governor alone. "We're not saying you have to apologize," I explained. "But we need the same information our opponents have." He nodded and approved our plan to investigate his record. But it was too late; our opponents and the press were way ahead of us.

Now President Clinton is on the threshold of grand-jury scrutiny that will make the inquiry into his draft history seem like a pleasant episode of "This Is Your Life." Whether the Lewinsky crisis comes down to a question of physical evidence or he said, she said, with a raft of damaging circumstantial detail, the president needs to explain himself to the country. If he's shaded the truth, it's time to amend the record. If he's lied, he should tell all, apologize and hope for the best. If he doesn't step forward now, the rest of his term will be consumed by prosecutorial fallout and the risk that he will have little credibility with the public. This is the most important political decision of his life, and it's about more than the next news cycle or the next election. It's about the verdict no president can escape: there's no sliding by the judgment of history.

I don't envy my former colleagues. Making decisions in the White House is never easy, and the circle around the president is smaller than ever. Clinton can only confide in the First Lady and in David Kendall's legal team. Because of Kenneth Starr's subpoena power, no one on the White House staff—not even Vice President Gore—can safely ask the president for a full accounting of his relationship with Lewinsky. This cone of silence puts Clinton at a terrible disadvantage. My draft gaffe aside, the president makes his best decisions when several strong-willed people are gathered around the couches in the Oval or the cabinet table to debate the options. The president hears everyone out, then synthesizes the advice into a single course of action. But without the facts, it's nearly impossible for staffers to give useful counsel. Until the president testifies,

and maybe longer, Mrs. Clinton, Kendall and his associates are the functional equivalent of the White House staff. They have the president's best interests at heart, but their first responsibility is his legal defense and his personal well-being. To survive, Clinton needs to take the broad view and pursue a three-pronged strategy:

First, the president ought to tell the whole truth to the grand jury. That may require him to contradict statements he has already made; but if necessary, it's worth the legal and political risk. As a practical matter, perjury before a federal grand jury is a far more serious offense than false statements of questionable materiality in a civil lawsuit that's been dismissed. Even a Congress reluctant to pursue impeachment will have no choice but to

go forward if Starr can build a credible case that the president lied to the grand jury.

Second, upon completing his testimony, Clinton should make a statement to the country fully describing his relationship with Lewinsky. If the facts warrant it, he should apologize. It may be a difficult speech; he would have to reveal more of his true self than he ever has before. There is a standard political apology—the Reaganesque "mistakes were made" approach. Clinton's would have to be more like the one Jesse Jackson gave in 1984 when, under fire for allegedly anti-Semitic remarks, he asked the Democratic National Convention to "be patient—God is not finished with me yet."

Not everyone will accept such a dramatic reversal, and the juxtaposed clips of the president's "that woman" January denial and an ultimate apology would be the most searing political imagery since Nixon. But polls suggest what common sense dictates: the country will likely forgive the president human failings, and they don't think he should lose his job even if he lied about a sexual relationship. Barring a bombshell, Congress would probably be reluctant to act on a Starr report in the face of a presidential *mea culpa*.

Third, he should vow never to discuss the matter again, and immediately return to running the country. With 29 months remaining in the White House, Clinton can still build on his accomplishments. But dragging this into 1999 will paralyze him for the rest of his term.

How Clinton handles the weeks ahead will determine whether he can serve out his term with honor. For his sake, and for the sake of the country, he should remember words he spoke at his first Inaugural: "We know we have to face hard truths and take strong steps. But we have not done so." It's not too late.

STEPHANOPOULOS, former senior adviser to the president, is a contributor to NEWSWEEK and ABC News.



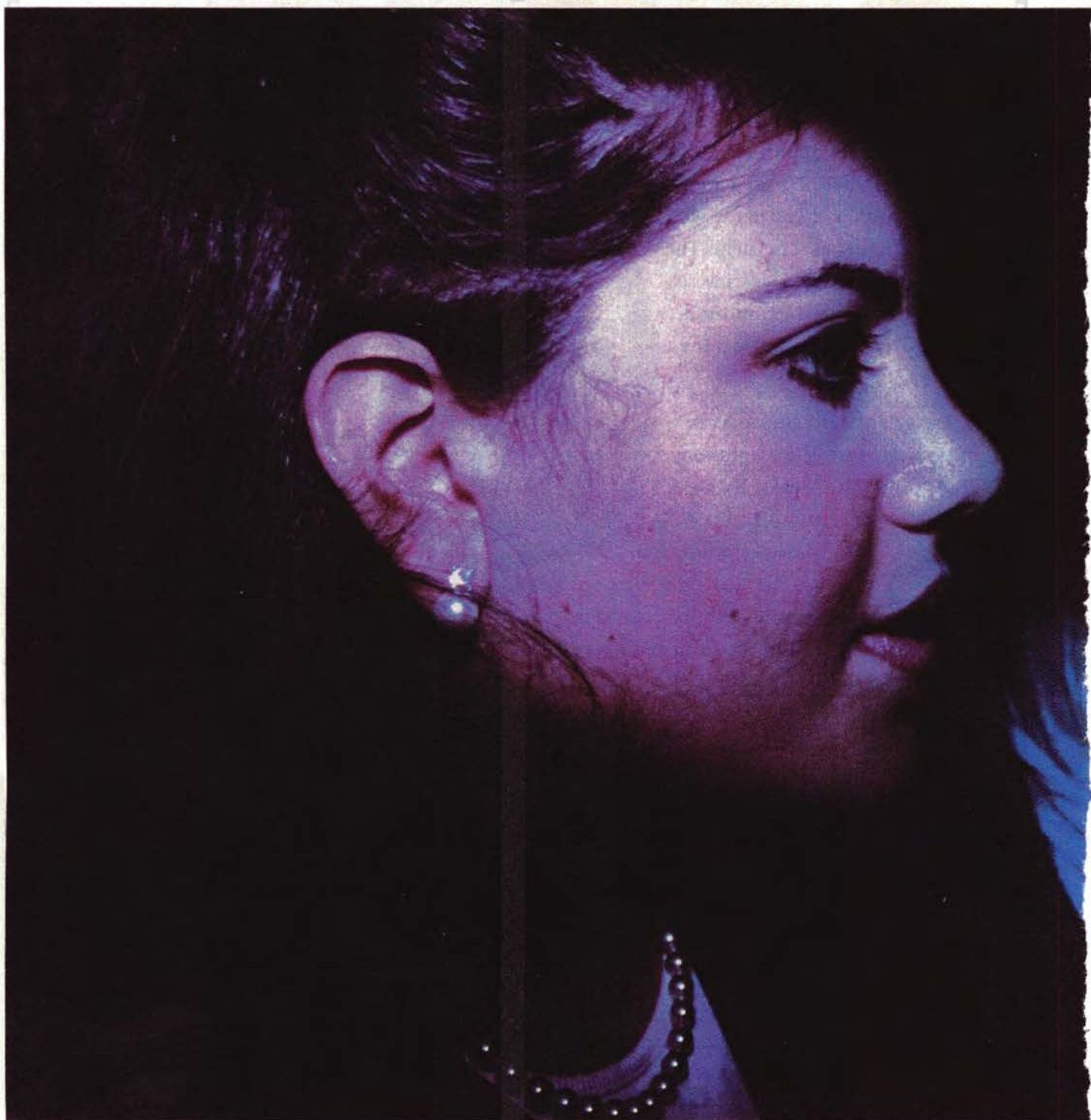
Moment of truth: The next few weeks are about the verdict no president, even Bill Clinton, can escape: the judgment of history

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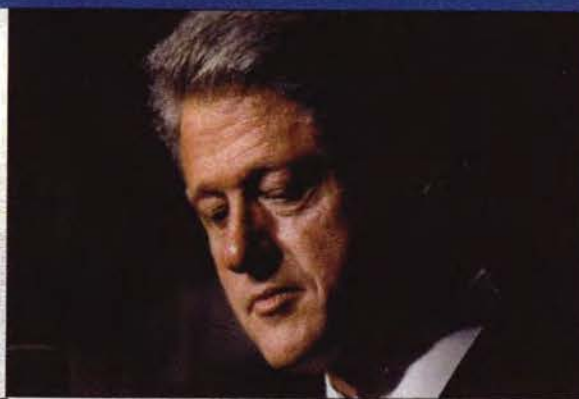
U.S. NEWS

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Moment of



truth



Monica Lewinsky agrees to testify, creating a crisis for the president

BY KENNETH T. WALSH, MAJOR GARRETT, MARIANNE LAVELLE, AND JULIAN E. BARNES

So it has come to this: The president who came to office suggesting that his achievements would be comparable to Franklin Roosevelt's, who initially lifted America's hopes for a new era of healing and altruism, who promised the most ethical administration in history, is being forced to give testimony to a grand jury investigating whether he had sex with a young White House aide. Faced with a subpoena from Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr and a potential loss of support among congressional Democrats, Bill Clinton reluctantly agreed to be questioned on closed-circuit television at the White House on August 17. It will, finally, be his day of reckoning.

Under an agreement reached with Starr, Clinton will have his own lawyers in the room to advise him. Precisely what he will be asked and how he will respond are not known, since both sides want to preserve the element of surprise. The central question is whether the president will repeat his testimony in the now-dismissed Paula Jones sexual-harassment case and his now-famous public statement that he never had "sexual relations" with former White House intern Monica Lewinsky. Another key question is whether he will once again deny telling anyone to lie about their relationship.

Given that his comments will be closely scrutinized for perjury and possible evidence of other crimes, the possibility of impeachment proceedings is no longer a mere abstraction. Whatever the outcome, Clinton will be the first sitting president to testify before a grand jury as the target of a criminal inquiry. He will have to endure the humiliation of answering detailed questions about the most intimate aspect of his private life—his sexual activities. His advisers expect that Lewinsky, now that she has

(LEFT) PHOTOGRAPH BY RICHARD ELLIS—SYGMA FOR USN&WR,
(TOP) JEFFREY MACMILLAN FOR USN&WR



TIME TO TALK. Lawyer David Kendall announces that Clinton will testify "in an effort to achieve a prompt resolution of this entire matter."

obtained immunity from prosecution, will reverse her earlier testimony and tell the grand jury that she had sex of some sort with the president.

She also gave prosecutors a dress they suspect may contain physical evidence of sexual activity with Clinton as well as voice mail messages the president left at her home. Starr promptly sent the dress to the FBI lab for DNA testing. Perhaps most important, Lewinsky will say that she and Clinton discussed ways to conceal their relationship, a source reports. That could become evidence for the obstruction-of-justice and witness-tampering charges that Starr has been pursuing for so long.

Some congressional Republicans believe Starr may deliver a report to Congress that extends well beyond Lewinsky matters. Under this theory, the report would encompass all the Clinton-related matters Starr has looked into over the past four years—including the so-called Whitewater, Travelgate, and Filegate investigations—using details from all of them to argue that Clinton engaged in a pattern of deception, obfuscation, and ob-

struction. But it seems unlikely that Starr will do this, since these investigations seem to have fallen short of developing hard evidence of wrongdoing. At this point, his prosecutors appear to believe that the Lewinsky case offers the best chance of obtaining "substantial and credible information . . . that may constitute grounds for an impeachment." Those words, under the independent-counsel law, are the trigger for a report to the House of Representatives.

Lewinsky's story

For six months, Lewinsky's position on what she was willing to tell a grand jury had changed little, if any. Even with her new, savvy Washington lawyers, Plato Cacheris and Jacob Stein, she remained at loggerheads with Starr's office. Then, on Lewinsky's 25th birthday—Thursday, July 23—Starr placed a call to her lawyers. He apparently told Stein that he was nearing the end of his witness list, and the time had arrived to make a deal. That conversation led to a five-hour meet-

ing between Lewinsky and the prosecutors in New York on Monday, July 27. The next day, Stein and Cacheris received the draft of an agreement outlining what testimony Starr wanted from Lewinsky.

Two sources close to Lewinsky's lawyers say that Starr had been insisting that she plead guilty to some lesser offense in exchange for immunity on other admissions she would make. But, they say, Stein and Cacheris would not budge. Starr finally relented and gave Lewinsky and her mother, Marcia Lewis, "transactional immunity," protecting them both from prosecution for crimes either may have committed, as long as Lewinsky testifies truthfully. It is the broadest form of immunity under the law.

What Starr got in return was crucial. Lewinsky apparently is willing to say that she and Clinton had sex and that Clinton suggested ways to hide their relationship from Jones's lawyers. Most important, Lewinsky delivered the dress and phone message tapes. Theoretically, that evidence would make it harder for the president to continue to deny that

White House's West Lobby. There were two reasons for the turnaround. First, with Starr's inquiry accelerating, the president, the first lady, and Kendall believed Starr would use every legal maneuver to force Clinton to testify on Starr's terms. Kendall also feared that Judge Norma Holloway Johnson would require Clinton to personally go before a grand jury—a humbling of the presidency that Thomas Jefferson in 1807 rejected as "preposterous." Clinton, imagining his place in the history books, told aides, "I'm not going to be the first president to appear before a grand jury." And the only way to avoid that, and extract favorable conditions, Kendall believed, was to negotiate immediately. Clinton insisted on testifying at the White House and having at least one of his lawyers present—something rarely done in grand jury appearances. Starr agreed on condition that Clinton be questioned under oath on videotape and closed-circuit TV.

The second reason behind Clinton's decision to testify was a message from Capitol Hill. If he refused, Democrats said, they would find it difficult to defend him



TRIPP. Her tape recorder was running.

in their fall re-election campaigns. Among those whose concerns impressed White House officials were House Democratic leader Dick Gephardt and a number of political consultants and pollsters.

In deciding to testify, Clinton has placed himself at considerable risk. If he

did not tell the truth last January when deposed in the Jones case, in response to the question about "sexual relations" with Lewinsky, he faces two problematic options. Either he admits to committing perjury then, or he risks committing perjury again by repeating his Jones testimony—this time before a federal grand jury. A second perjury would mean that Clinton's defenders could no longer argue that Starr was building a case out of an essentially trivial matter—a sex lie in a civil case that a judge had dismissed for lack of evidence.

For Clinton to continue to deny a sexual relationship with Lewinsky and a cover-up, he and his advisers must make the calculation that Starr has not compiled enough evidence to prove otherwise. "He could hope that in a two-sided story, his side will be the one that ends up being believed, or that it is a close enough call that nobody is really sure which one is telling the truth, and a toss-up goes to the target," says E. Lawrence Barcella, a former prosecutor and criminal defense lawyer in Washington. But it may not be exactly a

EVOLUTION OF A SCANDAL

Sex, secrets, and subpoenas

Events since Monica Lewinsky arrived in Washington three years ago:

JUNE 1995: Lewinsky starts work as an unpaid White House intern; six months later, she becomes a paid employee.

APRIL 1996: Reprimanded for lingering around the Oval Office, Lewinsky is transferred to the Pentagon, where she meets Linda Tripp.

FALL 1997: Tripp begins secretly taping phone talks in which Lewinsky says she had an affair with President Clinton.

DEC. 5, 1997: Clinton learns that Lewinsky will be subpoenaed in Paula Jones's sexual harassment case against him.

DEC. 28, 1997: Lewinsky visits Clinton in the White House.

JAN. 7, 1998: In a Jones case affidavit, Lewinsky denies having sex with Clinton.



Paula Jones

JANUARY 12: Tripp tells Kenneth Starr's office she has the Lewinsky tapes.

JANUARY 16: Tripp lures Lewinsky to lunch. Prosecutors show up and seek her cooperation.

JANUARY 17: Clinton, deposed in the Jones case, denies having an affair with Lewinsky.

JANUARY 21: Media report Clinton and Lewinsky allegedly had a sexual relationship.

JANUARY 22: Clinton tells press "the allegations are false" and

promises new information—"more rather than less, sooner rather than later."

JANUARY 26: "I did not have sexual relations with that woman, Miss Lewinsky," Clinton tells reporters. "I never told anybody to lie, not a single time—never."

APRIL 1: A federal judge dismisses the Paula Jones suit.

JULY 17: Starr's team asks Secret Service agents what they

saw and heard. Starr subpoenas Clinton.

JULY 27: An appeals court says lawyer Bruce Lindsey, a Clinton confidant, must testify.

JULY 28: Lewinsky and her mother agree to testify in exchange for full immunity. Prosecutors expect Lewinsky to say she and Clinton were intimate.

JULY 29: Clinton agrees to provide testimony on August 17.



JANUARY. "I did not have sexual relations with that woman."

they had an intimate relationship.

The biggest concession that Starr made in accepting the Lewinsky deal, political and legal observers believe, is what they once considered a key piece of evidence: a three-page document labeled "points to make in affidavit." Linda Tripp, Lewinsky's onetime friend, said the so-called talking points were instructions that Lewinsky handed her on how to lie in the Jones case—instructions that seemed to be written by someone with a fairly extensive knowledge of the law. But Lewinsky plans to testify that she wrote the document herself, based on comments made by Tripp.

"Starr's people must have become convinced through their dealings with Stein and Cacheris that the talking points were not what they appeared to be," says Bradford Berenson, a Washington criminal lawyer who has been supportive of Starr. "But in exchange, Lewinsky came forward and gave quite a bit more evidence of subornation of perjury and obstruction than they had before."

For prosecutors, the obstruction case has always been the most substantive. Lewinsky has offered to testify that Clinton described to her hypothetical language that could be used to conceal their relationship. Such evidence is not definitive proof of obstruction of justice. But combined with the allegation that Clinton

reviewed what he knew about Lewinsky with his personal secretary Betty Currie, a conversation that could be interpreted as coaching his aide to align her recollections with his in case she was called to testify in the Jones case, prosecutors believe they have the foundation of an obstruction case. The public, too, may be primed to believe that Clinton could have encouraged Lewinsky to deny their affair. Still, new polls show the president retaining his high approval ratings (story, Page 21).

Clinton's calculations

Clinton didn't agree to testify because he saw advantage in it. The months of stonewalling by David Kendall, one of his private lawyers, ended because Starr had subpoenaed the president and a judge was threatening to set a date for the testimony if Clinton did not comply. Within 24 hours of that threat, on July 28, Kendall and Clinton decided to cooperate "voluntarily." The next day, Kendall met with the president at his residence. The lawyer already had a date he had worked out with Starr, and Clinton assented. "Let's get it done," he told an aide minutes later.

Kendall then called White House Press Secretary Mike McCurry to work out the language of a terse statement that Kendall read to a snarl of reporters outside the

Starr's score card

Four years ago this week, Kenneth Starr took over the Whitewater investigation. The results so far:

■ **Indictments:** 19; **convictions:** 12; **acquittals or mistrials:** 2; **indictments thrown out by courts:** 7; **indictments reinstated by higher courts:** 3.

■ **Highest-ranking official forced from office:** Arkansas Gov. Jim Guy Tucker; **highest-ranking official named by Starr as an unindicted co-conspirator and allowed to remain in office:** Deputy White House Counsel Bruce Lindsey; **lowest-ranking official named as an unindicted co-conspirator and forced from office:** Bill Watt, a Little Rock traffic judge.

■ **Longest prison sentence:** 3 years, to Jim McDougal, who died in prison after serving less than a year; **most time served:** 21 months, by Susan McDougal, including 18 months for contempt of court and 3 months for a Whitewater conviction.

■ **Money spent on investigations through last September:** \$35 million; **number of lawyers on Starr's staff before the Lewinsky investigation:** 18; **lawyers added since then:** 10.

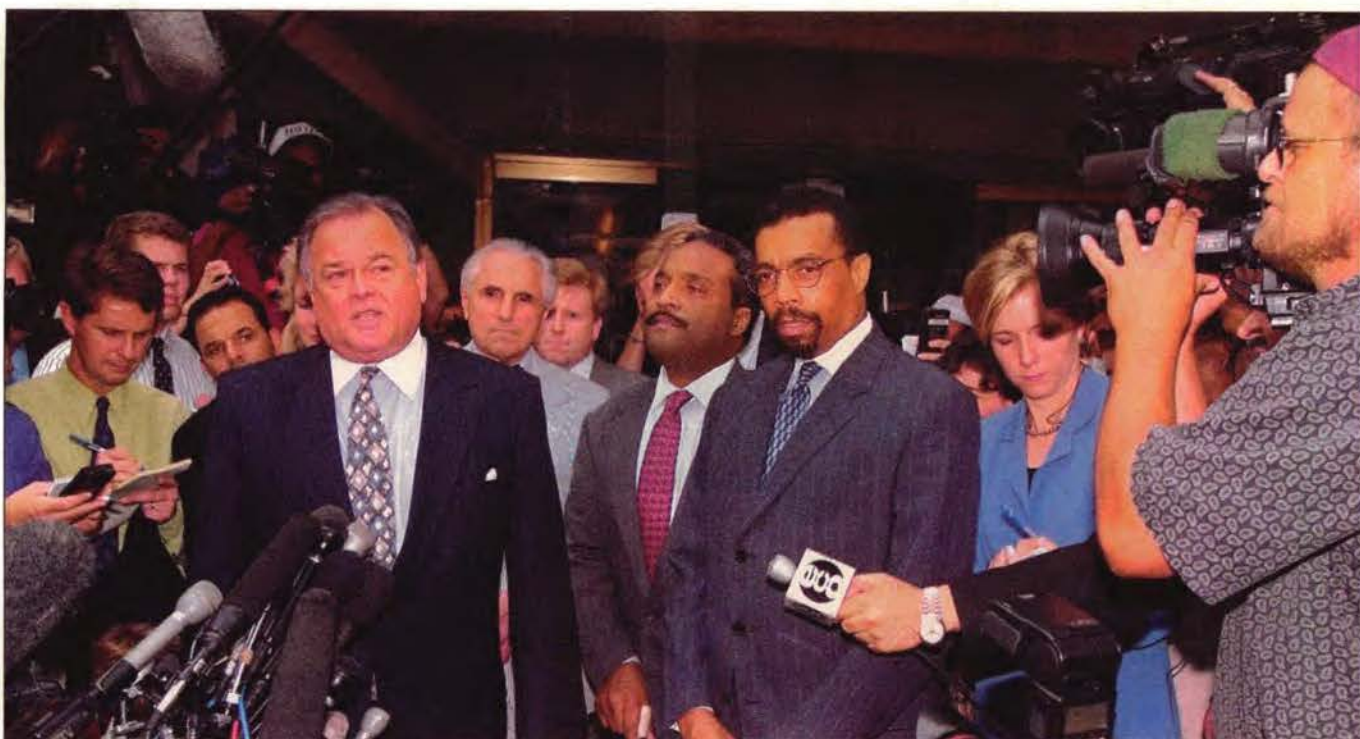
■ **Witnesses who have appeared before grand juries in the Lewinsky investigation:** at least 59; **witness with most grand jury appearances:** Linda Tripp (8).

■ **Number of times Starr questioned Bill Clinton about Whitewater and related matters:** 3; **times he questioned Hillary Rodham Clinton:** 3.

■ **Number of reports issued:** 1 (a finding that White House lawyer Vincent Foster committed suicide).



ENDGAME. In two days, Starr secures the testimony of the scandal's two central figures.



BREAKTHROUGH. Attorney Plato Cacheris, left, announces that Lewinsky will testify in exchange for full immunity from prosecution.

he-said, she-said case. The president will face a massive amount of potential corroboration collected by Starr over six months, including Secret Service testimony, sightings by White House staffers, White House logs of visits, 20 hours of Tripp-Lewinsky telephone tapes, and the recording made of Lewinsky when Tripp was wired by the FBI.

Whether the dress Lewinsky turned over will cause problems is not at all clear. First, it must be found to contain evidence of sex. Second, Starr must then obtain a DNA sample, such as blood or saliva, from the president. Some believe that Clinton would have to comply with a request for a DNA sample, just as he relented to Starr's request to testify after being subpoenaed. Other constitutional experts maintain that because it is not clear a sitting president can be indicted, he can't be forced to give a DNA sample as a prelude to a possible indictment. Clinton may try to hinge his defense on an interpretation of "sexual relations." But the highly specific definition used in the Jones case leaves him virtually no wiggle room.

Even the leaking to the media of the details of Lewinsky's planned testimony is viewed as part of a high-stakes strategic game. Some friends of the president see the leaks as part of a deliberate effort by Lewinsky's allies to give the White House advance warning of the questions Clinton might face from Starr's prosecutors. Although her lawyer-negotiated testimony itself is a blow to Clinton, their view is that she personally still wants to protect

him. Starr's supporters agree that the leaking harms his strategy. "They'd like the president to submit to an interrogation in as close to a state of ignorance as possible," says defense attorney Berenson. The more Clinton knows, the more he can shape his testimony.

Lies and legalities

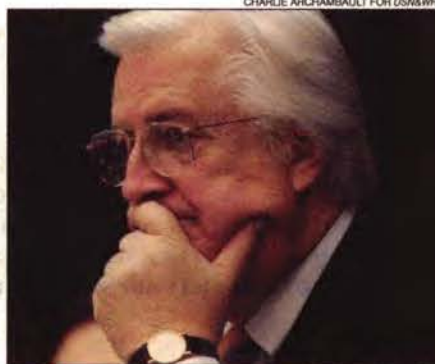
White House advisers expect Starr's team to quiz Clinton in detail about his alleged sexual relationship with Lewinsky. Prosecutors are likely to ask about the precise types of sexual encounters they may have had, whether there was sexual climax, and where the encounters occurred.

Still, even if Clinton did have sex with Lewinsky, he committed no crime when he told the American people that he didn't. (Polls for months have indicated that even if he did, the public seemed not

to care.) Clinton's problem is his five-hour deposition in the Jones case, in which he declared, "I have never had sexual relations with Monica Lewinsky." If Starr can show that to be a lie, through Lewinsky's testimony and possibly through physical evidence, the president's statement would appear to be perjury in that civil case. It is not clear whether the grand jury would charge him with a criminal offense for that, or even whether it would be permissible to do so under the Constitution, which suggests that "high crimes and misdemeanors" by the president are the province of congressional impeachment proceedings. But Starr could cite the lie as evidence of an impeachable offense in a report to Congress.

Nonetheless, while the nation and most lawmakers have yet to decide if committing perjury in the Jones case qualifies as an impeachable crime, several Republicans on the House Judiciary Committee have already decided it does. "To commit an act of perjury is unacceptable," says Rep. Charles Canady of Florida. "It's not a matter we can simply wink at."

The other issues involve the broad themes of witness tampering and obstruction of justice. Did Clinton obstruct justice by allegedly suggesting ways Lewinsky could conceal their affair? Paul Rothstein, a law professor at Georgetown University, says that depends on whom and what the cover stories were for—for friends and associates, for a court affidavit, or for a deposition. "If they were actually discussing her testimony in the Paula



CHARLIE ARCHAMBAULT FOR USNEWS

HOUSE'S HYDE. Awaiting Starr's report

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Jones case, that would definitely be illegal," Rothstein says. "It would definitely be suborning perjury, possibly obstruction of justice. It's witness tampering." But even then, Rothstein adds, Clinton may have an out, because the lie must involve something material to the case. "It has to be capable of influencing the judicial proceedings in which it is given." And a federal judge in Arkansas ruled that evidence regarding Clinton's relationship with Lewinsky was not essential to the Jones case.

Experts also have mixed views on whether Starr could build an obstruction case if Clinton told Lewinsky that she could avoid a subpoena on his gifts to her by returning them to his secretary Betty Currie. "If, as some of the reports say, Betty Currie gave them to her, and that's sort of the way they reward people in the office, that may fuzz it up," Rothstein says. "But that still comes close to obstruction of justice if, at the time he knows they are seeking these gifts from Monica and he tells her the way to avoid that is to give them back to Betty Currie. That... may well be over the line."

On the "talking points" memo, Clinton and his advisers appear, for now, to be off the hook. The memo appears to suggest that Tripp should shade the truth in her affidavit in the Jones case. Its authorship was important to Starr, because it could be used as hard, documentary evidence regarding witness tampering or obstruction of justice.

Last week it became clear that Lewinsky will testify that she wrote the reports herself, based on conversations with Tripp. That admission would seem to remove suspicion from Clinton's confidants, though Starr aide Charles Bakaly would not confirm that the issue is no longer important. Those who say it is diminished, he said, "are merely speculating or trying to promote a certain view." Tripp reacted angrily. "I had nothing, let me repeat, nothing to do," she said, "with preparing the so-called talking points."

White House strategy

A source very close to the president told *U.S. News* that Clinton realizes he must tell the truth to the grand jury or Starr will make a convincing case of perjury—and Congress will then begin impeachment hearings. Clinton is said to understand that even if those hearings didn't lead to actual impeachment, they would put the country through a lengthy trauma and would paralyze him and his administration.

Growing numbers of Clinton friends

THE MOOD IN MIDDLE AMERICA

It's time to move on, the people say

BY WARREN COHEN

JANESVILLE, WIS.—The lunch crowd at the Looking Glass Bar and Restaurant is finally finding something it likes about the Monica Lewinsky story: Maybe, just maybe, the diners are hoping, the sordid saga is about to reach its end.

"I am so sick of this story," moans Becky Malone, 25, a juvenile probation officer. "You try and watch the news and you're bombarded with it," adds Robert Penn, 41, a physician. "I've got more important things to do,"

coffeehouse after working 25 years at the local General Motors assembly plant, says, "Maybe if he got entangled with a spy from another country, it would be critical. But a private affair is a private thing."

Views become mixed, however, when the issue of adultery is blended with the question of lying. Some residents think Clinton would be justified in covering up an affair. "Any man in his right mind would lie, especially a married man," says Mike Islami, 28, operator of the Riverside Family Restaurant. "People figure that politicians

don't speak the truth anyway," says Chris Ryan, 37, a chemical company worker.

Yet a number of other people in Janesville refuse to look the other way. "I don't care about sexual peccadilloes, but it's important if he lied under oath," says Ray Holderman, 58, a family practitioner. "I could forgive someone if they had said they've made mistakes," says Neal

Forsman, 48, a culinary arts student, "but if they weren't truthful when given a chance to confess, then I have a problem."

Judi Kohl, 34, a teacher and longtime Clinton backer, agrees. "If he admits it now, he should step down," she says. In fact, a new *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News poll found 45 percent of the country believing that perjury would warrant impeachment hearings.

But Janesville is no hotbed of impeachment talk. Much of the chatter in town focuses instead on the recent walkout at the GM plant and the opening of a health club. Nor is the Janesville *Gazette* fixated on Washington's scandal. The Lewinsky dress that stirred headlines in big-city tabloids managed to make the *Gazette*'s front page last week—but with only a bit more prominence than was given a report on the prizewinning hogs that some local schoolgirls have entered in the Rock County Fair.



MCCULLOUGH. "A private affair is a private thing."

says Kim Demrow, 31, a hardware store employee, "like worry about my own life."

Sentiment in downtown Janesville, a farm-and-factory community of 58,000 that went for Clinton in 1992 and 1996, roughly mirrors the views that for months have dominated national polls. People questioned on the street tend to believe that Clinton had a sexual relationship with Lewinsky—but most still approve of his job as president.

What's important. "His personal life has no bearing on his work performance," says Vicki Pederson, 48, a sales clerk. "The story is sleazy and bothersome," says Frederic Hoesly, 58, a retired high school English teacher, "but it's not as important as the good job he's done as president."

"The only thing that matters," adds Jacen Heideman, 42, a bank manager, "is whether Hillary is happy with him." Cynthia McCullough, who opened a

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and advisers, including former aides George Stephanopoulos and Davidergen (now editor at large for *U.S. News*), along with congressional Democrats such as Gephardt are publicly urging the president to explain his relationship with Lewinsky more fully. The problem is that no one except the president and presumably the first lady and Kendall know what went on. Several prominent Clinton allies are prepared to counsel him that the American people do not expect salacious details but would forgive him if he admitted making a mistake. In one suggested scenario, he would say he misled people about his relationship with Lewinsky to protect the honor of his wife, his daughter, and the country.

Still, sources say that both Mrs. Clinton and Kendall adamantly want him to stick to his earlier denial. And there are no plans at the White House for the president to make any *mea culpa* speech at this time. If it happens, Clinton strategists say, it would not be before he gives his August 17 testimony. Starr's questions will help his legal team to determine exactly what evidence the independent counsel has—knowledge that could be vital in crafting a *mea culpa* that would win public sympathy and blunt any counterattack by Starr's office.

If Clinton did confess to misstatements, however, the Lewinsky matter would lose much of its significance. Some believe that Starr would then deliver to Congress a broad report dealing with his other investigations of Clinton—Whitewater, Travelgate, Filegate.

The broader-report option may account for the fact that Starr has kept Little Rock FBI agents detailed to him even after the Little Rock grand jury ended its work. Those agents have been gathering documents for prosecutors who are writing a narrative report—although it is not known how much of the report is completed, one source said. Complicating things for Starr is the matter of Clinton's confidant and top aide Bruce Lindsey, whose testimony Starr also is seeking. Lindsey entered a hospital last week for back surgery and is unlikely to be able to testify until late August. This could delay Starr's report if Lindsey's testimony is deemed critical.

White House advisers are concerned

that Starr will deliver his report just before the midterm elections—as a bombshell designed to hurt the Democrats in November. Then, according to this thinking, which assumes continued GOP control of Congress, House Judiciary Committee Chairman Henry Hyde will give Starr two or three days to present his findings on national TV in January or February, with no questions allowed until later. Democrats worry that Starr will ef-

public hearings are warranted. Sequestering the report will require a change in House rules that currently permit any member to request a copy. House Democrats are expected to comply. "We want to keep it under lock and key," says Hyde. "We don't want people just piling on like it was a sale at J. C. Penney."

Hyde and other senior Republicans worry that the Starr report will arrive in late September, forcing them to decide the

question of impeachment in the heat of the midterm elections. "It might arrive so close to the election," Hyde says, "that we would have to think long and hard about whether to hold it over until after the election." For now, Hyde downplays the possibility of conducting impeachment hearings before November. "I'm not thinking in those terms," he says.

Unlike some senior Republicans, Hyde sees no reason to conduct hearings on the report unless the goal is to draft, debate, and vote on articles of impeachment. Some Republicans have privately suggested letting Starr testify about the contents of his report—thereby giving people time to consider the significance of his conclusions. Republicans who favor this approach see it as a way to measure public sentiment without appearing to take partisan advantage, but Hyde says he does not want to hold hearings for PR purposes.

"We want to do this in as much of a bipartisan way as possible," he says. "Whatever we do will be criticized for its partisanship. When this begins, I am going to paint myself with shark repellent every morning."

House Republicans remain uneasy about dealing with a Starr report in the heat of the campaign season. They know some Democrats will accuse them of partisanship no matter what they do, and they know the public's reaction could tip the balance in several key open seat races in November. Indeed, the notion of holding impeachment hearings makes even Clinton's critics uncomfortable. Says Rep. Jennifer Dunn of Washington State, a member of the House GOP leadership: "You would have to be crazy to be excited about doing this."

Elise Ackerman and Marci McDonald also contributed to this story



TESTIMONY AHEAD. Lewinsky heads for her lawyers' offices.

fectively present a mini-soap opera detailing Lewinsky's time at the White House, with spicy riffs on her romantic entanglements with the president, and this will cause the country to turn on Clinton.

Congress's endgame

Republicans have already agreed on how to proceed once the report arrives. First, they will try to sequester the report. Despite the media feeding frenzy they know will ensue, Republicans want to keep it closely held until a handful of lawmakers can review its contents and recommend to the full House whether



What happened a few hours later was the legal all-star game of the Lewinsky scandal. Kendall, Starr and Lewinsky's lawyers gathered for the first time in one room for a hearing so private the court clerk would not confirm it happened. The issue at hand was Starr's appeal of a sealed order last month by the lower-court judge Norma Holloway Johnson, who not only admonished Starr for his team's alleged leaks but also ordered him to turn over records of its contacts with the media. The President's lawyer, who had lodged the almost forgotten complaint about leaks last February, had obviously hit pay dirt with Johnson. His motion had all his legal trademarks: it was litigated in secret, was designed to keep Starr quiet, and is a subject about which Kendall will say nothing. Sources tell TIME the appeals court put the matter on hold

MEDIA SHY

David Kendall, the President's personal attorney and old friend, operates with a low profile but is a formidable negotiator

following the closed-door session, but the episode had clearly escalated the hostilities between Starr and Kendall.

Kendall has proved a striking antagonist to Starr. He is a Quaker to Starr's more evangelical brand of Christian; a liberal to Starr's Federalist Society conservative; a man who does his pro bono work for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, while Starr moonlighted as counsel for a conservative Wisconsin foundation's fight for school choice. Their interplay became all the more intriguing last week when the heretofore academic question of whether the President can be subpoenaed became a very, very real

one. Although the move put both sides into uncharted legal territory, it seems fairly certain that a sitting President—unlike White-water defendant Susan McDougal or any other ordinary citizen—cannot be sent to jail for contempt. One response Clinton can make to the subpoena is to move to quash it. Failing that, if he refuses to testify, the question of whether he must comply immediately goes to Congress. It is Congress that would then decide whether to hold hearings to determine if his defiance merits impeachment proceedings. Those hearings would inevitably give Starr an opportunity to make a broader case of widespread corruption at the White House. And while airing his case in a political setting might seem to play to Clinton's strength, last week the President's political strategists told his lawyers bluntly that Clinton will jeopardize his support

BRAD MARKEL—GAMMA LIAISON FOR TIME

among House Democrats if he refuses to testify.

Kendall's preferred option will always be silence. It was Kendall who moved most forcefully in the 48 hours after the scandal broke to shut down Clinton's own plan to explain himself and go public with, as the President put it, more rather than less; sooner rather than later. Even as the White House spin operation was weighing options on how and when Clinton would tell his story—whether it was to be in an interview or a news conference, on television or in print—"the lawyers went through chapter and verse with [Clinton] and decided it was in his best interest not to say anything," White House press secretary Mike McCurry recalled last week.

No other decision is likely to have such a profound impact on how history will view the second half of the Clinton presidency. In purely legal terms, the strategy was arguably a sound one, the surest way to ensure Clinton's survival against what his defenders view as a perjury trap on Starr's part. But for the sake of his presidency, many in and out of the White House still believe Clinton should have drawn upon his skills as the most powerful communicator of his generation to put forward an explanation, take his chances with the consequences and try to get the scandal behind him. McCurry still wishes that Clinton had



THE THREAT

Lewinsky is the only person besides Clinton and Kendall who knows what happened

SILENT FOR NOW

The Clintons and Buddy head to Camp David while his lawyer talks with Starr

come clean, although he admits the question is a close one. "Most people think we've probably done the right thing," he says. "But we've now spent day and night for six months engulfed in this mess."

No one can know for sure, however, without knowing Clinton's entire story, and Kendall may be the only person other than the President himself who does. Says a former White House strategist: "If the facts are bad, it's absolutely the right strategy." What appears certain by all accounts is that Kendall enjoys the unwavering confidence of his clients, particularly the First Lady, who first got to know the 54-year-old lawyer as a fellow Yale law student, and who shares his near obsession with secrecy. "He's an extraordinary human being," Hillary Clinton told TIME. "He is extreme-

ly intelligent, but he's also just a decent, grounded person from head to toe, and he always impressed me—from the time that I met him until today—as someone that I could count on and trust implicitly."

It was not their old law-school ties but a budding controversy over a land deal in Arkansas that brought Kendall to the Clintons' defense five years ago. And typically, he was on the case for months before his representation of the world's most famous client became public. As the Whitewater scandal grew, so did the questions about Kendall. Could a media-shy lawyer known mainly for his work in the genteel arena of First Amendment law (his eclectic client list also includes the *National Enquirer* and Mohammed al Fayed, whose son Dodi died in the car crash that killed the



PRESIDENTS WHO TESTIFY Clinton wouldn't be the first, but the

DOES INDEPENDENT COUNSEL KENNETH STARR HAVE THE POWER TO subpoena President Clinton to appear before a grand jury? Now that he has tried, lawyers will be debating legal precedents dating back to the early days of the Republic. It's true, as the Supreme Court said last year in *Clinton v. Jones*, that Presidents have been responding to court orders often enough that "such interactions can scarcely be thought a novelty." But until now no sitting President has been subpoenaed in a criminal investigation of which he was the focus. They've always given evidence against others. Clinton supporters say the Constitution permits criminal charges to be brought against Presidents by Congress only through the impeachment process. If a court cannot try a President, they argue, it cannot make him answer a subpoena either. If Clinton responds to Starr's subpoena by refusing to appear, he may provide the legal case that settles the question once and for all.



1807 THOMAS JEFFERSON

Jefferson agreed to provide information to the court presiding over the treason trial of former Vice President Aaron Burr

Princess of Wales) handle a case that pitted him not only against an extraordinarily aggressive independent counsel but also two intensely partisan congressional committees? Within the White House, there were monumental battles over how much to disclose, with Kendall almost always arguing for nothing. Some still fault him for allowing what they insist is a groundless investigation into an ill-starred real estate venture to spawn controversies over mysteriously reappearing billing records, arcane battles with Congress over White House lawyers' notes, and the first-ever testimony of a First Lady before a grand jury.

Whatever questions remain about Kendall's political instincts, no one doubts any longer his stomach for battle. Says Kendall's good friend and law partner Bob Barnett, who preceded Kendall as the Clintons' attorney and is again representing the First Couple as they ponder their options after the presidency: "He knows how to fight trench warfare, and he's good at it." There is little that intimidates about this slightly built Rhodes scholar, who has an altar boy's face, a 30-year marriage and a taste that runs to highbrow books, lowbrow movies and stylish suits (at least by the standards of Washington, where a double-breasted jacket is still considered fashion forward). But on the wall of his office hangs a receipt for \$35.50 that got him out of a Mississippi jail after three days on charges of operating his VW Beetle without an inspection sticker—one of at least a dozen times he was arrested while registering blacks to vote in the summer of 1964. At one time a third-generation conscien-

tious objector, he surrendered that status to go 1-A and joined the ROTC in 1967, only to end up serving in a desk job close to home, at Fort Benjamin Harrison in Indiana.

KENDALL ALSO BRINGS TO CLINTON'S defense a criminal-law background that includes the only type of cases whose consequences can make impeachment seem trivial: death-penalty appeals. He made that his specialty during the 1970s as an N.A.A.C.P. lawyer. To build a relationship with his condemned clients, he would play chess with them by postcard, with as many as nine miniature boards of partly played games cluttering his cramped office at any given time. And Kendall once had to be restrained from throwing a punch at a burly warden who refused to allow his doomed client John Spenkelink to see a clergyman.

In 1978 Kendall found his way into the heart of the Washington establishment when he moved to the city's most storied criminal-law firm, Williams & Connolly, founded by the quintessential insider, Edward Bennett Williams. The firm and its connections into virtually every corner of Washington's criminal bar account for much of the leverage Kendall holds; many of the figures in Starr's case hired lawyers recommended by Kendall, Barnett and others at their firm, and Kendall has long-standing ties to Lewinsky's lawyers as well. As one witness after another parades before the grand jury, it is perfectly legal for everyone in this network to share what has been said in the secret proceedings and what they

have been able to discern of Starr's strategy.

From what he has learned so far, it must give Kendall pause to realize that if Clinton testifies willingly or under court order, the President may not have much room to maneuver. Starr will want to explore every detail, pressing Clinton far harder than Paula Jones' attorneys did last January about the details of his alleged relationship with Lewinsky. If they didn't have sex, as Clinton insisted last January, what did they do exactly? And Clinton has never been asked in detail about the steps taken by Vernon Jordan and secretary Betty Currie to find a job for Lewinsky after she was subpoenaed in the Paula Jones case last December.

Kendall will almost certainly try in his negotiations with Starr to circumscribe the questions: he might insist, for example, on an arrangement under which Clinton would be required to answer questions about only the period in which Lewinsky worked at the White House, thereby avoiding any discussion of the period in which a cover-up might have occurred. But it is difficult to imagine how Starr, who has subpoenaed Lewinsky's bookstore receipts, would accept such limits. And it is hard to imagine that Kendall would agree to allow Clinton to testify without them.

If Clinton is flirting with the idea of breaking his silence, Kendall can be counted on to stay wedded to his. For this article, he refused to be interviewed, except to confirm basic biographical data. Asked for anything further, Kendall offered the answer he has practiced so often it has become a reflex: "I don't have any comment at all." —*With reporting by Michael Duffy and Michael Weisskopf/Washington*

thers weren't called in criminal cases in which they might be a target



1975 GERALD FORD

Ford testified by videotaped deposition in Lynette ("Squeaky") Fromme's trial for attempting to assassinate him



1980 JIMMY CARTER

Carter provided videotaped testimony in connection with the bribery trial of fugitive financier Robert Vesco



1990 RONALD REAGAN

Reagan, his presidency over, gave videotaped testimony in the Iran-contra trial of his former National Security Adviser John Poindexter

If Truth Be Told ...

DO THE MAJORITY OF AMERICANS REALLY care about President Clinton and Monica Lewinsky ("What Will He Say Now?" NATIONAL AFFAIRS, Aug. 10)? Taxpayers have already spent millions of dollars on an issue that doesn't affect us personally or economically. How many hungry people could be fed, homeless people housed and children immunized for that cost? Instead, Kenneth Starr gets to spend the tax money from our hard-earned paychecks to search for the history behind the president's zipper. The president's only judge should be Hillary Clinton.

JEFFREY B. CARMACK
LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

IF ALL THE PEOPLE WHO COMMITTED work-related adultery and lied about it were forced out of their jobs, it would decimate the American work force. There should be legislation protecting a president while he is in office, since having to testify must be crippling his ability to concentrate on running the country. With regard to Monica Lewinsky, I can understand a woman's having an interest in saving an outfit she has worn for a notable event, but I fail to understand why she would want to preserve it with alleged semen stains intact unless she was planning to cause trouble for the alleged ejaculator. As it happens, I am in my 50s and feel that Bill Clinton is the best president this country has had in my lifetime.

ELLEN R. GUION
NORWALK, CONN.

MANY IN THE MEDIA REPORT THAT THE public is not interested in the Lewinsky-Clinton scandal and just want it to go away. In my opinion, the public should be vitally interested in this matter. The president should be a person we can look up to with pride and with confidence that he is an honorable individual. If we say we do not care about any purported sexual misconduct or unlawful actions by the president, what kind of message are we giving the young minds who will inherit this nation? I believe Mr. Clinton's misbehavior is unacceptable and he should be impeached.

ROY R. TORCASO
WHEATON, MD.

Turn the Question Around

THANK YOU FOR RUNNING IM JUNG Kwun's essay on the prevention of domestic violence ("Facing Down Abusers," MY TURN, Aug. 10). I've done volunteer and consulting work for some time in this field, and I am still surprised at how many people ask why women in abusive relationships

MAIL CALL

The Clinton Show

When our Aug. 10 issue appeared three weeks ago with a cover story speculating on what President Clinton and Monica Lewinsky would say to the grand jury, a number of readers responded with a resounding:

So what? "Spare us, please," begged one. "Get on with the hurricane season or something ... anything." A 12-year-old girl compared the incessant coverage of the president's private life to "The Truman Show," asking, "Who really cares?" But as the tremendous interest in the president's admission last week of an improper relationship showed, the story, which seemed merely tawdry one day and history-making the next, is certain to be with us for a long time.



don't just leave. The fact is that victims often don't know where to go because society doesn't offer them enough options. And when they do try to leave the relationship, the abusers often threaten to kill them. This epidemic will not go away until we address the real problem. We have to stop asking, "Why doesn't she just leave?" and start asking, "Why does he keep hurting her?"

ANN L. DAVIS
PHILADELPHIA, PA.

Raising the Bar

ROBERT J. SAMUELSON'S ESSAY "THE WASTAGE in Education" makes some excellent points about the poor level of scholarship among public-school teachers (JUDGMENT CALLS, Aug. 10). However, I must take issue with his implication that the shamefully low salary of teachers is not a real problem. Most teachers receive pay far below that of other professionals. There are a staggering number of us who are qualified, competent, highly motivated teachers with multiple college degrees who will never earn enough money to buy a house or to take on more than one small car payment per month. Journalist Rick Bragg said it best when he wrote that teaching is an occupation "where you can climb and climb and pile up honors to the moon, and still be poor as field dirt."

MICHAEL P. MCCLUNG
HAMILTON, ALA.

SELDOM HAVE I SEEN THE PROBLEM WITH education in the United States so well defined as it was by Robert Samuelson. As a teacher with 30 years' experience in one of the worst school districts in the country, I am glad to see much of the blame for the ills of education laid where it belongs: on fuzzy thinking by the people in charge. Until incompetent teachers can be fired and effective teachers can be rewarded, education in America shows little promise of improvement.

REBA D. DUNCAN
TALLULAH, LA.

A King for Our Time

YOUR PIECE ON KING HUSSEIN OF JORDAN'S illness accurately characterized his charisma and stability in a notoriously unstable region ("The Day After," INTERNATIONAL, Aug. 10). While I am no expert in the area's complex politics, I have worked as an archeologist in Jordan for nearly 20 years, and it has often seemed that the king is the only leader in the region with a genuine and enduring concern for peace. We can all hope that modern medicine will allow him to continue this heartfelt quest.

ALAN H. SIMMONS
LAS VEGAS, NEV.

Correction

IN OUR MAY 25 ISSUE, A CAPTION FOR THE satellite photograph of India's nuclear-testing facility was in error ("Ground Zero," SPECIAL REPORT). The image shows only a portion of the weapons-testing complex, not the main facility, and was not recorded the week before the blasts, but seven years ago. NEWSWEEK regrets the error.

Newsweek

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PERSPECTIVES

"In fact, it was wrong."

President Clinton, acknowledging in a nationally televised address that he had a relationship that "was not appropriate" with the then 21-year-old White House intern Monica Lewinsky



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"When I see you wearing this tie I'll know that I am close to your heart." **Monica Lewinsky**, when giving Clinton a necktie he then wore on her first day of testimony before Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr's grand jury, according to a friend

"It's fair to say this is not the best day of her life." **Marsha Berry**, spokesman for First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, speaking the day after the president's admission of infidelity

"I am proud of him because he is a great president." Vice President **Al Gore**, in a statement delivered from Hawaii, where he is vacationing with his family, after Clinton's address



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"The Constitution doesn't give us the option of docking a president without pay for two months." Former White House spokesman **Jody Powell**, on the all-or-nothing option facing Congress in an impeachment process

"It's hard to know which to do first: scream, cry or take a shower." A *Philadelphia Daily News* editorial on Clinton's admission

"I didn't elect him to be my husband. I only elected him to lead." **Ann DeLaney**, former chair of the Indiana Democratic Party, on why she can disregard Clinton's moral failings

"According to the polls, 12 percent of the American public thinks that oral sex isn't sex. I'm sure they're just doing it wrong." A popular Israeli joke, according to Tel Aviv's *Ma'ariv* newspaper



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"Today, we have struck back." **Clinton**, announcing the missile attack on two alleged terrorist installations—a training camp in Afghanistan and a factory in Sudan said to produce chemical weapons—in response to the recent bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania

"I especially want to know the reason for doing it now. I want to know what the evidence was." Pennsylvania Sen. **Arlen Specter**, a Republican, questioning whether Clinton ordered the attack in an effort to distract attention from his domestic troubles

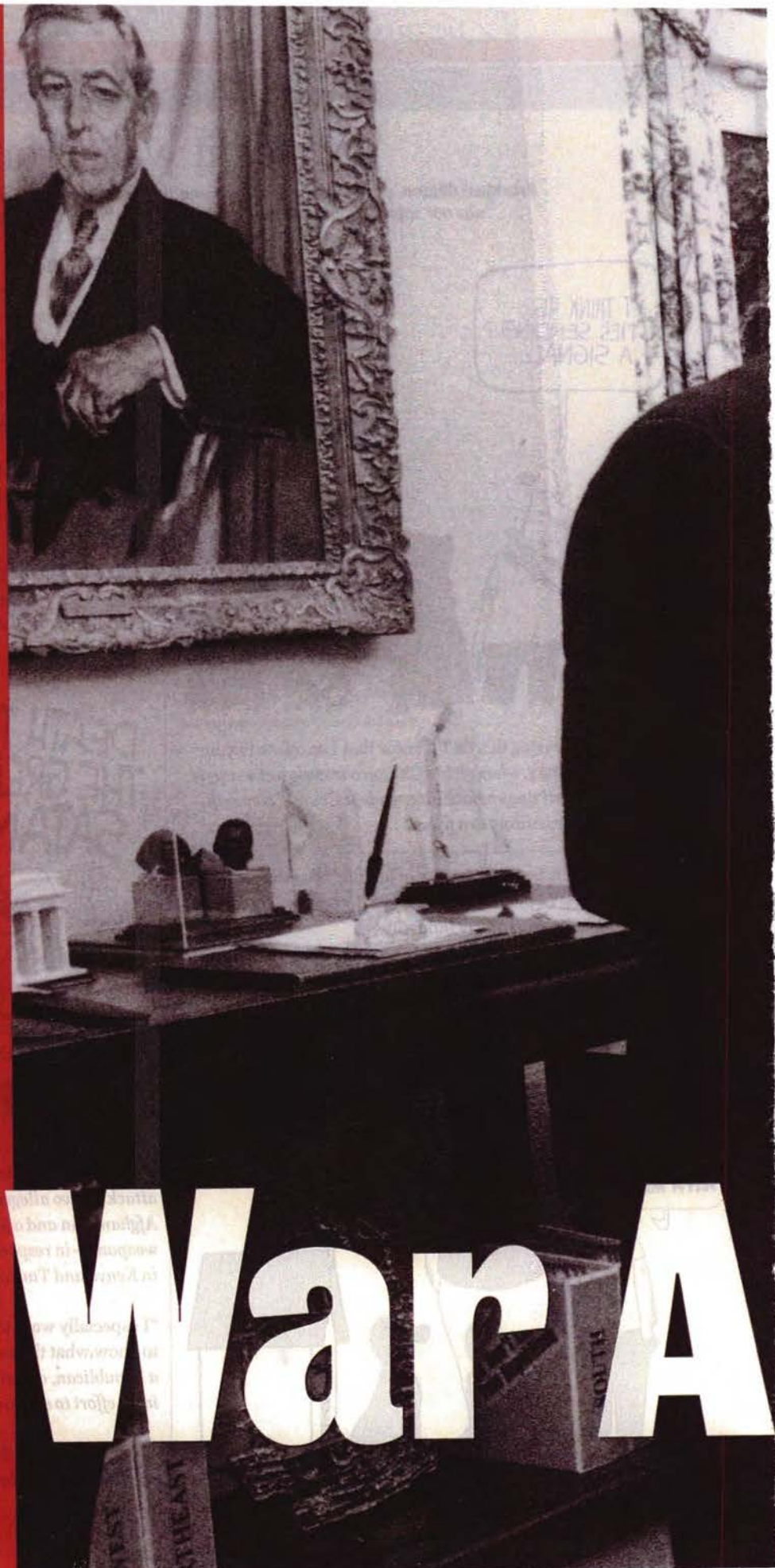
"I don't think he's that much of a dimwit." **Lina Fetter**, an accountant from Morris Plains, N.J., suggesting that he did not

Newsweek

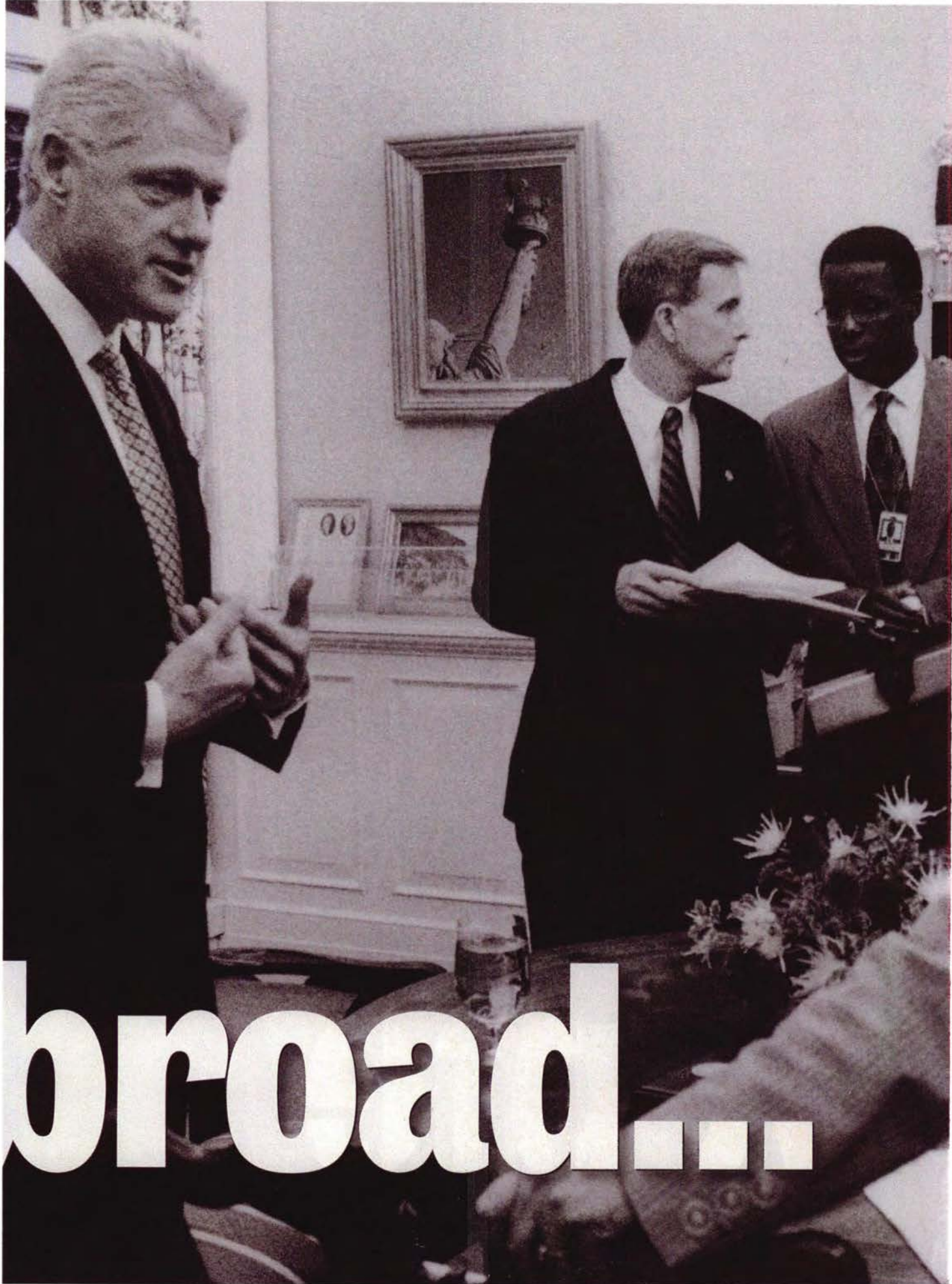
“ Let our actions today send this message loud and clear: There are no expendable American targets. There will be no sanctuary for terrorists. We will defend our people, our interests and our values. We will help people of all faiths in all parts of the world who want to live free of fear and violence. We will persist and we will prevail. ”

— PRESIDENT CLINTON
THURSDAY, AUG. 20, 1998

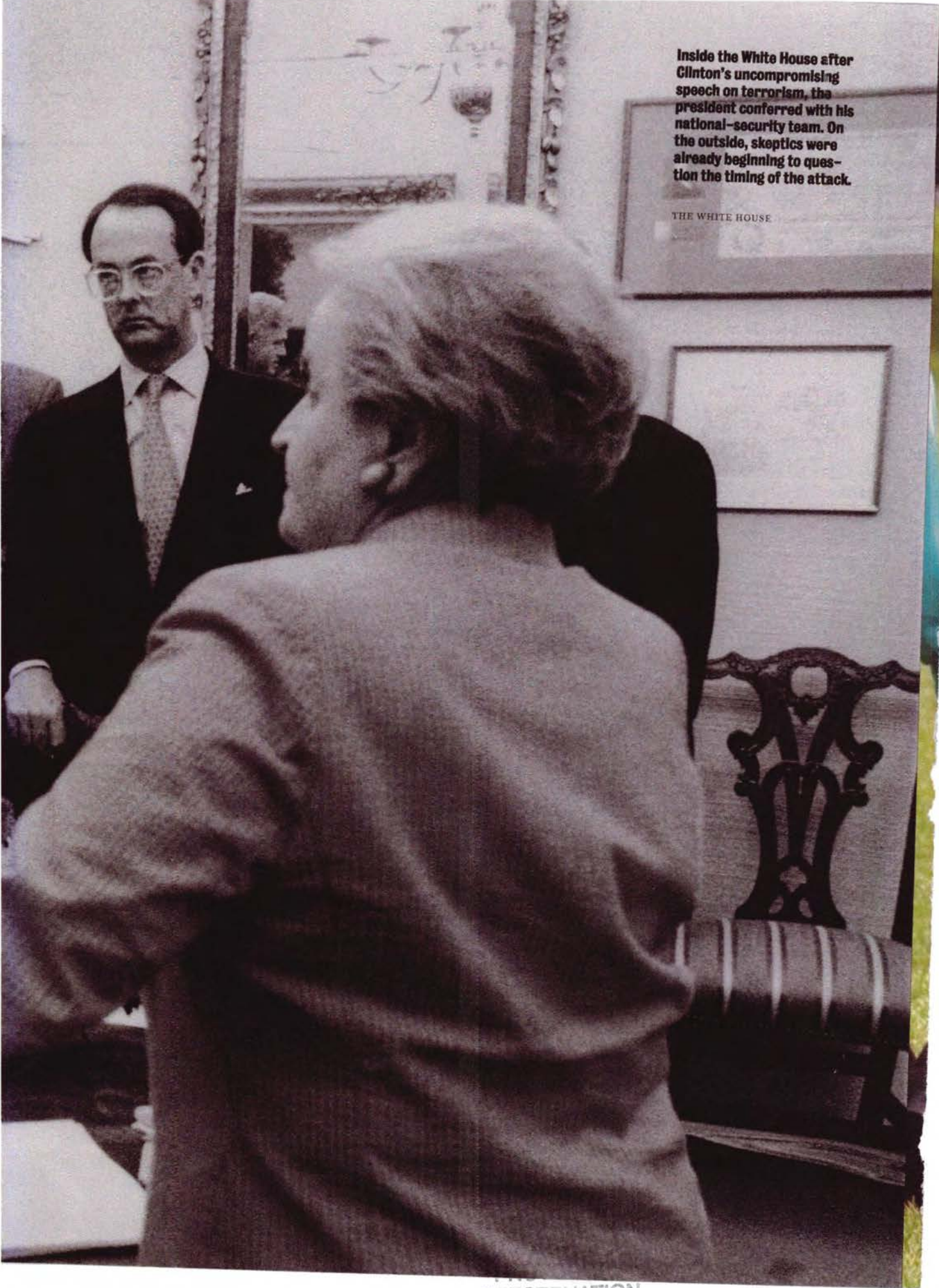
At War A



PRESERVATION

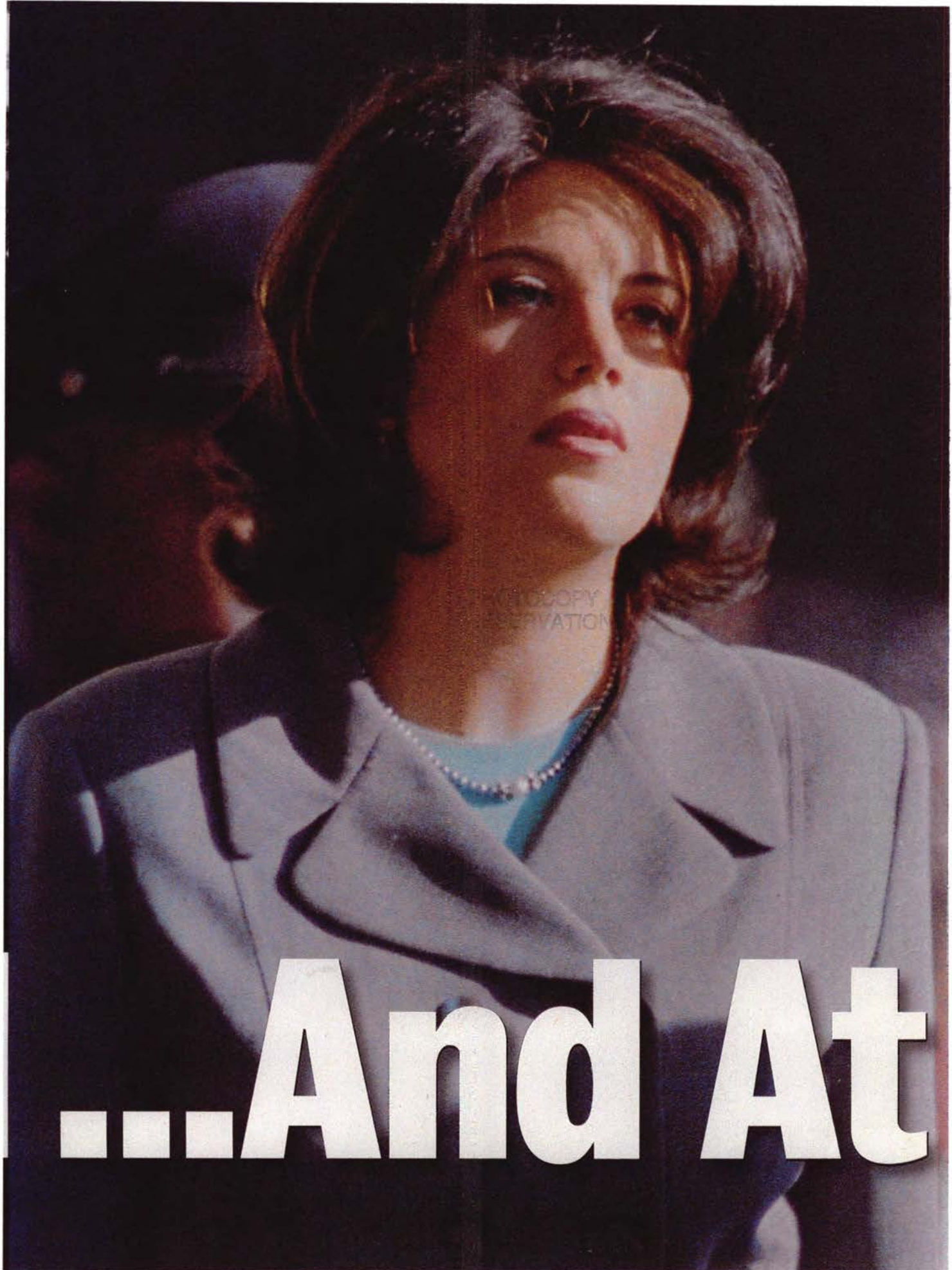


PRESERVATION



Inside the White House after Clinton's uncompromising speech on terrorism, the president conferred with his national-security team. On the outside, skeptics were already beginning to question the timing of the attack.

THE WHITE HOUSE



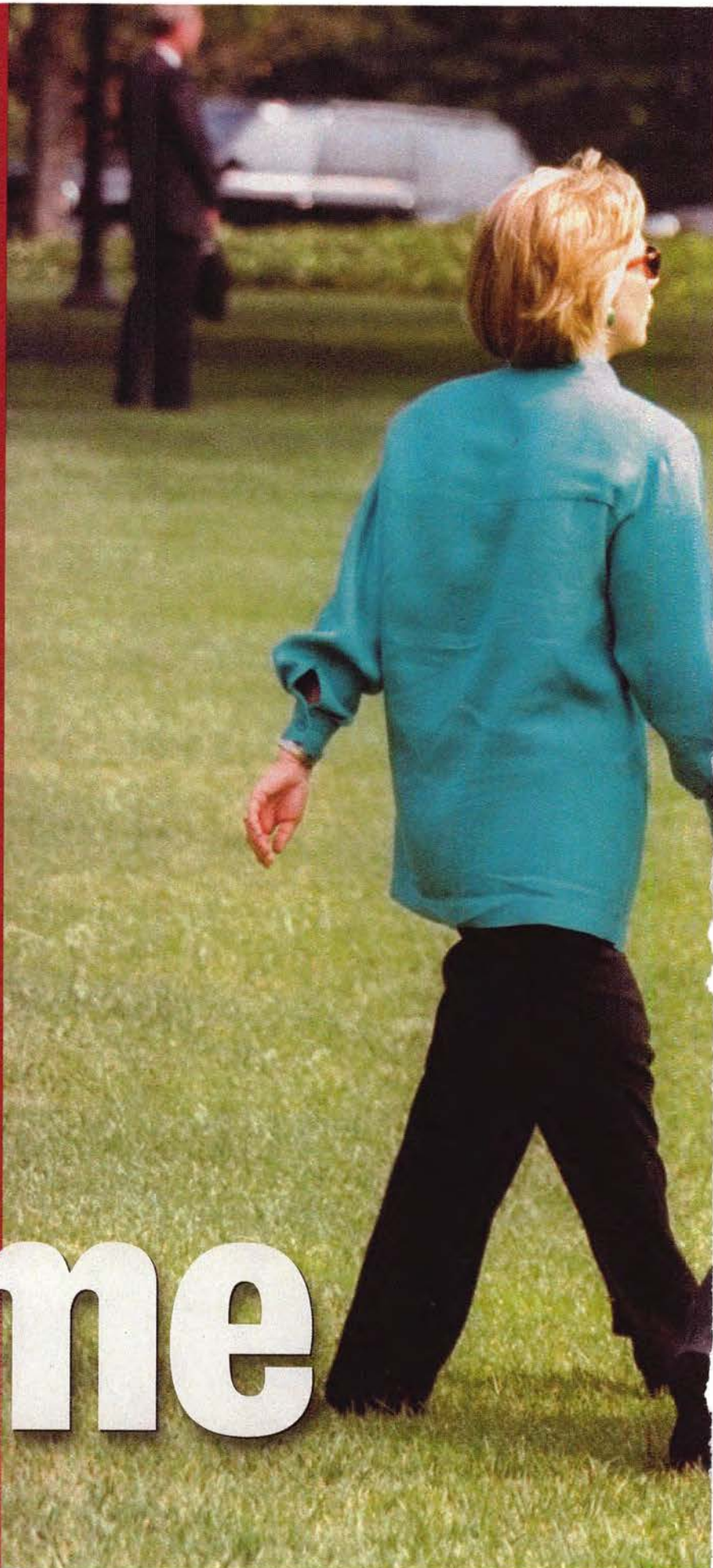
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REPRODUCTION

...And At

“ I did have a relationship with Miss Lewinsky that was not appropriate. In fact, it was wrong. It constituted a critical lapse in judgment and a personal failure on my part ... I know that my public comments and my silence about this matter gave a false impression. I misled people, including even my wife. I deeply regret that. ”

— PRESIDENT CLINTON
MONDAY, AUG. 17, 1998

Home



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



In his address Monday night, Clinton emphasized his need to put things right with his family and put the Lewinsky matter behind them. With Chelsea linking her parents together, the First Family left for vacation the next day.

KEN CEDENO—SIPA (LEFT),
BRAD MAHREL—GAMMA LIAISON

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Firing range: In an extraordinary week of high stakes and low moments, Bill Clinton battled both Kenneth Starr and foreign terror. The furious reaction to his sex-scandal speech raised new questions about his ability to lead. BY HOWARD FINEMAN

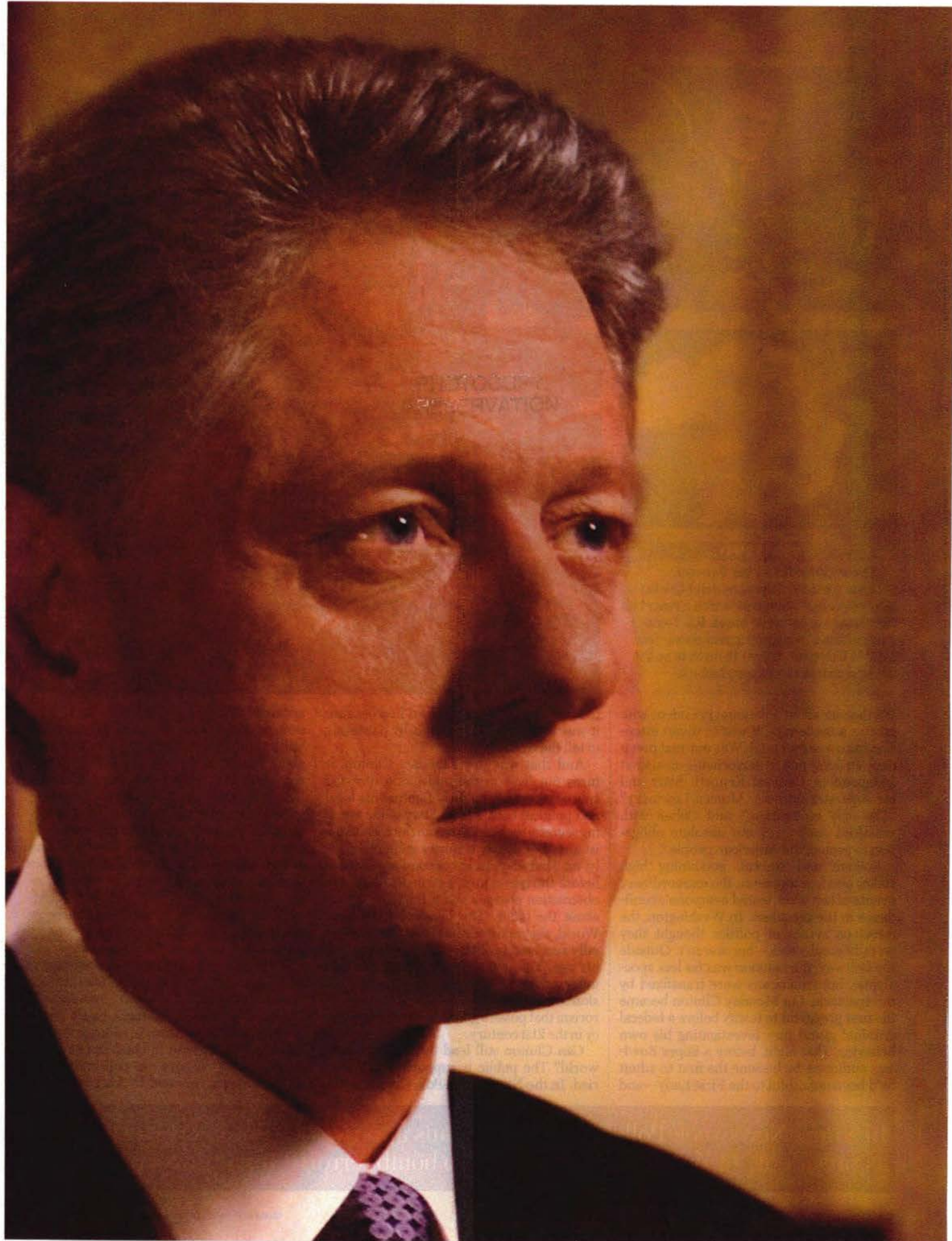
Collateral Damage

WITH A SINGLE WORD, the president of the United States can command the furies. But can he command personal respect? Bill Clinton gave the word at 3 a.m., in his borrowed vacation home on Martha's Vineyard. Sandy Berger, his national-security adviser, was on the line. For a week, in deep secrecy, Clinton and his innermost circle had planned retaliatory airstrikes against Osama bin Laden, the wealthy Saudi terrorist they blamed for the bombing of two American em-

bassies in Africa. Now it was launch time, Berger said. But the president still had the option to call it off. Clinton's reply: "Go." By morning, they went: 80 cruise missiles, fired from warships, exploding in the heart of Khartoum and the hills of Afghanistan.

There were cheers in Washington and throughout the world. But there also were instant questions about ... a movie. In the Pentagon briefing room, only minutes after the president announced the strike, Defense Secretary William Cohen got the query. Had he seen the film "Wag the Dog"?

Commander in chief or philanderer in chief? As Bill Clinton struggles to save his presidency, the whole world is watching.





BOMBS AWAY

Just hours after the strike, Defense Secretary William Cohen and Joint Chiefs Chairman Hugh Shelton delivered a report on the damage to terrorist bases. U.S. Tomahawk missiles destroyed a pharmaceutical plant in Khartoum (right) thought to be the site of a chemical-weapons factory.



It's the one about a fictional president who creates a made-for-TV war to divert attention from a sex scandal. Was our real president striking just at terrorism—or also at Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr and his superstar witness, Monica Lewinsky? “The only motivation,” said Cohen with practiced cool, “was our absolute obligation to protect the American people.”

Solemn and surreal, combining high stakes and low moments, the extraordinary events of last week tested everyone's confidence in the president. In Washington, the ferocious cynics of politics thought they were beyond shock—but weren't. Outside the Beltway, the reaction was far less apocalyptic, but Americans were transfixed by the spectacle. On Monday Clinton became the first president to testify before a federal criminal grand jury investigating his own behavior. That night, before a Super Bowl-size audience, he became the first to admit he'd been unfaithful to the First Lady—and

to admit, in essence, that he'd lied because it was too painful and politically damaging to tell the truth.

And that was just Monday. Clinton, it turns out, was in the midst of a dizzying split-screen war, publicly fighting his legal and political battles with Starr while meeting secretly with aides to plan the antiterrorist airstrike. The two stories collided, finally, on Thursday. In her second appearance before the grand jury, Lewinsky discussed obstruction charges and a flurry of details about the affair. The Leader of the Free World, she reportedly testified, had repeatedly received oral sex from an intern half his age. Yet at the very moment she was talking, the president was unveiling his mission: attacking the high-tech, stateless terrorism that poses a grave threat to democracy in the 21st century.

Can Clinton still lead the nation, or the world? The public is supportive but worried. In the NEWSWEEK Poll, Clinton's job-

approval rating rose slightly—from 59 percent to 62 percent. Few (22 percent) are willing to believe anything he now says about his personal life, yet most (63 percent) find him credible on national issues. Still, voters don't much trust him. A majority (54 percent) think he is lying about whether he obstructed Starr's probe; 40 percent think that political diversion had at least something to do with the antiterrorist strike. And voters now fret about Clinton's effectiveness, believing that the Monica story has eroded—either seriously or somewhat—his ability to lead the country (60 percent) or the world (63 percent).

If the public reaction was calm and measured, the first reaction of the pundit class was near hysteria. In the corridors of Washington and the editorial pages of the country, Clinton wasn't commander in chief but philanderer in chief, the object of derision and distrust—a politically crippled character, trapped by his own crude

In a new Newsweek Poll, **62%** of Americans approve of Clinton's performance as president; **73%** support his decision to bomb terrorist targets overseas



TAKING CHARGE

Just two days after leaving Washington for Martha's Vineyard, Clinton climbed back aboard Air Force One and returned to the capital—working intently on the speech he would deliver from the Oval Office, conferring with military advisers like Maj. Gen. Donald Kerrick (above right)

behavior. In his angry, hair-splitting address to the nation, Clinton confessed to a relationship with Lewinsky that was "not appropriate," but not exactly sexual. Most of America thought the speech went far enough and that the press has been too quick to judge Clinton. And yet the speech loosed a torrent of vituperation from pundits unlike any seen since the last days of Richard Nixon. "There is a tidal feeling of betrayal and embarrassment running across the country today," The New York Times thundered. Suddenly, the air inside the Beltway was full of talk of censure or impeachment, which didn't fully subside even after the airstrike that the public approved by an overwhelming (73 percent) majority.

Whatever the public now thinks, the likelihood of a congressional "censure" or the onset of impeachment hearings depends on something else entirely: Starr's report, now being written and expected to arrive on Capitol Hill next month. If it contains clear-cut evidence that the president tried to illegally thwart the investigation—specifically by seeing to it that evidence of the relationship eluded prosecutors—the consensus on Capitol Hill and in the cabinet is that hear-

ings are inevitable, probably early next year. "And if the gavel falls, all bets are off," a senior Clinton official told NEWSWEEK. "The process at that point takes on a life of its own."

Other ifs are outside politics per se. If the stock market tanks, if China devalues the yuan, if American civilians become victims in an undeclared war of controversial origin (as opposed to merely launching cruise missiles from a safe distance), if Alan Greenspan raises interest rates—if any such scenarios occur, Clinton could start to sink beneath the waves. In any case, he no longer controls his own fate. "There's a risk of political collapse," said historian Robert Dallek, who has written major studies of LBJ and Nixon. "That happens when people simply lose all trust in a president. At that point, they assume his only concern is his own survival—not their welfare. And the reaction can be severe."

We're not there—yet. Clinton remains widely respected abroad. But as the personification of American democracy, his moral character as a leader is part of the equation. So Arab propagandists had their predictable field day with the double helix of last week's events. In Khartoum, protest-

ers paraded through the streets with signs of Monica and Bill. Europeans scolded. In London The Economist called Clinton a "proven liar." In Paris the newspaper Le Monde declared: "The American president is too diminished by his domestic saga for his credibility not to be called into question" by the attack.

But there's another dimension to Clinton's character: he's a fighter and a survivor. He knows that voters liked the strikes, dislike the press and Starr, and like the status quo above all. White House strategists, accordingly, were playing for time. Emerging from their bunkers by the weekend, they began searching for a way to repair damage. Aides passed the word that Clinton had come to realize his speech was "incomplete," and that he wanted to amend it, perhaps in answer to a question, by saying the crucial words "I am sorry." But such talk may be wishful thinking, and many Democrats were dubious. "It's way too late," said one skeptical member of the inner circle. "His credibility is shot."

As they worked to recover their balance, White House staff and cabinet members were numb and obviously angry. For a host of reasons—legal and psychologi-

LEFT TO RIGHT: BARBARA KINNEY—THE WHITE HOUSE, THE WHITE HOUSE

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



'IT AIN'T EVER OVER'

Not everyone was distracted by the fireworks in Afghanistan and Sudan; the independent counsel never stopped tightening the net around the president. With Clinton on the record at last, Starr immediately recalled Monica Lewinsky before the grand jury (left) to see how the president's version of their affair held up.



cal—Clinton didn't confide in them before the speech, and the few conversations he had afterward were awkward and brief. Longtime friends were left in the dark. One was Education Secretary Richard Riley, who once enjoyed a somewhat fatherly relationship with the president. He hadn't heard from Clinton—until he was invited to Martha's Vineyard last weekend. Perhaps the president was about to start his next campaign: selling himself (again) to his old friends.

Among Clintonites, there was a widespread sense of betrayal. It had little to do with being lied to; the president had never spoken to most of them about the issue in any case. Spinners were enraged at Clinton for undermining them. "Last dogs" such as political aide Paul Begala had insisted that they believed the president—and that they wouldn't champion him if they knew otherwise. What do they do now? Clintonites in and out of the White House also had to confront the reality of the boss's selfishness, by which he imperiled what they viewed as their cause—a sensible, compassionate liberal centrism—for a series of cheap thrills next door to the Oval Office. "We're still

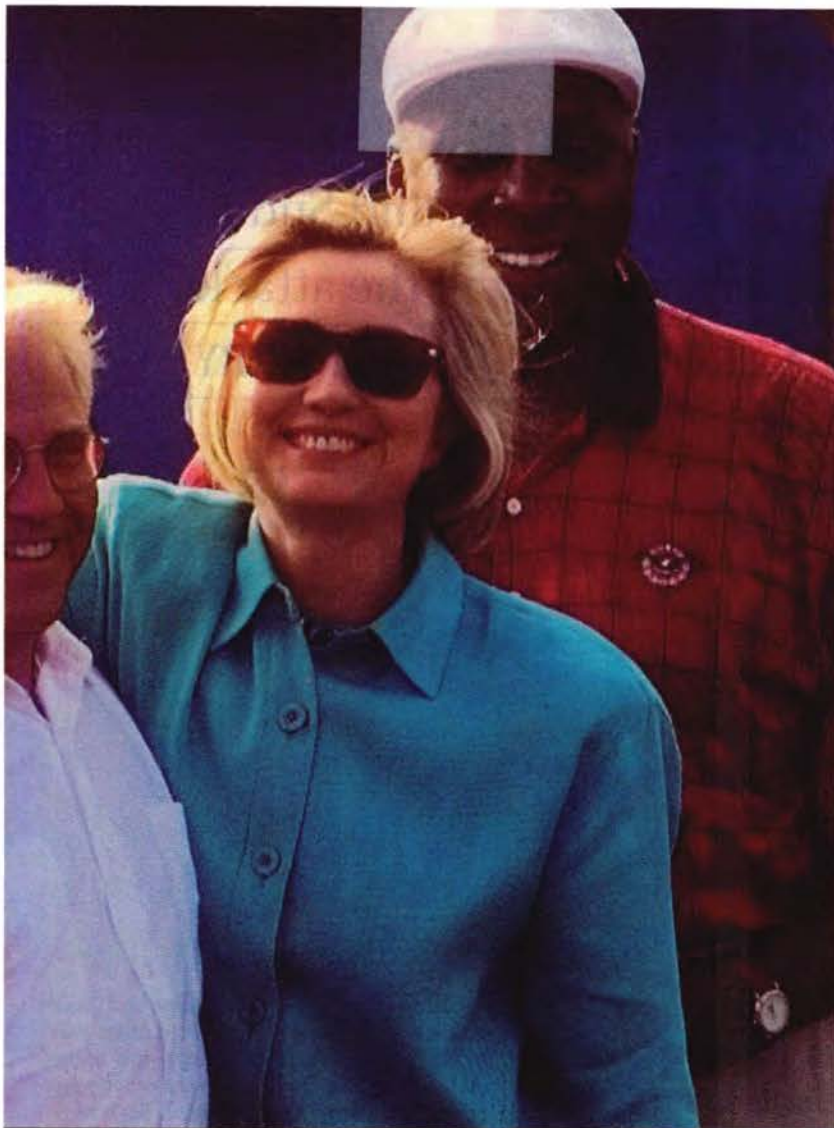
quite supportive of his goals," said one longtime friend of the president's from Renaissance Weekend days. "And you want to be supportive of him. But let's be frank. What kind of a—hole jeopardizes everything this way?"

Democrats on the Hill weren't shocked by the truth. Some who had been lied to face to face, notably Sen. Dianne Feinstein of California, reacted angrily. ("I wish she'd get a grip," said one White House political loyalist. "This is an affair we're talking about.") But few Democrats had ever believed his denials. Rather, as students of political disaster, they were furious at him for bungling his own resurrection. "I thought his speech Monday was incredible," fumed Rep. Tim Roemer, a moderate from Indiana. "The American people have given him the benefit of the doubt, and I am extremely distressed by his inability to tell the truth, perhaps even under oath. The president is in serious trouble—even with Democrats out in the country."

It's not clear yet how much collateral damage Democrats will suffer in the fall. In the NEWSWEEK Poll, most voters say their view of Clinton won't affect their

vote. The Democrats had only a vague hope of regaining control of Congress in any case, and it seemed to be fading even before Clinton misfired in the Map Room last week. But in culturally conservative districts where Democrats have a narrow edge, a difference of two or three points is critical. Republicans went on the air with anti-Clinton ads in North Carolina last week, and others are expected elsewhere. "This certainly doesn't help us at all," said Democratic consultant Alan Secrest. "It's going to hurt us in places like Alabama or central Pennsylvania. We're going to lose some races because of this."

As for Clinton, his political fate is now encrypted—as yet uncompleted and unreadable—in Starr's report. There is no longer any doubt that it will be sensational and explosive. But will it blast the president into impeachment hearings, or a censure vote, or even amplify calls for his resignation? Running to at least 300 pages, the report's overarching theme will be the president's disregard for the truth and the operation of the law, using Clinton's attempts to cover up his secret sex life as the example. The challenge for Starr is to show



RESTING AND RECOUPING

With friends like Carly Simon, real-estate magnate Richard Friedman and Vernon Jordan around them (left, with Hillary), the Clintons will make a go of their once keenly anticipated Vineyard vacation. Priority one: time with Chelsea (above) before she heads back to Stanford.

any acts of obstruction clearly enough to justify the titillating sexual details. "However gross the sex, that's not going to matter," said a lawyer who is advising Democrats in Congress. "Neither will lying about sex. Let's see what they've got. Until we know, you can't predict."

In anticipation of the report, the staff of the House Judiciary Committee has commandeered portions of a ramshackle old congressional office building below Capitol Hill. Locked and monitored rooms have been set aside, and GOP leaders plan to pass a resolution restricting access to members of the committee. The report surely will leak anyway. The Democrats' strategy is to demand not only the report itself but all the raw grand-jury transcripts that went into writing it. The idea is to see if Starr shaped his report fairly or in the manner of a political vendetta. "It's standard operating procedure in a case like this," said one Democratic lawyer—but

one designed to tie up the committee in knots. No one expects any hearings before Congress recesses at the end of next month, regardless of what the report contains. If there are hearings—and it is now quite likely that there will be some "preliminary" version of them—they won't take place until next year. If the Democrats are back in the minority again, they will be in a foul mood, said one administration insider. "They're going to blame the president, and they're not going to lift a finger to help him."

Back on Martha's Vineyard, the president had more immediate business to attend to. Having declared war on Osama bin Laden, he was returning to the role of commander in chief. In his regular radio address, Clinton pronounced last week's raids a success. He announced an executive order aimed at crippling Bin Laden's financial network. And Clinton warned somberly that "all Americans are targets." "Our ef-

forts against terrorism cannot and will not end with this strike," he vowed, urging Americans to "close ranks against international threats."

And then it was off to the other battlefield. As they do every August, investment banker Steven Rattner and his wife, Maureen White, were hosting a party. The elite of summer people would be there—the media types, politicians and literati who make up this beachside corner of the chattering class. Clinton had no choice but to go: to duck the event would have been tantamount to a social resignation speech. And he knew that the crowd would greet him warmly. They would avoid any mention of That Other Problem. And of course they would praise him for his courageous missile strike. He was, after all, still Leader of the Free World.

With KAREN BRESLAU, MATTHEW COOPER, DEBRA ROSENBERG, MARK HOSENBALL and MICHAEL HIRSH

40% of those surveyed believed the Lewinsky scandal was a major or minor factor in the timing of the missile strikes; **53%** thought it was not a consideration

Striking back: Risking a wider struggle with Islamic radicals, Clinton hits targets in Afghanistan and Sudan. U.S. intelligence is unusually strong, but will the attacks do any good? BY RUSSELL WATSON AND JOHN BARRY

'Our Target Was Terror'

THEY CALLED IT OPERATION INFINITE Reach. To keep it a secret, the planning was done by a group of top officials so small that it code-named itself the Small Group—"SG," to those few in the know. Membership was limited, in bureaucratic parlance, to "principals only." Later, Defense Secretary William Cohen mused that he was the only person in his own office who knew about the operation. The planners knew what they were looking for thanks in part to intercepted telephone calls, and by early last Thursday the intended targets appeared to be right in Washington's cross hairs. At 1:30 in the morning,

Bill Clinton called CIA Director George Tenet from Martha's Vineyard to ask if "there was any new intel," a source told NEWSWEEK. Tenet assured him nothing had changed. At 3 a.m., Clinton gave the order to go ahead.

Later, in the Arabian Sea, five U.S. warships—four surface vessels and a submarine—fired a barrage of 60 Tomahawk cruise missiles at suspected terrorist camps in Afghanistan. In the Red Sea, two other warships fired 20 cruise missiles at a pharmaceutical plant in Sudan that was thought

to be making an ingredient for the deadly VX nerve agent. The operation went off perfectly, the missiles slamming into their Afghan and Sudanese targets at almost the same moment. "Our target was terror," Clinton declared on television, suddenly looking presidential again. He said the attacks were aimed at Osama bin Laden, the alleged mastermind of the U.S. Embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania. But questions remained. Were the cruise-missile attacks justified? And would they do any good in the war on terrorism?

Clinton said the United States had "convincing information" that Bin Laden was behind the embassy bombings and many other atrocities. He said there was "compelling evidence" that the Saudi-born multimillionaire's terror network was planning further attacks on Americans. "You cannot overstate the imminence of what was about to happen," a White House official told NEWSWEEK. A day after the bombardment the president's national-security adviser, Sandy Berger, reported "moderate to heavy damage at each of the targets" and said the terror network's operations had been significantly impaired.

But Bin Laden managed to be elsewhere in Afghanistan when his training camps were hit, despite Clinton's claim that "a gathering of key terrorist leaders" was supposed to be taking place at one of the target sites. "By the grace of Allah, I am alive," Bin Laden said in a radio message. His spokesman released a statement warning: "The battle has not started yet. Our answer will be deeds, not words." Privately, administration officials acknowledged that another terrorist attack, somewhere in the world, was a near certainty. "The networks are out there," said one official. "They can choose their own time and place."

Just before the cruise-missile attacks, Bin Laden told a Pakistani journalist he had "nothing to do" with the U.S. Embassy



Alleged mastermind:
'By the grace of Allah, I am
alive,' Bin Laden said after
the missile strikes. And he
warned that the war with
America is just beginning.

SPECIAL REPORT

bombings in Africa. His host, Mullah Mohammad Omar, leader of Afghanistan's Taliban movement, insisted Bin Laden had clean hands. "There is no camp of Osama bin Laden in Afghanistan," he said. "We have already closed his camps." He added: "We can never hand over Osama to America." Sudanese President Omar Hassan al-Bashir said the U.S. attack was designed to overshadow the Monica Lewinsky scandal; he called Clinton "morally decrepit." Anti-American demonstrations in many Islamic countries echoed the same "Wag the Dog" theme; a Turkish newspaper headlined its story **THE MONICA MISSILES**.

But U.S. intelligence, and its helpers in other countries, had assembled an impressive dossier of evidence against Bin Laden. A key piece came from Muhammad Sadiq Howaida, a 33-year-old Palestinian who was arrested by Pakistani officials on Aug. 7, the day of the embassy bombings, as he attempted to slip into Afghanistan on a fake passport. The details of Howaida's confession to the Pakistanis were obtained by **NEWSWEEK's** Zahid Hussain. His report:

"I did it all for the cause of Islam," Howaida said of the embassy bombings. He confessed to working for Bin Laden. "He is my leader, and I obey his orders," Howaida said. He told investigators he built a bomb for the embassy in Tanzania on orders from Ali Saleh, an Egyptian extremist long linked to Bin Laden.

Howaida (who has also used the surname Odeh) was born in the Saudi Arabian town of Tabuk to Palestinian parents. He was educated in Jordan, where he joined the Palestine Liberation Organization, and in the Philippines, where he made contact with radical Muslim groups. In 1990 he went to Afghanistan to help fight the Soviet invaders. There he met Bin Laden—and learned how to build bombs. In 1994, he said, Bin Laden sent him to join a terrorist network in Kenya. Howaida settled in a small town called Witu, married a Kenyan woman of Arab extraction and opened a furniture shop.

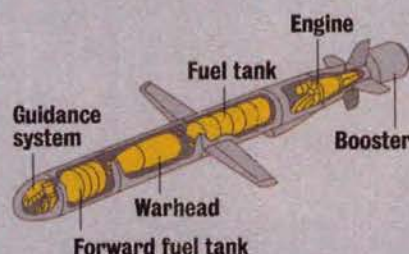
After his arrest in Karachi, Howaida initially refused to talk. Then he was handed over to the Army's Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate (ISI), in whose hands he finally broke down. He told ISI investigators that the leader of Bin Laden's group in Kenya was another Egyptian named Salah Abdullah. He said the attack on the embassy in Nairobi was organized by Ali Saleh and four other men: an Egyptian named Abdur Rehman, a man from the Comoros named Haroon and two Kenyans of Yemeni extraction named Fahd and Sheikh Bahamand. Howaida said his team in Tanzania includ-

In the Cross Hairs

Last Thursday, U.S. warships fired about 80 Tomahawk cruise missiles at facilities linked to Osama bin Laden, the alleged mastermind behind the Aug. 7 embassy bombings in East Africa. The retaliation was aimed at a paramilitary camp in Afghanistan and a pharmaceutical plant in north Khartoum, Sudan.

THE TOMAHAWK III MISSILE

The Tomahawk is a U.S. Navy favorite when it comes to land attacks. Why? Fired from a submarine or surface ship, it can avoid radar detection and thus hide the location from which the missile was launched.



Length: 20 ft. 6 in.
Diameter: 1 ft. 8.4 in.
Wingspan: 8 ft. 9 in.
Range: 1,000 miles
Cruise alt.: 50–100 ft.
Speed: 381–571 mph
Guidance system: Satellite-based GPS
Cost: \$1 million (approx.)

THE SUDAN ATTACK



Aerial photo of the Shifa Pharmaceutical Plant in north Khartoum. A nearby candy factory was damaged, too.



7:30 p.m. (local time):
15–20 missiles, fired from two ships, land on a pharmaceutical plant. U.S. officials say it makes nerve-gas ingredients.

Aug. 7: Vehicle bombs explode simultaneously outside two U.S. embassies, killing 203 people, including 12 Americans

THE AFGHANISTAN ATTACK



Base camp includes administration, storing, housing and training facilities. A support camp was damaged as well.



Four training camps used to practice terrorist tactics, weapons and explosive devices. The site includes firing ranges.

U.S. NAVAL POWER

The military hasn't detailed the ships used in the attacks, but seven warships—cruisers, destroyers and a submarine—were in striking distance. Like the *Milius*, they may have fired missiles.

USS *Milius*
guided-missile
destroyer



Vertical-launch
missile system

Destroyers: USS *Milius*, USS *Elliot*, USS *Briscoe*, USS *Hayler*
Cruisers: USS *Shiloh*, USS *Cowpens*, USS *Valley Forge**
Sub: USS *Columbia*
Carrier: USS *Abraham Lincoln**
*NO CRUISE MISSILES

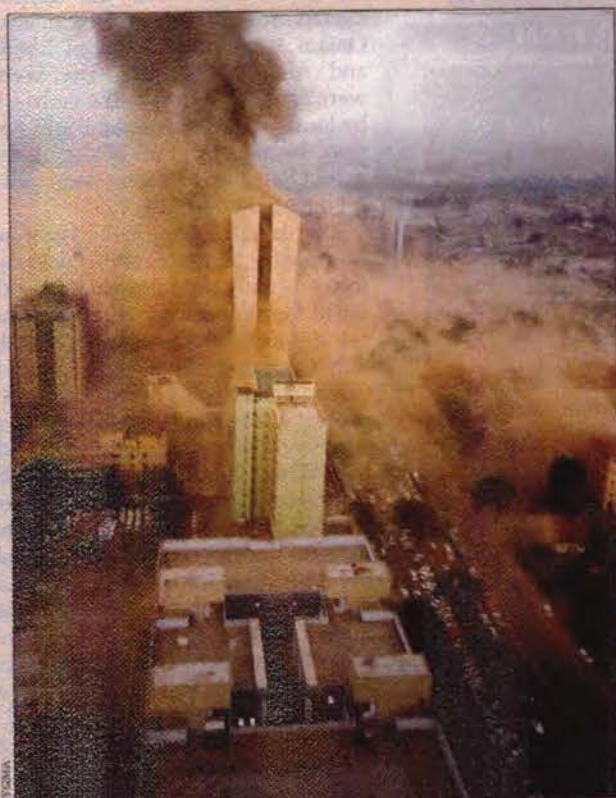
SOURCES: RAYTHEON SYSTEMS COMPANY, "COMBAT FLEETS OF THE WORLD," U.S. NAVY, NAVY OFFICE OF INFORMATION, USNI MILITARY DATABASE. RESEARCH BY BRET BEGUN. ILLUSTRATIONS BY STANFORD RAY AND SILVIO DA SILVA—NEWSWEEK

ed three other men: an Egyptian named Mustafa and two Tanzanians of Omani origin named Ahmad Khalfan and Abdullah Ahmed. The bombs were actually driven to the embassies by locally hired Tanzanians and Kenyans, he said. And all of the plotters except Saleh and Haroon were told to get out of town by Aug. 7.

The investigation of the bombings was moving far more rapidly than such things usually do. In a meeting of the Small Group on Aug. 12, Clinton had set a tough standard of proof. He didn't demand evidence that could be presented in a court of law; the need to protect sources and methods would almost certainly preclude anything like that. What Clinton said he needed, before he could authorize military action, was evidence that Berger and other members of the Small Group (including Cohen, a Republican, and Gen. Hugh Shelton, the hard-nosed chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff) would regard as conclusive. Howaida's confession was one building block. At almost the same time, sources said, U.S. intelligence came up with another: an intercepted mobile-phone conversation between two of Bin Laden's lieutenants that clearly implicated them in the embassy bombings.

The pharmaceutical plant in Sudan, known as El Shifa, was a late addition to the U.S. target list. The factory's lawyer said it had no connection to Bin Laden. And Sudanese officials insisted the plant made innocent medicines for both humans and animals. But sources said that when U.S. intelligence obtained samples of products made by El Shifa, one of them turned out to be a "precursor" to the VX nerve agent. It was "barely a step away from VX itself," said a U.S. official. Another source identified the substance as "an ethyl-methyl-phosphorus compound unique to VX," adding: "There's no way in hell you'd ever use that in pharmaceutical manufacturing." Senior U.S. officials also assert that Bin Laden has been talking about using chemical weapons against U.S. targets.

The intelligence breakthrough on El Shifa also benefited from the defection, around the first of the year, of Bin Laden's top money manager, Muhammad bin Moaisalih. Sources said the Saudi government lured him away from Bin Laden with a large sum of money. Since then Moaisalih has provided what one expert describes as "priceless" information on Bin Laden's tangled and mysterious finances. That included companies in which he had invested money, one of which was El Shifa. Last week Clinton signed an executive order barring U.S.



Moments after the U.S. Embassy bombing in Nairobi

Bin Laden's Terror Network

Osama bin Laden has funded Islamic terrorism and militant groups from Algeria to Tajikistan. Much of this shadowy world is a mystery, but some of his activities have been more conspicuous:



- 1 Sudan:** Expelled in 1996 under U.S. pressure. May still own numerous businesses there, including share of drug plant.
- 2 Afghanistan:** Fought in U.S.-backed war against Soviets in 1980s; set up training camps and helps bankroll the Taliban.
- 3 Kenya and Tanzania:** Clinton cited "convincing information" that Bin Laden plotted the Aug. 7 bombings that killed 263 people.

- 4 Saudi Arabia:** Birthplace—and source of a multimillion-dollar inheritance. Stripped of passport, has vowed to topple the ruling dynasty.
- 5 Pakistan:** Led inciting of Islamic extremist groups in Peshawar in June. Decision made to "hit American interests."
- 6 Yemen:** Father's homeland. Son formed alliances with tribal chiefs, set up training camps.
- 7 Somalia:** Supplied troops to fight U.S. forces in 1993. "We inflicted big losses on the Americans," he later boasted.
- 8 Egypt:** Funded Egyptian extremists and is suspected of backing attempt on President Hosni Mubarak's life in 1995.
- 9 Britain:** Allegedly financed London-based Algerian group suspected of numerous bombings in France.

companies or individuals from doing business with any concern linked to Bin Laden. Most of his financial connections are Islamic, and a senior U.S. Treasury official concedes the freeze is partly symbolic.

After the embassy bombings on Aug. 7, Clinton authorized his national-security team to explore the military options for retaliation. From then on, Berger deliberately worked outside the usual retinue of Clinton's political aides. "We all knew there would be cries of 'Wag the Dog,'" said one senior official. Even the president himself was insulated from the planning process until a meeting on Aug. 12, when Shelton ran through the options he had considered and discarded: an attack by ground troops and raids by manned aircraft. Clinton concurred in the choice of cruise missiles—less painful, both militarily and diplomatically.

Clinton approved the strike plan in principle on Aug. 14, three days before his grand-jury testimony on the Lewinsky matter. The Zhawar Kili complex in Afghanistan was chosen because of intelligence reports that top Bin Laden lieutenants, including some coming in from Pakistan, planned to meet there last Thursday. But Bin Laden's own whereabouts weren't known. "Truth was, we didn't know who was in the camps," said one official who was in on the planning.

Over that weekend, the Sudanese factory was added to the list. Clinton had concerns about both targets. He had to be reassured that the attack on the factory wouldn't spread a plume of poison gas over Khartoum. Planners decided that burning the plant to the ground would incinerate any toxic materials; extra cruise missiles were added to the mission to ensure total destruction. The president also stipulated that if the Zhawar meeting was canceled or postponed, there might be other, better targets to hit in Afghanistan. When nothing had changed in the intelligence picture by 3 a.m. Thursday, he gave the green light.

The results were mixed. The plant in Khartoum was razed, along with a candy factory nearby. Casualties were mercifully light: about 10 injuries and possibly one death. Angry Sudanese demonstrators took

to the streets—blaming America, not Bin Laden. Amid the rubble, a visitor to the factory found a metal label, apparently from a cruise missile. It said the device had been inspected in 1993 by "Tammy" and added: **MADE IN THE U.S.A., WITH PRIDE.**

A U.S. spy satellite spotted the flashes as cruise missiles exploded at Zhawar. At least 21 people were killed in the Afghan camps, according to the Taliban government, but Washington could not confirm the number or identity of the casualties. Although Bin Laden survived, Cohen said afterward that killing him was "not our design." U.S. officials said the raids may have deterred another terrorist attack. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright told reporters: "It is very likely something would have happened had we not done this."

Something grim could still happen. American officials said that before the raids, attacks were imminent on U.S. embassies in Albania and Pakistan. "We think we stopped one in Albania," said a senior White House official. Threats were reported to other embassies in Malaysia, Yemen, Egypt and Uganda, among others, and new pre-

37% of those surveyed think the distraction of the Lewinsky matter has left President Clinton less able to deal effectively with terrorism

cautions were taken everywhere overseas, as they were back in the United States.

Outside the administration, some experts doubted the official rationale. "The timing was a little suspect," said Vince Cannistraro, a former CIA expert on counterterrorism. "If an operation were imminent, it's pretty clear that the resources would already be on the ground." He concluded that the cruise-missile strikes "did very little to hurt Bin Laden and probably initiated a new round of violence." The surest way to stop the violence is to kill the terrorists who perpetrate it, but that is hard to do at long range. "A cruise missile isn't an instrument of assassination," said Richard Murphy, a former assistant secretary of State and an expert on the Arab world. "Smart bombs are never quite as smart as you think."

Last week's attacks aroused anger

against the United States across the Muslim world, though Clinton insisted in his TV speech that the cruise-missile strikes "were not aimed against Islam." Only a few Muslims support the random violence advocated by Bin Laden and his ilk. But many share a sense that Muslims are under attack by the United States, which supports Israel, maintains military forces on the holy soil of Saudi Arabia and seems more willing to bomb or boycott Islamic wrongdoers than those of other religions. The radicals hope to capitalize on this anger. "This is a holy war," says Adel Abdel Bary, an opposition Egyptian lawyer now exiled to Britain who has ties to some of the militant Islamic groups. "We are poor. We are weak now. But we are not stupid. We can use any technology. We can do anything." He also maintains: "Americans can destroy a Hi-

roshima or a Nagasaki, but they cannot fight this kind of fight."

"I think it's important for the American people to understand that we are involved in a long-term struggle," Albright said last week. "This is, unfortunately, the war of the future." It will be a messy war, with potentially a great many casualties. Americans don't like close, bloody conflict, understandably preferring the safe standoff warfare that can be waged with cruise missiles. But it won't be long before some terrorists gain access (if they haven't already) to nuclear, chemical or biological weapons. The war of the future is one Americans will have to learn how to win.

With GREGORY L. VISTICA and MICHAEL HIRSH in Washington, CHRISTOPHER DICKEY in Paris, MARK DENNIS in Khartoum, STEVE LEVINE in Peshawar, GREGORY BEALS in New York and bureau reports

The home front: The threat of terrorism is real. But the country is far from defenseless. BY TOM MASLAND

America Goes on Guard

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE need to know ... we will be targeted," declared national security adviser Sandy Berger last week. But cops across the land already were on war footing. In Washington, armored SWAT teams stood outside the Pentagon. Sport utility vehicles parked nose-to-nose blocked the main driveway at the State Department and U.S. Park Police laid on extra patrols at national memorials. In New York, barriers went up around city hall. Bomb-sniffing dogs prowled major airports as tow trucks mercilessly whisked away unattended cars. U.S. Border Patrol agents went on high alert, and military police randomly checked soldiers' IDs under a defense plan called Threat Con Alpha.

Although experts agree that Americans abroad are more at risk after last week's strikes, ordinary folks wonder just how jittery they should be. A CNN poll found 10 percent of those questioned "very worried" about a terrorist attack. When war-



Security team mans an entrance to the Pentagon

planes buzzed the Loop last week in the annual prelude to the Chicago Air and Water Show, a radio talk show's phone lines lit up. "I'm surprised at how afraid they are," said the host, Roe Conn of WLS. "We've always been told it's just a matter of time, and people are really taking that to heart."

But America is far from defenseless against Osama bin

Laden and his ilk. The battle has been raging secretly for years, and the FBI's record in containing Mideast terrorism is the envy of Western law-enforcement agencies. The first successful attack was the World Trade Center bombing in 1993, two decades after Europe first confronted Mideast-related hijackings and bombings. Even then, a subsequent conspiracy trial revealed that

the FBI had penetrated the circle of radical Muslim cleric Omar Abdel Rahman. A close associate of Bin Laden is reported to be cooperating with investigators in New York. In a new move that troubles civil libertarians, immigration officials are trying to deport several Arabs on the basis of secret intelligence. The FBI's unclassified budget for counterterrorism has risen from \$80 million in 1994 to nearly \$400 million last year; the agency has joint terrorism task forces with 16 police departments.

More preparations are needed. Quietly, local police and public-health agencies have been grappling with the possibility of "grand terrorism"—chemical, biological or even nuclear attacks. Chicago is spending \$450,000 on specialized training and decontamination equipment to use during such emergencies, its part of a congressional grant to 120 municipalities after the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing carried out by homegrown terrorists. "I think our citizens would be comfortable with what we've been doing, but we just can't talk about it," said Chief Francis Moriarty of the department's emergency-preparedness program. The threat of terrorism is real, but America's guardians aren't napping.

With bureau reports

Some Clinton aides objected to his harsh words toward Starr, but the president couldn't contain his anger at his pursuer



Telling details: The inside story of how Starr's subpoena and the semen-stained dress cornered the president and forced him to admit—sort of—his sexual misadventures

BY EVAN THOMAS AND MATTHEW COOPER

Extracting A Confession

CLINTON HAD PUT IT OFF AS LONG AS POSSIBLE, but with the grand jury awaiting his testimony and the independent counsel requesting a sample of his DNA, the moment had come to confess to his wife. On the night of Thursday, Aug. 13, Clinton returned from Andrews Air Force Base, where he had wept over the coffins of 10 Americans killed in the embassy bombings, to the private residence in the White House. There, for the first time, according to knowledgeable sources, he told Hillary the truth about his relationship with Monica Lewinsky. The president spared her

the details, but he said the involvement had been long-running, and it had been sexual. The First Lady felt wounded and betrayed, these sources say. She was also furious at his foolishness. The First Couple had weathered years of investigations—the relentless probing and quizzing about the death of Vince Foster, old Arkansas land deals, Travelgate, Filegate and all the rest. Now, Hillary stormed at her husband, he had handed their nemesis, Ken Starr, a weapon that could ruin his presidency.

It seems hard to imagine that Hillary was truly surprised by her husband's indis-

cretion, or that he had failed to tell her when the scandal first erupted last January. In the latest NEWSWEEK Poll, four out of five Americans say that the First Lady must have known "for some time" about her husband's extramarital relationship with Lewinsky. The common assumption around Washington last week was that Hillary was posing as a victim so she wouldn't look like a liar. She had, after all, firmly denied the reports of her husband's extramarital affair on the "Today" show and blamed a "vast right-wing conspiracy." But sources close to the Clintons insist that

Hillary really had not known about Clinton's sexual relationship with Lewinsky, at least the full extent of it.

More rude shocks await. Mrs. Clinton, the U.S. Congress and, ultimately, the American people may learn the details of the sexual relationship between the president and the former intern—more, perhaps, than anyone really wants to know. The 300-plus-page report now being written by the office of the independent counsel—expected for delivery to Congress by late September—will include graphic vignettes of sexual encounters in the president's small study off the Oval Office. (The principal staffer assigned to write the report, a nonpracticing lawyer named Stephen Bates, is the author of one earlier book—a study of the press entitled "If No News, Send Rumors.") Starr is known to believe that the public will be deeply offended by some of the kinkier details. "When people read his report, they'll want to throw up," said a knowledgeable source.

Starr's interest in Clinton's sex life may strike voters and congressmen as excessive. The straitlaced son of a west Texas minister, Starr is slightly reminiscent of William Gladstone, the 19th-century British prime minister who roamed the streets of London at night, saving prostitutes from moral perdition. Perhaps more threatening to the president is Starr's investigation into possible obstruction of justice. Starr wants to know more about those gifts that the presi-



BRAD MARKEL—GAMMA-LIAISON

After the extraordinary spectacle of a sitting president testifying about his sex life via closed-circuit TV, Clinton lawyer David Kendall hoped the case would achieve 'closure'

SKETCHES BY WILLIAM J. HENNESSY JR.



dent admittedly gave Lewinsky. Did Clinton somehow suggest that Lewinsky return the gifts, rather than turn them over to lawyers who had subpoenaed them in the Paula Jones sexual-harassment case? Clinton and Lewinsky told different stories, under oath, to the grand jury last week. Clinton claims he never told Lewinsky to lie about the affair once she was under subpoena in the Jones case. Lewinsky insists that Clinton did—not in so many words, perhaps, but by clearly signaling that Lewinsky should hide any incriminating evidence. NEWSWEEK has learned that Starr's team believes that Clinton's testimony further entangled him in a web of lies. If other witnesses—notably, the president's secretary, Betty Currie—fail to support Clinton's side of the story, the president could find himself facing impeachment.

For a time this summer, it appeared that Clinton, through stonewalling and clever lawyering, might slip out of Starr's clumsy grasp. In retrospect, however—given the legal machinery at Starr's disposal, Clinton's misbehavior and political reality—the president's current predicament seems inevitable. A reconstruction of the maneuvering between Clinton and Starr and their minions over the last few weeks reads like a cross between the *National Enquirer* and "The Guns of August," a tale of secrets, blunders and evasions on the eve of war.

The turning point, unreported at the time, came on July 17, when Starr quietly subpoenaed Clinton to testify before the grand jury. Clinton's lawyer, David Kendall, had been gently rebuffing informal requests from Starr to voluntarily make the president available for questioning. Kendall had clung to a faint hope that Starr would conclude that he lacked the legal authority to compel the president's testimony. The subpoena showed that Starr was determined to provoke a constitutional crisis, if necessary. Normally, the lawyer for a criminal suspect would tell his client to invoke his constitutional right to remain silent. But Clinton seemed to understand that a president can't hide behind the Fifth Amendment. Polls show that the public wouldn't stand for it. By the same token, invoking executive privilege would look Nixonian (and probably lose in the courts). On Thursday, July 23, Kendall told Starr that Clinton would testify "voluntarily" if Starr agreed to withdraw the subpoena.

No one told the White House staff, however. The political aides have been effectively frozen out of the legal councils for months. On Friday morning, Clinton's aides read an item in *The Wall Street Journal* stating that they were "bracing" for a subpoena. At a morning meeting in the office of White House counsel Chuck Ruff, the aides asked if the item was true. "I don't have anything

for you on that," said Ruff. The politicos erupted. "If you're going to defy this thing, you better be aware of the political consequences," warned deputy chief of staff John Podesta. The aides had no idea that the subpoena was a week old and that Kendall had already agreed to comply.

Kendall, it seems, was also in the dark—about a deal that Starr was about to strike with Monica Lewinsky. At a secret meeting in New York on Monday, July 27, Lewinsky agreed to tell all to the grand jury in exchange for immunity from prosecution. Two days later Kendall announced that the president had "volunteered" to testify. Only two hours after that, ABC News delivered a bombshell: Lewinsky had turned over to Starr a navy blue cocktail dress with a telltale stain. The dress was sent to the FBI lab for testing, but Clinton, in all likelihood, could guess at the results.

The dress limited the president's leeway, if he were so inclined, to fudge or dissemble before the grand jury. With physical evidence, sex would no longer be a matter of he said, she said. Clinton would have to admit to at least one intimate encounter. That raised the awkward question of how to reconcile his testimony with his earlier statements, both public and under oath. In January, during his deposition in the Paula Jones case, he had denied having "sexual relations" with Lewinsky. Now, working with

Although **57%** of Americans believe Clinton said enough about his relations with Monica in his speech, **59%** think he should have used the words 'I'm sorry'

Kendall, the president was able to come up with a classically Clintonian dodge. As defined by the judge in the Paula Jones case, sexual relations included touching her genitals with intent to arouse. As interpreted by Clinton, however, sexual relations meant intercourse, not oral sex or masturbation. Thus, in Clinton legalese, he had not perjured himself in the Jones case.

Some lawyers might buy that argument. But would the American people? It was becoming increasingly clear that Clinton would have to tell them something. Back in January, on the morning that the Lewinsky story broke, Clinton called his former politi-

cal adviser Dick Morris, or so Morris claims. Morris had quit in disgrace when his own affair with a call girl had been exposed during the 1996 Democratic convention. "You poor s.o.b., I know what you're going through," Morris says he told Clinton. Clinton supposedly confessed to Morris that "something had happened" with Lewinsky. Morris says that he advised Clinton to make a plea for forgiveness to the American people. "Do you think it will work?" asked Clinton. Morris says that he agreed to take a quickie poll. That night he called Clinton: the results showed that while Americans would tolerate adultery, they would de-

mand Clinton's impeachment if he had lied under oath or told Lewinsky to lie. Clinton, according to Morris, decided to take a pass on the plea for forgiveness.

But that was in January. Sometime during the week of Aug. 10—the White House won't say exactly when—Starr requested that Clinton provide a fresh sample of his DNA. That almost certainly meant that the FBI had detected semen on the dress, and that Starr was looking for a match. For Clinton, the time had come to start explaining.

On Friday, Aug. 14, the morning after Clinton's uncomfortable confession to

Gore's future: The vice president has to contend with Clinton's weaknesses, and his own. BY BILL TURQUE

A Pileup of Problems

MOST AMERICANS would not want to be held responsible for the sexual misconduct of their bosses, and luckily for Al Gore, they don't seem inclined to hold the vice president accountable either. But Gore also understands that he is still ultimately lashed to the mast of Bill Clinton's presidency. If Clinton's numbers tumble, eroding his ability to govern, Gore's presidential prospects become, as one close adviser gently put it, "problematic."

These are difficult, even bewildering, days for the vice president. While he and Clinton remain close friends, their bond has always been a passion for policy and governance, not the locker-room informality the president enjoys with golfing buddies like Vernon Jordan. And as a father with three attractive daughters close to Monica Lewinsky's age, a husband happily married to a woman he met when he was 17 and a politician with everything invested in this administration, Gore finds Clinton's recklessness difficult to absorb.

Perhaps just as vexing for Gore is the atmosphere that the Monica era has brought to the White House. The danger



Expressing his support for the president in Hawaii last week, Gore was carefully loyal

of a subpoena has kept him out of the tight loop maintained by the legal team. And early Clintonites like Harry Thomason and James Carville, never terribly fond of the vice president, are back to help their old friend through the crisis. It means, one former Clinton aide said, that Gore is at times "made to feel like an outsider." Even in the best of times, Gore is jealous of his prerogatives and a little paranoid about being behind the curve. "This is tailor-made for making him crazy," the aide said.

Even if Clinton's approval ratings remain robust, Gore faces other potentially serious threats to his candidacy in 2000. Attorney General Janet Reno, under pressure from Republicans, has reopened the possibility of an independent counsel to investigate whether fund-raising calls he made in 1995 and 1996, some from his White House office, vio-

lated election laws. Gore maintains that he never raised cash for the Clinton re-election campaign—so-called hard money that officials are barred from soliciting in public buildings—only less-regulated "soft" funds for the Democratic Party. But notes by former Gore aide David Strauss on a newly discovered copy of a 1995 memo suggest that the vice president may have known that some of what he raised would go to hard-money accounts. Written at a meeting of party officials attended by Clinton and Gore,

they include the phrase "65% soft/35% hard." The notes also reinforce Gore's image as a gung-ho "solicitor-in-chief," ready to grub for cash. One says: "VP: 'Is it possible to do a reallocation for me to take more of the events and the calls?'" A Gore spokesman said the probe will show he did nothing improper.

Dodging an independent counsel will not end questions about Gore's probity. Voters weary of evasive Clinton-speak are certain to be reminded by opponents in 2000 that he crouched behind the farcical "no controlling legal authority" in defense of his fund-raising calls. Then there's the 1996 luncheon Gore attended at the Hsi Lai Buddhist temple, where Democrats raised \$140,000 through straw donors to disguise the origin of the money. His descriptions of the event migrated from "community outreach" to "finance related" to "donor maintenance."

But Gore's biggest challenge may be to establish a sustained emotional connection with voters. He is a better campaigner than he is often given credit for. But his natural reserve and consuming interest in the environment and high technology leave even some admirers wondering about his feel for the more mundane concerns of ordinary citizens—especially the suburban soccer moms who helped elect Bill Clinton. Clinton's problems may yet be his ruination, but right now Al Gore's biggest obstacle is still Al Gore.

Hillary, a story appeared in The New York Times headlined CLINTON WEIGHS ADMITTING HE HAD SEXUAL CONTACTS. The article, which quoted a member of the president's "inner circle," floated the idea that the president, by some tortured definition, could acknowledge a "specific type of sexual behavior" with Lewinsky without contradicting his own deposition in the Paula Jones case or his public denials. White House aides bet that a member of the president's legal team had leaked the story to (a) lock in the boss, (b) warn Hillary and (c) prepare the nation for a limited *mea culpa*.

But no one really knew. Contrary to the reports floated last week, over the weekend Clinton did not apologize to his own staff for misleading them on the Lewinsky matter. He was preoccupied with the upcoming missile attack against terrorist targets and prepping for his own testimony on Monday. Aides noticed that Hillary was shut up in the residence, alone.

Sunday was for brave faces. A Bible-toting Clinton held Hillary's hand on the way to church; the Rev. Jesse Jackson was summoned to the White House residence that evening for some private spiritual counseling with Hillary and Chelsea. The First Family might as well have taken out an ad. Jackson, a former political rival of Clinton's, told of joining hands with the Clintons, reciting the 51st Psalm, David's prayer for mercy from God after he had been seduced by Bathsheba. ("Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin.")

Clinton spent more time that night writing, in longhand on a legal pad, his own plea to the American people. He was apparently

Said to be disappointed that Clinton failed to apologize—and livid at reports suggesting she 'serviced' him—Lewinsky returned for a second day before the grand jury

feeling more petulant and defiant than contrite. The draft included an angry attack on Starr and left out any direct apology. On Monday, Clinton adviser Mickey Kantor gave the speech, now typed, to Paul Begala, one of the president's spinmeisters. Begala was taken aback by the tone. He set to work on Clinton's draft, excising much of the attack on Starr. Another White House aide insisted that the words "I'm sorry" needed to be in the speech. At one point, a staffer drafted an apology to Lewinsky and her family, but the language was never shown to Clinton, partly for fear of offending Hillary. The mood among the aides was decidedly cranky. At the morning staff meeting, White House chief of staff Erskine Bowles pleaded for understanding for the president. Someone in the White House communications shop prepared talking points. "Do you forgive him for misleading you and the country?" read one question. Answer: "It's been said that, 'He who cannot forgive others breaks the bridge over which he must pass himself.' Of course I do." A few aides who received the talking points threw them in the trash after they heard the speech.

At about 1 p.m., Clinton began his testimony, fed to the grand jury via video camera, from the Map Room in the White House. He began by telling the jurors that he recalled a half dozen or so sexual encounters with Lewinsky, beginning in late 1995 or early 1996, and ending by 1997. Starr's legal team methodically bore in on the details.



Caught in the Web

In the seven months since Clinton began misleading the public about his relationship with Lewinsky, 29 current and former White House employees went before the grand jury. Those who testified—and have the legal bills to prove it:

January

Jan. 12: Linda Tripp informs Starr's team that Monica Lewinsky had an affair with President Clinton

JANUARY 1998



Betty Currie
president's personal secretary
Bayani Nelvis
White House steward

Leon Panetta
former chief of staff
Ashley Raines
Office of Administration
Evelyn Lieberman
former deputy chief of staff

February

Jan. 17: Clinton denies having sexual relations with Lewinsky in a sworn deposition for the Paula Jones case

FEBRUARY

Caroline Self
former White House intern
George Stephanopoulos
former senior adviser to Clinton
Kris Engskov
personal assistant to the president

Bayani Nelvis
called back
Justin Coleman
former White House intern
John Podesta
deputy chief of staff
Lewis C. Fox
retired Secret Service officer

March

March 10: Kathleen Willey testifies before the grand jury. She tells her story on '60 Minutes' the next week.



Stephen Goodin
former presidential personal assistant
Bruce Lindsey
deputy counsel and Clinton confidant

Jocelyn Jolley
former legislative-affairs supervisor



Jennifer Palmieri
deputy director of scheduling

April

Nancy Hernreich
director of Oval Office operations
Timothy Keating
former White House staff director of Office of Legislative Affairs



Patsy Thomasson
former deputy director of White House personnel office



Clinton balked, citing an invasion of privacy. There were questions about the gifts. Lewinsky had testified that Clinton told her that if she didn't have the gifts, then she would not have to turn them over to Paula Jones's lawyers. Clinton had a different recollection: he testified that he told Lewinsky that if she had the gifts, she would have to turn them over. Reports differ over Clinton's mood during the course of his four-hour testimony, which was interrupted five times for breaks. Some sources say he blew up over the prosecutor's graphic questions. But others insist that he kept his temper.

He was without question in an angry state when he emerged from the testimony at about 6:30 p.m. After taking a quick shower, he reinserted his attack on Starr in the draft of his speech. Aides pleaded with Clinton not to. Red-faced, he insisted, "No, I want to say this. This needs to be said." Hillary, who had been working with him on his testimony for the past two days, agreed. Contrary to press reports, however, she had not been an active member of the president's legal team in its secret deliberations over the summer, according to White House insiders. Her role on Monday night was essentially passive. "It's your speech," she said.

The speech had been scheduled for 9 p.m., then pushed back to 10 in part so fewer children would be watching. Clinton's old Arkansas friend Hollywood producer Harry Thomason set the stage in the Map Room, where FDR planned strategy for World War II and Clinton hours earlier had testified about his sex life. Together with media consultant Robert Squier, Thomason wanted a fireside-chat look: a

vase of flowers, no flags. Absent was any picture of Hillary.

A few staffers watched Clinton's speech in the White House solarium. Some hoped for the best—that the public would want to forgive and move on—others were more gloomy. Most left without waiting for the pundits to carp. One who did stay behind later remarked, "It ain't ever over." Several members of Starr's team watched in the bar of Sam & Harry's, a Washington steakhouse, where they had gone to unwind. Careful to avoid drawing attention, they first quietly chuckled over Clinton's legalistic equivocations. Then some appeared to grow quietly angry about his defiance.

White House aides wanted to believe that the bad reviews of Clinton's speech were mere Beltway blather, and the president's approval rating would stay high.

What Happens Next?

Starr is expected to deliver his report to Congress by mid-September. Then what?

- **The Report:** The House Judiciary Committee privately reviews Starr's findings (which will be kept under lock and key).
- **The House Investigation:** If the committee decides the report merits further action, it can ask for a resolution of inquiry and launch its own probe and hearings.
- **The Vote:** After all evidence has been considered, the Committee can draft articles of impeachment and send them on for a floor vote if a majority are in favor. Another option would be to recommend a formal censure or reprimand.

May 22: Federal Judge Norma Holloway rules that Secret Service agents must testify

June 2: Lewinsky fires attorney William Ginsburg, hires Jacob Stein and Plato Cacheris

July 29: David Kendall, Clinton's attorney, announces that the president will testify

Aug. 6: Monica Lewinsky testifies about her relationship with Clinton before the grand jury

April 1: Judge Susan Webber Wright dismisses the Paula Jones's sexual harassment lawsuit

July 28: Starr grants Lewinsky and her mother, Marcia Lewis, full immunity in exchange for testimony

Aug. 17: Clinton testifies, then admits his relationship with Lewinsky was 'wrong' in a televised address



Bruce Lindsey called back
Ellen McCathran presidential diarist

Sidney Blumenthal Clinton's special assistant

MARCH
Bayani Nelvis called back

Marsha Scott chief of staff for personnel office

Jodie Torkelson former head of management and administration office

Nancy Hernreich called back
Marsha Scott called back



Nancy Hernreich called back

Marsha Scott called back

APRIL

Erskine Bowles chief of staff
Janis Kearney White House archivist

Glen Maes White House steward

Nancy Hernreich called back

MAY
Betty Currie called back



Glen Maes called back

Rebecca Cameron Oval Office staff aide

Kris Engskov called back

JUNE

Harold Ickes former deputy chief of staff

Nancy Hernreich called back
John Podesta called back

Sidney Blumenthal called back

JULY

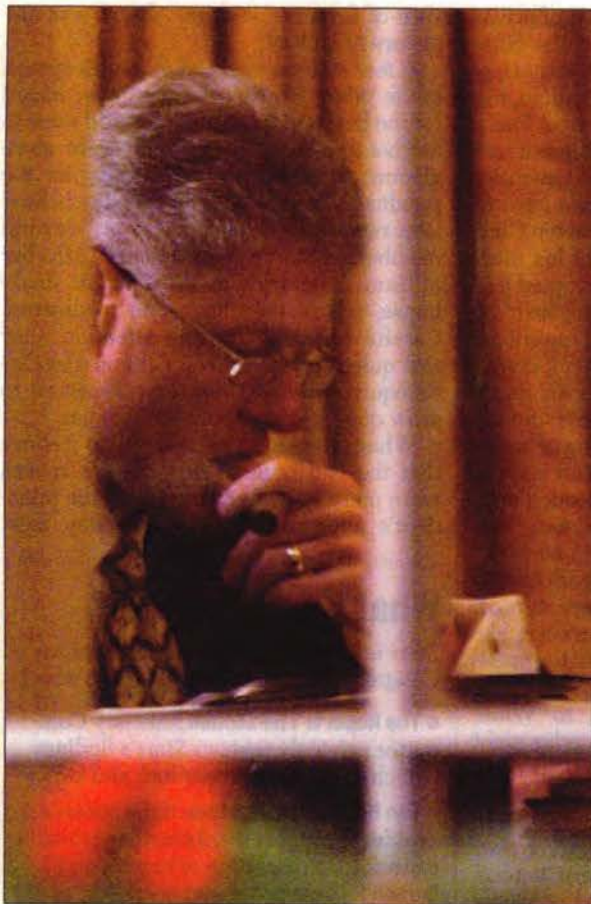
Betty Currie called back
Harold Ickes called back

AUGUST

Lanny Breuer special counsel, legal strategist



Harold Ickes called back
Cheryl Mills deputy counsel



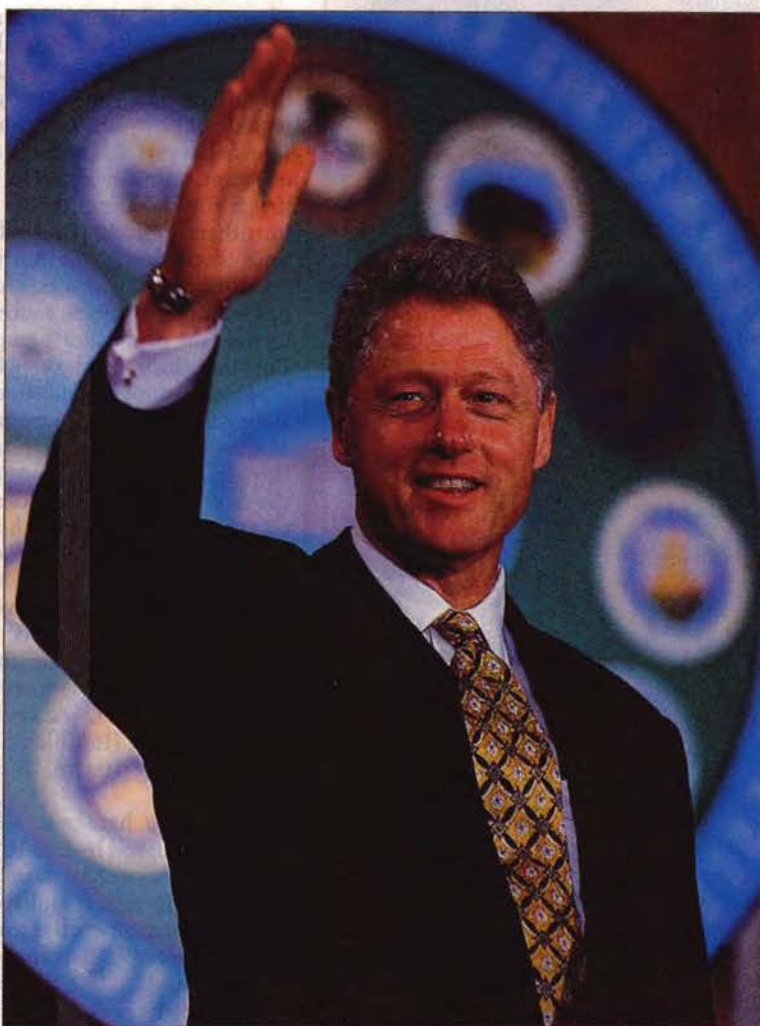
CHUCK KENNEDY

Coded message or coincidence? Starr probed the fact that on Lewinsky's first day of testimony before the grand jury, Clinton wore a diamond-patterned tie she had allegedly given him. Clinton saw the line of questioning as preposterous.

But they were disheartened by the strongly negative reaction from Democrats on Capitol Hill, whose support will be critical if Clinton faces impeachment. Lawmakers like California Sen. Dianne Feinstein felt personally betrayed by Clinton. White House spinners began to grope for countermeasures. On Wednesday, some clever Clinton ally leaked that Starr had questioned the president about the tie he had worn at a Rose Garden ceremony on Aug. 6, the day Monica Lewinsky had first testified before the grand jury. The gold-and-royal-blue cravat was one of a half dozen that Lewinsky says she had given Clinton as gifts. Was the president sending Lewinsky some kind of sign, a coded plea for loyalty? During his testimony, Clinton had laughed off this suggestion as preposterous. The timing alone was impossible: Lewinsky would have entered the grand-jury room before Clinton appeared in front

of cameras in his (or her) tie. But as the story played the next day in *The New York Times*, the idea of a secret signal between the former lovers didn't seem quite so far-fetched.

Clinton was greeted by an enthusiastic throng of well-wishers at the Martha's Vineyard airport Tuesday afternoon. But the rope line was stacked with drafties. Several members of the island glitterati, like socialite-liberal activist Rose Styron, wife of novelist William Styron, had been asked to turn out by Mrs. Clinton's White House office. The Clintons passed up the usual social scene to have a quiet 52nd-birthday dinner with Clinton's golfing buddy, Vernon Jordan. (Clinton testified that he misled Jordan, too, about his affair with Lewinsky—good news for Jordan, who was being investigated for trying to buy Lewinsky's silence last December by finding her a job in the private sector.) The



WALLY MCNAMEE FOR NEWSWEEK

mood at Clinton's island vacation house was described by one insider as "tense."

Back in Washington, Monica Lewinsky was hurt that Clinton had not apologized to her or her family. She was also irked by Clinton's intimation that their sexual relationship had been all one-way—that she had, in effect, been servicing the president. On Thursday, she appeared again before the grand jury to answer questions about inconsistencies between her testimony and Clinton's. She has testified that Clinton had fondled her breasts and genitals. She was also asked about the gifts. Clinton had testified that at his last meeting with Lewinsky on Dec. 28, he had not told Lewinsky to lie or return any of his tokens of affection. Indeed, last week the White House leaked that Clinton had given her more gifts: an Alaskan stone carving, a throw rug, a decorative pin and a few jokey items, like sunglasses. If Clinton had been so concerned

31% of Americans now think Clinton should consider resigning. Only **24%** believe Congress should begin impeachment proceedings; **45%** would prefer a censure.

Family business: The Clintons' relationship has always been about more than matters of the heart. Now the First Lady bears the burden of the bargain she made, while Chelsea is the bridge between her parents. BY JONATHAN ALTER

Why Hillary Still Holds On

SHE WAS 21 YEARS OLD THEN, AND FULL OF A righteous idealism that could not have fathomed a \$100 necktie. It was spring 1969, the height of the student protests on American college campuses, and Hillary Rodham of Park Ridge, Ill., was speaking at the Wellesley commencement on behalf of her generation.

"The problem with empathy is that empathy doesn't do anything," she told the audience. A quarter century later, empathy would be her husband's trademark political skill. By last week, the American public would feel plenty of it for her. But that day young Miss Rodham saw empathy

as insufficient if not insincere—an emotion used mostly to cover up compromise and failure to act on social issues. In her earnest speech, so memorable that it landed her in *Life* magazine, she chose to focus on another word. "When I asked the class at our rehearsal what it was they wanted me to say for them, everyone came up to me and said, 'Talk about trust'."

There was a lot of talk about trust in America last week, some of it undoubtedly in a guest house on Martha's Vineyard. The trust of a nation after a finger-wagging lie.

The trust of a wife. Many of the questions of trust are extremely personal but suddenly relevant. What did Hillary Clinton know about the president's philandering and lies? What has kept her with him? What is the true nature of their peculiar yet compelling 27-year relationship?

No one can see behind the closed doors of someone else's marriage, especially one as perplexing as theirs. No one can know the full mysteries of love—or what it can absorb. And under normal circumstances, it's no one's business. But these aren't normal

circumstances. By committing sex acts with a 22-year-old subordinate in the White House, Bill Clinton made his marriage the nation's concern. In doing so, he victimized his wife all over again. For all her years of self-delusion, Hillary was only now bearing the full burdens of her bargain.

The Clintons had always claimed privacy to protect Chelsea. But last week, out in public, it was she who protected them. Chelsea, now 18, looked surprisingly strong and comfortable walking between her parents en route to what promised to be a hellish holiday. Her father, leading Buddy on a leash, wore an artificial smile; her mother, in sunglasses, looked straight ahead, deflated and not even pretending to be cheerful. "To say Hillary is disappointed would be a gross understatement," said one friend. She was said to believe that her husband betrayed not just her and Chelsea, but much of what they have worked together to build.

Yet they soldiered on. Hillary released a statement saying she "is committed to her marriage" and "believes in this president and loves him very much." Friends said it was more than boilerplate, and that she is certain Clinton still loves her, too. But any healing would take time. The president, by more than one account, had not yet come fully to terms with what he did. His remorse was still laced with anger at his fate and a cloying ingratiation; the bombing and

about concealing gifts, his spinners argued, why was he giving her even more? But, NEWSWEEK has learned, Lewinsky testified that the very next day, Clinton's secretary, Betty Currie, had appeared at her Watergate apartment to retrieve the gifts. Lewinsky was clear that she had not summoned Currie. Was Currie there on Clinton's orders? Absolutely not, testified Clinton. But according to knowledgeable sources, Currie told investigators last winter that Clinton had instructed her that "Monica may have something to give you." The precise wording of Currie's testimony is crucial. She is a key witness, in part be-

cause she is the one player in this drama known for her truthfulness.

There is little doubt now that Starr will send a scathing report to Congress. Starr's own thinking has gradually hardened over the past few months. As a young law clerk to a federal judge during Watergate, Starr argued to his colleagues that, under the separation of powers in the Constitution, a sitting president could not be indicted by a prosecutor or tried in the courts. Only Congress could bring impeachment proceedings. But lately, NEWSWEEK has learned, Starr was persuaded by a conservative law professor, Ronald Rotunda, that a presi-

dent can be tried on criminal charges (though not imprisoned) while in office. Starr is not likely to ask the grand jury to indict Clinton. But Rotunda's arguments may have convinced the independent counsel last July that he could constitutionally subpoena the president. That was a critical development in Starr's investigation. Where it ultimately leads cannot be known. But any quick and happy ending now seems impossible for Bill Clinton.

With MICHAEL ISIKOFF, DANIEL KLAIDMAN, KAREN BRESLAU and MARK HOSENBALL in Washington and DEBRA ROSENBERG on Martha's Vineyard

Pressure: Starr himself has come under investigation

BY DANIEL KLAIDMAN AND MARK HOSENBALL

In a Hurry-Up Offense

BILL CLINTON'S address last Monday night sent one unmistakable signal: the president's assault against Ken Starr is far from over. And why not? Even after the president's admission that he lied about having an affair with Lewinsky, much of the public continues to blame the independent counsel for dragging out the investigation.

Starr knows he's unpopular—and under the gun. He has little time left to deliver his impeachment report to Congress. He faces two federal investigations of his office that could blunt the impact of any findings he might eventually make against the president. The most critical of the probes accuses Starr and his staff of illegally leaking information provided to the grand jury. The other suggests that one of Starr's key witnesses in the Whitewater case received payoffs from Clinton enemies. Both are powerful weapons in the White House's continuing campaign to discredit Starr.

In Washington, everyone leaks. Both Starr's team and the Clinton camp have repeatedly given reporters their take on the investigation. If, how-



By the time Starr sends his findings to Congress, an inquiry into his own office's alleged leaking of grand-jury info could cause trouble

ever, Starr leaked secret grand-jury testimony, he will have violated Rule 6(e), a federal-court edict that subjects leakers to contempt citation—and possibly jail. Part legal ploy, part PR offensive, the leak accusation was drummed up by Clinton lawyer David Kendall last winter. (And another reason Starr's investigation is under time pressure is the time-consuming legal roadblocks deployed by Kendall and the First Client.) Judge Norma Holloway Johnson ordered Starr to prove that his office did not leak secrets. Starr, who has a well-deserved reputation as a careful

and plodding lawyer, was stuck arguing the exotic legal theory that revealing contacts with reporters would be tantamount to exposing confidential informants.

It's unclear how the judge will proceed. But Starr and his deputies are likely to be put under oath and interrogated about their discussions with reporters. The president's defenders vow to keep the pressure on Starr. "The leaks investigation is very much alive," Kendall told NEWSWEEK. If the Clinton team can prove Starr leaked, he could be fired.

The leaks investigation

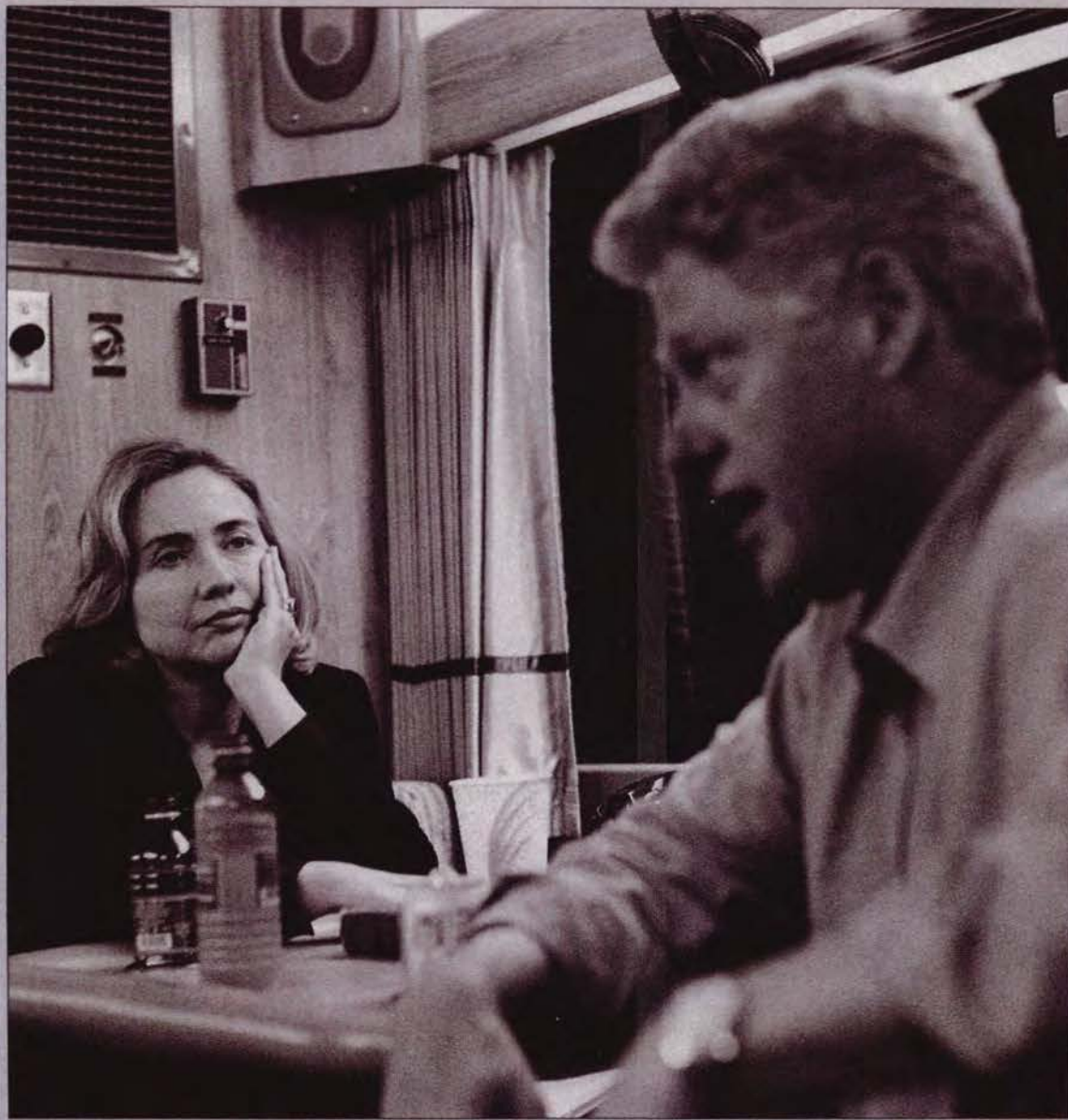
isn't Starr's only worry. Clinton allies have dug up witnesses who claim that one of Starr's key Whitewater witnesses received payoffs from some of the Clintons' right-wing enemies. Starr relied on testimony from former Little Rock municipal judge David Hale to convict key Whitewater figures, including Jim and Susan McDougal. Now accusations have surfaced that Hale got secret payments from people working on an anti-Clinton investigation by The American Spectator magazine that was being financed by conservative billionaire Richard Mellon Scaife. Hale, the magazine and Scaife all deny that any payments were made. Former Justice Department watchdog Michael Shaheen Jr. has been given broad powers by Starr and Justice to probe the allegations. Shaheen has begun calling witnesses before an Arkansas grand jury. And, NEWSWEEK has learned, Starr himself and one of his top deputies, Hickman Ewing, have been questioned by Shaheen's investigators.

Both investigations could be completed this fall. The president's spinners remain ready to pounce if Starr has made any mistakes. By that time, though, the independent counsel plans to have sent his report on the Monica Lewinsky affair to Capitol Hill. Each man holds power over the other's fate—and judgment day for both is coming fast.



Friends scoff at theories that the Clintons' marriage is a sham, saying that the affection and intimacy the Clintons display in private can't be faked

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



other presidential business interrupted any introspection. Some friends said it was obvious the Clintons needed therapy, which the family undertook in Little Rock in the 1980s after Clinton's brother was arrested on cocaine charges. But the president was described as unlikely to submit to any counseling until he leaves office.

The Clintons' relationship had always been about more than matters of the heart. It began at Yale Law School in 1971, when Hillary spotted him bragging about Arkansas watermelons in the student lounge. On their first date, according to David Maraniss's revealing book, "First in

His Class," she watched him talk their way into a closed art museum by volunteering to pick up some trash. Their intellectual partnership began during moot-court competition at the law school. They lost, but classmates remember the remarkable way that their skills complemented one another. It's hard to remember today how fiercely young people once believed they could change the world through politics. Clinton and Rodham shared the dream—and a pragmatism about needing to "win first" before they could get anything done.

As the relationship deepened, both sacrificed something to stay together. If Clin-

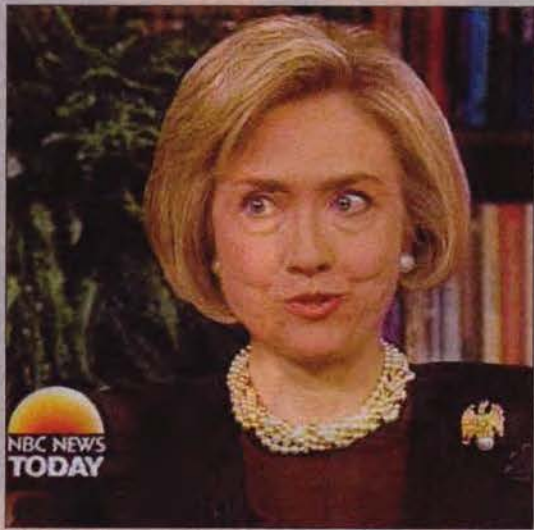
ton were thinking solely of getting elected, he could have married an Arkansas beauty queen instead of a Chicago feminist. If Rodham hadn't been so madly in love, she never would have dropped a promising career as a Washington lawyer to move to Arkansas. No other man could meet her standard of likability and intellectual power, she told friends. But even when they were first dating, he sometimes saw other women on the side. When they married in 1975, Maraniss wrote, "She understood his talents and his flaws. He might not be faithful, but together they could be faithful to their larger mission in life."

Only **11%** of Americans believe that Hillary Clinton found out about her husband's affair just days before his speech; **84%** think she had known for some time



STICKING TOGETHER

On the campaign trail in 1992 (left) and 1996 (far left), the Clintons complained privately that their critics would have found a speedy divorce easier to accept than the messy sight of a family working through problems like adultery. Time and time again, Hillary would have to endure the pain of a public defense of her wayward husband, like her appearance on '60 Minutes' in 1992 (below, center) and 'Today' in 1998 (below, right).



Soon they became an astonishing political team—"Billary," "two for the price of one." She was not just the corporate-lawyer breadwinner, but his most trusted adviser. Clinton didn't call his wife "Mommy," as Ronald Reagan did, but through the years Hillary sometimes played that role, organizing and shaping him for advancement. Clinton's own beloved mother, Virginia, had been less of a mother than a fun-loving friend and worshiper at the shrine of Bill. Hillary, by contrast, was not subservient but equal. In intellectual terms, this worked brilliantly. But Clinton occasionally chafed at the discipline she brought to their life.

The marriage nearly ended in the late 1980s after Clinton was caught in a long-term affair (not Gennifer Flowers), but they patched it up—mostly for the sake of Chelsea, friends say—and were proud of surviving. In 1992 and 1996, they both complained that if they had simply divorced—like Reagan, Bob Kerrey and Bob Dole, among others—sex would never be an issue. In the White House, friends reported, there were plenty of loud fights—always a feature of their relationship—but no sense that the marriage was in trouble. "She was caught flat-footed this year," says one friend, who still insisted that they are

bound together so deeply that they will never get divorced.

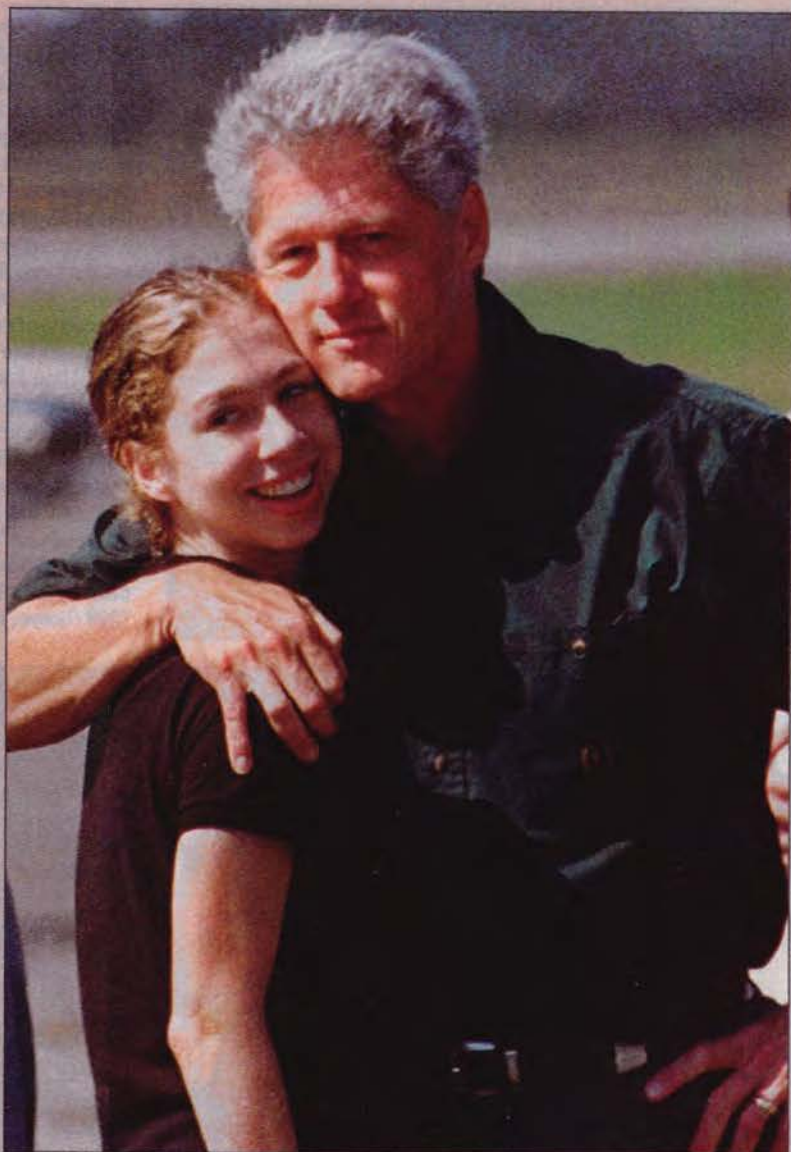
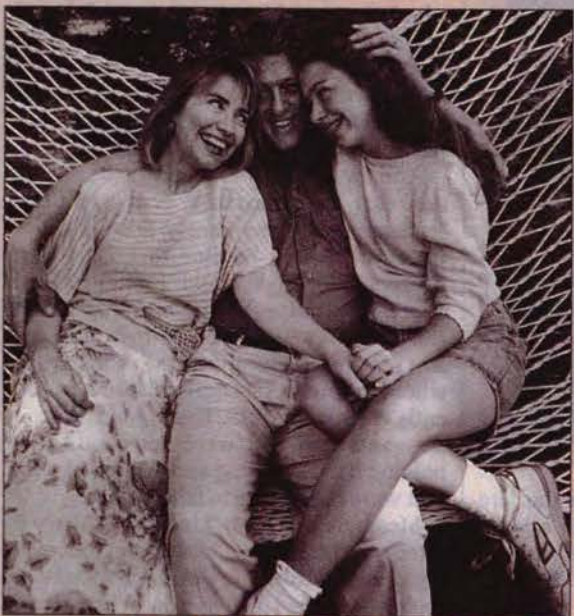
To those who didn't know the Clintons, this sounded bizarre and perhaps manufactured. With all the publicity, how could she not have known months ago about his relationship with Monica Lewinsky? Hillary Clinton, this theory goes, must have been an "enabler" who constantly covered up or even lied for her husband. According to this analysis, the White House concocted the story about her finding out for the first time just last week so that she wouldn't seem to have been lying on behalf of the president when she went on the "Today" show in January.

Hillary is described by a friend as "ticked off" by this line of analysis. Yes, she had dug her husband out of political trouble over womanizing, as she did by standing beside him in the famous 1992 "60 Minutes" interview about Gennifer Flowers. But an enabler? Hillary always relied on some strong woman staffer—Betsey Wright in Little Rock, Evelyn Lieberman in the White House—to keep the temptresses at bay. In the White House, she felt she could relax more on the perennial issue of her husband's whereabouts, which were now tightly circumscribed by the nature of the presidential cocoon. It wasn't as if Clinton was widely known within the White House to be playing around. There was no sense on her staff that she turned a blind eye to the obvious.

And for anyone who knew them, the notion that their marriage was a political "arrangement" was simply false. Eleanor Roosevelt was a heroine to Hillary, and Eleanor's fortitude amid Franklin's infidelity must have been some inspiration. But the Clintons had an entirely different sort of marriage from the Roosevelts, whose intimate physical relations apparently ended after 1918. The Clintons slept in the same bed and were constantly seen holding hands, kissing and flirting in ways that were impossible to fake.

Meanwhile, it wasn't hard for Hillary to filter out the rumors, which grew increasingly outlandish. Gary Aldrich's claim of seeing the president leave the White House with a blanket over his head? Hollywood starlets? Ridiculous, she thought. There were so many phony stories being peddled on so many topics—stories she *knew* to be false—that she stopped trying to sort them all out unless she was specifically preparing to testify. She rarely watched TV news, and the news summaries provided by her staff did not include stories about sex. Hillary knew a lot had happened in Arkansas—and

69% of those surveyed still believe Bill Clinton is a good father; **48%** think he is worse than the average American husband; **40%** think he's about the same



FAMILY MATTERS

Chelsea Clinton has never known a life outside the spotlight—from her girlhood in the Arkansas governor's mansion (top left, with Hillary in 1984) to her adolescence on the presidential campaign trail (center and bottom

left, in 1992) and in the White House (above, with her father in 1997). She's learned the lessons of public life well; the poised young woman now seems to be protecting her parents as much as they ever protected her.

had been angered when the Troopergate story appeared in *The American Spectator* in 1994—but she honestly believed that her husband had changed his ways once they came to Washington.

So when the Lewinsky story appeared, she told friends it was false. It seemed to come from the same sewer as so much else that she knew was untrue. This would prove to be a hoax, too, she told friends. When news broke that Lewinsky had received unusually high-level help for an intern, Hillary easily rationalized it. Lewinsky, she knew, was not just any intern, but

sponsored by Walter Kaye, who has done more favors for the Clintons than almost any benefactor. (The biggest may have been figuring out how an insurance policy could be made to cover the expenses of the Paula Jones case.) She shrugged off the gifts in private just as she did to Matt Lauer on TV: everyone knew Bill was always buying trinkets for his staff; he'd done it for years.

But if Hillary was not exactly an enabler, she had become, over the years, conspicuously incurious about her husband's behavior. By the most reliable accounts, Hillary was so heavily invested in Bill that she had

long since stopped asking him the hard questions. According to one version, the president did tell her in January that he had slipped briefly during the late 1995 budget shutdown—grown “too close” to Lewinsky, which was dumb and looked dumber—but that the intern was a lovesick puppy who wasn't telling the truth about a sexual relationship.

When reports of the dress first surfaced in the press, Clinton simply lied. “There is no dress,” he told friends and family in January. Faced with a choice between believing her husband on the one hand, or Ken

Starr and the press on the other, it was no contest for Hillary. Starr was the one she thought had lied for four years, and made her life miserable digging dry holes.

And then came mid-August. At first she learned the truth in legal terms, from the president's lawyers. And finally, on Aug. 13, from her husband himself. As she absorbed the details—an 18-month affair with special gifts and at least a half-dozen sexual encounters—Hillary Clinton was apparently deeply angry. She still didn't doubt her husband's love for her, and she didn't blame herself. But according to friends she did turn inward, to her spiritual side.

Religion was always central to Hillary. For years, she had read widely in the theolo-

gy of different faiths, including works by Gordon MacDonald, an evangelical minister defrocked for adultery, then given a second chance. She had been a regular churchgoer even in college when most of her friends were looking for other sources of insight—like psychiatry. In recent years, Hillary came to recognize that she was not naturally disposed to the psychological perspective. Maybe now, says a friend, she will be.

Friends predicted that the First Lady would now apply her usual diligence to the task of figuring out which blend of religious traditions was best for her family. The search was potentially confusing. Hillary is a strong Methodist; over the years she had even mused about becoming a Methodist

minister some day. But Methodists have a different, less tolerant attitude toward sin than do Baptists, the faith of her husband. One friend suggested that the redemption provided by Jesse Jackson last week might not prove enough.

Hillary's own tradition stressed the social gospel and a strong impulse to find grace in responsibility. Instead of empathy or sympathy, Hillary wanted her friends and supporters to renew their commitment to something larger. It was that shared commitment that had bound her to Bill Clinton in the first place, a mixture of ambition and idealism she had expressed at her graduation nearly 30 years ago. The trust would have to wait.

Inside the family: A counselor to the Clintons tells of their struggle—and their love. BY REV. JESSE JACKSON

Keeping Faith in a Storm

I ARRIVED AT THE WHITE House shortly after 10:30 Sunday night. Hillary and I had spoken by phone and she said that Chelsea wanted to see me. I was concerned that Hillary was having to bear so much of the burden. With grace and strength, she was coping with a crisis affecting her husband, her daughter and the nation—and there was almost no one she could talk to about it. Throughout the entire ordeal, both Bill and Hillary have had one eye on each other and one eye on Chelsea. How is she responding? How is she coping? Both have a real sensitivity to how she handles fame and trauma.

Hillary, Chelsea and I sat down in the living room and began to talk. Bill dropped by to say hello. After a few minutes, Hillary told him to go upstairs and finish preparing for his testimony. "When we're done talking, then we'll come up and see you." After he left, I told Hillary and Chelsea that I was reminded of another First Family in crisis, in the very first Rose Garden. When Adam and Eve transgressed from God's will and sinned, they immediately



Jackson visited while Clinton prepared the Lewinsky speech

covered up in shame and embarrassment. Sin and shame and lies tend to go hand in hand. We talked about King David, who, like Bill, was talented and gifted and tempted by the forbidden fruit. So were some of the greatest American leaders in history. This storm, I told them, is not an original storm. The question is, how will you respond? You can panic and jump overboard. You can become irate and turn on each other and lay blame. Or you can apply your

faith, hold on to your hopes and dreams and stand together until the storm passes.

I don't feel free to relate the words that they used, but it was clear that Hillary and Chelsea understood. Hillary was absolutely committed to keeping her family together. Chelsea is devoted to both her parents. She has seen her father under attack and heard all the allegations. She comes from a generation made either more cynical or more solid by all they are exposed to at an

early age. Chelsea is both tough-minded and tenderhearted. Her parents raised her to have inner strength and maturity.

I remember last winter when Chelsea was briefly hospitalized at Stanford for the flu. She told me then that she was aware of the rumors flying around that she was on drugs or had dropped out of school. She didn't get angry. She just rolled her eyes and said, "I'm doing fine." I have spoken to Chelsea throughout this crisis, and she has not been sitting around crying or wringing her hands. Chelsea is old enough to know that her father isn't perfect. She knows that sometimes men in their weakness go beyond their boundary. But that is no basis for not loving one's father. Throughout this, she has said, "I love my dad. I understand. I can cope."

After about an hour, we went upstairs to the solarium on the third floor, where the president was working on his speech. We hugged each other and prayed. It was clear that Hillary and Chelsea were standing with him. Soon he would have to testify; he knew when it was over that he would have to look in their eyes and walk into their arms. They offered him love and understanding at a time when he needed it most and deserved it least. We have seen the Clintons in triumph and we have seen them in trauma. But throughout it all, we have always seen them together.

Lost ideals: Aides who defended him are being called dupes, and supporters now wonder if they cared more about Clinton's agenda than he did. BY GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

The Betrayal

MY WORST MORNING IN THE CLINTON campaign bunker was April 5, 1992—the day we had to deal with Clinton's induction notice from 1969. For months, we had been defending against the charge of draft dodging. I was right there on the ramparts—accosting any reporter who dared to question our story, insisting that Clinton had never been drafted and never “pulled strings,” arguing vehemently that this obsessive focus on

Clinton's past was part of a right-wing plot to deny the country a progressive president who would shake things up. So when John King of the Associated Press handed me a copy of Clinton's draft notice, I was shaken. *How can this be? After all of the questions and all of the stories, how can we still be confronted with documents we didn't know about? How can you defend a guy when you don't know the facts? How come the governor didn't tell us?*

“I forgot about it,” Clinton said. By the time the draft notice reached him at Oxford, he explained, his local draft board had told him to ignore it, so he did. It was a hard story to swallow, and even if it was accurate, reporters would rightly accuse us of dissembling because we hadn't revealed its existence before. Clinton could tell I was agitated. Over breakfast, as I peppered him with questions in his hotel suite, he reached over and pressed both hands on my shoulders to calm me down. He didn't want me talking to reporters until I pulled myself together.

That took a while. Unable to face the world, I stayed in bed that morning—literally under the covers. James Carville and I retreated to his bedroom and watched Julia Child make a meringue. By afternoon, I was back on the front lines. Clinton had told me his story, and I had made a choice to believe him and defend him. Whatever doubts I had were overwhelmed by his word, my own

ambition and my belief in our common work.

I have thought about that day a lot this week as I watched my friends and former colleagues, Rahm Emanuel, Paul Begala and Ann Lewis, endure the embarrassment of having their public defense of Clinton contradicted by the president himself. For seven months, they had defended the president loyally and well; now they were being called liars or dupes. I know some people will say that's what “spinners” deserve. Others argue that it's the price of working for a president. As LBJ counsel Harry McPherson once wrote, all presidents “consume their staff like fuel.” But that ignores how seriously these people take their responsibilities, how much they care for our country and how truly unusual the current situation is. It's bad enough that Bill Clinton defiled his presidency by having sex with an intern off the Oval Office; bad enough that he humiliated his wife and daughter. But President Clinton turned his personal flaws into a public matter when he made the whole country complicit in his cover story. This was no impulsive act of passion; it was a coldly calculated political decision.

He spoke publicly from the Roosevelt Room. He assembled his cabinet and staff, and assured them that he was telling the truth. Then he sat back, silently, and watched his official spokespeople, employees of the U.S. government, mislead the country again and again and again. Not to protect an innocent life, or shield soldiers in combat, but to save the president from personal embarrassment and political harm. One more sad example of the lesson every president knows and every president forgets: the

cover-up is always worse than the crime.

“Oh, c'mon,” you say. “How could they believe him? We knew all along that Clinton was lying.”

Don't get me wrong. Anyone who's worked for this president knows enough to listen for the loophole in the categorical denial, to wonder about the question you failed to ask. But experience is an unsteady guide. For every charge against Clinton that has turned out to be true, I know a dozen worse rumors that were proved wrong. And senior White House staffers aren't dumb;



Risking his legacy for a dalliance



MICHAEL J.N. BOWLES

It's awkward to advise a man you don't fully respect, and unnerving to represent a man you don't fully trust

they didn't follow blindly; many harbored doubts in the pits of their stomach, especially as the months wore on without a real explanation from the president. That's why Clinton defenders checked and double-checked with his lawyers to make sure that their defense was accurate and true. But Clinton may have misled his counsel, too. And most of all, before you judge his aides you must understand what it's like to have the president of the United States put his hand on your shoulder, look you in the eye and say, "You have to believe me. I didn't do this." You believe him.

And if you don't, you have to quit.

Loyal still, my White House friends aren't complaining; that's not their style. They will make their personal peace with the president in private, over time. The bigger problem, for them and the president, is how hard it will be for them to do their jobs now. A senior White House staffer is both counselor and character witness; you advise the president and represent him to the world. But it's awkward to advise a man whom you don't fully respect, and it's unnerving to represent a man whom you don't fully trust. In a television interview, or during a strategy session on Capitol Hill, you can hear the next question before you complete your first sentence: "Why would we believe you?" The usual trump card—"I just spoke to the president and you have his word"—doesn't mean today what it meant in January.

For now, at least, the senior White House staff has been consumed by the crush of work in a week of crisis. But since Monday, I've had dozens of conversations with members of President Clinton's extended political family, lower-level White House staffers and the "Schedule C" political appointees scattered in cabinet departments across the government. Idealists and operatives, patriots and activists, they apprenticed in the Clinton campaign or on Capitol Hill—drafting constituent letters and legislative amendments, standing with Clinton signs on snowy New Hampshire overpasses, staying up all night in the War Room to research rebuttals to anti-Clinton attacks—all for the

privilege of working for a president and his policies, for the chance to make a difference.

But they couldn't do much work on Tuesday morning. In government cafeterias, over coffee at Starbucks, on impromptu conference calls with old friends, they vented their feelings. Some were defiant, ready to fight for Clinton one more time. Others felt sorry for Hillary and Chelsea. All were angry at Clinton. For risking his presidency on a foolish dalliance; for lying about it; for paralyzing their policy agenda; for vindicating Starr and all the other attackers

SPECIAL REPORT

they had been fighting for so long. I heard words like "despise" and "disgust" and "hate" from people whose most cherished memory is shaking the president's hand after a Saturday-morning radio address. And as the hours passed, the anger settled into disillusion, the sad sense that if all this were true, we "cared about his agenda more than he did."

There was anxiety, too. Was there any hope left of getting something done over the next two years? Or would the rest of their career with Clinton be spent waiting for another shoe to drop and watching congressional committees pore over all the ugly details of their leader's indiscretions? Some wondered if it would be better for Vice President Al Gore to take the helm right now; then we'd definitely be spared the indignity of impeachment hearings and we might even get something done. Voicing a sentiment I heard far more than I expected, one Democrat who reveres his party and the presidency simply said: "I wish President Clinton would resign."

I UNDERSTAND HOW HE FEELS, BUT FOR THE PRESIDENT TO resign now would be wrong. President Clinton may have debased himself with his behavior, but we shouldn't debase the office with an impulsive overreaction. In all of our history, through countless scandals petty and grand, only one president has resigned from office, only one president has been impeached and no president has been convicted and removed from office. Undoing a national election is serious business. President Clinton hasn't been charged with an impeachable offense. His actions in Afghanistan and Sudan this week demonstrate that he's capable of carrying out his duties as commander in chief, and he still has strong public support. That is thanks, in part, to the conduct of his adversaries. Although he chose the wrong time to say it, everything the president said last week about the Starr investigation and his political adversaries is true. Starr's investigation has gone on too long; his office is the subject of an ethics investigation, and there is something terribly unsettling about a full-fledged criminal investigation into a president's sex life, unrestrained by common sense or proportion.

But that's where we are, so what should the president do—indeed, what can he do—to return purpose to his presidency? Follow his own advice. At last year's National Prayer Breakfast, the president talked movingly about the need to "repair the breach" in our public life. Today, the most serious breach in our public life is the



Putting the arm on
Stephanopoulos on
Air Force One in 1996

What Did You Think?

DR. LAURA SCHLESINGER

RADIO PERSONALITY

A 13-year-old boy called my show two weeks ago who had received a presidential award. He was having a fight with his mom. She wanted to hang it up in his room; he refused to do it because he thinks the president is disgusting. Boy, I'll tell you, my eyeballs just about fell out of my head when I heard that one. He said, "This is no role model, this is a bad person. Every time I look at it, I'll go 'yuck'."



MARIO CUOMO

FORMER N.Y. GOVERNOR

The speech failed. He was apparently tired and allowed himself to project anger instead of contrition. It was interpreted by too many as a personal insult because he didn't ask them for forgiveness. I know him well enough to see that he was trying to say "This was wrong and I won't try to excuse it."

DR. FRANK PITTMAN

INFIDELITY EXPERT

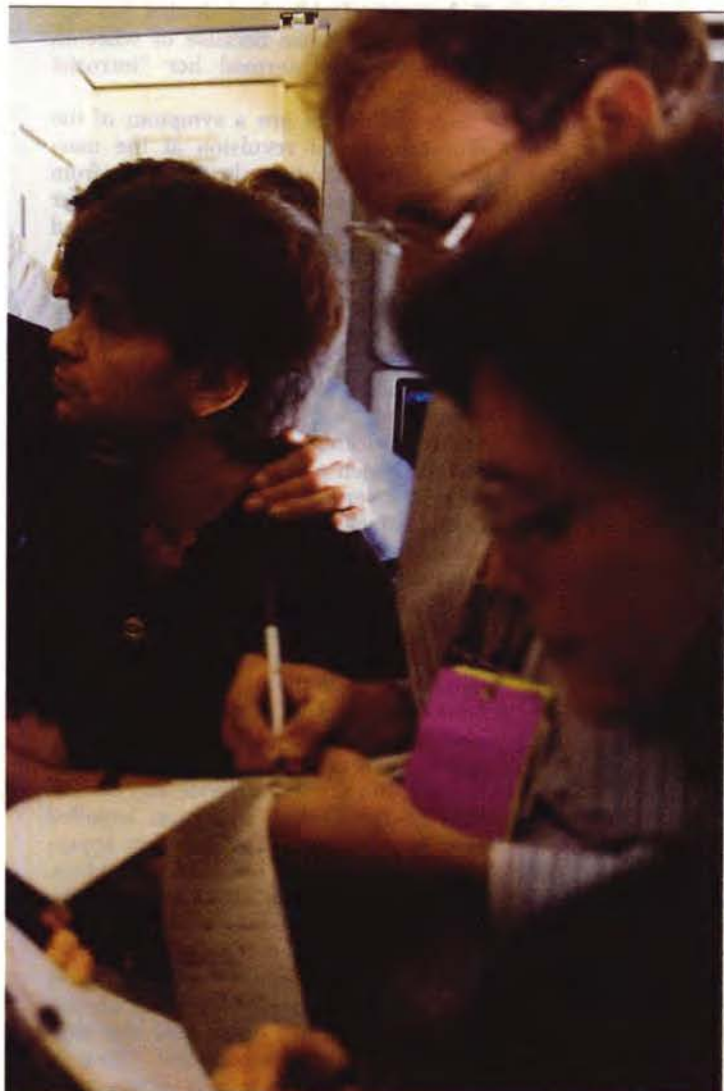
The saddest part of the whole speech for me was when the president said Hillary didn't know. I hope he's lying about that and he didn't really send her out onto the "Today" show in January to make a fool of herself—hell, we never even would have voted for him in the first place if we hadn't thought Hillary would keep him on a short leash. The whole thing was pitiful to watch. We needed to hear "I did it, it was wrong, I hurt all of you by doing it and I am sorry." But he couldn't say those four simple things.



HELEN GURLEY BROWN

FORMER COSMO EDITOR

I sat watching raptly and thought he was superb. Do they want him to grovel, to apologize for the rest of his life? He said just enough. If he had delivered the Gettysburg Address, people would still be dissatisfied.



broken trust between the president and the American public. Repairing it fully may be impossible, but the president must try. To start, he should deliver the speech he should have given last week—one that demonstrates clearly that he understands what he's done and how much his actions have cost the office he sought and the country he leads. But what really matters now is deeds, not words. Litigating every privilege and telling the truth slowly should be policies of the past. Starr, in turn, should wrap up his investigation quickly. If there is to be a report to Congress, he should send it without further delay.

Until Congress receives Starr's report, and decides what to do, the rest of our domestic agenda, for better or worse, will be entangled in the Lewinsky affair. This is why those of us who support the president's agenda are so upset. Nothing we care about can get done until this matter is behind us. Imagine, for example, if President Clinton's economic plan had come to a vote in August 1998 instead of August 1993. The margin of victory came from representatives who would pay a political price for supporting the president. Some weren't convinced that it was the best course for the country; many would later lose their seats. But the president was persuasive, full of conviction, and he ultimately won because he made it personal: *I need you to do this for me*. That wouldn't work today. It may never work for President Clinton again. But he can still call on the Congress and the country to do the work we need to do—on education, health care, Social Security—for us, if not for him.

In the end, there may be little the president can do to repair the political damage that's already been done. It may be impossible for people to trust him again; the final two and a half years of his presidency may be a continuation of the last seven months: a second term paralyzed by criminal investigations and legislative deadlock. Worse, his legal peril may have only just begun. Perjury and obstruction of justice aren't just breaches of faith; they're violations of the law that the president has sworn to uphold. If Starr can make a convincing case that the president has broken the law, and Congress agrees, the last chapter of Clinton's presidency may be the chronicle that his character foretold.

STEPHANOPOULOS, former senior adviser to the president, is a contributor to *NEWSWEEK* and ABC News. His forthcoming memoir of his years with Clinton, *"All Too Human,"* will be published by Little, Brown.

CAMILLE PAGLIA

FEMINIST AUTHOR

I am completely disgusted. The White House has turned into Bluebeard's castle and a Kremlin of constant official lies. The president has become Nero crossed with Howdy Dowdy. And the independent counsel has become a bumbling Mr. Magoo in a Godzilla mask.

KATHA POLLITT

COLUMNIST, THE NATION

I think this obsession with Clinton's personal life really substitutes for a more serious analysis of the political deceptions that are practiced on the American people every day. The Iran-contra scandal is a good example. From the moment it started, people said it's boring.

If you cared about it, you were a crank. That was an important news story, but the Walsh report never had the same level of publicity as that dress.

DAN QUAYLE

FORMER VICE PRESIDENT

President Clinton has made clear that he lied under oath and lied to the American public, and he has admitted a sexual relationship for which a high-school principal would have been fired.

This leaves to him only one honorable course: he should resign the presidency.



HUGH HEFNER

PLAYBOY FOUNDER

The man does have a character problem, that's rather evident ... That he found it appropriate to lie about his situation raises some very real questions, but sex is the one subject in America that everyone lies about—to their girlfriends, their wives, themselves.

SANDRA BERNHARD

ACTRESS AND COMEDIAN

Maybe if Clinton had just completely lost it and cried hysterically the speech would have been more appealing. I think he should've consulted his drama coach and just gone for it. A half-assed statement doesn't have the punch that a good cry does—even Nixon cried. He should've just gone for it, just in terms of drama and excitement for the country.



CONTAGIOUS CLINTONITIS

The disorder of Clinton's foreign policy is proportional to that of his glandular life

BY GEORGE F. WILL

BILL CLINTON DESPERATELY WANTS TO—NEEDS TO—seem presidential. The problem is, he isn't. Every public sighting of him is now filtered through images of him in the act of staining the intern's dress. His stature has been squashed to near nothingness beneath the accumulated weight of petulant sophistries, artless semantic dodges and plain lies.

Another impediment to Clinton's program for seeming serious is that he has never shown serious, sustained interest in the president's most serious responsibility: foreign policy. Now that he is desperate to change the subject from the consequences of his glandular life, he admonishes the nation that it is time to turn to serious things. He may be sorry if the country does.

Clinton deserved—he has earned—public skepticism about his motives in ordering attacks against terrorist targets in Sudan and Afghanistan. It is impossible for a leader to confine his reputation for untrustworthiness, to hermetically seal his conduct of foreign policy from the acids of suspicion. The attacks did not even change the subject: they became part of the subject of his enveloping troubles. In fact, all reminders that the world is a dangerous place are dangerous for Clinton because they make him seem risky and optional.

The disorder of his foreign policy is proportional to that of his presidency and personal life. The public, reminded of the world's dangers, may, rather than reflexively rally around the president, desire a more serious president. And there is disturbing evidence that Clintonitis—misplaced confidence in the semi-clever manipulation of words—is a contagious disease, one that his foreign-policy team has caught in dealing with Iraq.

The rout of the United States by Iraq is now nearly complete. Saddam Hussein has shredded the tissue of transparently insincere promises that was the agreement he made in February with Kofi Annan. The U.N. secretary-general intervened with a face-saving agreement to allow the Clinton administration to back down from its theatrical—dramatic, unreal—threat to use bombing to force Iraq to honor the U.N. inspectors' right to "immediate, unconditional and unrestricted" searches for weapons of mass destruction.

At that time Clinton administration spokesmen said U.S. policy was a muscular one of "snap back"—automatic military retaliation for any departure from the Annan agreement. But when Iraq effectively ended the inspections and monitoring, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright snapped back with a jaunty sound bite: "Basically, Saddam Hussein has wrestled himself to the ground. He's stuck in a box and he's thrown away the key." She presumably meant that he had guaranteed that the economic

sanctions against Iraq will not soon be lifted. James Rubin, the State Department spokesman, was equally chipper, saying Hussein had "shot himself in the foot." P. J. Crowley, a White House spokesman, completed the collection of puerilities, saying, "I think Saddam Hussein has probably watched too many episodes of 'Star Trek'."

Evidently 'twas a famous victory for the United States, Iraq's blocking of an inspection regime that seven months ago the United States was prepared to use military force to preserve. Saddam Hussein thinks otherwise. Obviously he thinks the inspections threaten his arsenal of weapons, weapons that can magnify Iraq's power far more than economic sanctions can injure Iraq's power. But all this, Albright said, is not between Iraq and the United States. Gracious, no. It is between Iraq and the United Nations.

U.S. officials stressed this when there were reports that the United States recently pressured Richard Butler, the chief U.N. inspector in Iraq, to cancel certain surprise inspections that inspectors considered especially promising. The Washington Post reported that the second-ranking U.S. diplomat at the United Nations called in Butler and raised many



questions and concerns about the planned raids: "Reading from prepared guidance, he told Butler the decision was [the United Nations'] but left the inspection chief with the plain understanding that the United States did not support his plan."

Now, there may have been sound reasons for doing this. But instead of hearing them, we heard language that, in the context of this Washington summer, sounded symptomatic of Clintonitis. White House spokesman Mike McCurry said U.S. officials consulted with Butler about timing and tactics, "but we don't order them not to conduct missions." Albright said, "I do not tell chairman Butler what to do." Yes, of course. And the president did not "order" or "tell" anyone to lie about his glandular life. But he has sensitized the nation to the slipperiness of language wielded by people who are not to be trusted. And this has brought the secretary of State and others under the cloud of cynicism that Clinton has created.

It is deeply depressing and, worse, dangerous that seven months of lies from, and on behalf of, the commander in chief have corroded the usefulness of normal political language in the conduct of the country's business. Albright has said, "We are not going to stand by and watch the Serbian authorities do in Kosovo what they can no longer get away with doing in Bosnia." But they are getting away with it. Serious people disagree about what, if anything, the United States can or should do about this. However, U.S. officials can at least watch what they say, lest they add to the spreading acid of suspicion that, in Washington, words are not taken seriously as vessels of meaning.

In perhaps the most dangerous place in the world, the Korean peninsula, as many as 800,000 people a year may be dying from malnutrition in North Korea. U.S. intelligence sources recently discovered that the North Korean regime, in violation of its agreement with the United States, is pouring resources into a vast underground complex to serve its nuclear-weapons program. Is the president paying attention? Are America's enemies taking him seriously? Should they?

Angry and Hurt, but No Quitter

Hillary Clinton struggles to cope with the President's belatedly admitted infidelity

In the hours before Bill Clinton finally faced independent counsel Kenneth Starr and the American public—confessing to his “inappropriate” relationship with Monica Lewinsky—the President was busy at the White House with an even more daunting task: informing First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and daughter Chelsea, apparently for the first time, of his infidelity. “In many ways you’d rather face the grand jury and the press than a wife and daughter,” says the Rev. Jesse Jackson, who was on hand to offer solace to a First Family in crisis.



Mrs. Clinton remained “committed to the marriage” after the President’s TV confession (left).



WIN MCNAMEE/REUTERS



On Jan. 26, the President denied having a sexual relationship with Lewinsky. Says one of Hillary's close friends: "She believed him."

But during the tense time the Clintons spent praying with Jackson in the family quarters on the night of Sunday, Aug. 16—and putting the final touches on yet another round of crisis management—the First Lady never seemed to abandon her hope and determination that her husband's Presidency, and their marriage, could be saved. "She was in the strategy meetings helping to make preparations, instead of being downstairs brooding in anguish," says Jackson. "Hillary is not a fair-weather wife."

Not that anyone needed reminding of that. For when it comes to buttressing their storm-tossed union, the First Lady has had plenty of practice. "She is torn between being angry and worrying about Bill," says one close friend. As the momentous weekend began, Mrs. Clinton, 50, spoke by phone with members of her inner circle, including Diane Blair, a retired professor of political science at the University of Arkansas. Earlier this year, when allegations of the President's relationship with Lewinsky were first leaked to the press, Blair told PEOPLE that, after White-water, Paula Jones and Gennifer Flowers, Mrs. Clinton was "getting tired of all this, weary of all the allegations and back-and-forth and scrutiny. I mean, it's a hard way to live." But when Blair spoke with her friend on Friday night, Hillary, she says, was "doing fine."

Certainly that was the impression she tried to project to the public. That Friday afternoon, she had cheerfully hosted an early surprise party for Bill's birthday (he turned 52 on Aug. 19) just outside the Oval Office. "She looked terrific," says a guest. And

two days later, despite the tumult around her, a beaming Hillary was by her husband's side again for services at Foundry United Methodist Church.

Back at the White House, however, Hillary was "girded for battle," says an Arkansas friend. Relying on her own keen legal skills, she huddled with White House attorneys to prep the President for his historic Aug. 17 appearance before a grand jury investigating possible perjury and helped draft his tersely worded TV admission of adultery. "She is not a victim," says Republican commentator Mary Matalin, an admirer, who late last month attended a baby shower hosted by Hillary for Democratic consultant Mandy Grunwald. "Bill Clinton wouldn't be where he is without her."

Still, the First Lady's brisk profes-

sional posture hasn't quieted questions about the true state of the Clinton marriage. Washington tends to divide into two camps: There are the Clinton partisans who describe the marriage as a true love match ("There is no doubt in my mind," says First Ladies historian Carl Sferazza Anthony, who dined with the pair late last year. "When we were waiting for dessert, they were holding hands under the table"). And there are those who regard the marriage as a complex alliance founded, in part, on mutual ambition. "I don't think Hillary wants to think about his infidelity," says David Maraniss, author of the 1995 Clinton biography *First*



MARK WILSON/REUTERS

The Clintons presented a united front at church on Aug. 16.



ALLEN FREDERICKSON/REUTERS

Hillary now counts even Republican women among her supporters, according to polls.

● update

in His Class. "To get to this point, she's had to say that their being together and being in the White House are more important than his personal behavior. Once she made that decision, it's there until their eight years in the White House are up, no matter what." When the President slips, says Maraniss, Hillary tends to "focus on his adversaries."

Many have also asked how the First Lady deals with the repeated humiliation brought on by her husband's liaisons. In a *New Yorker* article earlier this year, *Primary Colors* author Joe Klein wondered "why [she] always looks so radiant in the middle of a sex scandal?" One explanation: "She looks good at such times because she's invigorated," writes Klein. "Her husband needs her desperately; she is the essential element in his defense." In times of crisis, Hillary becomes a key White House player.

She has also kept herself extraordinarily busy. As the President's grand jury appearance drew near, the First Lady cleared her schedule to spend time with Chelsea, 18, who is home from Stanford. This summer she has taken part in a 10-city bus tour of his-

Advice to Hillary from the pros

Helen Gurley Brown, former editor of *Cosmopolitan*: "Hillary should go on doing exactly what she has been doing. She has been absolutely flawless. She should just keep being under control; she should still keep being a great helpmate to him—they're still in the White House."

Gloria Allred, women's rights lawyer: "It's unimaginable to me that she would leave at this time. I don't see her remaining with him as being an altruistic decision, but a well-thought-out decision."

Gary Smalley, marriage consultant who counseled Frank Gifford and Kathie Lee: "If she can forgive him and they come out

and say, 'Yes, we're going to get help for this,' people around the country would look at that and say, 'If they can do it, we can too.'"

Rev. Ed Matthews, retired minister from Hillary's Little Rock church: "She and the President have been down these roads before. She should keep the conversation going and work toward reconciliation and get outside help wherever needed."

Zsa Zsa Gabor, veteran of nine marriages: "She has to forgive him. Basically, he's a good man. He made a very stupid mistake. He loves her. But you know men."

toric sites, visited New York State's chic Hamptons beach resort and bagged more than \$500,000 for Democratic candidates during recent solo jaunts to a half dozen states. "Her strong religious faith is something she relies on," said her press secretary Marsha Berry in a statement re-

leased the day after Clinton's televised admissions. The First Lady may draw strength from her public-approval rating, which has soared to an all-time high of about 60 percent since the scandal broke, though at steep personal cost.

But even some longtime supporters were left wondering how Hillary could have been in the dark about her husband's dalliance until mid-August. "A lot of people willfully don't know what their spouse is up to," says Patricia Ireland, president of the National Organization for Women. "But as somebody said, 'At least we want to know she kicked his butt.'"

There were no clues to that as the Clintons strode toward the presidential helicopter on Tuesday to begin a holiday on Martha's Vineyard, but there were signs of strain. Onlookers made much of the fact that Hillary and Bill were holding their daughter's hands rather than each other's. "She's disappointed, there's no other way to say it. I think she feels there's work to be done," says White House adviser James Carville, who spoke to the First Lady after the President's speech. But his comment on the President's vacation may be more to the point. "He will spend a little time at the beach," says Carville, "and a little time in the woodshed."

- Patrick Rogers
- Linda Kramer, Jane Sims Podesta and Margery Sellinger in Washington, D.C.



"They [leaving on vacation on Aug. 18] want to be left alone," says a Clinton friend.

Spice Girls Baby Boom ● Farewell to E.G. Marshall ● The Killer Landlord

SEPTEMBER 7, 1998

People

weekly

Surviving Infidelity

HOW THEY COPE, WHY THEY STAY

Hillary says she's sticking with Bill. Here's how other famous couples picked up the pieces

FRANK &
KATHIE LEE GIFFORD

HUGH GRANT &
ELIZABETH HURLEY

BILL & HILLARY
CLINTON

\$2.79

36>

CANADA \$3.69

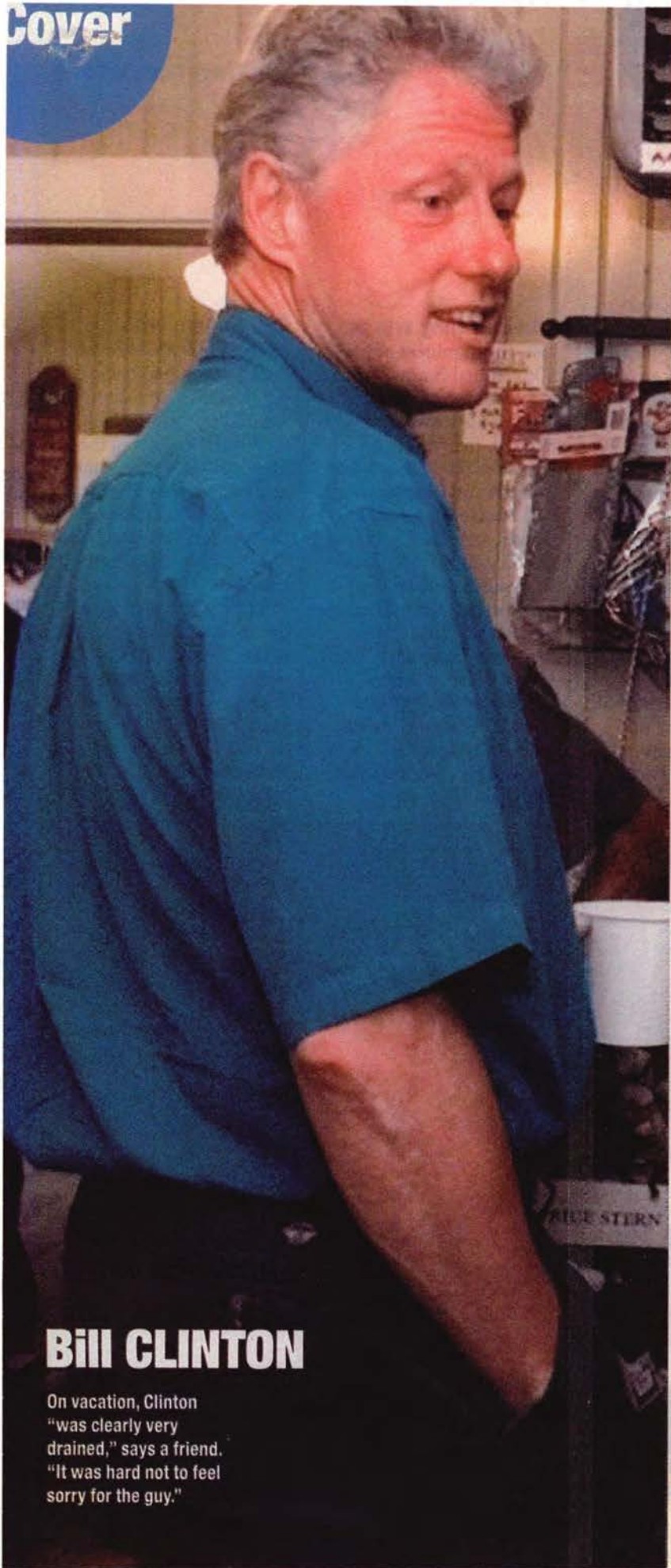


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PHOTOGRAPHY
PRESERVATION

Cover

High



Bill Clinton

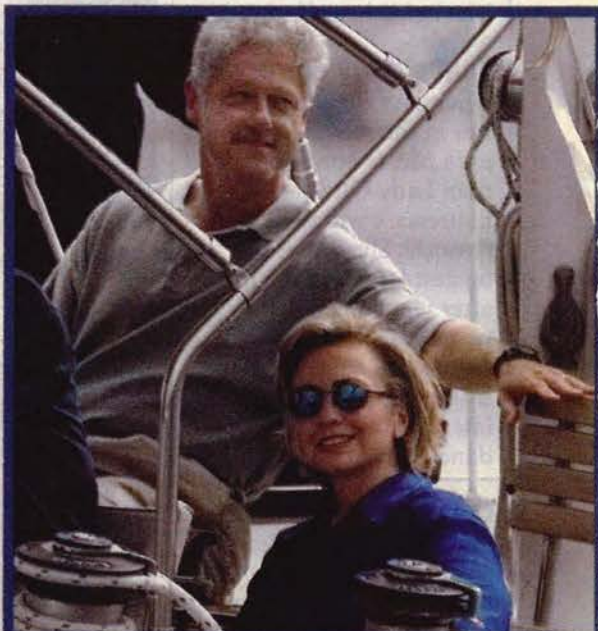
On vacation, Clinton "was clearly very drained," says a friend. "It was hard not to feel sorry for the guy."



JANUARY 26, 1992: Hillary looked on as her husband denied having had a relationship with Gennifer Flowers.



JANUARY 26, 1998: She stood behind him when he claimed the same about "that woman," Lewinsky.



AUGUST 25, 1998: They make it look like smooth sailing on Walter Cronkite's yacht off Martha's Vineyard.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Infidelity

Humiliated publicly, Hillary Clinton and other prominent women still find the will to patch things up

Hoping to leave behind for a few moments the inescapable, apparently interminable furor over *l'affaire* Lewinsky, the President took time out, as Air Force One carried him toward a 12-day family vacation on Martha's Vineyard on Aug. 18, for his daily pastime—racing through *The New York Times* crossword puzzle, in ink. He paused briefly at the clue for 46 down, which called for a four-letter word for “meal for the humble.” “In a bemused way,” according to an aide, the President said aloud, “Here’s one appropriate for today,” as he penned in the answer: “Crow.”

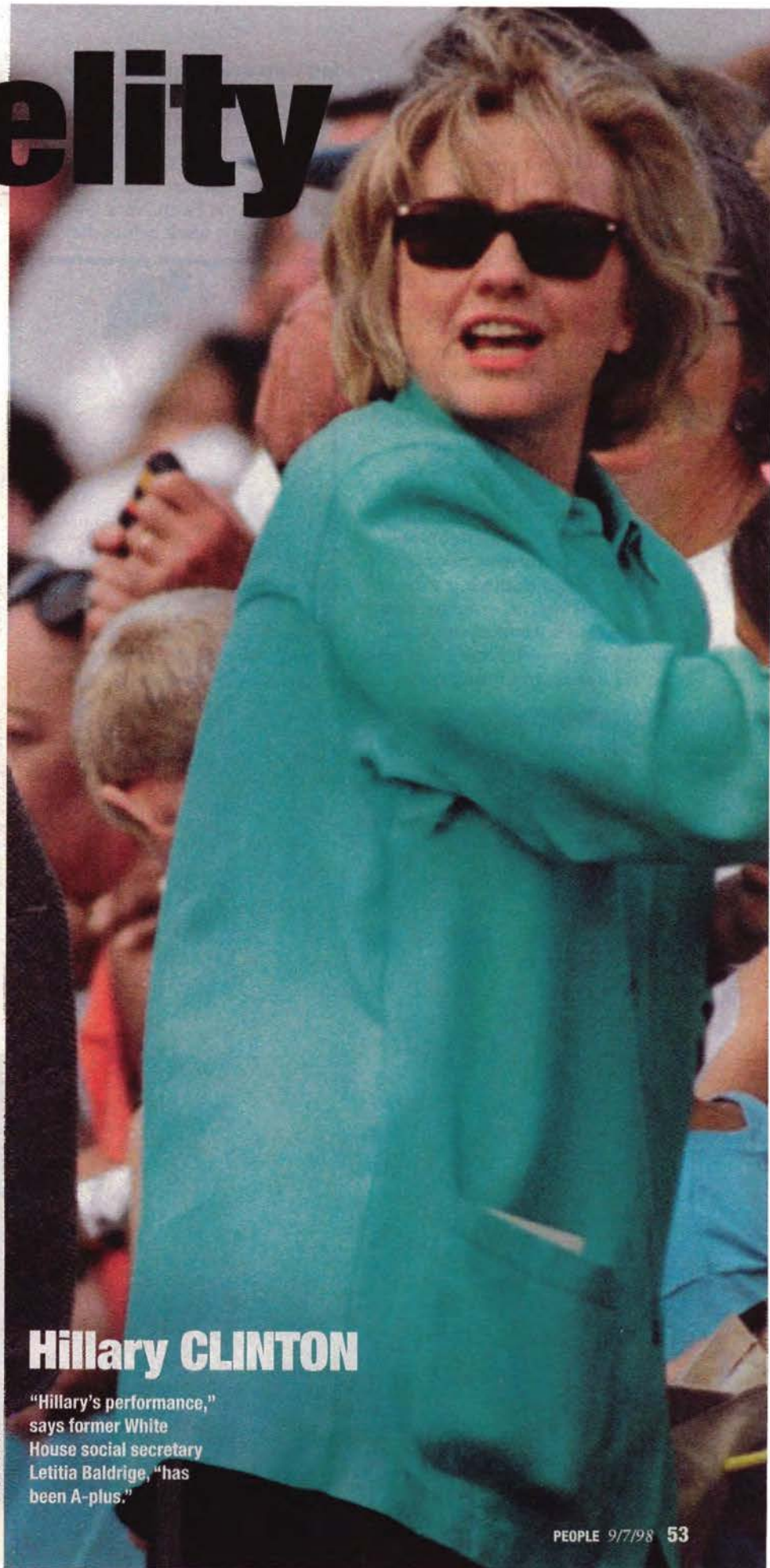
In the wake of the most embarrassing scandal of his 22-year political career—and that’s saying something—the President and his family took refuge at the estate of Boston real estate developer Richard Friedman, a major Democratic contributor. While their entourage settled into a four-bedroom main house, Bill, who celebrated his 52nd birthday on Aug. 19, and Hillary, 50, took the small, shingled guest cottage where, presumably, they began the delicate task of repairing their marriage.

The aftermath of marital infidelity is never a cakewalk, but for the Clintons, like a number of other high-profile couples—Elizabeth Hurley and Hugh Grant, Kevin and Cindy Costner, Kathie Lee Gifford and husband Frank, Donald and Ivana Trump, to name just a few—the glare of public scrutiny and embarrassment only adds to the pressure. “The tragedy is that most of us endure such things as infidelity in secret. But the Clintons live in a fishbowl. They must endure this publicly,” says Jesse

STEVE CONNOLLY

Hillary CLINTON

“Hillary’s performance,” says former White House social secretary Letitia Baldrige, “has been A-plus.”



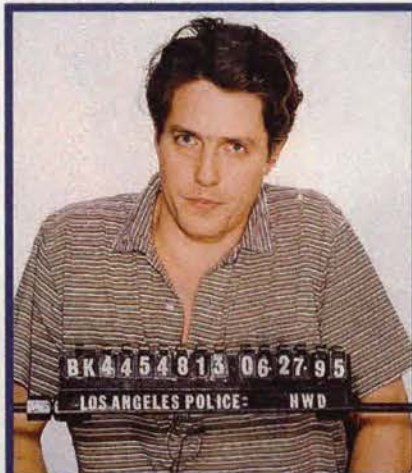
PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Jackson, who counseled the First Couple the night before the President acknowledged on national television that his relationship with Monica Lewinsky was "not appropriate."

The question in Hillary Clinton's case, of course, is how much humiliation can one woman take? When does the unforgivable become unendurable? "You might say she is the most mentally abused wife in the world—ever," says Michael McCurley, a prominent Dallas divorce attorney. "There's no place this woman can walk without knowing everybody is snickering at her. The most powerful man in the world got on TV and said, 'I lied to her and she bought it.'"

While no one but the Clintons knows precisely what went on behind the door of their vacation cottage, even from a distance it was clear that this was no ordinary First Family vacation. Unlike years past, when they were seen hitting Espresso Love in Edgartown for muffins or

browsing at the Bunch of Grapes Bookstore in Vineyard Haven, this time there have been no public dinner engagements, no impromptu jogs on island bike paths and no sign of the presidential cart rambling over the links at the Farm Neck Golf Club. It was a week before they ap-

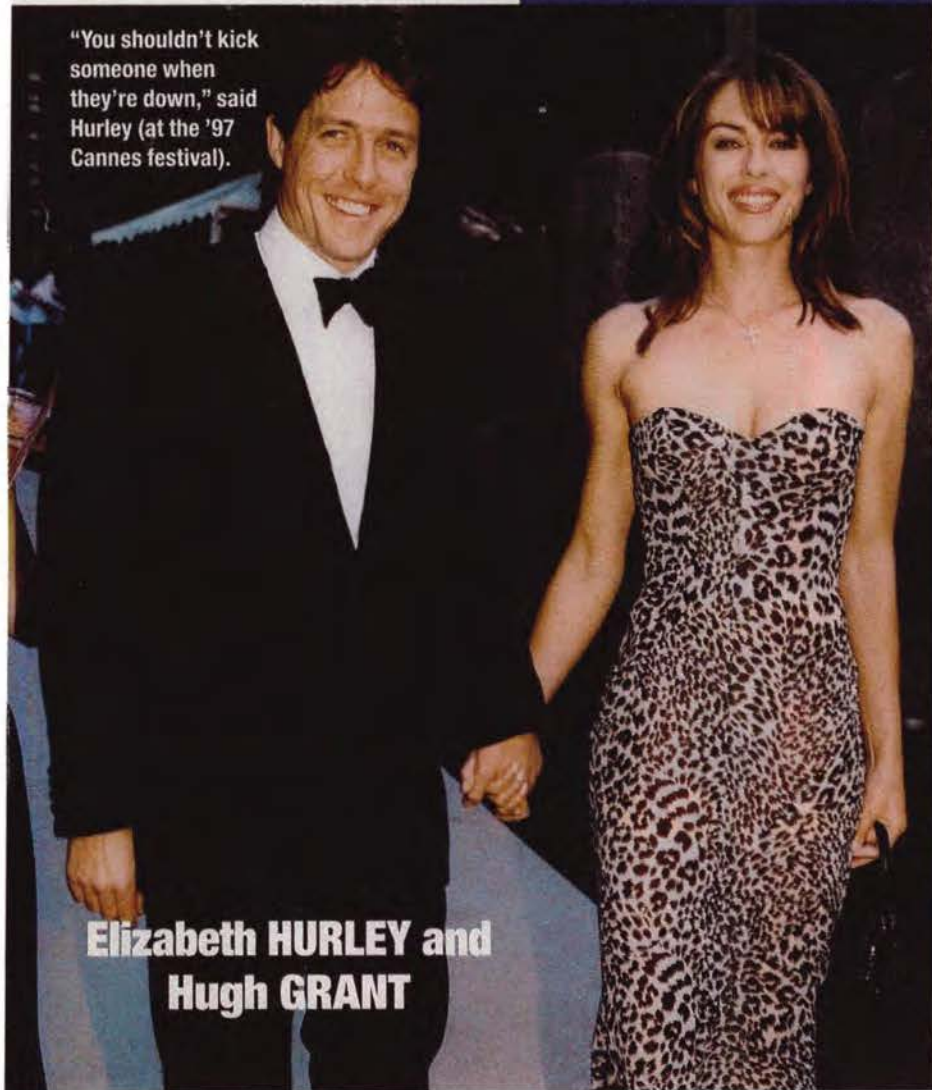


When Grant telephoned Hurley after his 1995 arrest, "it was a very short call," said one reporter. "Grant was crying."

GLOBE PHOTOS

AP/STEVE GRANITZ/PHOTO.COM/AMMA LUNSON

"You shouldn't kick someone when they're down," said Hurley (at the '97 Cannes festival).



Elizabeth HURLEY and Hugh GRANT

peared together in public, going sailing last Tuesday with Walter Cronkite. "They've been talking, they've been relaxing, they've been reading, they've been walking," reported White House spokesman Mike McCurry at an Aug. 24 briefing, "and they've been dealing with what is a personal, private matter."

On Saturday night the two attended a party at the home of investment banker Steven Rattner, where "they weren't frosty, they weren't warm and cuddly, they were just kind of correct," says a guest. "The First Lady was very clearly determined to have a normal evening and was not at all interested in discussing the obvious subject. The President was much more emotive, and you could just see on his face that it was on his mind more. There was discussion, for example, about Ken Starr. Mrs. Clinton didn't want to deal with it at all. She internalizes everything, and you never really quite know what's going on inside her. He wears everything on his sleeve. You always know everything that's on his mind and then some."

Still, everyone wonders how the First Lady—or for that matter any intelligent woman who doesn't need a man for financial security—can tolerate indignity so complete that she has been caricatured in a Claymation bout with Monica Lewinsky on MTV's *Celebrity Death Match*. The public debate on the subject has assumed epic proportions; virtually no one is without an opinion (see poll, page 56). "She has been way too un-



"This is all very painful for me," said Hurley (scolding Grant in the garden of their rented Cotswold country house days after his arrest).

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Partners: Patterns in Love and Marriage, credits Kathie Lee with showing remarkable resilience. "The whole nation found out," says Scarf. "You have to say that she showed grace under fire. She went on the air every day."

Ultimately, it was a family tragedy—the skiing death last December of Michael Kennedy, who was married to Frank's daughter Victoria—that helped start the healing. "When [Michael] was killed," says Astrid Gifford, Frank's second wife, "that, I think, brought them closer together."

Three years ago, shortly after learning that longtime love Hugh Grant, then 34, had been arrested in Hollywood with a prostitute, Elizabeth Hurley, 29, issued a telling statement: "I am very much alone," and dressed Grant down at their rented home. But more recently their abiding friendship—not to mention their professional partnership (they own a production company, Simian Films)—has helped them rebuild. As Pepper Schwartz, professor of sociology at the University of Washington in Seattle, notes: "Pain goes away. Even the worst things that you think you'll never get over start to get dull over time."

And if time doesn't work, then maybe playing hardball will. In 1992, when tabloids ran a story about her then 49-year-old husband in a posh Thai hotel with Italian model Carla Bruni, 23, Texas-born Jerry Hall, then 36, turned steel magnolia. Though Bruni consistently denied the affair, "I rang her," said Hall, "and told her to leave my man alone." Four years later, when published photos showed Czech model Jana Rajlich, 28, peering out of Mick's hotel room in Beverly Hills, Hall made a different kind of call—to a divorce lawyer. "It was a shock tactic to make [Jagger] sit up and acknowledge that he should be well past this stage of playing around," says rock author Laura Jackson.

If so, it apparently worked. In 1992, Hall gave birth to daughter Georgia, and the couple, says a friend, are now "besotted" with their fourth child, son Gabriel, born late last year. Still, "it hasn't been easy," Hall once told a reporter. "I know

Gifford's '97 affair "was probably a plea for attention on his part," says his ex-wife Astrid.

Kathie Lee and Frank GIFFORD

derstanding," says Vivian Eberhard, a Houston marriage counselor. "She tries harder and harder to fix the problem and be part of the solution. But she should set boundaries and expect him to keep them."

In truth, of course, every marital crisis is different. And friends suggest that Hillary, in dealing with hers, is guided by the same resources she has always drawn on in bad times: her religiously based moral compass, a 23-year investment in the man she has always been said to adore and, of course, her love for Chelsea, 18. "My strong feelings about divorce and its effects on children have caused me to bite my tongue more than a few times during my own marriage," she wrote in her 1996 bestseller *It Takes a Village*. "That we are blessed with Chelsea enhances our commitment." Beyond that, says Letitia Baldrige,

who served as Jackie Kennedy's chief of staff during her White House years, "Hillary is a strong, tough woman who knows herself and knows her husband."

Only time will tell if that is enough. Meanwhile, the First Lady might consider the experiences of other highly visible wives and lovers who have weathered infidelity and salvaged their relationships—sometimes by speaking softly and sometimes by carrying a big stick.

In May 1997, after talk show host Kathie Lee Gifford, then 44, saw a tabloid photo of her husband, Frank, 67, cavorting with flight attendant Suzen Johnson in a New York City hotel room, the two went through a rocky phase. "She forgave him publicly, but in reality, she made life miserable for him," says a friend. Still, Maggie Scarf, author of *Intimate*

JAMES M. KELLY/VOLLOBE PHOTOS

Clinton DR 9700

At a Crossroad

Fidelity ST 100

The President, we are told, benefited greatly from the gender gap in his last two elections, and according to a PEOPLE poll of 507 respondents—53 percent female—women still judge him less harshly than men. Fifty-nine percent of women polled think Hillary should stand by Bill, at least until the end of his term (52 percent of the men agree), and just 41 percent of women hold him solely responsible for his relationship with Monica Lewinsky, as opposed to 57 percent of the men.

1. Do you feel the President is entitled to a private life?

	MEN	WOMEN
Yes	66%	68%
No	32	30
Don't know	2	2

2. Do you think Hillary Clinton should:

	MEN	WOMEN
Stand by her husband?	34%	31%
Stand by him until his term is over?	18	28
Leave him?	22	17
Don't know	26	24

3. Do you think the Clintons will still be married in five years?

	MEN	WOMEN
Yes	46%	44%
No	44	42
Don't know	10	14

4. Who is to blame for Clinton's troubles:

	MEN	WOMEN
Bill Clinton?	57%	41%
Monica Lewinsky?	1	4
Clinton and Lewinsky?	28	39
Ken Starr, prosecutor?	8	8
Other?	6	8

5. If you found out that your spouse had been unfaithful to you, you would:

	MEN	WOMEN
Leave	18%	17%
Depends on circumstances	60	60
Find a way to save the marriage	20	21
Don't know	2	2

Clinton and Fidelity meet in Houston, Texas

women who move out the first time the guy does something wrong, which is crazy. You have to decide what you want and who you want." And she wanted Mick.

Sara Netanyahu, wife of Israel's current Prime Minister, knew what she wanted, too—and got it in writing. In 1993, when her husband, Benjamin, went on Israeli television to admit an affair with a married adviser, Sara, then 34, tossed him out of the house. Professing his love for her, Netanyahu, 43, asked for forgiveness, and she gave it—but only after he reportedly signed a binding contract forswearing any future infidelity. Today, Sara, who has since had the couple's second son, accompanies her husband on public appearances and trips abroad. "Perhaps if our relationship were less deep, I would have accepted what happened with more tranquillity," she told a reporter. "But because of this relationship, the pain is not mine alone."

Freelance ESPN producer Heather Faulkner also received legal help with her relationship, but not the kind she could ever have anticipated. In 1997, just three weeks after

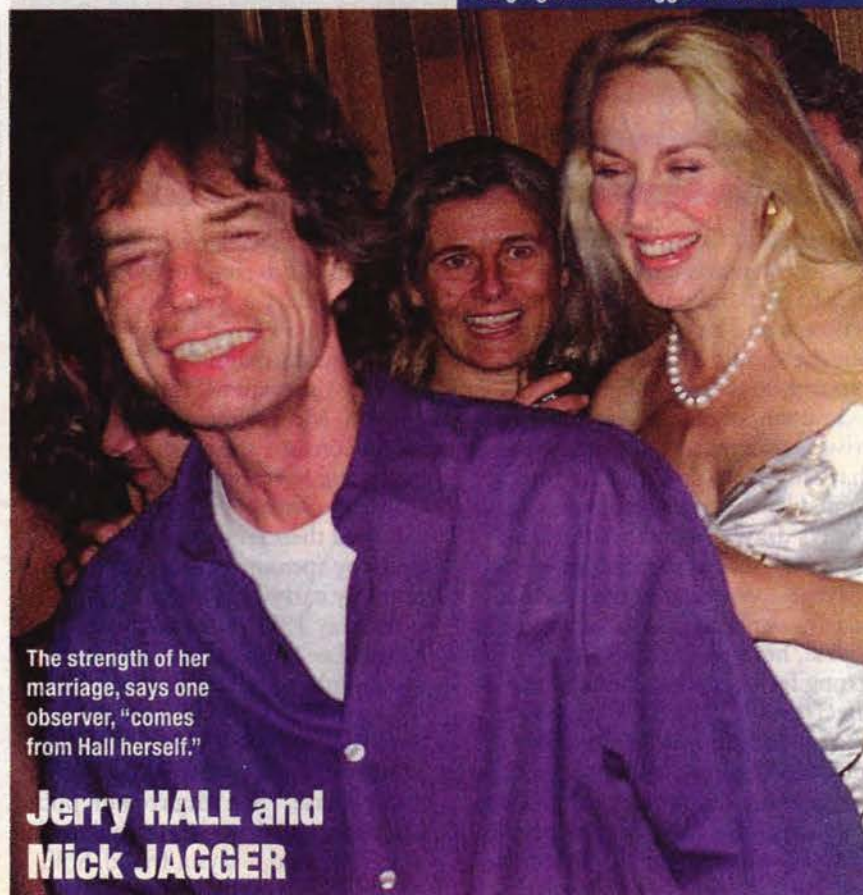
sportscaster Marv Albert, then 55, proposed, he was indicted on charges that he had assaulted divorcée Vanessa Perhach, 42, with whom he had been having a 10-year affair. When she learned of the scandal, "I felt like I was almost hit over the



Hall hit the roof when she reportedly found a fax from model Carla Bruni arranging to meet Jagger on a tour.

FRANK MICELOTTA/OUTLINE

BARTAL YEDIOTH AHARONOTH/SPA



The strength of her marriage, says one observer, "comes from Hall herself."

Jerry HALL and Mick JAGGER

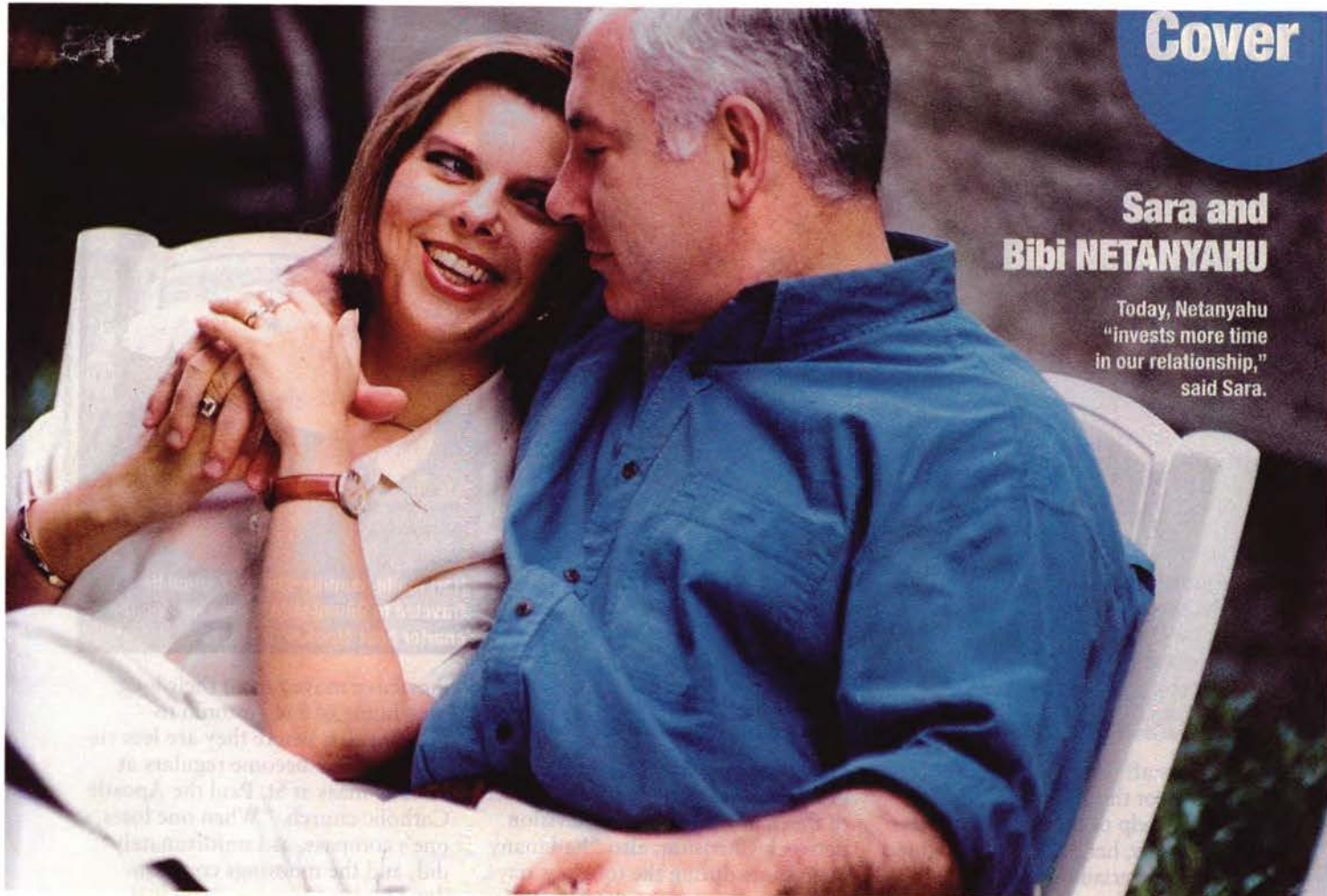
PAUL S. HOWELL/GAMMA LIAISON

REFLEX

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Sara and Bibi NETANYAHU

Today, Netanyahu "invests more time in our relationship," said Sara.



head," says Faulkner, now 40. "My knees went weak, and I felt like I couldn't breathe." Still, she dug in for the long haul, and today, as Albert—who later pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor charge—undergoes a year of court-ordered therapy, "we are best friends," says Faulkner, who still plans to marry him. "I know it's difficult for people to understand, but I think Marv is the first one to admit that he made a mistake and is trying to correct it. In a way, it has brought us together."

For the luckiest couples, that may be true. Back in 1987, after she learned that her husband, Colorado Sen. Gary Hart, then 50, had been carrying on with 29-year-old model Donna Rice, Lee Hart, 51, stood by his side when he withdrew from his presidential campaign. "If it doesn't bother me," she told reporters, "I don't think it ought to bother anybody else." Having gone resolutely to ground in the wake of the affair, the couple now live in their 4,700-square-foot mountain home in Kittredge, Colo., and last month celebrated their 40th anniversary.

Says a friend: "They are probably happier now, or at least more content, than at any time since I've known them."

But it seemed like political déjà vu all over again last February when Bea Romer, 68, wife of Colorado Gov. Roy Romer, 69, stood by her husband of 46 years as he admitted to an "honorable and beautiful relationship" with his former deputy

JEFFREY MARKOWITZ/SYGMA

Mary Alice and Henry CISNEROS



"I loved Henry [Cisneros] to the depths of my soul," said ex-lover Medlar. But when the affair ended, "I was expendable."

"We've tried to rebuild as a family," says Cisneros (with his wife in '93).



At a benefit last April, Lee Hart (with Gary in '91) "looked very happy," says a friend.

Lee and Gary HART

chief of staff, Betty Jane Thornberry, 52. Bea got through the ordeal with the help of Prozac and, more importantly, her faith. The daughter of a Presbyterian minister, "she is going to go through this marriage literally 'for better or worse,'" says a friend. "That is what she has been taught, and that is what she clearly believes."

Mary Alice Cisneros, then 39, also turned to her religion after reporters broke the story, in 1988, that then San Antonio mayor Henry Cisneros, 41, had begun an affair the year before with political fund-raiser Linda Medlar, 39. Last December the wound was reopened when Cisneros (who served as Secretary of Housing and Urban Development from 1992 to '96) was indicted by a federal grand jury and charged with obstruction of justice and making false statements about the more than \$250,000 he gave Medlar in financial support after they split in 1991. A trial is scheduled for November in Washington.

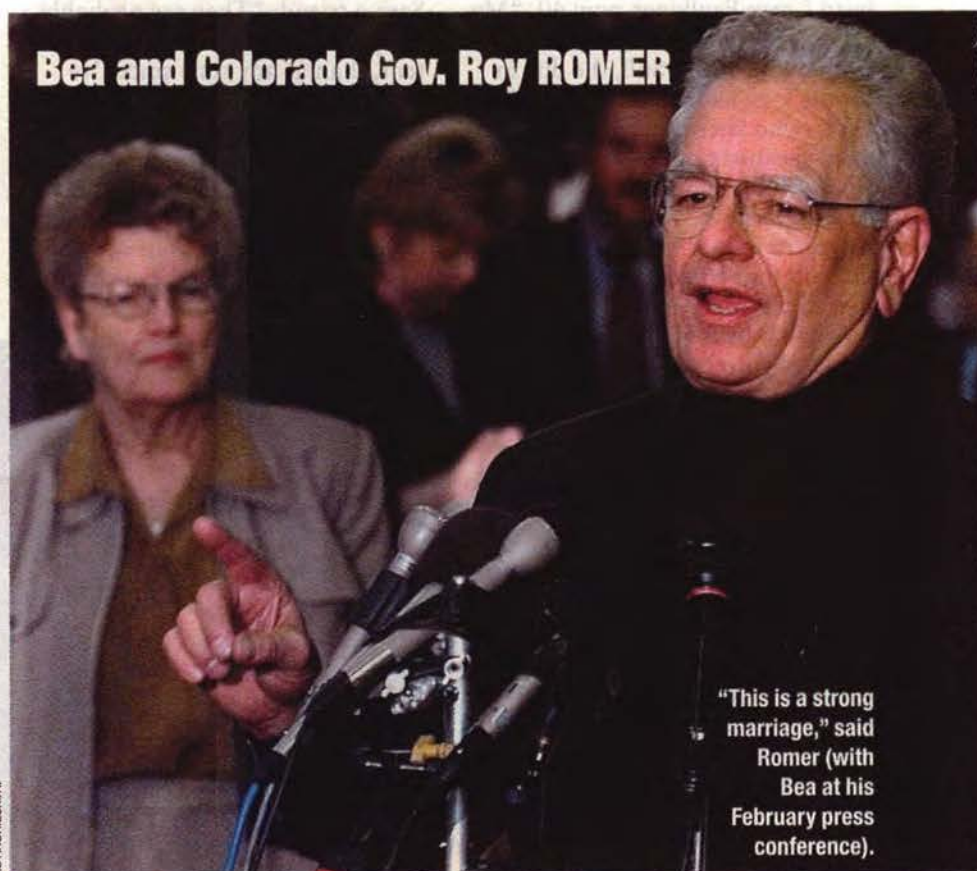
The couple separated, and Mary Alice filed for divorce before the two ultimately reunited. Their marriage has survived in part because of their 11-year-old son's severe health problems (he was born without a spleen and with a serious heart defect that has now been surgically corrected).

His wife, says Cisneros, now the president and chief operating officer of the Spanish-language television network Univision, also "had many counselors during the toughest days, including some evangelicals." Today



Hart made headlines in 1987 when he traveled to Bimini with Donna Rice on the charter boat *Monkey Business*.

they have moved from their longtime home of San Antonio to Los Angeles, where they are less visible and have become regulars at Sunday mass at St. Paul the Apostle Catholic church. "When one loses one's compass, as I unfortunately did, and the moorings come undone," says Cisneros, "you just



Bea and Colorado Gov. Roy ROMER

"This is a strong marriage," said Romer (with Bea at his February press conference).

have to rely on institutions like the church."

But even the deepest personal faith can't save all relationships. Believing her husband would ultimately return to her, Adua Pavarotti, then 58, stood by him in 1995 when news reports revealed that 59-year-old tenor Luciano Pavarotti had left her for his 25-year-old secretary, Nicoletta Mantovani. "I will defend my marriage at all costs," she told the Italian magazine *Gente*, even after it was rumored that Mantovani was pregnant. "There is no price too high to save our 34 years of life together."

But by March 1996, when the couple appeared in court to request a required three-year separation before they could divorce, Adua was finally ready to throw in the towel. "I cannot recognize Luciano anymore," she said. The split was especially galling for a wife who had served as Pavarotti's business partner from the start of his illustrious career. Though she now has half of his reported \$209 million fortune, "On the calendar there is no such thing as Saint Adua," she has said, "but I wouldn't mind if it was added, thanks to me."

Although Hillary Clinton, on the day after her husband's public admission, stated that she is committed to her marriage, whether she will succeed at getting him back on the straight and narrow is anybody's guess. But whatever healing goes on in private, the Clintons can be sure that every gesture and every word will be scrutinized publicly and tirelessly by pundits, pols and talk show types feeding off the First Couple's plight. "Clinton was caught by the changing vulnerability of the presidency to a complete lack of privacy," says sociologist Pepper Schwartz, adding that the President "probably can't believe why he's the unlucky person [in a situation] where technology and lethal party politics caught up with him."

• Susan Schindehette

Reported by: Ron Arias, Vickie Bane, Lorenzo Benet, Joanna Blonska, Karen Brailsford, Laurel Brubaker Calkins, Julia Campbell, Sarah Delaney, Joseph Harmes, Beverly Keel, Elizabeth Leonard, Jennifer Longley, Danelle Morton, Jane Podesta, Abe Rabinovich, Bob Stewart, Elizabeth Velez, Pat Waring



In '92, Ivana Trump (right) met her ex with his new belle Marla Maples in Aspen.



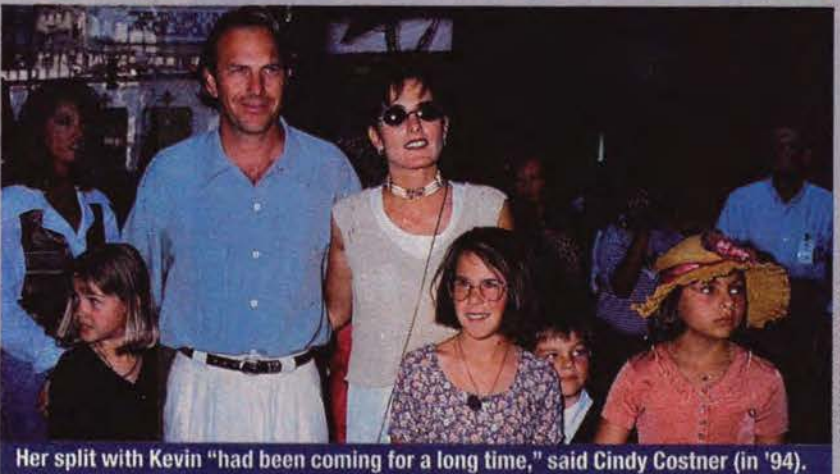
Pavarotti nuzzles with lover Nicoletta Mantovani (in '96).

Broken Promises

Wandering eyes can be fatal, even for seemingly healthy relationships. "Once Humpty Dumpty falls, it's very difficult to put the pieces back together," says L.A. psychologist Robert Butterworth, who estimates that once trust is lost, one-third of couples end in divorce.



Luciano and Adua Pavarotti (with their daughters) seemed very much together in '81.



Her split with Kevin "had been coming for a long time," said Cindy Costner (in '94).

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ROBERT TRIPPETT—SIPA FOR USN&WR



COVER STORY

Clinton in crisis

It was some kind of a week for President Clinton: An admission, of sorts, in the Monica Lewinsky sex scandal; prosecutor Kenneth Starr draws a closer bead on him; a flight to and from a family vacation, and then an order for bombing strikes.

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U.S. News

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Al Gore's Silicon Valley woes

Plus Clinton's second thoughts, Chelsea calls Jesse, McCain's questions

The high-tech industry, long a generous supporter of the Clinton administration, has three big disputes with administration policies, and that could have an impact on technology champion **Al Gore's** presidential prospects. The issues involve visas for more immigrant workers (which the industry likes), software encryption (which the industry hates), and the Justice Department's antitrust cases in Silicon Valley (which the industry hates). With the veep's ties to traditional Democratic power bases like organized labor less than solid, he needs campaign contributions and strong support from high-tech states to make a credible run for the White House. Not surprising, then, that Gore is stopping in Silicon Valley this week to try to patch things up.

Second thoughts

President Clinton, in a bout of post-confession soul-searching that skeptics will see as self-serving spin, told friends late last week he was "sick" about the trauma that his private conduct had inflicted on his family and the country. He also conceded that, to emphasize his feelings of regret, perhaps he should have "worn the hair shirt" in his nationally televised statement by being more apologetic for his behavior with **Monica Lewinsky**. Whispers has also learned that Clinton, in his latest discussions with friends, has added a new element: As he considered the address, he says, he was keenly aware that the strike against terrorist bases in Afghanistan and Sudan would likely occur later in the week and he knew that retaliation against the United States was possible.

Clinton told friends he concluded it was important not to send any "signal of weakness" to America's enemies and instead to portray an image of strength. Those concerns limited his willingness to deliver a full *mea culpa* and intensified his desire to get tough with Independent Counsel **Ken Starr**.

Really ready to fight?

Field commanders in the four services are busy responding to an extensive list of questions on military readiness submitted by Sen. **John McCain**. The Arizona Republican has been frustrated at hearing different stories from the top brass—who claim troops remain war-

ready despite reduced budgets and manpower—and field troops who complain that cuts threaten to make their outfits unfit for combat. McCain wants the truth about spare-parts shortages, training cutbacks, why soldiers are leaving the service, and whether standards are being lowered. Answers, due by September 30, could provide ammunition for senators holding readiness hearings this fall.

Standoff on Iraq

Virtually lost amid last week's U.S. strikes on terrorist targets was the continuing standoff between Iraq and United Nations weapons inspectors. Whispers

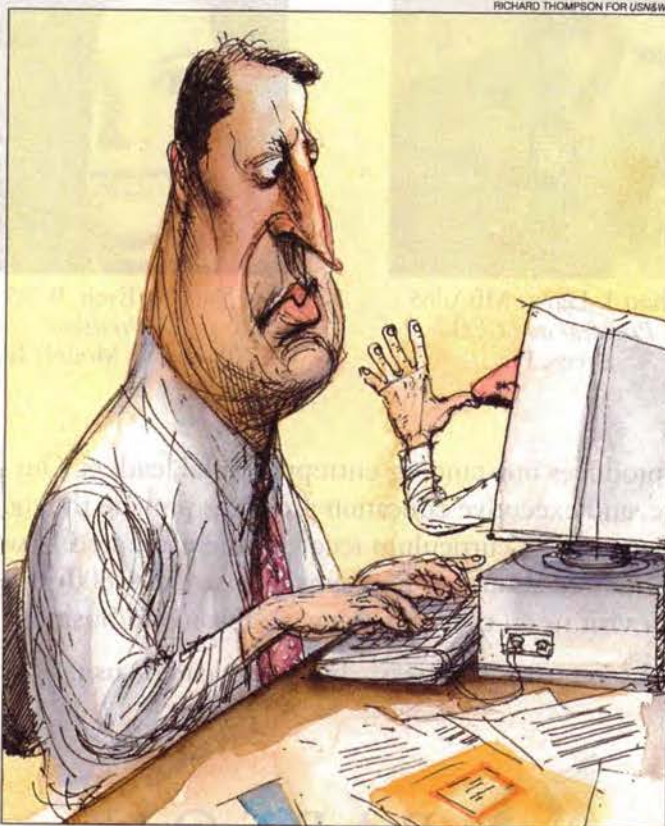
asked chief U.N. weapons inspector **Richard Butler**, an Australian diplomat, to describe the latest tussle: "The law requires that they tell us the truth about their weapons—they never have. If they did, we could verify . . . in breathtakingly short time." Iraq is demanding that Butler tell what the inspectors know about its chemical, biological, and ballistic missile weapons efforts before **Saddam Hussein's** officials respond. Butler dismisses that as "nonsense" and says, "It's no way of getting an honest account."

The spiritual connection

When they can draw on the support of so many religious leaders, why did **President Clinton** and **Hillary Rodham Clinton** invite the Rev. **Jesse Jackson** to the White House to help heal their family amid the **Monica Lewinsky** affair? White House aides say the main reason was that Jackson has established a close kinship with **Chelsea Clinton**, who specifically asked that the civil rights leader spend time with her during the family crisis. Jackson, who has run for president two times (but never against Bill Clinton), impresses the president's daughter as an articulate, charismatic leader who bridges the gap "between the spiritual and political worlds," says a senior White House adviser. "And Chelsea is a very spiritual person."

By Joseph L. Galloway with William J. Holstein, Kenneth T. Walsh, Richard J. Newman, Linda Fasulo, and Thomas Omestad

E-mail address:
whispers@usnews.com



Silicon Valley has some big issues to raise with Al Gore.

BY JOHN LEO

The speech that wasn't

(This is the first draft of President Clinton's address to the nation last week.)

Good evening. This afternoon, in this room, from this chair, I testified before the Office of the Independent Counsel and a grand jury. I have been through a lot, answering a lot of tacky questions that no American would want to answer. But I want to be a man about this. I take complete responsibility for all my actions, both public and private. And that is why I am speaking to you. This is serious enough to warrant four minutes on TV.

I, and my lawyers, are speaking to you from the heart, telling you exactly how we all feel about the unfortunate events that have swirled around Monica Lewinsky and the media. I have been guided in figuring out what I feel by the heartfelt opinions you have passed on to pollsters, so I intend to show my respect for you by sticking as closely as possible to what you would like to hear, and what you and my lawyers think will play well.

You may have read the trial balloon three days ago in the *New York Times* that one of the possible courses of action I was considering for this speech was to tell the truth. This was greeted by a wave of cynical jokes. People suggested that I must really be in trouble to think about telling the truth. But I have told the truth many times in the past without attracting praise or even attention. I continue to believe that the truth, used sparingly, has a genuine bracing effect. So I intend to employ the truth tonight.

Because of the trust you place in me, I will speak to you tonight in plain English. No more word games. As you know, in a deposition in January, I was asked questions about my relationship with that woman, Monica Lewinsky. My answers were legally accurate when I said that I never had sexual relations with her. "Sexual relations," as you probably know, is a technical term that often causes undue confusion. Under the legal definition of sexual relations that I was using at the time, I was not having sexual relations with her, though it turned out that she was having sexual relations with me. So while there was an inappropriate relationship that one might describe as sexual, she was involved in it, but I wasn't. I was merely in the vicinity when Ms. Lewinsky was having these sexual relations by herself. This is the source of the erroneous belief that I somehow lied under oath. I hope that my simple, straightforward remarks here have cleared that up.

Another confusion. In my January deposition in the case

of that other woman, Paula Jones, I stated that I had "no specific recollection" of being alone with Ms. Lewinsky. As you know, "specific" means a full and complete recollection in detail, so I was technically correct in denying specificity of recollection, since there were some details about which I was fuzzy. For instance, was I involved in the proceedings or merely in the vicinity looking on? If they had asked me about generalized recollection, I would of course have said yes. But they never asked this. Too bad.

Similarly, you might recall that on the *NewsHour With Jim Lehrer*, I said "there is not a sexual relationship, an improper sexual relationship, or any other kind of improper relationship" with Ms. Lewinsky. Some of you may wonder how I can now describe my relationship with her as inappropriate after emphatically denying that it was improper. The answer is simple. Both "improper" and "inappropriate" come from the Latin word *proprius*, but there is a world of linguistic difference between the two. Trust me on this. I don't have time to go into it now.

Enough about words. The important thing is that I told the grand jury today, and I say to you now, that at no time did I ask anyone to lie, to hide or destroy evidence, or to take any unlawful action. The truth is that I have no specific or appropriate recollection of any of that at all at this point in time. And you can take that to the bank.

Even though, legally speaking, I was not part of the sexual relationship conducted by Ms. Lewinsky in my very own office, I cannot fully exempt myself from criticism. I must admit that it constituted a critical lapse in judgment and a personal failure on my part for which I am solely and completely responsible. It would be wrong to lay the blame on others. However, it is clearly

all Ken Starr's fault. I am the victim of a vengeful, \$40-million, four-year witch hunt that has gone on too long, cost too much, hurt too many innocent people, notably myself. As you can tell, I am trying to be a vaguely contrite and earnest figure here, but I would like to hurl Ken Starr and his tiny approval rating from the top of the Washington Monument.

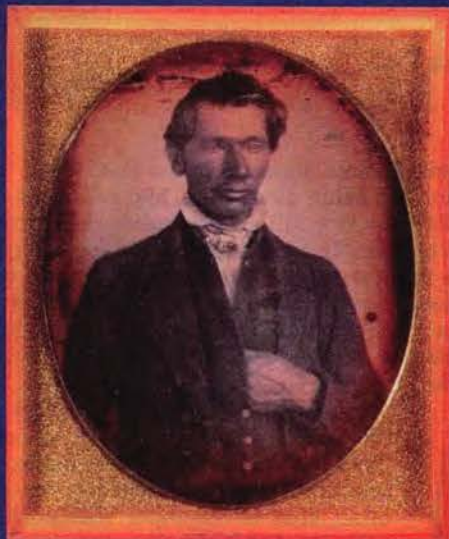
Remember, all of this is a private matter between me and my three favorite people—Hillary, Chelsea, and God. It's none of your business, so bug out. Now that I have cleared everything up, it's important for all of you to rally behind me and turn your eyes from the spectacle Monica Lewinsky and Ken Starr have made of themselves for seven months. We have important work to repair the fabric of national discourse, etc., etc. Thank you and good night. ■



People suggested I must really be in trouble to think about telling the truth.

FROM LEFT: CHRISTIE'S / REUTERS; LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

PAUL SAKUMA—AFP



■ A stately, bearded **Abraham Lincoln** has been immortalized on the \$5 bill and the penny. Now the world may know what Honest Abe looked like as a young man.

An 1843 daguerreotype is believed to be the first likeness of Lincoln, taken 17 years before he was elected president. Its authenticity has been hotly debated since it was exhibited in upstate New York in 1994. Among the believers: a photographer who digitally "aged" the picture, a professor who mathematically analyzed its facial dimensions, and even O. J. Simpson's forensic guru, Henry Lee. But skeptics swear physical traits—the ears, nose—don't match known images of Lincoln.

More than historical accuracy is at stake. If the picture is of the 16th president, it could be worth \$1 million; if not, one expert says, maybe \$5. It's now up to the public to decide, at a Christie's auction in October.



■ **David Kaczynski**, 47, who turned in his brother, Ted, and thus helped end the Unabomber's 18-year terror spree, received a \$1 million reward last week from the FBI. He'll share it with victims' families to "help us resolve our grief over what happened."

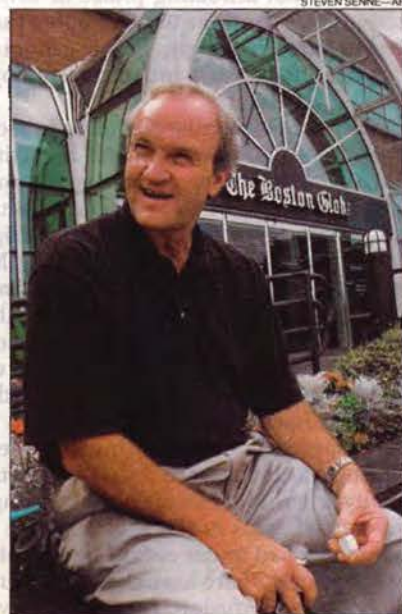
■ A piece of Camelot may have turned up on a rocky promontory overlooking the Atlantic near the English village of Tintagel, one of many British towns claiming to be the birthplace of the legendary **King Arthur**. Last month, University of Glasgow archaeologist Kevin Brady dug up a 14-by-8-inch hunk of gray slate inscribed with the word *Artognov*—a Latin name that is related to the modern name Arthur. Though critics say the Round Table and the Holy Grail are mere myth, some scholars believe Arthur may be

based on a real sixth-century warrior. But Brady warns, "It's a red herring," since the inscription is verifiably sixth century but the name is too common to prove a link. Nevertheless, the ruins of ancient Tintagel Castle—built on Arthur's supposed birth site—have enjoyed a boom in tourism since the discovery.



■ Five missing, handwritten pages from **Anne Frank's** famous diary surfaced last week in the Netherlands. The passages, a harsh account of her parents' marriage, were apparently withheld by Anne's father, Otto, who died in 1980. They'll appear in a new edition of the widely read memoir.

■ Media credibility suffered another blow last week when long-time *Boston Globe* columnist **Mike Barnicle** resigned amid charges he'd fabricated and plagiarized stories. Beloved in Beantown for his gritty yarns, "Boston Mike" faced new questions about his columns. The piece that led to Barnicle's latest problems involved a poignant 1995 tale of two young cancer victims, whose existence he later could not prove. Barnicle, 54, stands by his stories.



STEVEN SENNE—AP



FROM LEFT: THE GRANGER COLLECTION; UPI / CORBIS

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

Days of Crisis



IN CHARGE. Clinton returns to the capital after ordering raids on terrorist bases.

CHICK HARRITY FOR USN&WR

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

BY STEPHEN BUDIAISKY

The American presidency has been witness to some bizarre scenes in its 209 years—Lyndon Johnson baring his abdomen to reporters to exhibit the scar from his gallbladder operation, Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger on their knees together in prayer in the Lincoln Bedroom, Nancy Reagan basing her

husband's schedule on astrological forecasts. But for sheer strangeness it is unlikely that anything has quite equaled the series of events that began Friday, Aug. 14, 1998. To summarize President William Jefferson Clinton's schedule for that day: Prepare testimony for grand jury probing in excruciating anatomical detail the physical interactions between the leader of the free world and a half-his-age former White House intern; meet with national-security advisers and order cruise-missile attacks in two foreign countries; arrange to turn over presidential DNA specimen to forensic experts at the FBI laboratory; decide to inform wife and daughter that their husband and father has been lying to them for seven months. And so to bed.

On the following Wednesday, the day before the missile strikes took place, the president was with his family on Martha's Vineyard on what associates described as a "healing" vacation but which presented a domestic tableau so strained that the commander in chief was seen taking long walks with Buddy the Labrador retriever to escape the house. At 3 a.m. Thursday the president gave the final go-ahead for the mission. At 1:30 p.m., 70 or more Tomahawk missiles, each armed with a 1,000-pound warhead, were crashing into a chemical factory in Khartoum and a sprawling tent camp in a mountainous corner of Afghanistan. A half hour later Monica Lewinsky emerged from the federal courthouse in Washington having apparently provided even more excruciating anatomical details about the physical interactions between herself and the leader of the free world. At almost the exact same instant the president went on the air from Martha's Vineyard to announce the military action and to say he was returning to Washington.

The only comforting bit of normality in the entire week was provided by the reliable inanity of the Washington press corps. The reporter who demanded to know if Defense Secretary William Cohen had seen the movie *Wag the Dog* reassured us that in one tiny corner of the globe, at least, all was right. The inevitable materialization of the Rev. Jesse Jackson upon the scene of global crisis—he appeared at the White House Sunday night to pray with Chelsea, Hillary, and Bill—would have been a reassuring bit of normality, too, were it not for the bizarre fact that this time he was actually invited.

What made the confluence of events so especially unreal was precisely that after months in which both the president and a majority of the nation struggled valiantly to keep affairs of state and the affairs of a man in their separate spheres, the

twain at last had met, by coincidence or design. For months, polls have shown that the American public has been ready, willing, and able to divorce the president's job performance (with an approval rating hovering around 65 percent) from his moral values (with only about 40 percent approving). But last week a surprisingly large 36 percent of the public said they believed that the Lewinsky investigation had influenced Clinton's decision to order the attack.

While most Republicans realized that to suggest the president had ordered military action as a ruse to distract attention from his personal problems would undermine the nation's security and directly insult the professionalism of the Americans in uniform, a few could not resist the bait. "When you don't know whether or not you can take the president at his word, then what normally would be accepted is questioned," Sen. Dan Coats, Republican of Indiana, told CNN and the world. "I think we fear what might come next."

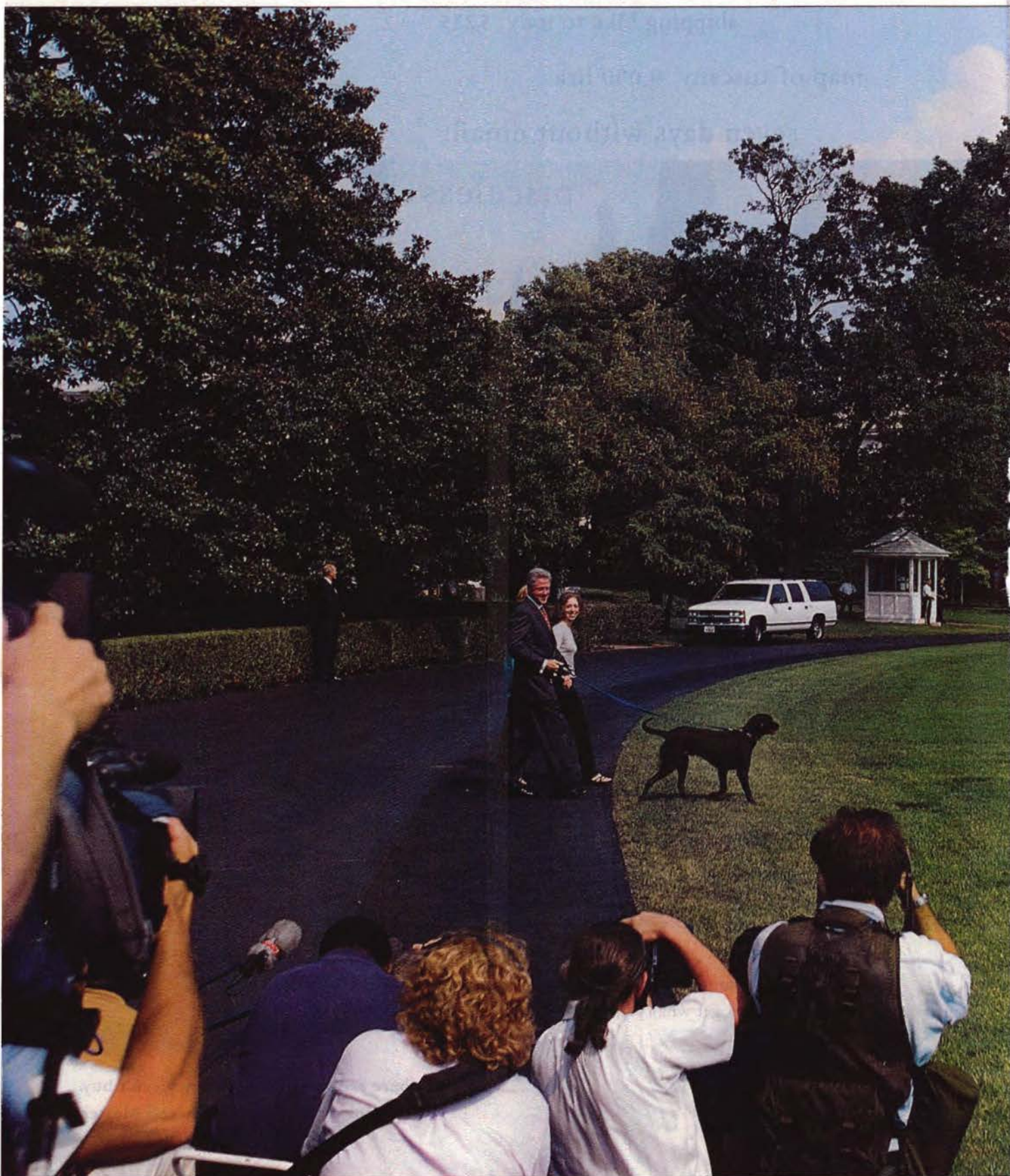
The circularity of such cynical suspicions was immediately manifested by the comic-opera scene, carried live by CNN, of Sudanese television hosting a call-in show. Two turbaned fellows masquerading as news announcers posed with a map of the world behind them and delivered 1960s-vintage anti-American diatribes interspersed with set pieces from callers proposing, as if the idea has just occurred to them, that Clinton had ordered the air-strikes to take the heat off his private life.

The president's national-security team was insistent that even the appearance of political calculation be kept out of the equation; White House political aides were frozen out of all the discussions and not informed of the attack until the last minute. And yet—opinion polls, crusading members of the Fourth Estate, and amateur Sudanese orators all aside—the twain really have met.

To the fight against terrorism the cold war has bequeathed its inverted logic that places the cart of credibility before the horse of action. Appearances, God help us, are reality. Had the president failed to act, America's enemies would have rejoiced in his paralysis and distraction. But even in the face of decisive action—and a few score tons of cluster munitions is no symbolic pinprick—they can still wonder if it was one week's desperation; they can still exploit a wedge of doubt in an all-too-cynical world; they can still take comfort in the smug knowledge that the world is viewing America's actions and resolve reflected in a fun-house mirror. ■



WITNESS. Lewinsky returns to the courthouse.



Dog Days

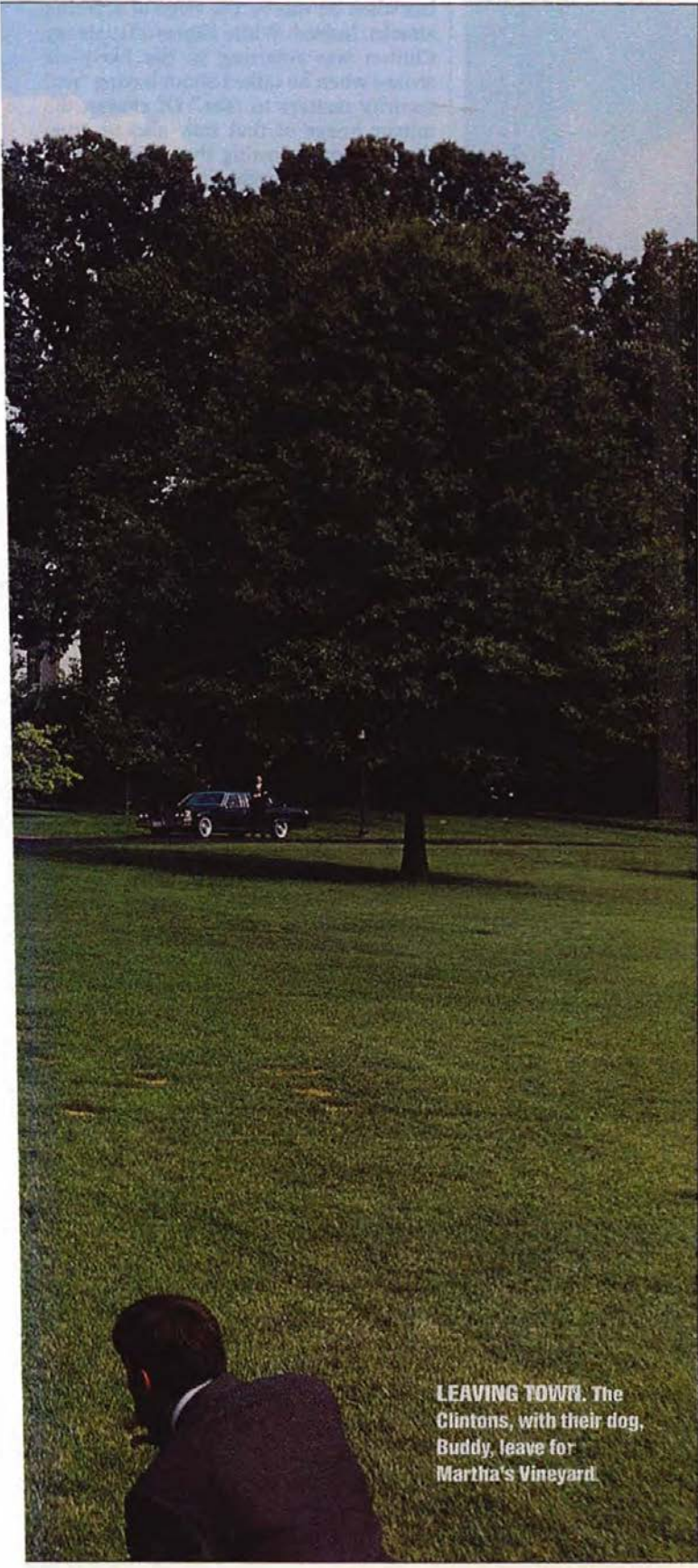
With Starr in pursuit, the Comeback Kid tries to save his presidency

BY MARIANNE LAVELLE, JULIAN E. BARNES,
AND KENNETH T. WALSH

Bill Clinton has always been a clutch player. In 1992, when Gennifer Flowers threatened to derail his presidential candidacy, he put it back on track with one *60 Minutes* interview, arguing that he and Hillary had salvaged their troubled marriage. In January, with Monica Lewinsky's allegations cascading over him, Clinton delivered a riveting State of the Union speech that ignored the scandal, laid out his agenda, silenced critics, and rallied support.

Last week, after becoming the first president to testify in his own defense before a grand jury, Clinton needed an equally masterful performance. This time, his rhetorical gifts failed him. Tired and agitated after more than four hours of sparring with Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr and his four aggressive prosecutors, Clinton delivered an address oddly divided against itself. It was one part contrition—admitting to having misled the public and conducted an inappropriate relationship with a former intern—but two parts anger, condemning Starr for his examination of his personal life and calling for the investigation to end.

Many of his staunch defenders were dismayed. As



LEAVING TOWN. The Clintons, with their dog, Buddy, leave for Martha's Vineyard.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

of last week, at least 17 newspaper editorial boards had called for his resignation. On Capitol Hill, 10 Republicans—and even one retiring Democrat—likewise demanded that he step down. But the surest sign Clinton was in trouble was that Republican leaders were so pleased with the political turn of events that they scarcely raised the issue, talking instead about their legislative agendas. Democrats were shaken and fearful. They publicly conceded they would reserve judgment until they saw the prosecutors' evidence—a stunning change from even the previous week when most Democrats were dismissing Starr as a prosecutor out of control.

But then, just three days later, Clinton returned from a hangdog holiday on Martha's Vineyard to deliver a firm and presidential address, explaining why he ordered missile strikes against two terrorist targets he said threatened American lives. The bold gambit drove even super-critic Republican Sen. Orrin Hatch into the klieg lights to support Clinton's actions. It also prompted speculation over whether the attack was a stunt to deflect attention from the Lewinsky scandal or



STARR WARS. Kenneth Starr leaves the White House after questioning Clinton in person. Below, guards close the White House gates after Starr has entered.

whether he had managed to put the scandal aside at a moment of crisis. By week's end, Clinton was telling friends (who were telling the press) that his Monday night speech was hard-edged because he didn't want to show weakness to terror-

ists when he was on the verge of ordering attacks. Indeed, White House officials say Clinton was referring to the likely air strikes when he talked about having "real security matters to face." Of course, the mirror image of that may also be true: that Clinton, knowing that he'd be playing commander in chief in just a few days, felt he could get away with only a mild expression of contrition last Monday night.

A CNN/USA Today/Gallup poll found 61 percent of Americans approving of how Clinton does his job and 66 percent approving of the air strikes. "This freezes opinion about the scandal. It recedes substantially in the public mind. This will be the main focus," said Karlyn Bowman, a polling expert at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington. Still, suspicions about Clinton's motives remain: 58 percent said it would be legitimate for Congress to question the timing of the strikes.

But while Clinton's speech seemed partly designed to send a message to Congress that constituents want to put the Lewinsky affair behind them, the speech did not change the course of the Starr investigation. Prosecutors are as determined as before to pursue the investiga-



DAVID BURNETT—CONTACT FOR GSN&WP

tion to the end, and the results could dog the president well into next year. *U.S. News* has learned that prosecutors intend to present a report to Congress that will focus on evidence that Clinton suborned perjury and obstructed justice, a report that will echo the language of the Watergate era—abuse of power and lack of fitness for office. Moreover, six different parts of Starr's investigation remain open—probes into Whitewater, Rose Law Firm billing records, the White House travel office, use of FBI files, former Jus-

with questions about conversations between Clinton and Lewinsky related to the Jones case. Clinton remembered having two meetings and one phone conversation with Lewinsky after she was subpoenaed in the Jones case last December 17. A critical question is why Lewinsky swore in the Jones case that she had not had sex with the president. Clinton testified that he told Lewinsky, in effect, to approach the problem just as he would: Use narrow definitions and don't volunteer details. In that way, he believed that she

affair with Lewinsky had ended in the early part of 1997. He had felt it was over and done with, although he still felt guilt—not only about the affair but also about her transfer from the White House because aides thought that she was spending too much time near the president.

But Clinton could still be in trouble over how he advised her. Lewinsky has reportedly told prosecutors that Clinton laid out "hypotheticals" about how she could deny the relationship. Prosecutors apparently thought that her story was useful enough to give her full immunity. Such coaching a witness with hypothetical answers can be criminal under some circumstances. Former Rep. Mario Biaggi was convicted of obstruction in 1987 for this sort of coaching.

However, a source close to Lewinsky's defense says her lawyers do not believe her story supports a solid subornation of perjury case against Clinton. They say that Lewinsky and the president may have shared only the implicit promise of silence that accompanies any illicit affair. Clinton testified that he, too, attempted to keep the affair secret. "He admitted that he concealed it. He concealed it from Vernon [Jordan]. He concealed it from Betty [Currie]," said one source familiar with his testimony. His lawyers argue this was not obstruction. Clinton's testimony also undercuts the idea that Currie helped in an illicit coverup or that Jordan tried to help Lewinsky get a job as a payoff for her silence.

Sources close to both Clinton and Jordan scoff at press reports that Jordan's testimony hurt Clinton. "Believe me, he said nothing,"

said one source. The source believes Jordan is out of danger from Starr, primarily because Clinton "misled" his friend about his relationship with Lewinsky when Jordan asked him about it. Jordan's legal advisers told him to steer clear of Clinton until the president testified. But once Clinton gave prosecutors his testimony, Jordan was given the green light to pursue their friendship in public. The result: a bear hug for Clinton when his plane touched down in Martha's Vineyard.

But if Jordan is now safe from obstruction charges, Clinton may not be. Prosecutors are keenly interested in how Lewinsky dealt with gifts from Clinton after



SHOWTIME. Aide Paul Begala helps Clinton prepare for his speech about his affair with Lewinsky.

tice official Webster Hubbell, and Lewinsky—and Starr is required to report on all these matters to the three-judge panel that appointed him.

Starr's main focus right now is whether Clinton urged Lewinsky to lie about their affair or otherwise tried to hide the truth in an illegal effort to confound the Paula Jones sexual harassment case. Jones, who claims to have rebuffed a 1991 sexual advance by Clinton, had called Lewinsky as a witness in an attempt to establish that Clinton had a pattern of doling out job favors to those who gave in to his sexual advances. When Clinton testified last Monday, prosecutors hammered away

could execute a truthful affidavit for Jones's lawyers without revealing the affair, a source close to the president told *U.S. News*. The Jones lawyers were asking about "sexual relations." The president contended that term meant consummated sexual intercourse, which he said had not happened with Lewinsky.

Guilt. During his 4½-hour grilling, Clinton also told prosecutors he believed Lewinsky could offer no evidence relevant to the Jones case, which involved an allegation that Clinton had made an unwanted sexual advance; the affair with Lewinsky had been consensual. In response to prosecutors' questions, he explained that the

When Clinton's political strategists saw the speech, they were aghast.

the Jones lawyers subpoenaed the items. Lewinsky testified that soon after she discussed the subpoena of the gifts with Clinton, Currie, the president's secretary, called and said she understood that Lewinsky had a box for her. Later, Currie came to Lewinsky's apartment to pick up the gifts—which *U.S. News* has learned included a rug, a beach dress, and an autographed copy of a State of the Union address in addition to the previously reported hat pin and brooch. The key obstruction question is whether Clinton helped Lewinsky hide subpoenaed gifts from unfriendly lawyers, perhaps with Currie's help. What Currie testified is not known, but she has been cooperating with Starr since early in the investigation.

In the session with prosecutors last week, however, Clinton testified that he told Lewinsky that she should comply with the subpoena and turn the gifts over to Jones's lawyers. Clinton's view was that the gifts were the kind of trifles he gave to acquaintances all of the time. "We're not talking about a diamond heart with an arrow shot through it saying 'Monica and Bill,'" says one source knowledgeable about Clinton's testimony. Also, Clinton told Starr's team unequivocally that he never asked Currie to retrieve the gifts and he did not know why the secretary would do so.

Proving perjury. During his testimony, Clinton refused to answer many of the questions prosecutors asked him about sex. *U.S. News* has learned that Starr's office plans to make its report to Congress without the answers, which could be integral to proving a perjury case in a court of law but probably not necessary in a congressional inquiry. Prosecutors have not yet decided whether to subpoena Clinton for more questioning, a move that Clinton's lawyers have pledged they would resist, touching off a constitutional battle that could last into early next year. If prosecutors do decide to issue a subpoena, they will send their report to Congress before the legal issues are resolved.

The most obvious sign that Starr's investigation was continuing apace was

that Lewinsky was recalled to the grand jury last Thursday. Clinton aides predicted that prosecutors would try to use Lewinsky to contradict the president's testimony. But Lewinsky's lawyers were told that she was being recalled to answer questions that the grand jurors had not asked earlier. It seems unlikely that she'll make any public appearances soon. The Washington, D.C., lawyers who negotiated her deal for full immunity, Plato Cacheris and Jacob Stein, have advised her to stay mum because she could still be an

was not just the product of legal advice. For days previously, a stream of suggestions had flowed to the Oval Office and the White House residence from staff and friends about what the president should say, even though no one knew what he planned to tell the grand jury. Senior adviser Paul Begala worked on what aides called "the remorse draft" for much of the weekend. Begala and others were seeking a speech in which Clinton would acknowledge that he had hurt a great number of people, including Lewinsky, and that he had not been true to his own principles. He could say the relationship was sexual, they thought, and he need not attack Starr.

Aghast. On Monday morning, Clinton presented his personal draft to former Commerce Secretary and presidential confidant Mickey Kantor. When political strategists Begala and Rahm Emanuel saw it, they were aghast. Polls conducted for the White House were showing that, while the public disliked Starr, what they wanted most from the president was contrition and an apology. According to the polls, most Americans believed he had lied about having an affair with Lewinsky, but they would forgive him and move on if he said he was sorry.

But in a later meeting in the solarium with the staff, about two hours before he was scheduled to go on television, it became clear that the president's inclination to

take on Starr was endorsed by the first lady. Both insisted on attacking the independent counsel. There would be no changing their minds. Despite what they both now knew about his affair with Lewinsky, they still believed what they had said in public for so long: Starr was part of a conservative conspiracy to bring down the Clinton presidency.

The question of what Hillary Rodham Clinton learned and when she learned it is still a matter of conjecture at the White House. Although some insiders find it hard to believe that she had not known about the affair months ago, sources say that the full revelation came about in the third-floor family quarters last weekend. Knowledgeable sources say that Clinton



SHE'S BACK. Lewinsky answered more grand jury questions.

important witness before Congress. Beyond that, Cacheris says, "We think our job is over. The team is retiring."

Because of Lewinsky's confession to the grand jury that she had lied in the Paula Jones case about having sex with Clinton, the president's lawyers were most concerned that he not tell the grand jury that he, too, lied. That would put him in the "perjury trap." Instead Clinton and his lawyers maintained that he told the truth based on his narrow definition of sex. That also explains why his speech last Monday contained the politically sour note that his testimony about Lewinsky had been "legally accurate."

Clinton's four-minute speech, considered a failure—at least in Washington—

Prosecutors are as determined as ever to pursue the investigation to the end.

CONGRESS

Ready for a government shutdown?

The day President Clinton arrived for his Martha's Vineyard vacation, the Republican National Committee aired a commercial on the island's tiny cable system urging him to strike a deal with the GOP over this year's budget. "Surely we can work out our differences on next year's budget," declared Jim Nicholson, the RNC chairman. "So join us: Don't shut down the government."

Far from being emboldened by Clinton's Lewinsky confession, Republicans remain terrified of a shutdown showdown with Clinton. In a dispute over an array of policy issues and spending priorities, the president is threatening to veto seven of the 13 bills that finance government services. If he doesn't sign the bills by September 30, he and Congress will have to agree to a temporary spending measure—or see another partial government shutdown.

Behind Clinton. House Democratic leaders have lined up votes to sustain vetoes of spending bills. Even

Democrats critical of Clinton's private conduct will stand with him in a shutdown duel. "The president will almost certainly follow through on his veto threats, and I will be with him," vows Rep. Paul McHale of Pennsylvania, the only Democrat asking him to resign.

which writes spending bills. "We don't want to close government."

While big proposals are pending—HMO reform, cutting teen smoking, chopping taxes, changing campaign finance laws, and extending "fast track" trade authority—none is expected to become

noting the issue entirely.

House Republicans had hoped to send Clinton a hefty tax cut, but Senate Republicans have balked, fearing he would accuse them of imperiling Social Security. Even though the House passed a bill to ban large contributions to national parties—"soft money"—Senate leaders have no intention of bringing the bill to the floor. Finally, House Republicans vow to vote on extending fast-track trade authority, which Clinton would ordinarily support but now opposes because he sees it as an election-year bid to antagonize union leaders.

Republicans are content to keep conflict to a minimum and hope the Lewinsky scandal depresses Democratic turnout in November's elections. The key for Democrats will be to embrace the issues without appearing to condone Clinton's conduct.

"His high approval rating is testament to the popularity of his policies," says Ed Kilgore, political director of the Democratic Leadership Council, a centrist organization that Clinton once led. "The emphasis will be to create a reverse triangulation where Clinton is at the outer point and the issues are closer to congressional Democrats." —Major Garrett



BIG PLANS. Clinton speaks at a forum on fixing Social Security.

Republicans, aware that they lack the votes to prevail, hope to avoid a confrontation by sending Clinton a stopgap spending bill next month. "We've told the president, 'We'll negotiate with you on the bottom line,'" says Rep. Bob Livingston of Louisiana, head of the Appropriations Committee,

law in the final days of the 105th Congress. Clinton vows to veto the GOP's HMO reform bill in the unlikely event it survives a filibuster by Senate Democrats. The Senate has killed a tobacco bill with numerous new regulations and \$516 billion in higher excise taxes over 25 years. House leaders are ig-

advisers, knowing that he had not yet told his wife the truth, leaked a story to the *New York Times* about his impending grand jury testimony in part to signal Hillary Clinton that her husband had lied about his relationship with Lewinsky.

Clinton's resolve to slam Starr was further reinforced by his interrogation by the special counsel's prosecutors, which the president told aides was unrelentingly specific and intrusive. One associate says he came out of the Map Room "steaming" at his inquisitors.

Mrs. Clinton may have been influenced by a series of draft speeches sent to her by senior White House adviser Sidney Blum-

enthal, who was at the time on vacation in Europe. Blumenthal, the administration's leading conspiracy theorist about Starr, advocated taking a hard line against the independent counsel. One source close to the White House says that White House lawyers tried to delete from the speech the attack on Starr and the assertion that Clinton's conduct was a private matter. But the tough language stayed.

Clinton's lawyers recognize that they have been accused of having a deaf ear to politics but see themselves as keenly aware that the most serious jeopardy their client now faces is political, not legal. Those difficulties, in their view, do

not arise from the lawyerly language of the speech or its defiance of the independent counsel. They believe the president's troubles come from waiting so long. "The seven months," said one legal adviser, "is what makes this very hard."

In the hours before Clinton's 10 p.m. address to the nation, Chief of Staff Erskine Bowles and other aides made phone calls to 30 key congressional Democrats on summer recess. They asked their party colleagues to rally behind the president and speak out publicly on his behalf. Several suggested a line for the members of Congress to use in public that night and the next morning: Clinton's confession,

'Moral leadership is an essential ingredient of presidential authority.'

though tardy, should cause Starr to end his investigation. Few of them showed any enthusiasm. But even their lukewarm support was not taken as a sign to alter the speech.

Many White House aides are still smarting over what some call Clinton's "betrayal" of them and what others say is a deep disappointment in their boss. But few, if any, plan to leave because of the scandal. Perhaps the leading candidate for a departure in disgust is Communications Director Ann Lewis. "She has gone far out on a limb defending the president, and she's very unhappy with all this," says a friend. "I'm not sure she thinks it's worth it to stay on."

The more serious political fallout from his transgressions will be seen not in the White House but in Congress and across the country. In Democratic offices on Capitol Hill, there was a strong mood of dismay after Clinton's speech. However, since so few congressional Democrats rose to Clinton's defense in the Lewinsky matter, few felt compelled to publicly react to the confession. Most Democrats spent the week sequestered from media calls. Several issued sanitized statements denouncing the behavior but calling for an end to the investigation. "The attitude of most members is they weren't the ones who did this and they don't want to borrow anyone's problems," said a senior House aide who spent the week canvassing Democrats' reactions. "I mean, they are not going out there to defend the indefensible."

Vexed. Democrats will, for now, continue to seek his help in fund-raising since big party donors appear far more vexed by Starr than the president. The appointment of an independent counsel to investigate Democratic fund-raising practices—which looked more likely than ever last week—could cause party contributions to collapse just before the election, increasing the prospects of big GOP gains in the House and Senate. But Democrats' biggest fears lie in the near future. Disclosures about his affair with Lewinsky that prove more embarrassing to the president, or disclosures that might add to the circumstantial evidence of perjury and obstruction of justice, would increase

calls for his resignation and intensify the likelihood of impeachment hearings. Any of this would likely depress Democratic turnout and imperil incumbent Democrats seeking re-election.

A recent GOP poll taken before Clinton's speech showed that 58 percent of voters who identified themselves as "very conservative" said they were "highly likely" to vote, compared with 35 percent of self-described "very liberal" voters who said they were "highly likely" to vote. Republicans are confident that Clinton's

guess that Clinton also may have blown his chance at another distinction: being one of the few two-term presidents with a better second term than a first term. "Now he's managed to botch that up with his own genes and chromosomes," Hess said.

Obsessed. Almost since his election, Clinton has been obsessed with his place in history, gobbling up accounts of past presidencies and casting about for role models in the White House archives. "This is someone who's probably read more history than most other presidents in this century," says presidential historian Michael Beschloss, author of *Taking Charge: the Johnson White House Tapes*, which Clinton read this year. "All presidents are concerned about their historical reputation, but I would say Clinton more than most."

As he knows all too well, any future assessment of the Clinton years will now be overshadowed by a distinction that is uniquely his own: admitting a major indiscretion to the American public. Says Allan Lichtman, chairman of the history department at Washington's American University, "It won't destroy what he's accomplished, but whatever it is that historians give him credit for, there will now be a major 'but.'"

Nor is the full extent of that "but" yet defined. If Congress should pass a resolution censuring him—an increasing possibility—it would put Clinton in the company of only one other president: Andrew Jackson, who in 1834 was censured by a Senate resolution for arbitrarily removing public deposits from the Bank of the United States (the censure was later expunged by friendlier Senate Democrats).

But even without that congressional slap, presidential historian Robert Dallek thinks it unlikely that Clinton will be able to shake off this blot on his record. "I don't think he can escape this—this lying, this deceit, this double-dealing," Dallek says. "He's a man of flawed character, and that's going to be a central piece of the story about the man and his presidency." ■

With Major Garrett, Marci McDonald, and Michael J. Gerson



IN CHARGE. Hillary Clinton issues orders at Martha's Vineyard.

problems will only further tilt conservative voters in their direction.

As for Clinton's agenda, if things don't get any worse, Democrats will stand with him on popular issues (box, Page 24). But for the tough fights that will require Clinton to mobilize the nation—reforms in health care, education, and Social Security—the key will be the Starr report and the public's reaction to it. "He can't use his stature or his moral authority," says a White House aide. "He has to argue things on the merits. Unless he can do that, it's over. He's a lame duck."

Stephen Hess, a former official in the Eisenhower administration who is now a scholar at the Brookings Institution in Washington, contends that Clinton has already blown the crucial sixth year of his presidency. "It's the last year he can really control the agenda," Hess says. Hess ar-

It won't destroy what he's accomplished, but there will now be a major 'but'

Portrait of a marriage

The most public of betrayals yields 'one very hurt lady'

By KENNETH T. WALSH

Hillary Rodham Clinton seemed to be the last to know. Seventy-two hours before her husband's public admission of his "inappropriate" relationship, the first lady's official line was still a naive insistence that she believed his denial of an affair with Monica Lewinsky. When he confessed, the supreme confidence she projects in public vanished and she reacted like many another wronged wife—with a surge of private self-doubt. "Hillary got mad at Bill," says a friend who has known her for 30 years, "but then she did her own soul-searching. She asked herself, 'What do I owe him? What couldn't I feel? What

couldn't I do? What couldn't I give him?'" She was too proud to expose her pain and humiliation to the public. So she kept it mostly to herself.

But as with so much else in the first lady's life, the standards for dealing with a spouse's affair are different for Hillary Rodham Clinton. No other American ever endured the most private of betrayals in so public a way. What other woman, after all, has sat in front of a TV and watched her husband tell the world: "I misled people, including even my wife?"

Friends say Bill and Hillary know that their vacation on Martha's Vineyard, which continues this week, is a crucial period for their reconciliation. But things started out badly. As they left the White

House the day after the president's public confession, Mrs. Clinton refused to look at her husband as they walked across the South Lawn to Marine One, and she brushed coldly past him as she entered the helicopter. This moment prompted friends watching on TV to speculate that Mrs. Clinton's fury would not abate quickly. After the Clintons reached their borrowed estate, the president took his Labrador retriever, Buddy, for a couple of long walks alone. Several of Chelsea's friends from Stanford, spending the summer at Martha's Vineyard, got a White House staffer to pass her a note offering to take her away from the tense family compound for some R&R at the beach.

On Thursday, after barely a full day on

BRAD MARKEL—GAMMA LIAISON



BETTER DAYS. The first couple at the last inaugural ball

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

the island, the president announced U.S. missile attacks on terrorist bases in Afghanistan and Sudan and flew to Washington to coordinate U.S. diplomatic efforts. Mrs. Clinton stayed behind, reading, making phone calls to friends, and commiserating with Chelsea.

Aides say the president was intent on resuming his healing campaign upon his return Friday afternoon. But neither his wife nor his daughter greeted him at the airport, and family friends began speculating about what would happen if the marital chill persisted. In that case, the Clintons likely would continue to work together on policy issues important to her, such as health care reform and expanding educational opportunities. "He probably has to do everything she wants," says a longtime family friend. "He is pretty much owned by her now." But Mrs. Clinton would surely spend increasing amounts of time away from her husband on the road.

Few friends will even venture a guess about the longer-range future. But the past is full of episodes that show the depth of Mrs. Clinton's commitment to the 23-year marriage. "It may seem strange, given all that he's put her through, but she has a real attachment to him," says one confidant. "You spend time with them and they definitely seem to be in love—they touch, they hug, they enjoy each other."

The Lewinsky affair may have shattered that dynamic. But what fuels their relationship above all, friends say, is Mrs. Clinton's devotion to her husband as a public figure, especially his desire to help the needy and his commitment to women's rights. Hillary tells friends, for example, that without Bill as president, there would not be nearly so many women in high federal positions. Without the Clinton presidency, she sees abortion rights eroded, the Family and Medical Leave Act never enacted, and no chance for "progressive" reforms in Social Security; racial tension would be worse, and the economy would not be so healthy.

And, without Bill, there would be no chance for Hillary to share power at the highest level—a goal both of them have desired for 30 years.

The Chelsea factor. Above all, Mrs. Clinton wants to save her marriage for the sake of their daughter, Chelsea. In her book, *It Takes a Village*, she made the old-fashioned argument that Americans tend to divorce too quickly. People should strive to preserve their marriages, she wrote, if only to promote a stable, nurtur-



START OF THE "BILLARY" ERA. The Clintons at home in the Arkansas governor's residence

ing environment for children.

What's become increasingly relevant in recent days, according to White House advisers, is her assessment that any split in the first family would play into the hands of the "right-wing conspiracy" that she believes is trying to undermine the Clinton presidency. For her to break faith with her husband publicly would only encourage Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr in his battle with the White House, she believes, and that would jeopardize all the administration's accomplishments.

Still, her husband's cheating ways

would have sent many a wife to a divorce lawyer long ago. First, there was a series of rumored sexual liaisons by her husband in Arkansas, going back two decades. She stood by him—saved his 1992 presidential campaign, in fact—even when he admitted causing "pain" in his marriage during a *60 Minutes* interview to discuss his relationship with Gennifer Flowers. He denied having an affair with Flowers then but later admitted it.

For the past six years, Mrs. Clinton thought he had quit straying. "He promised Hillary he was never going to do that

In private, 'Hillary got mad at Bill, but then she did her own soul-searching.'



IN THE '80s. Clockwise, top left: Chelsea Clinton with her parents at Donald Duck's 50th-birthday party; a family ride in a Little Rock parade; perspiration amid a phone conversation; and a swirl at one of the young governor's inaugural balls



again," says a close family friend. This private vow made his betrayal all the more hurtful.

When the Lewinsky scandal broke last January, Mrs. Clinton made a decision not to quiz her husband on any particulars. "What's the point?" she told a confidant months ago. Some of her allies now say she was in denial. They are convinced she finally began to fully comprehend her husband's infidelity on August 14, just three days before his grand jury testimony. That morning, the *New York Times*, quoting anonymous sources, said the president was considering whether to admit a sexual relationship with his former

intern. Someone called the report to the attention of Mrs. Clinton, who long before had quit reading newspaper accounts of the scandal. She was shaken.

Some White House advisers suspect that she knew about her husband's "inappropriate" relationship months ago. These advisers argue that she is too smart to have missed the signs that her husband had cheated on her and lied about it. But most of her friends and staff say she genuinely believed him—at least that he hadn't had a full-fledged affair. They note that when the Lewinsky story erupted, Mrs. Clinton conceded on NBC's *Today* show that she would be upset if the presi-

dent had an affair and lied to hide it. "If all that were proven true, I think that would be a very serious offense," she said. "That is not going to be proven true."

Birthday chill. When the first couple emerged from the White House on August 14 for a South Lawn party celebrating the president's 52nd birthday, friends in the crowd whispered that something was wrong. Hillary looked exhausted and angry, unwilling to fully participate in the festivities. "I thought they'd just had one of their fights in the residence," says a pal. "She was so cold that all of us felt frostbitten. I look back on it and I see one very hurt lady. She barely spoke to us."

No wife ever endured the most private of betrayals in such a public way.

Yet 48 hours later, presumably after her husband had come clean with her and she had vented her anger at him, she had composed herself enough to resume her role of key adviser and political helpmate. That Sunday morning, they attended Foundry United Methodist Church and, when they emerged, she was holding his hand. That afternoon, she worked with him and his lawyers to develop the final strategy for his testimony the next day. Helping him write his Monday-night address to the nation, she insisted that he hammer Starr for persecuting him. "It was classic Hillary," says a White House official. "She was putting all her resources into the political battle and putting everything else aside."

Several weeks ago, one family friend told Bill Clinton that he faced a choice between his family and his presidency. If he continued to deny the affair, the friend warned, he would keep his wife, but the perjury might cost him his job. Yet if he changed his story, he might save his presidency but lose his spouse. In the end, Hillary saved him, again, from making a choice. She decided he could have it all—keep the power and maintain the marriage. "She likes the power too," says a source familiar with the incident.

Was she candid? Presidential historian Robert Dallek wonders whether the crisis will raise questions about Hillary Clinton's credibility. "Is it conceivable she did not know what he was doing?" Dallek asks. "Or that she trusted his denials? What you have again are questions about her integrity, about her candor. Is this another example of political manipulation on the part of the White House?"

Friends say she will never divorce her husband but after their White House years they will spend much time apart pursuing different interests, although both expect to be based at the Clinton presidential library being planned in Little Rock.

Mrs. Clinton frequently discusses her post-White House years with friends. She is said to be interested in running a prestigious think tank or public-interest organization, perhaps one like the MacArthur Foundation in Chicago, her hometown, where she could distribute money for good causes, help children and families, promote women's rights, travel actively, and retain a public platform.

Until then, she may have more influence with her husband than at any time since the early months of his presidency. At this point in the family drama, having the upper hand in their public partnership will have to compensate for the sad realities of Mrs. Clinton's private life. ■

ADULTERY IN AMERICA

A sad but essential ingredient: the lie

Counselors like to offer a quiz to couples who wonder if their marriage is vulnerable to affairs. One: Do you both have a pulse? Two: Do either of you lay eyes on other humans?

That's a lighthearted way of conveying the consensus that many can be tempted to have affairs. It is also a way to urge betrayed spouses not to take the blow quite so *personally*. After all, every human community ever formed has witnessed infidelity, no matter how condemned it was. A recent poll of the 24 most developed nations

acts of betrayal, says Peggy Vaughan, author of *The Monogamy Myth*, whose husband, James, had 16 affairs over seven years. "I must have asked him 'why?' 100 times a day for weeks."

There are many answers. People have affairs for excitement, an ego boost, to feel younger—but usually *not* because they are not in love with their spouse. Psychologist Shirley Glass found that most men who stray say they are "very" satisfied with their wives, and that most betrayers say sex at home is as good or better than in the affair.

A union's survival hinges on the betrayer's patience during the spouse's obsessing, tantrum throwing, and rehashing. "Discovering you've been betrayed is like other major trauma—you relive it a million times to figure out what you could have done differently," says Peggy Vaughan. "It's a process that can last years, and the worst thing a spouse can say is, 'Can't you get past this?'"

Some experts argue that the best way to pre-

vent future affairs is *not* to promise monogamy but to commit to full disclosure about hard topics like attraction to others or boredom with sex. "Affairs happen when you create walls—secrets—between you and your spouse, and windows—intimacy—with someone else," Glass says. "You have to reverse that so there is nothing your spouse doesn't know about that someone else does."

Ultimately, as polls made clear to Bill Clinton, affairs are as much about lying as about sex. "We'd like to do all kinds of things that we never will do, like robbing a bank," says James Vaughan. "No affair can happen until after you've made the decision that you are willing to lie." No lying, no adultery. Sounds simple—unless you share comedian Jerry Seinfeld's opinion: "If it weren't for lies, there'd be no sex." —Joannie M. Schrof



THEIR SECRET. A hug in '96 that became famous in '98

found that two thirds of people asked think adultery is almost always wrong; in America, that figure jumps to 90 percent, and up again to 99 percent when it comes to one's own spouse. Yet the most reliable measurements find that, in the United States, roughly 1 in 4 spouses—some 19 million husbands and 12 million wives—has had an affair. The prevalence of affairs seems to have remained steady for decades; what's risen is the number of betrayers who confess. (Surveys in the 1960s showed that fewer than half of cheating husbands told their wives; over time that number rose to 80 percent.)

Work it out. As devastating as the news is, two thirds of betrayed spouses decide to stay married—not always a bad idea, since 80 percent of those who opt for divorce later say they regret it. The first step in making amends is to talk about what led to the

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

'A new low in national discourse'

Opinion shapers say 'enough is enough'



HEADLINES. Clinton's admission dominated front pages and prompted editorial attacks.

A generation ago, newspapers across America were demanding Richard Nixon's resignation. Last week, *Hotline*, the electronic political newsletter, counted 17 newspapers beseeching Bill Clinton to step down. Opinion columns and editorials written in the hours that followed his grand jury testimony assailed him as a cheat and a liar. Only later in the week, after his bombing of terrorist targets, did a few words of support emerge. Some of the comments:

ANCHORAGE TIMES:

"Clinton has thrown himself into the trash heap of history. And the nation has reason to mourn the shame he has brought to his office."

SAN JOSE (CALIF.) MERCURY NEWS:

"[Clinton] should be profoundly ashamed, and the shame should haunt him for the rest of his life."

PAUL GREENBERG, COLUMNIST, ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE:

"Most of the folks who cover Bill Clinton eventually reach a moment of truth."

There comes a time—it's usually definite and memorable—when they stop giving him the benefit of the mounting doubt, when they just give up on him and vow that they'll never be suckered again. The difference between a Clinton critic and a Clinton apologist is that the apologist hasn't had his moment of truth yet."

MODESTO (CALIF.) BEE:

"A new low in national discourse."

THE (COLUMBIA, S.C.) STATE:

"He lied to us—not inadvertently, not as a momentary lapse, but deliberately, insistently and over a long period of time. He should resign."

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH:

"Trust is the glue that binds a leader to the people in a democracy. Mr. Clinton has lost that trust."

NEW YORK TIMES:

"Here was a man of compassionate impulse and lofty ambition who went to Washington with virtually every imaginable political skill except one. He seemed

to think he was immune from a rule that leaps out from any reading of modern presidencies. Everything comes out sooner or later."

DENVER POST:

"The most honorable course remaining is resignation. After all the other rubbish is cleared away, credibility and integrity are at the ethical core of this fiasco, and the president doesn't have them. Out of respect for the office, he should step down."

POST-TRIBUNE (NORTHWEST INDIANA):

"The president put the country through an unnecessary tabloid hell that left parents trying to explain to their children what oral sex was, what the notorious stain was and, worse, why it was OK for the president to lie and not them."

CHATTANOOGA (TENN.) TIMES:

"Whatever good things Mr. Clinton has accomplished during his presidency will be forever tainted by the brazen recklessness that has undermined the legacy he hoped to leave the nation."

ORLANDO (FLA.) SENTINEL:

"Enough is enough. If Mr. Clinton is an honorable man, he will resign and let the country move on."

ST. PETERSBURG TIMES:

"President Clinton, who habitually has lied about everything from marijuana to his golf score, has been caught in his biggest and broadest lie yet. How can he possibly provide leadership on Social Security, or race relations, or—God forbid—war?"

E. J. DIONNE, COLUMNIST,

WASHINGTON POST:

"Clinton is right about one thing: This has to end. A substantial majority of Americans would prefer that this matter go away and that Clinton serve out his term. But they'd also like to be able to trust him. At the moment, many who feel him no ill will don't think they can. He owes the nation, and his supporters especially, more than he's given so far."

WALL STREET JOURNAL:

"Terrorists and other foes of America stand warned that no matter how damaged, a president of the United States still is a force to be reckoned with. Unlike some king or dictator, he is not one isolated personage but the representative of a far broader society and political system, a system that does not depend on the individual on top in responding to crisis or lethal provocation."

The heir apparent has a problem of his own

Did Al Gore knowingly solicit illegal money?



LOYALISTS. With wife, Tipper, at his side, Gore hails Clinton as "a great president."

By MARCI McDONALD

The call typified Al Gore's image as an unrepentant political Boy Scout. Hours before Bill Clinton faced Ken Starr's grand jury, the vice president phoned his senior Washington staff from a vacation hideaway in Hawaii and delivered three commands: "Be supportive of the president. Be supportive of the president's staff. And be 110 percent loyal." Gore promptly heeded his own advice by penning a declaration of support for his boss. "I am proud of him because he is a great president," Gore said, "and I am honored to have him as a friend."

Gore's effusive loyalty to the scandal-ravaged president could hurt his own White House hopes. But Clinton's indiscretions aren't the vice president's biggest problem. More troublesome is

his own alleged indiscretion.

At issue is whether, in 45 phone calls from his office, Gore knowingly solicited donations that went to the party not as legal "soft money" but directly to the Clinton-Gore re-election campaign. That would make the contributions "hard money"—and illegal. Justice Department investigators are poring over a 1995 Democratic fund-raising memo that features hand-written notations by David Strauss, a former Gore staffer. One of the scrawls—"65% soft/35% hard"—could threaten Gore's claim that he never raised hard money. His presidential bid could suffer if Attorney General Janet Reno requests the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate the affair. "Gore's future is going to have less to do with what Clinton did than what he did to himself," says Michigan pollster Ed Sarpolus. "If this

campaign-finance thing sticks, he could turn out to be his own worst enemy."

Publicly, Gore's friends put a brave face on the possibility of an investigation. "It used to be a big deal," says Greg Simon, Gore's former chief domestic policy adviser. "Now, it's like, without an independent counsel, you're not a serious candidate." But as aides admitted that Gore had been questioned by Justice officials for nearly an hour before he began his vacation, Peter Knight, his chief fund-raiser, launched a telephone blitz to his leading financial benefactors—"to reassure them," according to one Gore supporter, "that everything is all right."

Benefits of boredom. Except for the campaign-financing cloud, Gore's prospects have rarely seemed brighter. With Clinton's character image in shambles, Gore's chief electoral disadvantage—his stolid boringness—is suddenly a plus. And with both lawmakers and editorial writers urging Clinton's resignation or impeachment, Gore could find himself in higher office without the trial of the ballot box. "If he was a heartbeat away from the presidency before," says presidential historian Allan J. Lichtman, "he's now a whisper away."

Some political strategists are urging Gore to distance himself from Clinton's now-tattered legacy. But such a move would run counter to both Gore's character and the limitations of his job. As different as Clinton and Gore are in personality, they are longtime political allies—both are from the party's centrist, pro-business wing—and have forged an unusually close bond. Says Marla Romash, a former Gore staffer: "There's a personal as well as a political friendship there."

The fund-raising memo alone is not enough to oblige Reno to seek an independent counsel. By the end of August, she must complete a 30-day review of the fund-raising allegations, which puts into question her own exoneration of Gore last December. Then she can launch an additional 90-day inquiry—the next step toward appointing a special prosecutor.

That timetable could help or harm Gore. A 90-day review would last through the November congressional elections, when Republicans might be softening their cries for Clinton's ouster. By letting Clinton limp on to the finish line of his term, they would leave his administration intact. But they also would deprive Gore of a big electoral advantage: two years of on-the-job training in the Oval Office. ■

With Major Garrett

'If he was a heartbeat away from the presidency, he's now a whisper away'

BY DAVID GERGEN



Can he save his presidency?

For one brief, shining moment last week, we had a president again, Zeus hurling thunderbolts from atop his mountain against dangerous enemies. As even Newt Gingrich said, the missile strikes ordered by Bill Clinton were "the right thing to do at the right time." But those attacks will not deflect attention from his personal conduct any more than his terrible speech did last Monday night. So we begin a new week with a question that won't go away: How can Clinton possibly lead the country for the next two years?

His troubles are now on a trajectory that, unless altered, is heading toward a crash landing. Within a few weeks, Kenneth Starr seems sure to submit a scathing report to Congress containing serious evidence that impeachable offenses may have occurred. Whether the report will also offer lurid details is uncertain, but presumably they too will emerge soon from some dank corner. Elections this fall could bring another blow, as Republicans are likely to gain in the Senate and the House.

The stage would then be set for an inquiry by the House Judiciary Committee next year into impeachment. Only twice before has that body undertaken such investigations, and both were lengthy: The committee investigation of Richard Nixon began in 1973 and lasted eight months; its 1867 probe of Andrew Johnson took 10 months. Because Clinton's abuses aren't in the same league as Nixon's, it still seems doubtful that the House would vote articles of impeachment, but the process would be a political circus and might well cripple his presidency. Things become even riskier if his popularity cracks and a new independent counsel turns up damaging information about campaign finances.

Trying to salvage his former boss, Leon Panetta recommended on ABC last week that the White House and Congress try to work out a formal reprimand. If a Democrat like Panetta is already talking reprimand, which is serious, Republicans probably won't settle for anything less than a stiffer penalty, a vote of censure. Andrew Jackson was censured in 1834, but the Senate removed the stain from its records the following year. No other president has faced such rebuke, and it would leave Clinton with a permanent, disabling wound. Calls for resignation could be intense.

His interests vs. the country's. Can the president reverse this course? No single step will do it anymore, not after his grudging speech last Monday. But the president could help himself—and more important, everybody else—if he adopted a mindset that at long last puts the country's interests ahead of

his own. Self-indulgence has been in the saddle too long and is taking him over a cliff.

The best line in his speech was his admission that when he lied to the nation about his relationship, his primary motive was to protect himself. But then he turned right around and committed the same error again, making the rest of the speech all about protecting himself once more. Steaming from his afternoon confrontation with Starr, under pressure from his wife and lawyer, he rejected his better instincts and a better speech that had been drafted for him. Instead of addressing the needs of the nation, he used his talk to try to save his marriage and his own fanny. Had he waited 24 hours to calm down, he might have given apologies to everyone who deserved them—not only his wife and daughter but also Monica Lewinsky, the friends and staff who took him at his word, and a nation that endured seven months of hellish controversy. He could have healed, not polarized.

Now, the matter cries out for a final resolution, some sort of national catharsis. Clinton can't walk away from it any more than can Starr, Congress, or the rest of us. He needs to stand up to it and say, in effect: "I have wronged the country, I have a responsibility to help us get through this mess, and I am prepared to pay a just price in order to achieve that end."

A reflective conversation on television with a respected newscaster—and without his wife—would be a start. It would also help to waive all claims of privilege, as in Bruce Lindsey's case, and to call off the war against Starr, as much as he may justifiably hate him. If Congress wants to inquire, Clinton should provide full disclosure. After confessing to sex in the Oval Office, is there anything left to hide?

Last week's airstrikes showed that Clinton can still act as commander in chief and that Republicans will support him when he acts in the national interest. He now has an opening to reach out to them, acknowledging that he needs to work with them closely in forging a bipartisan foreign policy for the rest of his presidency. Beyond a war on terrorism are a host of threats demanding attention: the economic crisis in East Asia; the threat of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq and North Korea; the carnage in Kosovo. If he can make headway with the GOP on foreign policy, maybe he could even get something done at home.

Harry Truman proved in 1947 and 1948 that a Democratic president in deep domestic trouble could still make history by working in concert with a Republican Congress. But he also had his priorities straight: the nation first, himself second. ■



Clinton at the moment of "confession"

'Now, the matter cries out for a final resolution, some sort of national catharsis.'

America fights back

Clinton raises the stakes in the war against terrorism

BY RICHARD J. NEWMAN

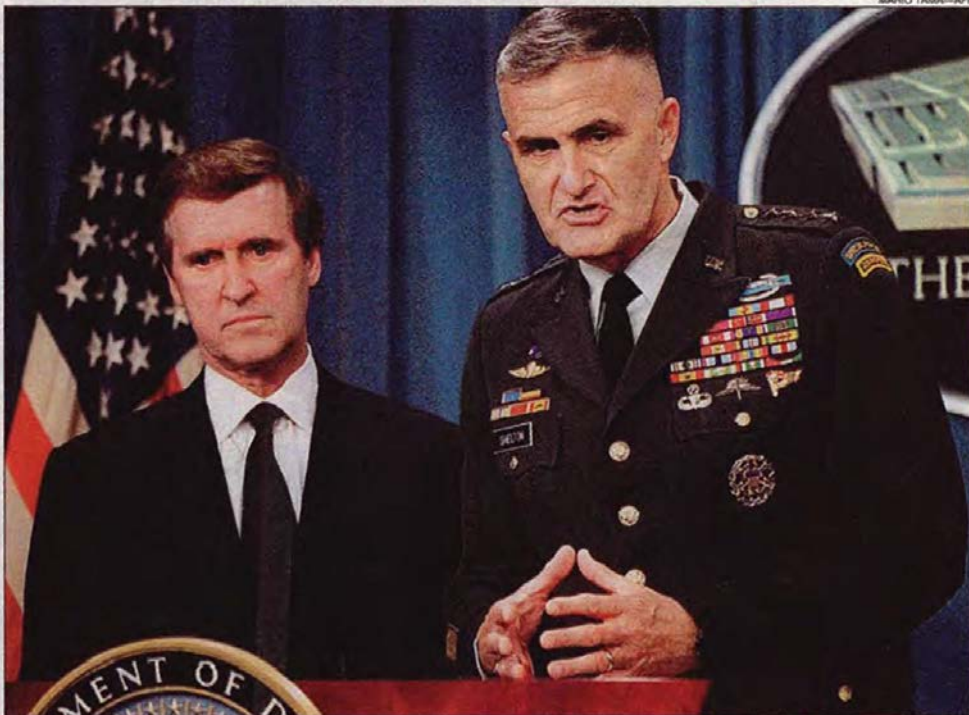
To the world, President Clinton seemed consumed by his well-known personal problems. Yet as he strode pensively on the grounds of a Martha's Vineyard estate with his dog, Buddy, last week, the president pondered other events known only to a handful of his closest advisers. U.S. intelligence agents had already decided that the August 7 bombings of U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were the work of Osama bin Laden, the wealthy scion of a Saudi construction magnate, who had been kicked out of his native country in 1991 for radical leanings. Meanwhile, on seven U.S. warships in the Red Sea and the Arabian Sea, weapons specialists were plotting the flight paths of dozens of cruise missiles targeted at complexes in Sudan and Afghanistan linked to bin Laden. Then, according to Clinton administration officials, came secret intelligence information that bin Laden's forces planned to carry out further acts of terror against Americans, perhaps within days.

The resulting U.S. action—Operation Infinite Reach—amounted to one of the most decisive attacks against suspected terrorists in years. More than 70 Tomahawk cruise missiles shattered buildings at a sprawling base about 90 miles south of Kabul, Afghanistan, that U.S. officials said was used to train terrorists. Some of bin Laden's lieutenants and associates were probably killed, though bin Laden himself evidently survived. An additional six Tomahawks slammed into a suspected chemical weapons plant in Khartoum, Sudan, virtually destroying it. Perhaps more significantly, the strikes signaled a new aggressiveness in dealing with those who wish harm upon America and its citizens. "There are no expendable

American targets," Clinton said sternly from the Oval Office, after returning to Washington briefly to meet with his national-security team. "There will be no sanctuary for terrorists."

Despite the show of force that backed

that rhetoric, Clinton's strategy of raising the stakes for terrorists is risky. Government leaders were quick to caution that the strikes themselves could prompt further terrorist attacks, either by bin Laden's organization or by others who sympathize with him. It is "very important for the American people to understand . . . that there may in fact be retaliatory actions," said Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. After the strikes, government officials said an unprecedented number of threats poured into U.S. embassies and other outposts. Bin Laden himself pledged further attacks, telling a London newspaper through a spokesman that "the battle has not yet started." Even if imminent attacks are foiled, terrorists can be patient and persistent. The bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 in 1988 is widely believed to have



PENTAGON BRIEFING. Secretary of Defense William Cohen and Gen. Henry Shelton describe the bombing. Below, a chemical plant in Sudan smolders after being hit by six Tomahawk missiles.





**BRUSH, FLOSS . . .
SCRAPE?** It's the latest
rage in dental hygiene
among Hollywood's elite:
tongue scraping. Touted
as a bad-breath remedy,
the plastic, serrated gad-
gets are moving into the

mainstream as more dentists recommend
them to patients.

Scraping is an ancient practice still com-
mon in the Far East. It's novel in the United
States, with annual tongue scraper sales of
\$10 million. Los Angeles firm Discus Dental,
for one, expects fivefold sales growth by
2001 as word of mouth spreads.

Scraping is one way
to remove bacteria that
cause bad breath.
Plastic scrapers are
cheap and available
over the counter or
from dentists.

—Ross Cohen



HISTORY

Old glory

One hundred and fifty years ago,
Elizabeth Cady Stanton led early
feminists to Seneca Falls, N.Y., for
the first Woman's Rights Conven-
tion. Hillary Rodham Clinton jour-
neyed there last week, stopping at
imperiled historic sites along the
way. The first lady's 12-site, four-
state tour launched a joint cam-
paign of the White House and the
National Trust for Historic Preser-
vation to "honor the past and imag-
ine the future," she says.

Corporate sponsors are joining
the cause. Ralph Lauren's Polo,
which makes apparel sporting Old
Glory, donated \$13 million to pre-
serve the star-spangled banner that
inspired Francis Scott Key's nation-
al anthem. The flag is housed at the Smith-
sonian Institution's National Museum of
American History. And GE, the descend-
ant of Thomas Edison's Electric Light Co.,
also chipped in \$5 million to renovate the



Star-spangled: the president, Lauren, and first lady

inventor's New Jersey laboratory.

The first lady wrapped up her trip at
the Seneca Falls fete commemorating
great advances for American women.

—Stacy Atlas

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BREAKING THE SILENCE



Now that Clinton has been subpoenaed, will his lawyer David Kendall let him tell the story, and if so, what will that story be?

By KAREN TUMULTY WASHINGTON

FOR BILL CLINTON TO LOOK THIS good in the polls after six months of sex scandal is a measure of his survival skills, dumb luck and, above all, the wall of silence erected by his personal lawyer, David Kendall. It took a reserved Quaker who views the law in life-and-death terms to muzzle a politician used to talking his way out of trouble.

The President will find out just how good Kendall is in the next few weeks as independent counsel Kenneth Starr presses Clinton harder than ever to testify. Starr has invited the President's cooperation at least half a dozen times in recent months, and now the courtship between the two men has taken a more coercive turn: last week he

took the unprecedented step of serving a sitting President with a subpoena in a criminal matter in which the President himself is in jeopardy. The White House said virtually nothing about the showdown except to acknowledge for the first time that Kendall had stepped up the delicate process of ensuring "the grand jury gets the information it needs." In other words, Clinton must soon decide whether to change course and capitulate to Starr's demands or stare him down in a constitutional battle that could be a short route to impeachment proceedings.

The White House announcement last Friday lends itself to many interpretations, each carrying its own degree of cynicism: Was it a good-faith effort by Clinton to cut through the thicket of circumstantial evidence, Secret Service recollections and secondhand testimony by offering a first-

hand account? Or was it a feint to give the appearance of cooperation and compliance that will ensure that Starr gets the blame when the President ultimately refuses to talk?

As long as Kendall is in charge, it may be a while before anyone knows the answer. Kendall operates so far below the radar that when the President's lawyer dealt Starr his most significant setback, it took nearly a month before word got out of the judge's chambers. Even Clinton's own strategists had no inkling that something serious had happened until last Tuesday morning, when White House counsel Charles Ruff warned them that the reporters covering the comings and goings of grand-jury witnesses were likely to notice some extra activity that day on the fifth floor of the federal courthouse.



RICHARD LEEB—SYGMA FOR TIME