

"I don't believe in denying things. I believe in working through it."

I **the intimate hillary**

Hillary Clinton, head covered in a flowing chador of golden silk, stands barefoot outside the Citadel of Cairo. The chants of the Muslim call to prayer echo through the winding streets. Quietly declining the slippers set aside for privileged visitors, she walks barefoot into the ancient mosque like a common Egyptian woman, her head bowed, her face turned away from the reporters and photographers.

By Lucinda Franks
Photos by Michel Comte

It is March. She has traveled thousands of miles, fought historic battles, and been badly burned. Hillary Clinton has been copresident and codependent, and in the time between the two roles her private life has turned into a public space where

nothing is sacred. Her husband has just narrowly escaped becoming the first president in the history of the United States to be removed from office. The only people who have not lashed out at him in public are those he has hurt most deeply, his wife and their daughter, Chelsea.

Now, on a state visit to North Africa, the first lady seems disheartened. At a Bedouin night feast of lamb tajine cooked with apricots and prunes, Hillary, who loves to dance, is one of the few to sit out. She watches as her daughter Chelsea hits the floor, leaping and shimmying to the African flutes and drums. "She is giving off lonely vibrations," says a State Department official, observing the first lady. "Look at her eyes. I think she has been deeply, deeply hurt."

On the day before she leaves Egypt, an antiquities expert talks her through the ruins of the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, Egypt's only known female pharaoh, pointing out that the queen's nephew had erased her name from every edifice after her death. It wasn't spite, he explains, just politics. "Sometimes," observes Hillary dryly, "they look the same."

Over the years, Hillary's trips have been seen as her way of ducking the political heat in Washington. Her first major international address, to the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, was regarded as a strategic first step in rehabilitating herself after the collapse of her health care reform plan. But there is more to Hillary's travels than mere escape. New places give her the chance to slip out of her role as Bill's bad cop and work on projects close to her heart. In many ways, she has been more relaxed—more herself—in foreign countries than she has been at home.

For years, Hillary has been compared to Eleanor Roosevelt, a first lady known for her social activism who also had an unfaithful husband. But F.D.R.'s affairs were kept quiet, and Eleanor's pain was private. Hillary, subjected to the full glare of public scrutiny, has had to cross the globe to revitalize herself and her faith in political life. The process culminated in this trip to North Africa and the decision to put herself forward as a candidate for a New York seat in the U.S. Senate. "The prospect of the campaign," says her longtime friend Kathie Berlin, "is what really lifted her up and set her blood pumping again."

And it will clearly be Hillary's campaign. Within days of announcing the formation of her exploratory committee, she distanced herself from her husband's policy on Medicaid and the status of Jerusalem. "I want independence," she told me emphatically in one of many conversations we had during our travels together through five countries. "I want to be judged on my own merits. Now for the first time I am making my own decisions. I can feel the difference. It's a great relief." She stresses that her husband will not have a "front and center role" in her campaign. What will happen to Bill, I ask. "He has a great many interests—his library..." she replies coolly. But isn't he addicted to politics? "Yes," she laughs. "He's already said he wants to run my constituency. Meet the people and all. But he'll stay behind the scenes for a while."

"HILLAREEE! HILLAREEE!" In the Middle East, throngs of villagers come out to cheer her. Hillary's popularity is rooted in something more than her celebrity status: She has actually changed people's lives. "Exploit your women," she has artfully exhorted reluctant Islamic governments. "Liberate them into the workforce." The evidence of Hillary's impact is apparent. In a small

This page: The first lady takes a sunrise walk on the dunes of Morocco.

Previous page: Gazing out over the lawn from the roof of the White House.



school in Marrakech, local Berber women hoping for new jobs are taught Arabic and English by teachers educated through a program sponsored by USAID (U.S. Agency for International Development). In Tunis, Hillary walks hand in hand with Chelsea, whose arm is decorated with lacy henna tattoos, past brightly colored row houses; women ululate in greeting and display the gold- and silver-beaded dresses they make and sell with the help of new "microcredit" loans Hillary has championed. (Hillary informs me tartly that women repay these loans at a rate of 98 percent, which is far superior to the men's rate.) "Hillary inspires people," says U.S. Ambassador to Morocco Edward Gabriel. "She put the spotlight on us. We suddenly have congressional delegations, American businesses investing, and we have speeded up our process of democratization."

It is the same story two months later when we visit Ireland, where she is greeted "like a Kennedy," in the words of one local. Her international Vital Voices program has encouraged women to join the political process. The organization, a public-private partnership, is funded by companies like Ford, Discovery Communications, and the Wall Street Women's Financial Network. In Belfast, Hillary helps dedicate a project she spearheaded, a playground where Catholic and Protestant kids can throw balls instead of rocks. Children with freshly combed hair and blue sweaters surround the first lady and Mo Mowlam, the secretary of state for Northern Ireland, who tells me, "Hillary is one of the essential reasons we've had 18 months of relative peace. Without her we would have no economic boom."

When Hillary is abroad, she displays small acts of political flair of the sort usually associated with her husband. She tells me later that she has learned a lot from him: "He weighs things. He has such openness to all points of view." The locals are still remarking about the meeting with Irish women at a fish and chips shop, when Hillary declined a fancy china cup and like everyone else drank tea from a chipped mug. "We're used to the high and mighty royals," says Frank McGrath, a Catholic leader from Galway, "and we're not such an important country. It gives us a boost—makes the boys think twice about planting the gelignite."

Wherever she goes, the first lady slyly applies political pressure. In Macedonia this May she met with owners of small factories endangered when the war caused Liz Claiborne's company to cut back contracts. She phoned Claiborne's CEO, Paul Charron, on their behalf. "I've never been to a Democratic function and I've never met her," says Charron. "And she didn't ask for anything outright." By the end of the call, however, Charron had pledged to keep factories open—and to donate enough materials for the Macedonians to make a quarter of a million articles of clothing for Kosovo refugees.

Little of her international work has been noted by the press, but Hillary intends to bring some of the ideas that have worked so well overseas to her campaign in New York. "It will be about going into the communities, devising ways to bring economic power to the grassroots level," she told me.

Microcredit loans are not the stuff of hot copy, however, and during the North Africa trip the newspapers back home are preoccupied with the latest accusations against Bill Clinton—his alleged rape of a woman named Juanita Broaddrick 21 years ago. With the breaking story dominating CNN, Hillary's visits to schoolhouses and clinics aren't having their usual therapeutic effect. She looks bloodless, drained of spirit. In one of our later conversations she confides, "I'm not a good actress. My feelings show on my face."

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Her introspection plays badly with the traveling press, whom she ignores for the first three days of the trip. Reporters are kept at least 12 feet away from the first lady by the Secret Service. Editors back home are pressing for tidbits about the trip—which, a television reporter gripes, is costing some \$60,000—and they aren't getting a thing. One morning in Morocco, Hillary and Chelsea wake early to ride camels into the dunes of Merzouga and watch the sun rise. The press camelcade is kept far behind, which is particularly infuriating to the TV crews, who have been robbed of their shot: Hillary of Arabia. An aide confides that the real reason for the privacy was that the first lady feared she would be unable to mount the camel gracefully. But she is also concerned about protecting Chelsea from journalists. She wants no words she shares with her daughter overheard, quoted, or misquoted.

By the third day in Egypt, some reporters are calling the trip "pointless," and Hillary's staff warns her that a rebellion is imminent. That night, rousing herself, the first lady hosts a dinner for the press under the stars. Asked if she'd been spooked by the flames that had shot from the engine of the plane before our take-off in Washington, she scoffs, "Naw. I've flown in planes so small it was like putting on a pair of pants." In fine form, she draws her way through an Arkansas campaign recollection of a crony of her husband's, a one-eyed pilot named Joe, who shakes his head about "that Bill Clinton, sonofabitch." She adds wistfully, "Those were great days, we had a lot of fun."

At night, Hillary and Chelsea share a hotel room, watching movies and discussing the next day's speeches. They call Bill, who keeps Hillary up to speed on Kosovo, where Slobodan Milosevic has intensified his program of ethnic cleansing. Hillary is unequivocal about the American response. "I urged him to bomb; I supported him," she tells me later. "You cannot let this go on at the end of a century that has seen the major holocaust of our time. What do we have NATO for if not to defend our way of life?"

The phone calls, a nightly feature of this Middle East trip, seem to have helped bring the first couple closer together than they have been since before the Monica Lewinsky scandal broke. "I think she fell in love with him again when she came here," says the Moroccan minister of foreign affairs, Mohammed Benaissa. The budding reconciliation is later noticed by friends and White House insiders. Hillary's chief of staff Melanne Verveer tells me that "as the president has tried to make up for what he has done, we've slowly seen a physical passion come back into their lives. And it's not just for show. I've seen them together when no one is looking. And when they start talking it's electric. The power of ideas positively ignites them."

The rapprochement took a while. "Hillary barely spoke to Bill from the time of the stain on the dress in August right up until the trip to North Africa," one of her closest aides reports. The estrangement was not only between Bill Clinton and his wife but between the president and his most trusted adviser. "He suffered terribly from Hillary's exclusion," adds Kathie Berlin. "If he had trouble keeping focused, as people say he did, it was because she was no longer part of the equation." The mounting crisis left the president increasingly distracted. The week before he confessed to the country that he had lied about his affair with Monica, he spent long hours in the White House solarium obsessively playing hearts with his friend Harry Thomason, sometimes until two or three in the morning.

But as the scandal festered and moved toward a trial in the Senate, the person fighting most fiercely in defense of the president

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was his estranged wife. Fresh from Yale Law School in 1974, she had helped to compile the case against the only other president this century to face impeachment. Now she was arguing the other side, explaining to Democrats in Congress with legalistic dispassion why her husband's actions, while deplorable, were not impeachable. "She was very effective and certainly won him the support of the Democratic caucus," says Congresswoman Nita Lowey.

In private, though, the first lady was devastated. "She acted like someone had died," says Bernie Nussbaum, the longtime friend who had been Hillary's mentor in the Nixon impeachment inquiry. "It was clear that something dramatic had to be done to change their lives, to save their marriage."

THAT SOMETHING APPEARS TO BE Hillary's run for the Senate, which several Democratic leaders suspect was a Bill Clinton initiative. Congressman Charles Rangel of New York was one of the first politicians to discuss the possibility with Hillary last fall, "but the president was right in there, cheering her on—before she even knew she was on the team," Rangel recalls. "He was the one who asked the most questions about how she could win. You could see the guilt written all over his face. Any man would do anything to

get out of the doghouse he was in." There may be no man of whom this is more true than Bill Clinton, a president famously concerned with two things: his legacy and his popularity.

Jill Iscol, a New York family friend, visited the president on the day before his impeachment last December, and he told her how enthusiastic he was about Hillary's candidacy. She recalls that he was confident that despite reports of his financial inexperience he could support his family. (It's worth noting that earlier this year Hillary turned down a \$5 million book offer.)

Not long ago the notion of Hillary running for office would have seemed far-fetched. She had always regarded Washington with suspicion; in her commencement speech at Wellesley in 1969 she famously rebuked liberal senator Edward Brooke, one of the country's top black leaders and the ceremony's main speaker, for succumbing to the Washington habit of confusing empathy with achievement. When she arrived at the White House, her blunt manner and stubborn idealism cost her repeated defeats. She seemed to have a tin ear for politics in the capital. Her appointments were shot down. Her health care reform plan was shipwrecked. By 1995 the copresident was no longer even attending policy meetings.

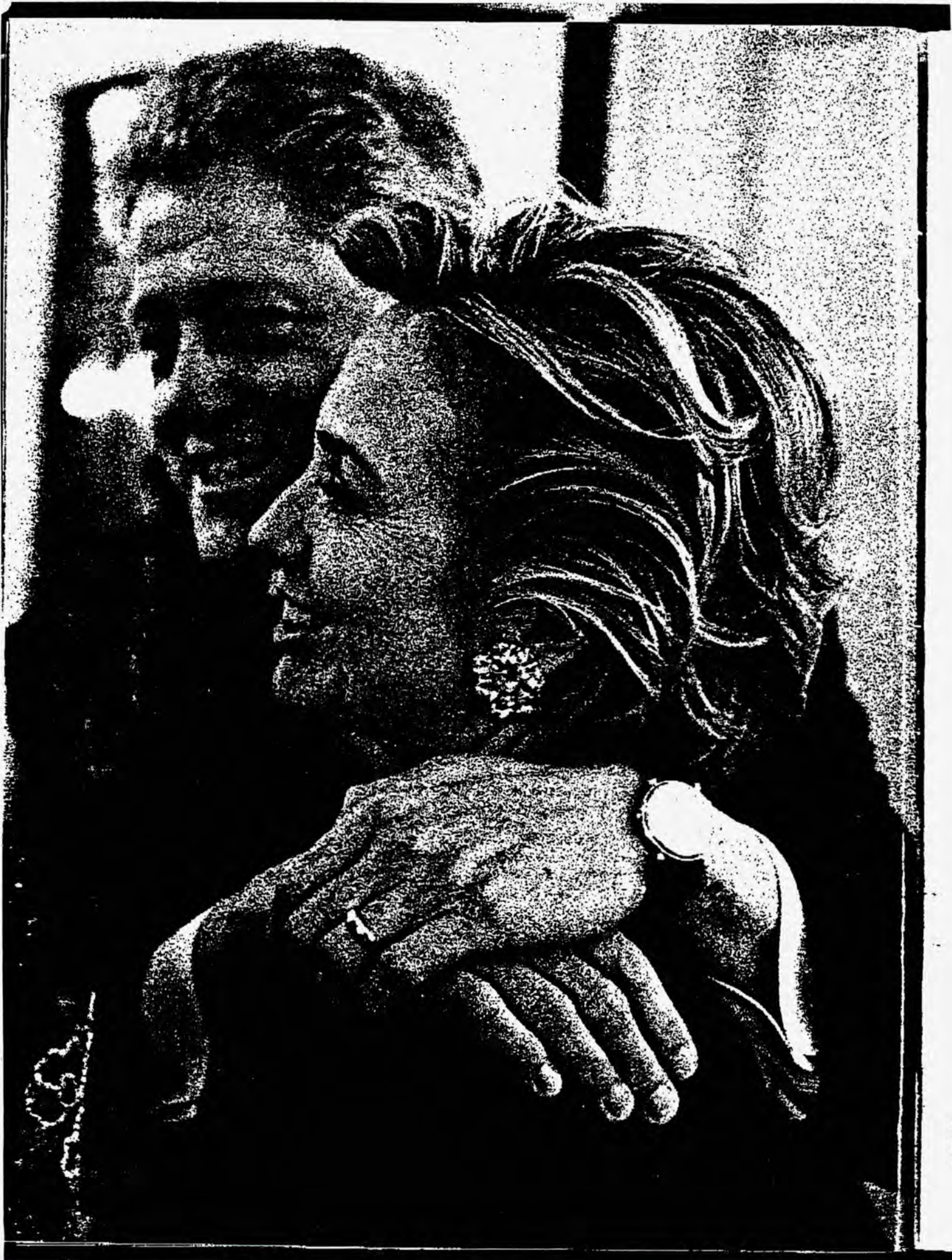
But by last October, as her husband was falling from grace, Hillary was resurrected. More popular as an injured party than she ever was as an equal party, she hit the campaign trail and was credited with helping to save the senatorial campaigns of Chuck Schumer in New York and Barbara Boxer in California.

She let the subsequent speculation about her own Senate candidacy develop slowly, meeting it in public with a murmur of protest and a small smile. The pivotal moment came at the New York Democratic Party's Jefferson-Jackson dinner on April 29, normally a dull affair for party loyalists. This year Lowey, who had been the Democrats' top senatorial prospect, stood in a corner at a predinner party for big donors, while they crowded around Hillary, who found a personal word to say to everyone. Lowey's supporters grumbled that the first lady's undeclared candidacy left Lowey in limbo. Worse, they said Hillary would be a lightning rod that would galvanize the Republicans.

When it was time for Hillary's speech, she opened with effusive praise for Lowey. In effect, though, it seemed like a eulogy for Lowey's senatorial campaign. Then Hillary launched into a rousing oration that was fueled by her commitment to rebuilding society. The Democrats liked what they heard. Lowey was stoic. "I went into this with my eyes open and I came out of it with my head high," says the congresswoman, who left the race two months later. "It has raised my profile."

Hillary's supporters worry that she is too well insulated to appreciate the ferocity of ideological opponents waiting in New York's long grass. The first lady was awarded an Ellis Island Medal of Honor at this year's ceremony by William Fugazy, chairman of the annual event, which was to begin with an ecumenical mass at St. Patrick's Cathedral with Cardinal O'Connor. The invitation, however, was quietly withdrawn; O'Connor, it seems, objected to Hillary's pro-choice stance.

She had even larger problems with another religious constituency. Sheldon Silver, leader of the Democratic Assembly in Albany, was discomfited that soon after he had encouraged her to run for the Senate she canceled a trip to Israel. Hillary explained that she didn't want to interfere with the Israeli elections, but Silver thought the cancellation was a mistake, especially in light of Hillary's remark last year about the need for a Palestinian state. That comment "enraged a lot of Jews," says Silver. She told him that she had only been repeating what the late prime minister Yitzhak Rabin had said and that Rabin had been a father figure



to her husband. "But I told her that she needs to learn the political lingo, the code words," Silver recalls. "Rabin never used the word 'state'—he said 'entity.'"

For Senate candidate Hillary Clinton, adds Silver, "there is some naivete to be addressed."

On April 23 she spoke at a United Jewish Appeal dinner and only seemed to make matters worse. Michael Steinhardt, a New York philanthropist who has been a major Democratic contributor, walked out in the middle. "She never clearly disavowed her Palestinian state remark," he complains.

But Steinhardt has an even larger problem with Hillary. "How do we know what she stands for?" he asks. "We don't even know how she feels about the president or what he did to her. What is the truth behind all the layers of spin and deception about the Clintons? Have they become their own press mythology? Do they even know who they are anymore?"

Hillary is bewildered and offended by these sorts of questions, by any attempts to invade her most private feelings. "Why me?" she asks me plaintively during one interview. "Why do I have to talk about things no one else in politics does?" But those closest to the new candidate know the answer: The voters may not elect her until they feel they have solved the central mystery of Hillary Clinton.

THE PEOPLE WHO WORK CLOSELY with the first lady see no mystery at all. Hillaryland, in the West Wing of the White House, is dominated by oversize family photos of the Clintons in a Norman Rockwell America. Her team—chief of staff Verveer, director of communications Marsha Berry, and social secretary Capricia Marshall—hold their queen bee close.

One senses a feeling of pending abandonment among the women; now that Hillary has all but entered the race there is a parallel court in New York of high-powered Merlins who will run her campaign. But the West Wing remains intensely loyal to the first lady. Not one of them has yet left to write about her, as members of the president's team have. "People assume we're factotums, wimps who are scared to argue with her," says Verveer. "Nothing could be further from the truth. We're not around here to be part of a Stepford family. We fight back, we laugh and act normal. We feel free to say, 'Hillary, you look like hell. Do something about those bags under your eyes.' She appreciates that. She appreciates our honesty."

She also appreciates their stamina, and they are awed by hers. "Some days, I can hardly crawl out of bed," says Marshall. "And she can hardly crawl out of bed. And we urge her, 'Look, we can get you out of the next appointment.' And she always says, 'No, no, no. I promised. It's a spiritual commitment. I've got to keep it.' So she might be late to things but she almost never cancels them."

Hillary's women are so protective of her that they still resent Bill for his betrayal and are on the alert for any sign that the president isn't truly remorseful. "At the White House Correspondents' dinner he joked about why [the Monica Lewinsky scandal] hadn't made the association's list of top 50 stories of last year, and Hillary was right there," says Marsha Berry. "How was she supposed to feel?"

I FIRST MET HILLARY TWO SUMMERS ago at a beach party on Martha's Vineyard. "Oh dear, people are very dressed up," she

Hillary stands by Bill just days before the House of Representatives voted to impeach him. Photo by DIANA WALKER/TIME magazine.

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said, looking around at the fresh-pressed linens and silver jewelry, extra-fancy because of her presence. "I understood it was to be a clambake." She wore jeans and a green headband that matched her plain green pullover sweater. She said she and Bill were enjoying the rare privacy, the pleasures of bare feet and long empty beaches, and stacks of books next to their twin lounge chairs overlooking dunes covered with rose hip bushes. "I was cutting Bill's grapefruit this morning," she told me, "and we had the best idea we ever had about day care, and all of a sudden there's this flapping at the window and it's a seagull—a seagull at our window!"

This May, on Air Force Two heading for London from Belfast, I am with a different person. Over the last 18 months she has shed pounds and any hint of matronliness. She has a chic bob she sometimes styles herself with rollers and a blow-dryer, and a wardrobe crisply upgraded through the ministrations of Oscar de la Renta. Though she hates playing the victim, public sympathy has transmuted her from a scary political termagant into a woman widely admired for her courage. Her ordeal has given her a certain glamour, almost a regal look. Her husband has noticed this, with some surprise, since Hillary was typecast in their marriage as the brain, the anti-beauty he had chosen over the Miss Arkansas-type favored by his mother. "Doesn't she look beautiful?" he has been heard asking friends.

In May, as I join the first lady for an interview, I catch a glimpse through an open door of the still-rumpled blue sheets in her private quarters, and realize that she has almost literally been dragged from bed. The imprint of her pillow is still on her cheek.

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Someone offers her tea. "I need it intravenously," she murmurs. She is on a cycle of caffeinated or sugary beverages, lemonade, Coke, coffee—anything to keep her awake. She has made 12 appearances in two days.

I am impressed that despite it all she looks better than ever. When I pay her the compliment, she laughs, "I never think about it as long as I'm healthy. I know I'm not Miss America."

At the first mention of her emotional health, however, she goes on full alert. "The best way to judge an administration is not by the way they feel," she says carefully, "but what they do, how they learn from their mistakes. Personal feelings are not a useful way of judging. Watching people is. That is how I judge people—by their actions."

She sips her tea and loosens up a bit, so I ask her how she had made it through everything she faced.

"I think I survived because of a combination of soul-searching and relying on friends, the support of people who give advice, religious faith, long and hard discussions. This," she says, alluding to her husband's infidelity, "has received an unprecedented amount of attention. You know people have a lot of daily problems in relationships. Everybody has some dysfunction in their families. They have to deal with it. You don't just walk away if you love someone—you help the person."

She turns to me now with a startling intensity. "I don't believe in denying things. I believe in working through it. Is he ashamed? Yes. Is he sorry? Yes. But does this negate everything he has done

as a husband, a father, a president?" She elaborated later: "And what is so amazing is that Bill has not been defeated by this. There has been enormous pain, enormous anger, but I have been with him half my life and he is a very, very good man. We just have a deep connection that transcends whatever happens."

"Bill has been subjected to so much abuse," she continues. "He doesn't make any excuses for what he did. But the reaction was unprecedented and harmful to the country.... People are mean. I think it's a real disservice, the way we sort of strip away everybody's sense of dignity, of privacy. People need support, not disdain."

"And you know we did have a very good stretch," she adds later, referring to the period after Gennifer Flowers. "Years and years of nothing."

And how have they repaired their connection this time? "We talk. We talk in the solarium, in the bedroom, in the kitchen—it's just constant conversation. But we have had to work this out in tandem with everything else happening around the globe." She gives a tired smile. "We like to lie in bed and watch old movies—you know those little individual video machines you can hold on your lap?"

IN THIS INTERVIEW AND OTHER CONVERSATIONS, I refer to her husband's sexual conduct as "an addiction," and Hillary doesn't correct me. But when I finally ask directly if she thinks of it this way, she demurs. "That's your word. I would say 'weakness.' Whatever it is, it is only part of a complex whole."

That whole is something she still admires and defends. Hillary points out that her husband's latest infidelity occurred after the deaths of his mother, her father, and their old friend Vincent Foster. Then there was the shutdown of government. "He couldn't protect me," she says, skipping over the trysts themselves, "and so he lied."

"My husband is a very good man," Hillary insists. "They are jealous of him. Yes, he has weaknesses. Yes, he needs to be more responsible, more disciplined, but it is remarkable given his background that he turned out to be the kind of person he is, capable of such leadership.... Can you imagine what it took for him to go on after losing everything, to still get up each morning and do your job? You know in Christian theology there are sins of weakness and sins of malice, and this was a sin of weakness."

I tell Hillary I read his mother's autobiography, in which she wrote about the atmosphere of alcohol, violence, and chaos that forced her son to be the man of the house while he was still a child. Hillary leans over and says softly, "That's only the half of it. He was so young, barely four, when he was scarred by abuse that he can't even take it out and look at it. There was terrible conflict between his mother and grandmother. A psychologist once told me that for a boy being in the middle of a conflict between two women is the worst possible situation. There is always the desire to please each one."

I ask her about the widely held view that the Clinton marriage is more of an arrangement, that she chose Bill Clinton and stuck with him for her own benefit. "Yeah, right!" she scoffs. "Like I picked him—this big, gangly guy with goldfish hair looking like he just came off the boat, like some Viking."

I gained an insight into her much-tried loyalty as she spoke with emotion about her mother, Dorothy Rodham, a product of divorce who was put on a cross-country train at the age of eight with her three-year-old sister. "My mother never had any education," Hillary told me. "She had terrible obstacles, but she vowed that she would break the pattern of abandonment in her family and she did." Dorothy's daughter—

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Above: The first lady gets ready for a dinner at the White House this spring.
Right: Picking a tomato in the garden outside the White House solarium.

THIS PAGE, RIGHT: BARBARA KINNEY/THE WHITE HOUSE. OPPOSITE PAGE: FOR FASHION AND GROOMING CREDITS, SEE PAGE 251.



HILLARY *continued from page 175*

a woman who does not advocate divorce, who counsels teenage sexual abstinence, and who stays with a man when no one can understand why—has learned her mother's lessons well. Hillary Clinton is clearly determined never to revert to the pattern of abandonment.

In a later conversation, I ask what will happen with Bill and the marriage when she runs for the Senate. "He's a grownup," she says firmly. "He has to do this himself. He's responsible for his own behavior whether I'm there or 100 miles away. You have the confrontation with the person and then it is their responsibility, whether it's gambling or drinking or whatever. Nobody can do it for you."

"He has been working on himself very hard in the last year," she tells me. "He has become more aware of his past and what was causing this behavior." Public office has prevented the president from seeking therapy, but friends told me they expect him to after leaving the Oval Office.

Does she believe, I wonder, that you don't leave someone you love under any circumstances?

"You have to know the real quality of the person," she says thoughtfully. "You have to be alert to it, vigilant in helping. I thought this was resolved 10 years ago. I thought he had conquered it; I thought he understood it, but he didn't go deep enough or work hard enough."

"What's the part of the Bible that deals with this?" she had asked at one point.

"Corinthians?" I suggested.

"Love endures all things? No, I love that, but I was thinking of when Peter betrayed Jesus three times and Jesus knew it but loved him anyway. Life is not a linear progression. It has many paths and challenges. And we need to help one another."

"And it is love, isn't it?"

"Yes, it is," she said. "We have love."

IN WASHINGTON, Hillary invites me to the family quarters in the White House, and we sit down in the solarium, where she grows tomatoes on the terrace. Today she wants to talk about Eleanor Roosevelt, her political godmother. Hillary finds it a mystical experience to go into remote places—



farms in Iowa, factories in Michigan—and come across guest books signed by Eleanor. "Attacks didn't stop her, didn't deter her," says Hillary. "In a speech about women in politics, she said they had to have 'skin as tough as rhinoceros hide.' She wore criticism like a badge of honor, but I wonder if she thought her talents were fully used, her contributions really honored and respected."

Hillary's own attempts to contribute have, of course, been attacked from the beginning. "I had hoped to be able to do what I'd always done. In Arkansas I headed committees for my husband, spoke on issues. I created organizations that lobbied the legislature. I did education, health care, children's advocacy, all that." But Little Rock is not Washington, and her husband may not have helped her when he dubbed her the nation's copresident. "People were suspicious of that. I should have been better prepared. They concluded there was something at work there. I was very surprised by it. I could have handled it better. I could have said or done something. I don't know. I'm not sure."

THE CORRIDOR wall leading to the family quarters is covered with pictures of the Clintons at various stages of their ascendancy. "This

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is the story of our life," she laughs, pointing out Bill with a pouf of hair like an Elvis impersonator, then one with a Beatle top, and now with hair gone gray and wiry. There is a framed birthday card from Bill to her in 1993 featuring the two of them in evening dress, laid out in comic strip style with captions written in his own hand. "She bares her shoulders.... He tries to bare his chest.... They straighten up, but live happily ever after anyway—Happy Birthday—Bill 10-26-93."

"I'm so glad to be saying goodbye to public housing," Hillary tells me. Unlike the Bushes, who had their place in Kennebunkport, or the Reagans, who owned a ranch in Santa Barbara, the Clintons have been confined to the White House. They haven't felt comfortable here from the beginning. For eight years Hillary has obsessed over the family quarters, continually rearranging the red flowered chintz sofas in the long, narrow living room. Even the kitchen has been difficult territory. Hillary remembers that soon after they moved in "Chelsea wasn't feeling well and I went down to make her some applesauce. The call went out. 'She's in the kitchen! She's got out the pots!' They all came and hovered. It just kind of spoiled it so I left." The family retreated to the butler's pantry, where they vented their frustrations around a tiny square table far removed from the hubbub of the grand creaky mansion.

The Clintons already have a head start on their upcoming move. There are boxes tucked away in the private quarters that have never been unpacked. On the day after the president was deposed by the lawyers for Paula Jones, Hillary and her husband went through old boxes of papers and photo albums. "It reminds us of our past," says the first lady. "That we have one, and that there is so much more than the extremely painful moments."

THE CLINTON marriage, one feels, will always be a continual thrust and parry between tension and need. The passion for public policy and ideas is clearly the lifeblood of the marriage—cutting up the grapefruit while they talk about day care, interrupting the movies they watch in bed to discuss Columbine. But the relationship is complex, and mood swings will always be part of its dynamic.

In April, Mrs. Clinton honored Elie Wiesel, the Nobel Prize-winning writer and Holocaust survivor, as the seventh speaker at her Millennium Evening at the White House Series. It is a time when the thaw in the Clintons' marriage is obviously not complete. The president's opening remarks are greeted by his wife with a lancing gaze. He gives her a strained, weak

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smile. Then, to a hushed room, Wiesel paints a startling landscape of American indifference to the agonies of the Jews, criticizing Franklin Roosevelt for failing to bomb the railway lines to the concentration camps. Hillary has changed little—the tilt of her head, the set of her lips—but her gaze is now rapt, even worshipful. In contrast, Bill fidgets, crossing his legs, sipping his coffee, shuffling his notecards. He steals glances at his wife, and when she glares back he looks down, seeming to sulk.

"I went down to make Chelsea some applesauce. The call went out. 'She's in the kitchen! She's got out the pots!' They all came and hovered. It just kind of spoiled it so I left."

Questions are taken from the founder of Moslem Women Lawyers for Human Rights, from Chief Joyce Duggan of the Eastern Band Cherokee Nation, from Internet participants. The president's responses, his talent for vacating his shoes and moving into someone else's, reinvigorate Hillary's interest. She gradually changes from referring to him as "the president" to calling him "Bill." In response, he bows his head and gives a little smile.

A Rwandan woman stands up and tells how she witnessed the murder of her entire family by the Hutus. She asks Wiesel why America has decided to intervene in Kosovo but not Africa. Wiesel passes the question along. "Mr. President?" Clinton is surprised, but his reply is candid. "We should have," he says simply. "We could have prevented a lot of slaughter."

Toward the end of the evening, Hillary and Bill begin bantering.

To the audience's amusement, neither seems to want to have the last word, each graciously inviting the other to offer an additional response to the question. "I can tell when a thought is forming in my husband's mind," Hillary says at one point, laughing as Bill frowns at the ceiling to conjure up his next observation.

At the reception afterward, Hillary tells me of having visited Rwanda and Uganda, where she spoke to a woman who had carried her half-severed arm through the jungle as long as she could until she finally had to cut it off with a machete in order to survive. "When you hear stories like that," Hillary says, "your own problems seem trivial."

She retires upstairs shortly afterward. The president, who is rubbing his eyes, remains long after her, giving unlimited time to every person lined up to talk to him. "My energy level fades before Bill's, but that is true of every living human being," the first lady told me in an earlier conversation. She said she often wakes up in the small hours and finds him still at work, and drags him to bed.

Tonight he is still brooding about Rwanda. "We could have assembled a thousand NATO troops and gone into the cities and tried to rout the terrorists," he says. "We couldn't have helped in the villages—it happened too quickly there—but we could have done more and didn't. And I'll never forgive myself for that."

The Wiesels linger and, when they go upstairs to the Clinton family quarters, where they are invited to spend the night, they are surprised to find the first couple there still talking, waiting for them.

The foursome discuss Kosovo animatedly for two hours, and the president asks Elie to travel to Macedonia and report back to him. Finally Mrs. Clinton shows the guests to their room. Mrs. Wiesel reopens the door a moment later and happens to catch sight of the couple with no one else around, walking down the hall to their bedroom, hand in hand. •

Cover: Hillary Clinton

Stylist: Joanna Jacovini. Hair: Isabelle Goetz of Salon Christof in Washington, DC. Makeup: Barbara Lacy. Ralph Lauren Black Label shirt available at Saks Fifth Avenue and Neiman Marcus nationwide.

Gwyneth Paltrow

Stylist: Joe Zee. Hair: John Sahag for the John Sahag Workshop. Makeup: Denise Markey for Club Monaco Cosmetics. Dolce & Gabbana bra available at Bagutta, NYC, and Fred Segal, LA. Ralph Lauren Swimwear bikini bottom available at Polo by Ralph Lauren, NYC. Body Worship whip available at Body Worship, NYC. Set design: Gerard Santos.

Fight Style (pages 48-54)

Hair: Didier Malige for Frédéric Fekkai Beauté. Makeup: Mary Greenwell for Elizabeth Arden. Location: Mandalay Bay Events Center at the Mandalay Bay Resort & Casino in Las Vegas.

Page 49: Prada top, belt, briefs, and boots available at Prada, Madison Avenue, NYC, and Saks Fifth Avenue, Greenwich, CT.

Pages 50-51: Louis Vuitton fur stole and pants available at Louis Vuitton, NYC, or call 800-847-2956.

Page 52: Chanel camisole available at Chanel boutiques nationwide.

Page 53: Left: Dolce & Gabbana fur coat available at Maxfield's, Beverly Hills; Dolce & Gabbana skirt available at Maxfield's, Beverly Hills; Dolce & Gabbana boutique; Bal Harbour; and Dolce & Gabbana boutique, NYC. Dolce & Gabbana tank top available at Dolce & Gabbana boutique, NYC, and Dolce & Gabbana Boutique, Bal Harbour. Right: Yves Saint Laurent Rive Gauche marabou top available at Yves Saint Laurent boutique, NYC; Saks Fifth Avenue, NYC; and Neiman Marcus, Dallas. Yves Saint Laurent Rive Gauche trousers available at Yves Saint Laurent boutique, NYC, and Saks Fifth Avenue, selected stores. Yves Saint Laurent Footwear shoes available at Yves Saint Laurent boutique, NYC; Saks Fifth Avenue, NYC; and Neiman Marcus nationwide.

Page 54: Versace top and pants available at Versace boutique, NYC and Beverly Hills.

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May 26, 1999, Wednesday

TYPE: Interview

LENGTH: 4321 words

HEADLINE: HILLARY; FIRST LADY HILLARY CLINTON ON HER HUSBAND, THEIR YEARS IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND A POSSIBLE SENATE RUN

ANCHORS: DAN RATHER

BODY:

HILLARY

DAN RATHER, co-host:

She is a woman on a first-name basis with the world. First lady Hillary Clinton is a political superstar. She has a history of making history, and tonight she's on vacation in Florida, deciding whether to do it again, this time by making a run for the United States Senate in New York.

We sat down together a few days ago and she talked her future and her recent past. She outlined what she believes in, what she hopes for, and how she's gotten through the hard times in the White House. As she prepares for a life after the White House, a life she now insists will be in New York, Mrs. Clinton is also steeling herself for tough questions from political friends and foes, and from the New York media.

And here's a tough question, one that you're gonna be asked repeatedly, time and again, and you're eventually going to have to answer. For whom do you root: the Mets or Yankees?

Mrs. HILLARY CLINTON: That's a very good question. You know, I just love baseball. So the politic answer is that, since I do plan to live in New York, no matter what I end up doing, I'll root for both.

RATHER: Ah, but you know New York. New York in many ways is split between those who cheer...

Mrs. CLINTON: I know.

RATHER: ...for the Mets and those who cheer for the Yankees.

Mrs. CLINTON: I know.

RATHER: So, I have to pressure you to come back. Mets or Yankees, Mrs. Clinton?

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, you know Dan, that's one of those questions that I probably am gonna have to give serious thought to, to give you a final answer.

(Footage of Hillary Clinton walking with Dan Rather)

RATHER: (Voiceover) Hillary Rodham Clinton hasn't answered many questions in the past year and a half. Now even the easy questions have complicated answers. But, then, she's pretty complicated herself.

Mrs. CLINTON: (From previous video) You know, I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas, but what I decided to do was to fulfill my profession, which I entered before my husband was in public life, and I've tried very, very hard to be as careful as possible, and that's all I can tell you.

RATHER: Once, a political lightning rod...

Unidentified Announcer: (From graduation video) Hillary Rodham Clinton!

(Footage of Clinton at graduation; audience at graduation; Clinton waving to everyone)

RATHER: (Voiceover) ...today, she is political lightning, a crowd-pleaser and first-class fund-raiser, a person under enormous pressure to step into the arena, this time on her own.

Let's talk about the New York Senate race. We can't do this interview and not talk about it.

Mrs. CLINTON: Right.

RATHER: So it's in the papers again now. You've made up your mind to run. It's just a matter of time or an announcement. Is that a fair description of where you are?

Mrs. CLINTON: No, not really. I'm still thinking about it. People are still talking to me about it. I've been very flattered by the people who've come to me and asked me to consider it, and I'm obviously very interested. It's such a big decision. You know, a--a year ago it had never crossed my mind. Even six months ago, it wasn't anything that I'd ever thought about, but I'm very committed to, you know, learning about a lot of different issues that I've worked on all my life, and how they affect people in New York, because I think that, you know, everything that happens in America happens in New York. And as I've listened to people and talked with them, the kinds of things I care about: education and health care, better jobs, better, you know, balance between work and family, the kinds of issues that I think are gonna be on the front burner in the years to come are ones that are of great concern to New Yorkers and of great concern to me.

RATHER: Why New York? Why not Illinois or Arkansas, where you spent a lot of your time?

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, you know, I never would have predicted that this event could have occurred, that I would be considering this, but people came to me and asked me to consider it. And of course, I'd been thinking about and talking to Bill about, you know, living there after we finish in the White House. I think that both of us would really enjoy that. So it just all kind of came together, and that's why I'm--I'm pursuing it and considering it so seriously.

(Footage of Clinton with the president; Clinton holding a baby; Clinton posing for the cameras)

RATHER: (Voiceover) She talks like a candidate, and she walks like a candidate, and she kisses babies with the best of them. But she remains stubbornly coy about whether she'll run and when she'll decide.

RATHER: You really haven't made the final decision?

Mrs. CLINTON: No, I haven't. I haven't.

RATHER: Have you made a final decision to at least launch an exploratory committee?

Mrs. CLINTON: No. I've considered that carefully. And that would be the next step that I would take, if I go forward.

(Footage of Clinton with the president and Chelsea on Election Night 1992; Clinton with baby in foreign country; Clinton with refugees; Clinton in a classroom; Clinton with Senator Charles Schumer)

RATHER: (Voiceover) She has been pushing forward and pushing the envelope since Election Night 1992, building a reputation here, and abroad, for her work with women, children and families. She has gone the extra mile to visit refugees, returned home to push for public schools, and crisscrossed the country to campaign for Democratic candidates and causes.

Mrs. CLINTON: (From previous video) More than 35 million households across America have guns. And in a third of those homes, the guns are stored loaded and unlocked.

(Footage of Clinton giving speech about gun control at Columbine High School)

RATHER: (Voiceover) Since the killings at Columbine High School, she has waded into the war over gun control, and led the national grieving.

Mrs. CLINTON: (From Columbine speech) What happened here at Columbine has so deeply affected the rest of our country that we are all Columbine.

(Footage of Clinton and the president at Littleton)

RATHER: (Voiceover) On the day we met, those issues were on her mind again. She and the president had spent a long day in Littleton, Colorado, meeting with parents who lost children in the violence at Columbine High.

What can you say to them? What do you say to them?

Mrs. CLINTON: Oh, Dan, it's--it's one of the hardest things Bill and I have to do. And, you know, we've had to do too much of it in the last six and a half years. You know, today we did a lot of hugging, a lot of saying how sorry we were. We looked at a lot of mementos, and then we talked about what we could learn from this, and what we could do to try to make sure it never happened again, if that were humanly possible.

RATHER: Tell me what you talked about.

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, a lot of them have, you know, been thinking hard about what they could do to give meaning to this. You know, they don't want their children to have died in vain, and neither do we. So some said 'Well, we hope that parents will just hold their kids tight and spend time with them.' And a lot of the parents wanted to go out and speak to other parents about how precious this time with children is. Some were very anxious to talk about the need for better gun laws and then to enforce those laws, to make sure that, you know, people didn't get away breaking laws, and whatever new ones we needed should be passed and implemented.

Some wanted to talk about the culture and what we could try to do to send stronger signals about how to really turn this culture around, this culture of violence that people have, I think, rightly talked about. So there were so many different ideas. But what was so heartening to both Bill and me is how, in the midst of such an enormous tragedy, you know, that neither of us could even comprehend, these people were looking for hope and meaning. They really want America to not just have the feeling of hurt and sorrow that we all feel, but to do something with that feeling, and to really make some of the changes that could make a difference.

RATHER: Colorado, like many states in the West, Southwest, South, is in some ways, a gun culture. I mean, people here grow up with guns. Guns are pervasive. Was there any talk of that?

Mrs. CLINTON: I think that there was talk about the need for better gun laws, and to implement them. But, you know, America's become a gun culture in many respects. We have so many guns. And I was pleased that the Senate did pass some meaningful gun legislation, and I hope that they'll continue to do more, and I hope the House will agree. And that, you know, we will close loopholes. And that we will make a very clear statement that we're not going to permit guns to fall into the hands of disturbed or criminal juveniles or anyone else for that matter.

(Footage of Clinton and the president in Littleton)

RATHER: (Voiceover) She says that if she runs for the Senate, it will be because of what she's learned in places like Littleton, and in spite of what she's lived through in Washington.

Question, Mrs. Clinton: With all that you've been through in politics, you know, virtually under siege for at least the last year and a half, why in the world would you want to go into that kind of campaign...

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, you know...

RATHER: ...particularly in a tough state like New York?

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, you know Dan, I--you know I just spent the afternoon listening to people who'd suffered an unspeakable tragedy, losing their children in the Columbine High School killings, and they wanted to talk about what we could do together. They wanted to talk about how we could bring people together to solve our problems. They were not filled with bitterness or hatred. They were filled with hope and positive energy.

And I respond to that. I've--I'm someone who thinks that, you know, we are so blessed to live in this country. And, for me, having an opportunity to serve in the United States Senate, if that's what I were to decide to do and were fortunate enough for the people of New York to give me that chance, would enable me to work with people and bring people together and try to solve problems that were on people's minds.

(Footage of Clinton and family with dog)

RATHER: (Voiceover) But what's on the minds of many Americans is her marriage and the personal troubles that have been played out so painfully, so publicly.

President BILL CLINTON: (From previous video) These allegations are false.

RATHER: In a year and a half of denials and details and DNA, she has maintained her silence.

You know, you never met anybody who wants to respect your privacy more than I do...

Mrs. CLINTON: Thank you.

RATHER: ...but you're a very public person...

Mrs. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.

RATHER: And sooner or later in New York, they're gonna say, 'Why are you still with this man?'

Mrs. CLINTON: Oh, you know, we've been together for, I guess, 28 years. We've been married--we'll be married 24 years this year. And we have a deep and abiding commitment to one another. And it is something that has been part of our lives, really, almost from the time we met. And, you know, I'm--I'm old-fashioned enough not to talk about my private life, and I respect your respect for it, but I--I think that, you know, I look back on all of those years together and it's just something that means a great deal to both of us.

RATHER: Given what you've been through the last year and a half or two years, did you ever consider leaving him?

Mrs. CLINTON: I'm not going to talk about that. I--I respect you, Dan, but I'm not going to answer those questions.

(Footage of Clinton talking to Rather; Washington, DC; Clinton at the State of the Union address)

RATHER: (Voiceover) She doesn't bat an eye, and she doesn't give an inch. She has set firm boundaries that she doesn't want broken. And whether she runs for Senate or not, she is already on a campaign to make Americans define public and private the way she does.

Pres. CLINTON: (From State of the Union address) In her historic role to serve our nation and our best ideals...

RATHER: But in the Clinton White House, public and private, his past and her future, are hard to separate.

If you were to run and if you were to be elected, you would walk into the United States Senate, famous or infamous, depending upon your point of view, as being a pit of deal-making compromise. And you'd be walking into a Senate in which a large number of the senators were the same senators who had put your husband on trial and, indeed, tried to run both of you out of Washington, for all intents and purposes.

Mrs. CLINTON: But, you know, it is the United States Senate. It's part of the most important legislative body, I would argue, in the history of the world. And there are a lot of good things and there are a lot of good people who are working hard together. And, you know, after all the years that I've been in Washington, and after all the difficulties and the challenges that you refer to, you know, I still really believe that we are blessed to be Americans and that public service is a privilege.

So I'm not at all discouraged or pessimistic about the political process. I just know how tough it is. I know a lot more about that than I did before I got to Washington.

RATHER: And much of what she learned came during the impeachment of her husband. In a moment, the first lady speaks personally about that, about how she survived it, and about the messages sent to young people in America by the president's behavior.

(Announcements)

RATHER: Polls show she is one of the most admired women in America, but even after seven years in the spotlight, she remains a riddle for many people. It's hard to know what keeps her going: through marital problems made public; political fights turned ugly; through triumphs, disasters, and always the demands of her work. Tonight we get some answers about how she does it from the only person in the world who really knows.

Mrs. CLINTON: You know, I've--I've been really blessed. I mean, I know people might look at this and think, 'Oh, my gosh,' you know, 'with what she's been through, how can she say that?' But...

RATHER: Hard to see how you've been blessed the last year and a half or so.

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, but, you know, nobody would wish on anyone what we and the country have gone through the last year and a half or so, but I also have learned a lot. And I have been able to share experiences with people that have been extraordinary, with their outreach to me, their prayers, their good wishes,

their concerns.

RATHER: Seven years ago on "60 Minutes," she seemed to ridicule the idea of staying with a straying husband.

Mrs. CLINTON: (From 1992 "60 Minutes") You know, I'm not sitting here as some little woman standing by my man like Tammy Wynette. I'm sitting here because I love him and I respect him and I honor what he's been through and what we've been through together. And, you know, if that's not enough for people, then, heck, don't vote for him.

(Footage of Clinton talking with Rather)

RATHER: (Voiceover) Today she doesn't talk about fidelity. She talks about forgiveness, and dealing with personal pain.

Mrs. CLINTON: Sometimes things come totally out of the blue, and something good or terrible happens to you, neither one of which you could have predicted, and--and probably certainly don't deserve. Life is not by any means fair or easy for anyone, but part of what I think we're challenged to do is to keep trying. And to keep trying not only on our own behalf, but on behalf of anyone whom we can touch and whom we can help.

RATHER: You mentioned you're a religious person. Did you find yourself praying more over the most difficult period?

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, I've--I've prayed a lot ever since we've been in the White House. It's been--it's been a circumstance that certainly requires a lot of prayer and a lot of people...

RATHER: You smile, but I sense you're serious.

Mrs. CLINTON: Well--well, I'm very serious about it. I have prayed a lot and I've been prayed for a lot. And I have been grateful for the prayers of people I know, and people I will probably never meet. And it has helped me enormously. And, you know, sometimes it's--it's--it's a way not only of pouring your heart out, but of really getting filled up again with, you know, some energy and some hopefulness and positive feelings that can carry you forward.

(Footage of Clinton addressing a committee)

RATHER: (Voiceover) She has always been more comfortable explaining health care...

Mrs. CLINTON: (From committee video) On the benefits package, we have priced that out very carefully, congressman.

(Footage of Clinton talking to press)

RATHER: (Voiceover) more effective fighting off financial questions...

Mrs. CLINTON: We went into Whitewater to make money, not to lose it.

(Footage of Clinton on "Today" show)

RATHER: (Voiceover) ...more at ease on national television blaming partisan politics for her husband's problems.

Mrs. CLINTON: (From "Today" show video) It's this vast right-wing conspiracy that has been conspiring against my husband since the day he announced for president.

(Footage of Clinton and the president at the public gathering)

RATHER: (Voiceover) Hillary Rodham Clinton's latest incarnation is probably the one she likes least: long-suffering wife; for some, an object of sympathy.

(Excerpt from Democratic Convention; Clinton with the president at Democratic conventions; Clinton sitting with the president; Clinton getting out of limo; Clinton addressing New York Democrats; Clinton with teen-agers; Clinton with Boys and Girls Clubs members)

RATHER: (Voiceover) But now the woman who has always been at his side and on his side may be about to step out on her own. And as she flirts with a run for the Senate, she is once again on the brink of breaking new ground for American first ladies. Soon she could be campaigning for herself. But the agenda she lays out seems downright old-fashioned. She sees her work as focusing on children and families, and the unique problems they face today.

Mrs. CLINTON: In some ways, I think we've been running kind of an experiment, if you will, in raising of children. It's not anything anybody planned. It's been unwitting. But we've been changing the way we live, and we've been tearing down a lot of our institutions, we've been undermining a lot of old values. We've allowed all kinds of influences in our front doors that we never would have before, to influence the lives of our children. We've worked in ways, and our families are structured differently than was ever done before. So there's just been many, many things that have changed within one or two generations, which we really have to pay attention to. And we--and we really have to start taking some action on--on behalf of our kids.

RATHER: Give me a specific one or two things, something concrete you think we could do and should be doing.

Mrs. CLINTON: We have to be better connected to each other and particularly to our children. We have to do more to build a sense of community. Now what does that mean? Well, it may mean that our high schools and our schools are too large for children to really feel connected to the adults who are there, for the adults to know them. You know, I was recently in a school in Queens, in New York City, and--and I was just stunned that in a school built for 1,500 kids, there were 2000 kids, and that there were gonna be 500 more because of overcrowding.

You know, that sends a real message to children that, 'You're not our first priority. We're not gonna make space for you.' I go to so many towns and see now schools that have no play areas, where kids have no safe places where they can gather. It's very different from the way most of us grew up. It is just a lot harder to be--to be a child today. You know, if--if we were doing something in the front yard of our house when my mother wasn't home and the woman across the street saw us, she'd be out in a minute to tell us to, you know, stop doing

that or she'd tell our mother. We could walk down sidewalks. We could ride our bikes to the parks.

There were so many other ways that we were connected. The church was a big part of our life. You know, my father was home for dinner every night at the same time. We have changed so much about how we live that I don't think it's useful at all to point fingers and place blame. It's much more a question of how each of us will take responsibility in our own lives, and in our professional and public lives, you know, to begin to speak out and make the changes that we need.

RATHER: You mentioned again children.

Mrs. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.

RATHER: It--it's been--you know--it's been your--your burning passion--it's just--to what you've been connected for most of your career. Did or did not the president, your husband, last year, did he communicate mixed messages to young people about right and wrong?

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, I--you know--again, I'm not gonna go back and, you know, talk about that in any public way at this time. I think he has, himself, spoken about the people he let down and the disappointment he caused. So I will let him speak to that.

But I think no matter who you are or no matter what you do or what's done to you, there's always the chance to try to make it better. That there's always the hope for forgiveness; to forgive and be forgiven. And that comes certainly out of my religious faith, but it also comes out of my personal experience.

RATHER: Do you believe in redemption?

Mrs. CLINTON: Absolutely. I've seen too much of it. I've not only seen it in the lives of other people, I've seen it in my own, and those I love around me. So I do.

RATHER: Let's pretend for a moment it's 2050. There's an encyclopedia and it has a picture...

Mrs. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.

RATHER: ...of Hillary Rodham Clinton...

Mrs. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.

RATHER: ...one-time first lady of the United States. What do you think the caption under that picture will be?

Mrs. CLINTON: I have no idea. I have no idea. You know...

RATHER: What would you like it to be?

Mrs. CLINTON: Oh, my goodness. You know, I don't think about myself in those terms. I--I really do try to get up every day and just do the best I can.

I know that may sound sort of simple but that's how I live my life. And I think I've been sort of transition figure in the minds of a lot of Americans because of, oh, the age at which we came into office, the backgrounds we brought, the things we worked on. My concerns, which I try to continue advocate. So I think that I've been a transition figure. And I don't know what the final judgment on any of that will be.

RATHER: We've talked about the possibility of running for the Senate, you said that you're obviously interested in it. What are the possibilities that one day, someday, you'll run for president?

Mrs. CLINTON: Oh, my gosh, that's n--not possible I don't believe. I mean...

RATHER: You've thought about it though, haven't you?

Mrs. CLINTON: No, I haven't.

RATHER: Never considered it?

Mrs. CLINTON: People have said that to me, but it's something I've--I don't take seriously at all. It's not even--it's--it's not even the--the universe of--of my thinking.

RATHER: Like it or not, I know you'll like it not, your husband is one of two presidents to have been impeached.

Mrs. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.

RATHER: Do you agree or disagree it's gonna be in the first paragraph of his obituary?

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, I--I don't know. That depends--I suppose it depends on who writes the obituary. I don't think that it is by any means the most important contribution of his presidency, which I consider to be filled with very significant progress for our country.

RATHER: He told me that he'd--in an interview...

Mrs. CLINTON: Mm-hmm.

RATHER: ...that he did not consider it a badge of shame. Do you?

Mrs. CLINTON: It was such a political process. It was--it was a tragically political misfortune for our country. And I think that when the history is written it'll be seen in a broader context and will be more understood.

RATHER: You've talked about that before, but--if--now have a chance to reflect on a little, of all the allegations, accusations, charges made, what do you consider the most--the--the most unfair attack?

Mrs. CLINTON: Well, you know, I think that the entire process was an unfortunate one, and I'm just glad it's behind us now. I'm glad that--that we survived that painful period. And it was painful. It was painful obviously for me and for my family and for our country.

(Footage of Clinton talking to Rather; Clinton walking in crowd; woman using camera)

RATHER: (Voiceover) It is the most she will share about the past year and a half, and for some in our confessional society, that may not be enough. But Hillary Clinton doesn't care. She's intent on sharing something else: Not what she's gone through, but what she's come away with.

Mrs. CLINTON: You know, when you go through any kind of difficult experience, you have a choice. I mean, you can let it break you and embitter you, or you can take whatever you've experienced, whatever pain or suffering, and decide that you're still gonna have faith. You know, your faith in God, your faith in your fellow man, that you're still gonna believe that you can make a contribution to a better life. It's a choice. Every single day we wake up, you can choose to be cynical or hopeful. You can choose to be grateful or contemptuous. You can make all those choices. And for me, it's not a very hard choice.

(Announcements)

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ANCHORS: Steve Kroft

BODY:

Steve Kroft, host:

It's been quite a week for Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton. On Monday his picture was on the cover of Time magazine, anointed by the press as the front-runner for the Democratic presidential nomination. Six days later, he's trying to salvage his campaign. His problem: Long rumored allegations of marital infidelity finally surfaced in a supermarket tabloid. And last week they were picked up and reprinted, unsubstantiated, by the mainstream press. Since then, for better or for worse, Governor Clinton's private life has become the overriding issue in the Democratic presidential campaign. Earlier today, Governor Clinton and his wife, Hillary, sat down with me to try to put the issue to rest. Keep in mind, as we said earlier, all of the allegations are unsubstantiated, all have been denied by everyone involved, except for the case of Jennifer Flowers. A former television reporter and cabaret singer, Jennifer Flowers, in a tabloid interview for which she was paid, says she carried on a long-term affair with Governor Clinton from the late 1970s to the end of 1989.

Who is Jennifer Flowers? You know her.

Governor Bill Clinton: Oh, yes.

Kroft: How do you know her? How would you describe your relationship?

B. Clinton: Very limited, but until this, you know, friendly, but limited. I have--I met her in the late '70s when I was attorney general. She was one of a number of young people who were working for the television stations around Little Rock. And people in politics and the people in the media knew each other then, just as they do now. She left our state, and for years I didn't really hear from her or know what she was doing. Then she came back--I don't know--some time a few years ago and went to work again in the state. So that's how--that's who she is.

Kroft: Was she a friend, an acquaintance? Did your wife know her?

B. Clinton: Yes.

Hillary Clinton: Oh, sure.

B. Clinton: She was an acquaintance. I would say a friendly acquaintance.

H. Clinton: Mm-hmm.

B. Clinton: When this story--this rumor story got started in the middle of 1980 and she was contacted and told about it, she was so upset, and she called back, she said, 'How could I be listed on this. I haven't seen you for more than 10 minutes in 10 years.' She would call from time to time when she was upset or thought she was really in--being hurt by the rumors. And I would call her back--either she would call the office or I would call her back there at the office or I would call her back at the house, and Hillary knew when I was calling her back. I think once I called her when we were together. And so there's nothing out of the ordinary there.

Kroft: She's alleging and has described in some detail in the supermarket tabloid what she calls a 12-year affair with you.

B. Clinton: It--that allegation is false.

H. Clinton: When this woman first got caught up in these charges, I felt as I felt about all of these women, that, you know, they've just been minding their own business, and they got hit by a meteor. I mean, it was no fault of their own. We reached out to them. I met with two of them to reassure them. They were friends of ours. I felt terrible about what was happening to them. You know, Bill talked to this woman every time she called distraught, saying her life was going to be ruined. And, you know, he'd get off the phone and tell me that she said sort of whacky things which we thought were attributable to the fact that she was terrified.

B. Clinton: It was only when money came out, wh--when the tabloid went down there offering people money to say that they had been involved with me that she changed her story. There is a recession on. Times are tough, and--and I think you can expect more and more of these stories as long as they're down there handing out money.

Kroft: I'm assuming from your answer that you're categorically denying that you ever had an affair with Jennifer Flowers.

B. Clinton: I've said that before and so has she.

Kroft: You've said that your marriage has had problems, that you've had difficulties. What do you mean by that? What does that mean? Is that some kind of--help us break the code. I mean, does that mean...

B. Clinton: I don't me...

Kroft: ...you were separated? Does that mean that you had communication

problems? Does that mean you contemplated divorce? Does it mean adultery?

B. Clinton: I think the American people, at least people that have been married for a long time, know what it means and know the whole range of things that it can mean.

Kroft: You've been saying all week that you've got to put this issue behind you. Are you prepared tonight to say that you've never had an extramarital affair?

B. Clinton: I'm not prepared tonight to say that any married couple should ever discuss that with anyone but themselves. I'm not prepared to say that about anybody. I think that the issue...

Kroft: Governor, that's what--excuse me. That's what you've been saying, essentially, for the last...

B. Clinton: But that's what I believe.

Kroft: ...couple of months.

B. Clinton: Look, Steve, you go back and listen to what I've said. You know, I have acknowledged wrongdoing, I have acknowledge causing pain in my marriage. I have said things to you tonight and to the American people from the beginning that no American politician ever has. I think most Americans who are watching this tonight, they'll know what we're saying, they'll get it, and they'll feel that we have been more candid. And I think what the press has to decide is: Are we going to engage in a game of gotcha? You know, I can remember a time--and it was sad--when a divorced person couldn't run for president. And that time, thank goodness, has passed. Nobody's prejudice against anybody because they're divorced. Are we going to take the reverse position now--that if people have problems in their marriage or things in their past which they don't want to discuss, which are painful to them, that they can't run?

Kroft: You're trying to put this issue behind you. And the problem with the answer is it's not a denial. And people are sitting out there--voters--and they're saying, 'Look, it's really pretty simple. If he has never had an extramarital affair, why doesn't he just say so?'

B. Clinton: That may be what they're saying. You know what I think they're saying? I think they're saying, 'Here's a guy who's leveling with us.' You--you may think that--that we should say more, and you can keep asking the questions. But I'm telling you I think that we've to--I'll come back to what I said. I have told the American people more than any other candidate for president. The re--the result of that has been everybody going to my state and spending more time trying to play gotcha.

H. Clinton: There isn't a person watching this who would feel comfortable sitting on this couch detailing everything that ever went on in their life or their marriage. And I think it's real dangerous in this country if we don't have some zone of privacy for everybody. I mean, I think that is absolutely critical.

Kroft: I--I--I couldn't agree with you more, and I think--and I agree with

you that everyone wants to put this behind you. And the reason it hasn't gone away is is that your answer is not a denial, is it?

B. Clinton: But interesting--let's assume...

Kroft: It's not a denial.

B. Clinton: Of course, it's not. And let's take it from your point of view. If--that won't make it go away. You know, you can cut this round or cut this flat. I mean, if you deny, then you have a whole other hoard of people going down there offering more money trying to prove that you lied. And if you say yes, you have just what I've already said by being open and telling you that we've had problems. You have, oh, good, now we can play gotcha and find out who it is. Now no matter what I say to pretend that the press will then let this die, we're kidding ourselves. I mean, you know, this has become a virtual cottage industry. The only way to put it behind us, I think, is for all of us to agree that this guy has told us about all we need to know. Anybody's who's listening gets the drift of it. And let's go on and get back to the real problems of this country. The problems are about what's going to happen to families in New Hampshire and the rest of this country in the future, not what happened to mine in the past.

Kroft: I don't like some of these questions any better than you do, but the question of marital infidelity is an issue with a sizable portion of the electorate. According to the latest CBS News poll, which was just taken over the weekend, 14 percent of the registered voters in America say they wouldn't vote for a candidate who's had an affair.

B. Clinton: I know it's an issue. And--and--but what does that mean? That means 86 percent of the American people either don't think it's relevant to presidential performance or look at whether a person looking at all the facts is the best person to serve.

H. Clinton: We've gone further than anybody we know of, and that's all we're going to say. And people can ask us 100 different ways in--from 100 different directions, and we're just going to leave the ultimate decision up to the American people.

Kroft: I think most Americans would agree that it's very admirable that you had--have stayed together, that you've worked your problems out, that you seem to have reached some sort of an understanding and an arrangement.

B. Clinton: Wait a minute, wait a minute.

Kroft: But...

B. Clinton: Wait a minute. You're looking at two people who love each other. This is not an arrangement or an understanding. This is a marriage. That's a very different thing.

H. Clinton: You know, I'm not sitting here some little woman standing by my man like Tammy Wynette. I'm sitting here because I love him and I respect him and I honor what he's been through and what we've been through together. And, you know, if that's not enough for people, then, heck, don't vote for him.

Kroft: A good friend of yours, one of your campaign advisers, told us the other day, 'Bill Clinton has got to level with the American people tonight, otherwise, his candidacy is dead.' You feel like you've leveled with the American people?

B. Clinton: I have absolutely leveled with the American people.

H. Clinton: We are going to do the best we can to level with people and then we're going to let them make up their minds, because I think if the American people get a chance and if they're trusted to exercise their vote right because people talk to them about real issues, this country will be OK. That's what we're betting on, and we're just going to roll the dice and see what happens.

Kroft: You called it a gamble. You came here tonight to try and put it behind you. You're going to get on the plane when you walk out of this room and go back to New Hampshire. Do you think you've succeeded?

B. Clinton: That's up to the American people and, to some extent, up to the press. This will test the character of the press. It is not only my character that has been tested.

Kroft: I'm Steve Kroft. We'll be back next Sunday at our regular time with a complete edition of "60 Minutes", including Ed Bradley with Anita Hill, her first interview since the Clarence Thomas hearings. Now "48 Hours."

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CBS NEWS - 60 MINUTES II

"HILLARY CLINTON"

INTERVIEW WITH HILLARY CLINTON

BY DAN RATHER

PRODUCER: MAPES

TAPE #1/W.O.00959

DAN RATHER:

First of all, thanks for doing this, Mrs. Clinton.

HILLARY CLINTON:

I'm glad to be here.

DAN RATHER:

When you meet with the families of the victims, such as those in the Littleton, Colorado High School, what do you say to them? What do you say to them?

HILLARY CLINTON:

Oh, Dan, it's-- it's one of the hardest things Bill and I have to do. And you know, we've had to do too much of it in the last six and a half years. You know, today we did a lot of hugging.

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

A lot of saying how sorry we were.

We looked at a lot of mementos. There were little books that had been prepared for each family about their child, who died. We listened to stories-- that the family wanted to tell us about their children. And then, we talked about what we could learn from this, and what we could do to try to make sure it never happened again, if that were humanly possible.

DAN RATHER:

Well, tell me something about that. You said you talked about what could be done.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Yeah.

DAN RATHER:

How did you-- tell me what you talked about.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Well, a lot of them have-- you know, been thinking hard about what they could do to give meaning to this. You know, they don't want their children to have died in vain. And neither do we. So, some

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

said, "Well, we hope that parents will just hold their kids tight and spend time with them."

And a lot of the parents wanted to go out and speak to other parents about how precious this time with children is. Some were very anxious to talk about the-- the need for better gun laws, and to enforce those laws, to make sure that-- you know, people didn't-- get away breaking laws, and whatever new ones we needed should be passed and implemented.

Then, wanted to talk about the culture, and what we could do to try to send stronger signals about-- how to-- really turn-- this culture around-- this culture of violence that people have I think rightly talked about.

So, there were so many different ideas. But what was so heartening to both Bill and me is how in the midst of such an enormous tragedy that-- you know, neither of us could even comprehend, these

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

people were looking for help, and meaning. They were willing to offer their help-- for the national campaign that-- the President and I have

talked about-- the national campaign to prevent youth violence.

You know, they want to be there with us. They want to talk to other parents. They want to go to schools. They want to speak to business leaders. They really want America to-- not just have the-- feeling of hurt and sorrow that we all feel, but to do something with that feeling, and to-- really make some of the changes that could make a difference.

DAN RATHER:

Was there any discussion of the fact-- and it is a fact-- that Colorado, like many states in the west-- southwest, south-- is-- in some ways, a gun culture. People here grew up with guns. Guns were pervasive. Was there any talk of that?

HILLARY CLINTON:

Not today. I think that-- there was talk about

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

the need for better gun laws, and to implement them. But you know, America's become a gun culture in many respects. We have so many guns.

And-- I was pleased that today, while we were here in Colorado-- the Senate did pass some meaningful gun legislation, and I hope that they'll continue to do more, and I hope the House will agree.

And that-- you know, we will close these holes. And that-- we will make a very clear statement that-- we're not going to permit guns to fall into the hands of disturbed or criminal juveniles or anyone else for that matter.

And I think we all have to take a hard look at where we live, and what we do, and what we care about.

DAN RATHER:

Mrs. Clinton, as a student, as a lawyer, as a politician, as a parent, as a writer, you've been dealing with issues of children and violence for most of your adult life.

HILLARY CLINTON:

That's really true. You know, I was thinking about that today. I started off-- years and years ago, working on problems of child abuse. And I

thought that was-- you know, one the most terrible and difficult problems we could face.

And I've been involved in many different-- ways over the last now, nearly 30 years. And I think that so many of us who care about these issues-- have been frustrated, because we know that there are many different reasons why we have the terrible tragedies that we see among-- the school shootings that have occurred in the last two years, and the more-- less-- I guess, the less publicized kinds of violence that goes on all the time.

And I have given a lot of thought to it. I've-- tried to write a book about what I needed to be done to bring people together. You know, in some ways-- of course, I've been-- haunted by what happened-- at Columbine High School, as I think

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

many of us have.

And in some ways, I think we've been running kind

of an experiment, if you will, in raising of children. It's not anything anybody planned. It's been-- unwitting-- but we've been changing the way we live, and-- we've been tearing down a lot of our institutions, we've been undermining a lot of old values. We've allowed-- all kinds of influences in our front doors that-- we never would have before, to influence the lives of our children.

We've worked in ways, and our families are structured differently than-- we've ever done before. So, there's just been many, many things that have changed within one or two generations, which we really have to pay attention to. And we-- and we really have to start taking some action on-- on behalf of our kids.

DAN RATHER:

Well, give this lifetime of study, give me a

DAN RATHER (cont'd):

specific one or two things-- something concrete-- you think we could do and should be doing. You mentioned gun control.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Uh-huh (AFFIRMATIVE).

DAN RATHER:

What else?

HILLARY CLINTON:

Well, there are so many. Let me just start. You know, in-- in the book that I-- I wrote, "It Takes a Village," I think that there are things we need to do both in terms of attitudes and behaviors. I think from a-- an attitude perspective, we need to recognize that we have to be better connected to each other, and particularly to our children. We have to do more to build a sense of community.

Now, what does that mean? Well, it may mean that our high schools and our schools are too large for children to really feel connected to the adults who are there, for the adults to know them. I was recently in a school in-- Queens, in New York--

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

City, and-- I was just stunned.

A school built for 1,500 kids, there were 2,000

kids. And that there were gonna be 500 more because of overcrowding. You know, that sends a-- a real message to children that-- you're not our first priority. We're not gonna make space for you. I go to so many towns, and-- see now schools that have no play areas, where kids have no safe places where they can gather.

It's very different from the way most of us grew up, and it's just a lot harder to-- to be a child today.

DAN RATHER:

How big was your high school?

HILLARY CLINTON:

I had a huge high school. So, I know what it's like to be in a very, very large high school.

DAN RATHER:

Two or three thousand?

HILLARY CLINTON:

Well, my first three years, it was more than 4,000. And then, the school split, and I graduated from a school of about 2,000.

DAN RATHER:

Well, I was going to ask you, at Columbine, I think the-- it was about 2,000 at Columbine.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Right.

DAN RATHER:

Is it your opinion that it could have been-- was a factor.

HILLARY CLINTON:

I don't know. But I just know that if you don't provide more support and attention for kids, given everything else that has gone on differently in our society, a lot of kids can get lost between the cracks.

You know, if it were just-- well, I went to a large school. But you know, I also lived in a community where the neighbors looked out for each other. You know, if we were doing something in

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

the front yard of our house when my mother wasn't home, and the woman across the street saw us, she'd be out in a minute to tell us to-- you know,

stop doing that, or she'd tell our mother.

We could walk down sidewalks. We could ride our bikes to the parks. There were so many other ways that we were connected. The church was a big part of our life. You know, my father was home for dinner every night at the same time.

We have changed so much about how we live. But I don't think it's useful at all to point fingers and place blame. It's much more a question of how each of us will take responsibility in our own lives, and in our professional and public lives, you know, to begin to speak out and make the changes that we need.

DAN RATHER:

Now, you've talked about the need for a national conversation about violence in schools. But-- if-- if-- you become a senator, you'd have to have

DAN RATHER (cont'd):

much more concrete proposals than that. Give me one or two concrete proposals that if you had the power, you might introduce as legislation.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Well, you know, I'm not gonna go to that hypothetical about what I might be-- (LAUGHTER)--

DAN RATHER:

Well, suggest some concrete things for us.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Well, I think that there are a number of concrete things that we should look at. I think we should have much more family friendly work policies. I think too many parents are having to spend too much time both commuting back and forth to work, and on the job, and unable to pay the attention they need to their children.

We don't even have-- provisions in our family medical leave laws that permit parents to go to a child's teacher conference at school, which means that they may be totally disconnected from the school. So, we need to do more, both-- in

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

individual businesses and where necessary, in policy, to create a-- a better recognition of what it means when both parents are working, or when

you have a single parent household, so that parents can do a good job both at home and at the workplace.

When it comes to education policies, I think that-- we've got to do-- more to try to create-- a better connection between-- schools and-- the parents that-- are going to send their children to those schools. That's why I very strongly support charter schools, and would like to do everything I could to have more charter schools.

Because I see it as a way for parents to get reinvolved. And-- you know, to put education back into the community, where too long it's been taken out of. And many people feel it's not theirs anymore.

DAN RATHER:

Quickly define charter school. A lot of people

DAN RATHER (cont'd):

still don't know what it is.

HILLARY CLINTON:

It's a public school. But it's a public school

that has been given an opportunity to-- perhaps free itself from some of the bureaucracy and the rules and regulations where-- parents and teachers come together to-- create even a theme for the school. To define the rules of the school.

And where parents can feel that they're much more involved, and where teachers feel that they have the authority-- that they need to run an effective school again.

DAN RATHER:

I could talk about this for the rest of the evening. But I don't have time.

HILLARY CLINTON:

I know. (LAUGHTER)

DAN RATHER:

I'm gonna change subjects. And here's a tough question. One that you're gonna be asked repeatedly, time and again, and you're eventually

DAN RATHER (cont'd):

going to have to answer it. For whom to you root-- the Mets or Yankees?

HILLARY CLINTON:

(LAUGHTER) Very good question. Well, I'll tell you a story about that. When I was growing up in Chicago-- my team was the Cubs-- still is the Cubs, on the national league side. But-- I needed an American League team, because as anybody from the midwest knows you can't be both a Chicago Cubs, and a Chicago Sox fan.

So, I chose the Yankees, as a young girl, they were my team. I loved the Yankees. So, I have followed them not so much in recent years as I did when I was growing up. But-- you know, I just love baseball. So, the politic answer is that-- since I do plan to live in New York no matter what I end up doing, I'll root for both.

DAN RATHER:

Ah, but you know in New York-- New York in many ways is split between those who cheer--

HILLARY CLINTON:

I know.

DAN RATHER:

--for the Mets, and those who cheer for the

Yankees. So, I have to pressure you to come back.
Mets or Yankees, Mrs. Clinton?

HILLARY CLINTON:

Well, you know, Danger, that's one of those
questions is that I'm probably am going to have to
give serious thought to, and give you a final
answer.

DAN RATHER:

Well, let's talk about the New York Senate race.
We can't do this interview, and not talk about it.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Right.

DAN RATHER:

Now, it's in the papers again now.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Uh-huh (AFFIRMATIVE).

DAN RATHER:

You've made up your mind to run. It's just a
matter of time or announcement. Is that a fair

DAN RATHER (cont'd):

description of where you are?

HILLARY CLINTON:

No, not really. I'm still-- thinking about it.

People are still talking to me about it. I've been very flattered by the people who've come to me and ask me to consider it. And I'm obviously very interested.

And I'm gonna go away for a few days next week with my husband, and I'm gonna give that some serious thought. It's such a big decision. You know, a-- a year ago-- it had never crossed my mind-- even six months ago, it wasn't anything that I'd ever thought about.

But I'm very committed to-- you know, learning about-- a lot of different issues that I've worked on-- all my life, and how they affect people in New York. Because I think that-- you know, everything that happens in America happens in New York. And-- as I've listened to people and talked with them, the kinds of things I care about,

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

education, health care-- better jobs, better-- you know, balance between work and family-- the kinds of issues that I think are gonna be on the front

burner in the years to come, are ones that are of great concern to New Yorkers, and of great concern to me.

DAN RATHER:

It seems to me the key phrase there is obviously seriously considering it.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Yes, I am.

DAN RATHER:

And this program's gonna play on a Wednesday night of next week. As of the running of this broadcast, fair or unfair to say you've made up your mind, but you're just giving yourself a final check-off to make sure you want to go.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Well, by that time, I hope I'll be-- you know, lying under a tree or by a pool with-- a good book, thinking about-- all of those things you have to think about when you're trying to make a

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

decision. But I don't expect I'll have any final decision made then.

DAN RATHER:

You really haven't made the final decision.

HILLARY CLINTON:

No, I haven't. I haven't.

DAN RATHER:

Have you made a final decision to at least launch an exploratory committee?

HILLARY CLINTON:

No, I've considered that-- carefully. And that would be the next step that I would take, if I go forward. So that's-- will also get a lot of attention in the next week or so.

DAN RATHER:

Question, Mrs. Clinton. With all that you've been through in politics, you were virtually under siege for at least the last year and a half. Why in the world would you want to go into that kind of campaign--

HILLARY CLINTON:

Well, you know--

DAN RATHER:

--particularly in a tough state like New York.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Well, you know Dan, I-- you know, I just spent the afternoon with people who'd suffered-- an unspeakable tragedy, losing their children in the Columbine High School killings. And they wanted to talk about what we could do together. They wanted to talk about how we could bring people together to solve our problems.

They were-- not filled with bitterness, or hatred. They were filled with hope and positive energy. And-- I respond to that. I-- I'm someone who thinks that-- you know, we are so blessed to live in this country.

And for me-- having an opportunity to serve in the United States Senate, if that's what I were to decide to do, and were fortunate for the people of New York to-- give me that chance, would enable me to work with people, and bring people together, and try to solve problems that were on people's

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

minds.

It's what I've tried to do for my entire adult life. It was in a different form. One that-- you know, I would look forward to serving it, if I were privileged enough to do that.

But I believe in-- I believe in this country. I believe in public service. I believe in doing the best we can to try to solve our problems together. And I think every day that-- I can. I want to try to serve, and-- and make a contribution.

DAN RATHER:

If you were to run, and if you were to be elected, you would walk into the United States Senate famous, or infamous, depending upon your point of view, as being a pit of deal making compromise. And you'd be walking into a Senate in which a large number of the Senators were the same Senators who had put your husband on trial, and indeed, tried to run both of you out of Washington, for all intents and purposes.

HILLARY CLINTON:

But you know, it is the United States Senate. It's-- probably the most important legislative

body I would argue in the history of the world. And there are a lot of good things, and there are a lot of good people who are working hard together.

Just today, we had a wonderful victory on-- a piece of gun legislation that could bring-- you know, some additional protections to people. We've done a lot of good things in the last six and a half years-- that have really moved our country forward.

We've also stopped some bad things from happening from time to time. But it affects how people live. It affects-- you know, the future of so many of us in this country. The kind of laws that are passed, and the attitude that people bring to serving-- in the Congress, and particularly in the Senate.

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

And you know, after all the years that I've been in Washington, and after all the difficulties and

the challenges that you refer to-- you know, I still really believe that we are blessed to be Americans, and that-- public services is a privilege.

And it is-- I'm not gonna sugar coat it. It is harder today probably than it ever has been. But in some ways I think it's as important as it's ever been. Because it's not only the laws that are passed, or that are prevented from being passed. It's-- staking out your belief that this experiment in democracy is really worth the sacrifice.

And so, I would see an opportunity to serve, if I were to go forward with this-- and I would be enthusiastic about it. And hoping to really make a contribution, and help the people of New York in any way that I could. So, I'm not at all-- discouraged, or pessimistic about the political

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

process. I just know how tough it is.

I know a lot more about that than I did before I got to Washington. (LAUGHTER)

DAN RATHER:

Well, you know I talked--

DAN RATHER:

Quickly, why New York? Why not Illinois, or Arkansas, where you spent a lot of your time?

HILLARY CLINTON:

Well, you know, I never would have-- predicted-- that this-- event could have occurred, that I would be considering this. But people came to me, and asked me to consider it. And-- you know, at first, I just dismissed it out of hand. I was obviously flattered and honored.

But the more I listened to people, and the more I learned about-- what was on the minds of the people in New York, the more I thought about how important issues that-- I care about are, like

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

education, or health care. The more I learned about some of the challenges, the different parts of-- the state face.

I saw how it-- it fit in with my experience and my interests. And-- of course, I've been thinking about and talking to Bill about-- you know, living-- there after we finish in the White House. I think that-- both of us would really enjoy that. So, it just all kind of came together, and-- that's why I'm-- I'm pursuing it, and considering it so seriously.

DAN RATHER:

I'm sorry we have to-- we have to go through sort of a four minute drill. (LAUGHTER) The clock is running. You said-- that-- that you and Bill would but living in New York. Whether you decide--

HILLARY CLINTON:

Right.

DAN RATHER:

--the Senate or not.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Uh-huh (AFFIRMATIVE). And-- and you know, that's something we've been talking about for a while.

DAN RATHER:

Well, you know, you never met anybody who wants to

respect your privacy more than I do. But you're a very public person.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Uh-huh (AFFIRMATIVE).

DAN RATHER:

And sooner or later, in New York, they're gonna say, "Why are you still with this man?"

(LAUGHTER)

HILLARY CLINTON:

Oh, you know, we've been together for-- I guess-- 28 years. We've been married-- hmmm-- we'll be married 24 years this year. And we have a deep and abiding commitment to one another. And it something that-- has been part of our lives-- from-- really almost from the time we met.

And-- you know, I'm-- I'm old fashioned enough not to talk about my private life, and I respect your

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

respect for it. But I-- I think that-- you know, I look back on all of those years together, and-- it's just something that-- means a great deal to both of us.

DAN RATHER:

Well, given what you've been through the last year and a half, two years, did you ever consider leaving him?

HILLARY CLINTON:

(LAUGHTER) I not gonna talk about that. I-- I respect you Dan, but I'm not gonna answer those questions.

DAN RATHER:

Well, there's a lot of talk about legacy. There has to be-- the second part of a second term.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Right.

DAN RATHER:

For a Presidency. Quickly, and I have to say quickly, because the clock runs on us. What do you think-- like it or not-- I know you like it not-- your husband is one of two Presidents to

DAN RATHER (cont'd):

have been impeached. Do you agree or disagree it's going to be in the first paragraph of his obituary?

HILLARY CLINTON:

Well, I-- I don't know. I-- I de-- I suppose it depends on who writes the obituary. I don't think that-- it is by any means the most important-- contribution of his Presidency, which I consider-- to be filled with-- very significant-- progress for our country.

DAN RATHER:

He told me that he-- I interviewed him, that he did not consider it a badge of shame. Do you?

HILLARY CLINTON:

It was such a political process. It was-- it was a-- tragically political-- misfortune for our country. And-- I think that when the history is written it'll be seen in a broader context, and will be more understood.

DAN RATHER:

You've talked about that before. It's-- you've now had a chance to reflect on it a little. Of

DAN RATHER (cont'd):

all the allegations and accusations, charges made, what do you consider to be the most-- the-- the most unfair attack?

HILLARY CLINTON:

Well, you know, I think that the entire process was an unfortunate-- one. And-- I'm just glad it's behind us now. I'm glad that-- that we survived that painful period. And it was painful. It was painful obviously for me, and for my family, and for our country.

But I'll let the historians sort of sort through it all, and make their judgments about it. I think now, we should look forward to what we're gonna go for the next-- year and a half and beyond to-- really-- help our country and deal with our problems.

DAN RATHER:

Let's pretend for a moment-- let's pretend for a moment--

HILLARY CLINTON:

You're so cute the way you ask that question.

(LAUGHTER)

DAN RATHER:

Let's pretend, it's 2050. There's an encyclopedia, and it has a picture--

HILLARY CLINTON:

Uh-huh (AFFIRMATIVE).

DAN RATHER:

--of Hillary Rodham Clinton.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Uh-huh (AFFIRMATIVE).

DAN RATHER:

One time First Lady of the United States. What do you think the caption under that picture will be?

HILLARY CLINTON:

I have no idea. I have no idea.

DAN RATHER:

What would you like it to be?

HILLARY CLINTON:

Oh, my goodness. You know, I don't think about myself in those terms. I-- I really do try to get up every day and just do the best I can. I know that may sound sort of simple, but that's how I live my life.

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

And I think I've been a sort of transition figure in the minds of a lot of-- Americans because of--

oh, the age at which we came into office, the backgrounds we brought, the things we worked on, my concerns, which I tried to continue to-- advocate.

So, I think that I've been a transition figure-- and I don't know what the final judgment on any of that will be. I just hope that-- in whatever way I could in the last-- six and a half years, and then in the years to come-- that I will have made a contribution to be a voice for children and their concerns, and for families. To try to make it possible for people to feel that they have somebody speaking for them, if they didn't think they had the power, or the influence to speak for themselves.

And that's really what I've always cared about. You know, I've-- I've been really blessed. I mean, I know people might look at this and think,

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

"Oh, my gosh, with what she's been through, how can she say that?" But--

DAN RATHER:

Hard to see how you've been blessed the last year and a half or so.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Well, but you know-- nobody would wish on anyone what-- we and the country have gone through the last-- year and a half or so. But-- I also learned a lot, and I have been able to-- share experiences with people that have been-- extraordinary, with their outreach to me, their prayers, good wishes, their concerns.

And-- you know, when you go through any kind of difficult experience-- you have a choice. I mean, you can let it break you, and embitter you, or you can take whatever-- you've experienced, whatever pain or suffering, like those brave families I saw today-- in Littleton. And-- decide that you're still gonna have faith, your faith in God, your faith in your fellow man. That you're still

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

gonna believe that-- you can make a contribution to a better life.

It's a choice. Every single day we wake up you can choose to be cynical or hopeful. You can choose to be-- grateful or-- contemptuous. You can make all those choices. And for me, it's not a very hard choice.

DAN RATHER:

I hear the clock running. We're over time already. There's so much I want to ask you. But you mentioned again children--

HILLARY CLINTON:

Uh-huh (AFFIRMATIVE).

DAN RATHER:

--it's-- it's been-- you know, it's been your-- your burning passion-- to what you've been connected most of your career. And you mentioned several times in this interview. Did or did not, the President, your husband, last year-- did he communicate mixed messages to young people about right and wrong?

HILLARY CLINTON:

Well, I-- you know, again, I'm not gonna go back and-- you know, talk about that in any public way at this time. I think he has himself spoken

about-- the people he let down, and the disappointment he caused. So, I will let him speak to that.

But I think no matter who you are, or no matter what you do, or what's done to you-- there's always the chance to try to make it better. That there's always the hope for forgiveness, to forgive and be forgiven. And that comes certainly out of my religious faith.

But it also comes out of my personal experience.

DAN RATHER:

Do you believe in redemption?

HILLARY CLINTON:

Absolutely. I've seen too much of it. I've-- not only-- seen it in the lives of other people, I've seen it in my own-- in those I love around me. So, I do. But I-- I also believe that-- whether (tape change) one is religious or not of whatever particular religious faith we all bear for charting our own life course sometimes

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

//sometimes we have to pick ourselves back up. Sometimes things come totally out of the blue and something good or terrible happens to you and neither one of which you could have predicted, probably don't deserve. Life is not by any means fair or easy for anyone but part of what I think we're challenged to do is keep trying. And to keep trying, not only on our own behalf, but on behalf of anyone we can touch and who we can help.

DAN RATHER:

You mentioned you're a religious person — did you find yourself praying more over the most difficult period?

HILLARY CLINTON:

Well, I've- I've prayed a lot since I've been in the White House it's been (LAUGHTER) it's been a circumstance that certainly requires a lot of prayer. And a lot of people.

DAN RATHER:

You smile but I sense you're serious -

HILLARY CLINTON:

Well I'm very serious about it. I've prayed a lot and I've been prayed for, a lot. And I have been

grateful for the prayers of people I know, and people I-- will probably never meet. And it has helped me enormously. And-- you know, sometimes-- it's-- it's a way not only-- of-- pouring your heart out. But of really getting filled up again with-- you know, some energy and some-- hopefulness, and positive feelings, that can carry you forward.

I do think that-- you know, prayer is a-- a very important part of-- certainly-- my life. But it's a very important part of our time in the White House, too.

DAN RATHER:

Well, I'm gonna ask you this go out question. I'd-- I'd love to talk to you for another hour.

DAN RATHER (cont'd):

(LAUGHTER) We talked about the possibility of you running of the Senate.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Uh-huh (AFFIRMATIVE).

DAN RATHER:

You've said that you're obviously interested in

it. What are the possibilities that one day, some day, you'll run for President.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Oh, my gosh. That's-- not possible, I don't believe.

DAN RATHER:

But you've thought about doing it, haven't you.

HILLARY CLINTON:

No, I haven't.

DAN RATHER:

Every considered it?

HILLARY CLINTON:

People have said that to me, but it's something-- I-- I-- I don't take seriously at all. I-- it's not even-- it-- it's not even in the-- the universe of my thinking.

DAN RATHER:

Mrs. Clinton, thank you very much.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Thanks, Dan.

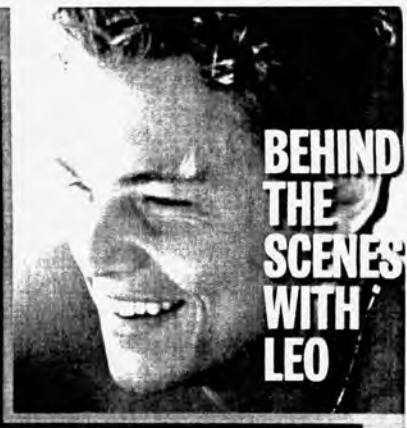
DAN RATHER:

Thank you.

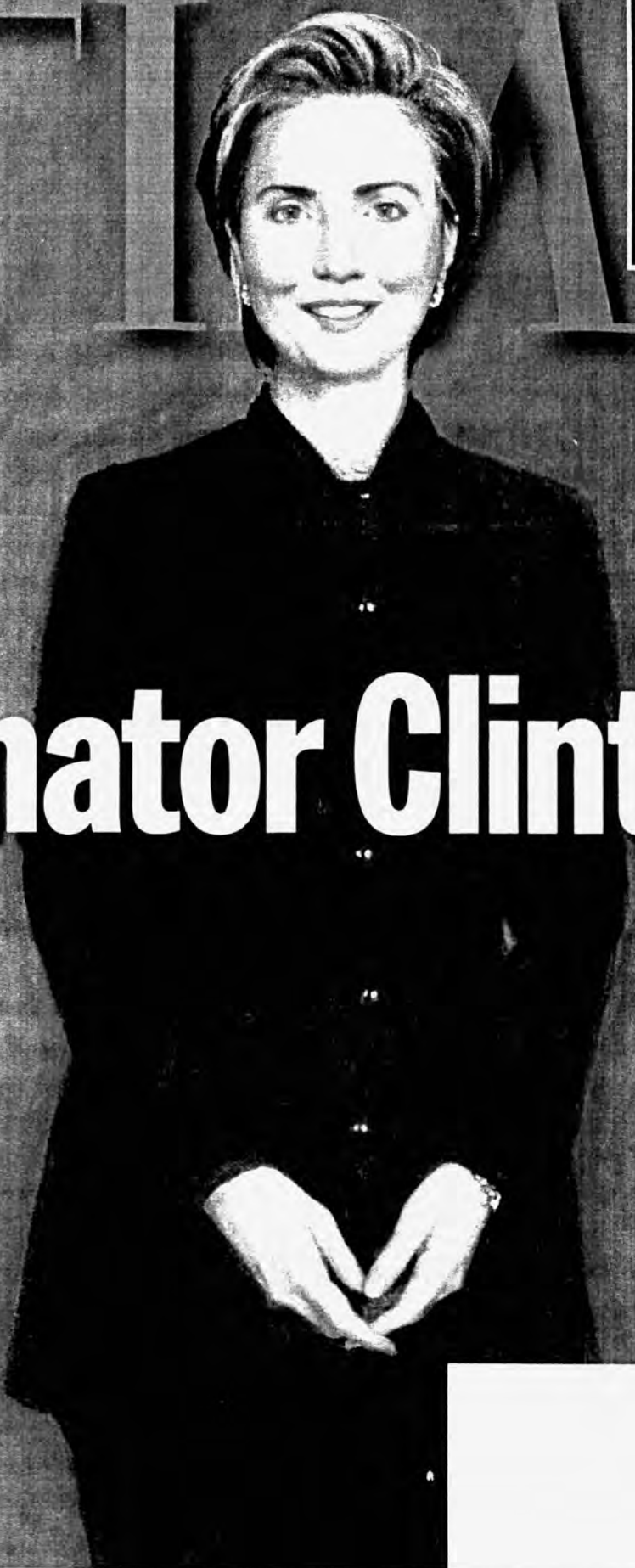
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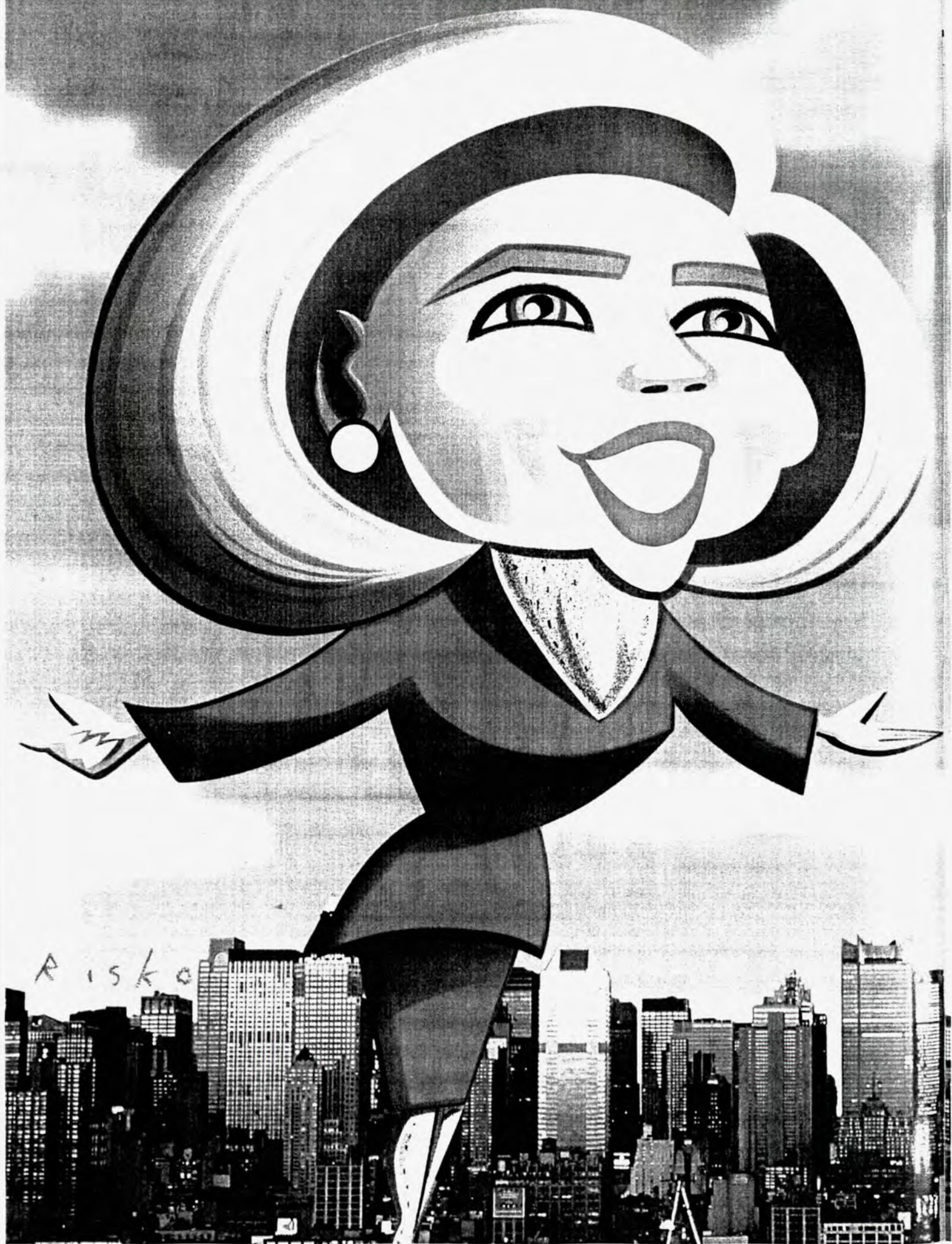
TIME



Senator Clinton?



www.time.com



A RACE OF HER OWN

Hillary ignites the country with talk of a New York Senate bid. But will she do it, and—with the media and maybe Rudy lying in wait—can she win?

By ROMESH RATNESAR

CHARLIE RANGEL KNEW HE HAD Bill Clinton cornered. Air Force One was streaking toward Mexico early last week when Rangel, the 14-term Harlem Congressman with the incomparably raspy voice, interrupted the President on board and began advocating a new cause: that Hillary Rodham Clinton should run for the Senate from New York in 2000. But the President didn't need any persuading. He was more excited than I've ever seen him about any-

thing," Rangel says. So Rangel moved on to the First Lady. For weeks he had been goading her about running. Now he told her, "We gotta hold back the President. He's rippin', rarin' to go! He says we gotta have an agenda. We gotta let him know, because he's ready to go!"

Hillary turned to Rangel. "Charlie," she said, her mouth widening into a big, playful grin, "you're *baaaaaad!*"

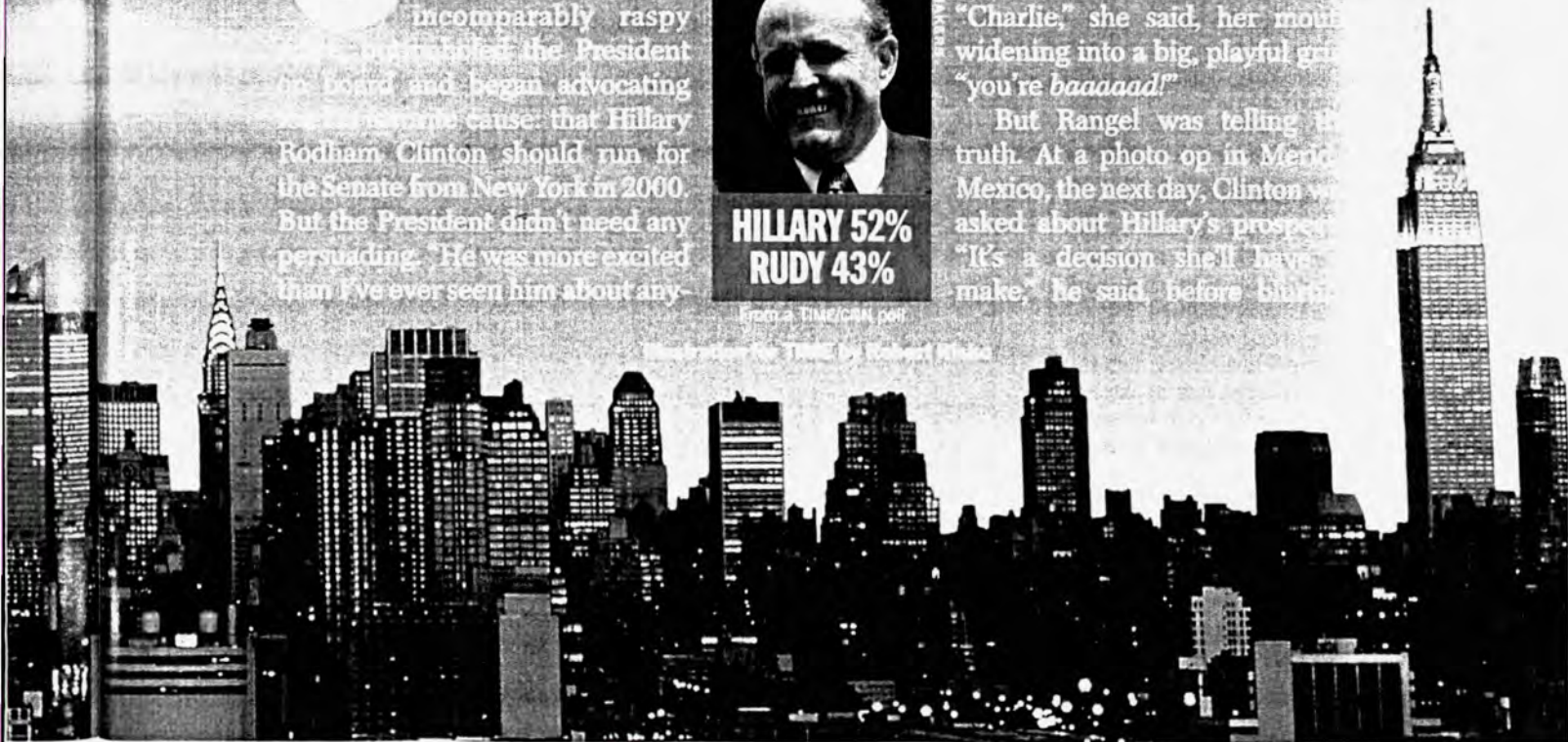
But Rangel was telling the truth. At a photo op in Merida, Mexico, the next day, Clinton was asked about Hillary's prospect. "It's a decision she'll have to make," he said, before blurt-



HILLARY 52%
RUDY 43%

From a TIME/CNN poll

Illustration by TIME for Robert Riddle



out his feeling that "she'd be great if she did... I think she would be terrific in the Senate."

So began a week in which talk about a Hillary run—which had been at a low buzz since January—rose to a clamorous din and then to a round-the-clock media roar. Just when the Republic thought it could safely turn its attention toward more pressing matters (How could the Yankees trade David Wells? What will *ER* do without George Clooney?), the Clintons snagged the headlines and talk shows for themselves—but with some good news for a change. Daniel Patrick Moynihan anointed the First Lady heir to his Senate seat, gushing over her "magnificent, young, bright, able, Illinois-Arkansas enthusiasm." When Virginia Senator Chuck Robb appeared at a White House forum on Social Security, he noted that he was the only one there from the Senate. "Of course, that's only the *current* U.S. Senate that I am referring to," he said, to gales of knowing laughter—and, hey, was that Bill and Hillary winking at each other behind his back?

The speculation grew so fervid that the First Lady on Tuesday issued a statement announcing that—gasp!—she was thinking about it: "I will give careful thought to a potential candidacy in order to reach a decision later this year." Released shortly before 6 p.m., perfectly timed to be read by the network news anchors, the statement revved the Washington-New York gossip machine. By Friday, when Hillary met for a private lunch with Moynihan, and Clinton again signaled his support during a press conference with French President Jacques Chirac, political hacks were salivating at the prospect of a celebrity death match between Clinton and New York City's imperious mayor, Rudolph Giuliani—a notion that makes the state's Democrats as giddy as 12-year-olds at an 'N Sync show. According to a TIME/CNN poll of New York voters last week, if the election were held now, Hillary would whip Giuliani (52% to 43%), and she would be in a dead heat with New York Governor George Pataki (49% to 47%).

All this hypothesizing may prove foolishly premature. There is the chance that the Hillary boomlet is being stoked by the Administration as the perfect post-impeachment diversion: a party in honor of the scandal's only victor, a celebration that doesn't appear smug. Who better than Hillary to fill the media vacuum left by *That Woman*? And what better way to create a diversion from the ongoing Clintonian sleaze watch, including the newly published allegation of a Clinton sexual assault in 1978 and the possibility

DO IT, HILLARY! HERE'S WHY

NEW YORK IS THE WORLD

You're an international icon, and New York is the global crossroads. Arkansas? Illinois? Nah. You're bigger than that

OUT FROM HIS SHADOW

Thirty years carrying Bill's water? It's your turn now. No more teas with the spouses! No pretending not to make policy!

A REAL BULLY PULPIT

Sure, the First Lady's office is big, but it's all about china and antiques. Senators have teeth. It's time to make some laws!

Clinton has told friends he thinks she'll run



that Judge Susan Webber Wright will hold him in contempt for his testimony in the Paula Jones case? For the White House staff, Hillary for Senate is a much needed balm. "Whether it's serious or not," says Clinton spokesman Joe Lockhart, "it's fun."

BUT IS IT REAL? THOUGH HILLARY HAS ALWAYS had large political ambitions, close friends at first thought the Senate idea was essentially frivolous, something she would swat down before long. When Rangel began pushing her to run in November, after Moynihan announced his retirement, Hillary seemed more flattered than serious. But she didn't discourage his overtures. Friends say she is ambivalent about doing the kind of high-profile good works—for the United Nations, for private founda-

tions—that others often assume are in her future. And the more Rangel talked, the more she listened, tried the idea on for size and liked the way it fit.

In early January, New Jersey Senator Robert Torricelli surmised on *Meet the Press* that Hillary would run. For Torricelli, who chairs the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, there were political reasons for keeping Hillary's name in play: the prospect of her as a candidate instantly made it harder for the G.O.P. to recruit its own candidates for New York's open seat, which Democrats desperately need to keep.

The draft-Hillary effort soon took on a life of its own. When powerful New York

TIME/CNN POLL OF NEW YORK STATE VOTERS

■ If the next election for U.S. Senator from New York were held today, for whom would you vote?

	Total	New York City	Suburbs	Upstate
Hillary Rodham Clinton	52%	68%	41%	44%
New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani ..	43%	28%	52%	51%
Hillary Rodham Clinton	49%	71%	42%	34%
New York Governor George Pataki	47%	26%	54%	61%



FUHGEDDABOUTIT! HERE'S WHY

NEW YORK IS HELL

Giuliani makes Ken Starr look like a patsy. He'll make you crazy. And the tabloids—don't get them started

PAY OFF HIS DEBT

It's hard to whittle down \$8 million in legal bills on \$134,000 a year. What about your book—and the speech circuit?

TRENT LOTT IS YOUR BOSS

President Gore could name you to the Cabinet—how about U.N. ambassador? Why toil in obscurity as one of 100?

done," Rangel says she told him. "I am very, very serious about this."

Signs of a fledgling Hillary-for-Senate operation have started to emerge. Former White House aide Harold Ickes, a seasoned New York operative who managed the Clinton-Gore re-election campaign, has reappeared as Hillary's chief political adviser. "I'm trying to provide her with information about the New York political situation," Ickes told TIME. "I don't see my function as urging her to run or urging her not to run." Mandy Grunwald, Clinton's media adviser in 1992 and veteran of three Moynihan campaigns, has also been invited into the inner circle. On the day of the Senate's vote on impeachment last month, the President dropped in on the First Lady, having lunch with Ickes—a strategy session at which Hillary instructed Ickes to set up meetings with New York power brokers. The President later told an aide, "If anyone had seen us, they would have seen us laughing, but not about what they would think." The aide took

that to mean they were talking New York politics, not impeachment. Privately, Clinton has said he thinks his wife will go for it.

Now might be her moment. Her favorability rating is at 78% in New York City and at 65% statewide. Her bravura performance in the run-up to last November's elections, when her stumping and fund raising helped seal Senate victories for Boxer and New York's Charles Schumer, enhanced her star power. She has fully returned from the psychic sojourn that followed Clinton's August admission of his affair with Lewinsky. She exerts a strong influence behind the scenes, and her fingerprints were all over dozens of items in the President's budget, from a tax credit for stay-at-home moms to increased funds for research into childhood asthma.

Once the initial euphoria subsides, however, a draining, expensive Senate race that would start long before the Clintons have vacated the White House may look unappealing. The First Couple's colossal legal debts are one hindrance. Hillary has always been the breadwinner, but if she were elected, Senate ethics rules would drastically diminish her earning power. "It weighs heavily on her mind," says a close adviser. (To which Rangel responds, "What about Bill? Let him get a job.") The demands of campaigning would make it impossible for her to cash in right away by writing a memoir. And with the trial of her former Little Rock law partner Webster Hubbell set to begin in June, Hillary hasn't fully emerged from the shroud of investigation just yet.

As Al Gore might be tempted to men-

Democrats pestered Rangel about the First Lady's plans, he suggested they call her office themselves. Reporting back, they told Rangel, "You know what? She really is thinking about it." Earlier this year, Hillary asked California Senator Barbara Boxer—whose daughter is married to Hillary's brother—to approach Moynihan, with whom the Clintons have had cool relations, about a meeting to discuss a Senate race. Boxer went to Moynihan twice during the impeachment trial; he agreed to meet once it was over. Last Friday the First Lady received the Senator for lunch—"a chitchat, a little séance," as an aide put it—at the White House. Moynihan came armed with

Who would do a better job of handling the following issues:

	Hillary Rodham Clinton	Rudolph Giuliani
Health care	65%	26%
Education	64%	28%
Bringing federal money back to New York	49%	36%
Taxes	44%	40%
Crime	32%	59%

From a telephone poll of 819 registered voters in New York State for TIME/CNN on Feb. 17-18 by Yankelevich Partners Inc. Margin of error is ±3.4.

Hillary Clinton has said that she favors the creation of a Palestinian state in the Middle East. Do you agree or disagree?

Agree	43%
Disagree	24%
Not Sure	32%

Would Clinton's favoring a Palestinian state be a sufficient reason for your voting against her as Senator?

Yes	25%
No	70%

*Asked of those who disagree with Clinton's Palestinian state position

tion to her, Hillary already has a campaign to pour her energies into. Gore needs Hillary's fund-raising and crowd-pleasing skills to win the presidency. She reminds swing voters of the things they like about the Clinton presidency, and she connects on the emotive issues—children, families—that Gore has trouble with. Last week Gore told *Time* he has not discussed the prospect of her running with either the First Lady or the President—an astounding assertion, given that every other Democratic notable seems to have had such a chat. In an interview, he twice deflected the question of whether he would prefer her to campaign for him or herself in 2000. "She'll be a positive force for Democrats," he said tersely, "whether she runs for the Senate or not."

Gore would no doubt be happy if Hillary decided to wait until 2004 to run in her home state of Illinois. Or there's Arkansas (where she owns a half interest in her mother's condo) in 2002, when backbench Republican Tim Hutchinson comes up for re-election. Since Tim is the brother of Asa, one of the House impeachment managers, knocking him out would satisfy Hillary's taste for political vengeance.

But Hillary knows about violent swings of public opinion. Riding high in the polls, she may sense that this is her best chance. Says Torricelli: "There is nothing less relevant than a former elected official." (Except, perhaps, a former nonelected official.) "I don't think Hillary wants to become part of the Rosalynn Carter or Nancy Reagan or Betty Ford routine," he says. "She doesn't want to talk about the good ole days."

The Clintons have never been patient. Bill ran his first campaign at the age of 28. In 1991, when George Bush's stratospheric approval ratings persuaded many Democrats to sit out the primaries, Bill and Hillary seized the opportunity. And now they may be doing it again. Ickes has set up a flurry of meetings and phone calls for next week with union leaders, local pols and minority leaders. The goal, says an adviser, is "to get a real feel for the politics of the place and the issues that matter there." But Hillary plays for keeps. The aim of all this preliminary work is chiefly to find out whether she can win. And that means figuring out how to beat Rudy Giuliani.

Though Giuliani is as yet undeclared—and may even opt to run for Governor in 2002 if Hillary goes for the Senate—contemplating the matchup is irresistible. The contrast between their public personas is delicious—Giuliani, the pugnacious former prosecutor who cleaned up the New York City streets; Hillary, the dignified stateswoman so long scrutinized by another prosecutor—and yet they have similarly ruthless instincts. The duel puts political junkies in a

IF SHE CAN MAKE IT THERE...

As First Lady she has visited New York 78 times. And recent stops looked a lot like campaigning



ROSIE SHOW

To promote her book—and mid-crisis cool—she did O'Donnell's program last December

PARTNERS?

In the Senate, Mrs. Clinton would be the junior colleague to New York's Charles Schumer







BRIGHT LIGHTS

The First Lady marveled at the mirrored bathroom in Louis Armstrong's New York City home

ROPE LINE

While touring historic sites last July, Mrs. Clinton worked a crowd in Ithaca

BACKSTAGE

Before Rosie O'Donnell's show, she shared a laugh with press secretary Marsha Berry

MIXED PAIR

At a women's rights celebration last year, Hillary met with Governor George Pataki



PHOTOGRAPHS FOR TIME BY DIANA WALKER

wistful mood. "It would be a fabulous campaign," says Fred Siegel, a political scientist at New York City's Cooper Union. "They're both tough, and they're both mean."

Democrats—who will have a hard time keeping the Moynihan seat against a well-financed, recognizable Republican like Giuliani if Hillary doesn't run—are all too cocky about Hillary's chances if she does. "She'd blow Giuliani out of the water," says Tony Podesta, a Gore adviser, voicing an opinion echoed by many—and one that is rosy in the extreme. In all likelihood, the race would be very close, and the winner would be the one who proved the more surefooted on New York's treacherous campaign trail.

As a contender, Hillary would start out with some tremendously favorable condi-

tions. "She's an icon in New York," says Republican Gerald Benjamin, a dean at the State University of New York in New Paltz. "She transcends ordinary politics here. The analogy is Bobby Kennedy"—another out-of-stater who was elected to the Senate in 1964. New York has 1.9 million more registered Democrats than Republicans, and Hillary's presence in the race would whip them into a frenzy. Among the Democrats' core constituencies—Manhattan liberals, women, unions and minorities—Hillary would bury Giuliani. The mayor's relations with blacks, especially, are precarious. The city's crackdown on crime has led to an increase in complaints against police and a sense of siege among blacks. The police shooting last month of Amadou Diallo, an

unarmed Guinean immigrant, has ignited passions. Though the crisis will be over long before the election—replaced, no doubt, by some other New York nightmare—community leaders say they won't forget. "This has unified blacks and Latinos," says Ruben Diaz Jr., a state assemblyman from the Bronx, "and together, they will vote against Giuliani and in droves for Hillary Clinton."

But make no mistake: against Giuliani, she would be in for a bruising fight. Sources say Ickes has warned her to gird for the battle of her life. "This is not a shoo-in," admits an adviser. Giuliani and his surrogates would try to make an issue of her carpet-bagging and question her commitment to fixing potholes in Syracuse. As much as she will energize Democratic loyalists, her can-

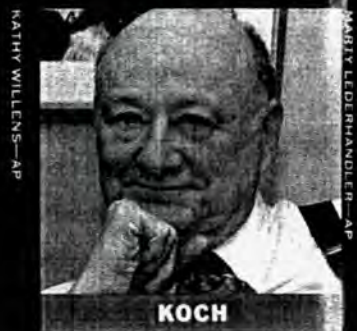
IN CASE SHE WANTS SOME FREE ADVICE...

GERALDINE FERRARO, former Congresswoman

As a Democrat, I would love it if Hillary were to run. Not only is she right on the issues, but if she runs, she wins—and generates such a large turnout that she helps Democrats in every race. And, yes, I would love to see a woman representing New York in the U.S. Senate! But should she? Is it in her best interest to take on a campaign at this time?

I have run for the Senate twice in New York—unsuccessfully, alas—and I can tell you that it is no walk in the park. The tabloids try to eat you alive every day. Much worse, they go after your family. The media and Hillary's Republican opponent would surely attack her as a carpetbagger, revisit her commodities investments and Whitewater representation, distort her views on a Palestinian state and serve up snide analyses of her marriage. But I think she can successfully rebut them all. We have elected two men from out of state—a Connecticut Republican, James Buckley, and a Massachusetts Democrat, Bob Kennedy—to represent us in the Senate. Hillary has spent more time in New York over the past seven years than either of them did in the years just before they ran. Mile for mile, event for event, cause for cause, she can't be equaled.

So why should she even consider saying no? The polls, the wooing, the potential of the Senate as a springboard for national office—all are highly seductive. But there are other things to be considered. Hillary is now in the second most powerful po-



sition in the country. Can you imagine giving that up to be a junior member of the minority in the Senate? And she would have to give it up. The people of this state would expect her to focus on the issues of concern to New York. They'd

want to see her in every county, and they would want to hear her views on health care, education and Social Security reform but also the cost of air fares upstate, PCBs in the Hudson River, the aquifers in Nassau County and on and on. And though she wouldn't have to live in New York, she'd have to run a campaign in New York, which might be tough to do from the White House. Federal election rules are very specific about what a campaign can and cannot do. I believe she'd be stepping into a quagmire trying to sort out what expenses could be paid by the taxpayer, because they were incurred in her role as First Lady, and what expenses would be paid by her campaign. The right wing would deluge the Federal Election Commission and Justice Department with complaints in an effort to derail her.

Does she need this? I don't think so. She's young and can wait four years to have her Senate seat. In 2004, Republican Peter Fitzgerald will be up for re-election in Illinois, a state that really is Hillary's home. By then, her book will have been written, her husband will be settled into a new job, Chelsea will be an adult, and the Senate will have a Democratic majority. Forget us politicians. Do what's best for you.

didacy would mobilize the right, become fodder for G.O.P. direct-mail fund raising and unite New York's upstate conservatives—good news for Giuliani, who has never recovered their good graces since endorsing Mario Cuomo in the 1994 Governor's race.

For a Republican, Giuliani also runs extremely well with many Democratic-leaning swing voters. His brutally efficient success in reducing crime, paring welfare rolls, fighting smut and ending vagrancy has endeared him to middle-class white ethnics outside Manhattan; his pro-choice, pro-immigrant, opera-friendly moderation on social issues makes him palatable to soccer moms. While hardened city dwellers mutter about Giuliani's safer, duller New York, suburbanites love it. In the TIME/CNN sur-

vey, Giuliani received a favorability rating of 40% among New York City voters but outpolled Hillary 52% to 41% in the suburbs.

Then there's her Jewish problem: she will have to explain to Jewish groups what she really meant last year when she called for Palestinian statehood. In the TIME/CNN poll, half of Jewish voters, who account for 10% of the state's registered voters, say they disagree. While most say her position wouldn't be sufficient reason to vote against her, Giuliani—who won 7 of 10 Jewish votes in 1997—is already exploiting the issue; last week he slapped her for “siding with the Palestinians against the Israelis.” This is, after all, the man who in 1995 had Yasser Arafat ushered out of a city-sponsored party for the U.N.'s 50th anniversary.

In many ways, Rudy and Hillary will be battling each other on the same centrist policy terrain. It will heighten the chance that the campaign will turn on personal politics—who gets uglier, and more rattled, in the charge and countercharge of a New York election. Giuliani won't hesitate to go negative. In 1997 he accused his over-matched opponent, Ruth Messinger, of giving a party in the 1970s for an Attica prison inmate; suggested she supported X-rated video stores; and all but blamed her for the Brooklyn Dodgers' 1957 move to Los Angeles. But Giuliani could pay a price for personal attacks on Hillary. So he may let the tabloids shred her instead—as they did her husband during the 1992 primary.

When it comes to press relations, the



BRESLIN



CUOMO



MOLINARI



BUTTS

ED KOCH, former New York City mayor Rudy Giuliani will run the vilest possible campaign. He has no scruples, and he'll do anything to win. Nevertheless, Hillary has a spine made of steel and will overcome it. There'll be no surprises for her in terms of the garbage that will be hurled at her by Giuliani and his supporters. She'll beat Rudy Giuliani.

JIMMY BRESLIN, columnist Is she going to bring her husband up here? She's allowed to run; residency doesn't matter. In New York everybody comes from someplace else. [But] I know I can't vote for her. Anybody with a modicum of taste will not touch them. They brought us the worst scandal we've ever had, and now she wants to walk out of it and say she had nothing to do with it? She got on television here in New York and said it was a right-wing conspiracy—that was a bigger lie in its way than the one Clinton told on television. Come on. I really don't care what she does. They're over. They blew it.

DAVID GARTH, media consultant The real problem is how she handles herself under direct personal pressure. She did an amazing job standing by her husband, but when the gun is pointed at her, it becomes a more difficult problem. Plus, Rudy Giuliani has a very substantial record. He may not be the guy you want to go to the dance with, but he certainly is the guy you want to see lead the band. One trap she has to watch out for: a lot of people are emotionally bent on being anti-Giuliani. If she gets sucked into that by the media, I think she will not do well. She has to really keep her cool. If she started to become the heavy and started to get nasty, it wouldn't be appropriate.

MARIO CUOMO, former New York Governor You've never had to face the scrutiny of a press corps that is among the most competent, the brightest, most experienced and meanest in American history. You have to avoid saying the wrong thing. She should start by reminding people that her strength has been her intelligence and commitment to issues. Her slogan should be no slogans. Except for my son Andrew—who is considerably taller than the First Lady—I can't think of anybody who would make a better candidate than Hillary.

DICK MORRIS, former Clinton adviser I don't think she has a shot in New York. In places such as Elmira and Plattsburgh, people are not going to be voting for a Senator from Arkansas. Second thing is that Giuliani, while at the moment slightly weakened, is a very strong candidate. All of the issues that Hillary could use to win are issues on which Giuliani basically agrees with her. Finally, nobody knows what is going to happen after she leaves office, in terms of any of the rumors that have been circulating concerning indictments. By 2004 in Illinois, all of that stuff will be out of the way, but now she can't definitively say that, and Giuliani, a former prosecutor, will hammer it home.

SUSAN MOLINARI, former Congresswoman Mrs. Clinton can go out a winner as First Lady, or she can run in a race where she will be treated like we all are, with all our warts exposed, where every question is asked. The mayor wins this race handily.

CALVIN BUTTS III, pastor, Abyssinian Baptist Church Someone from New York would be better.

—Reported by Ratu Kamiani

polished Clinton might seem to have a natural advantage over the mercurial mayor, but Giuliani deals with New York reporters every day, albeit icily; Hillary deals with them not at all. "The New York media being what they are," says Bill Cunningham, who ran Moynihan's last campaign, "they would be looking for new ways to bring up old questions." How would Hillary hold up under scrutiny into Filegate, Travelgate, Whitewater, her commodities trades, to say nothing of inquiries about her marriage? On recent p.r.-friendly trips, she has frozen up when reporters pulled out their notepads. "She's essentially been protected from the press for most of her First Ladydom," says a friend and adviser. "If she runs, there's going to be a pile-on." Grunwald describes dealing with the New York press as "a hazing process. If you can take it, they respect you." And if you can't, they destroy you.

Why would she want to put up with it, especially when the prize is a six-year stint as a junior Senator? Perhaps because the alternative ways of pushing her issues are less lustrous. Grunwald says that "when somebody suggests that the U.S. Senate might be the best platform, you don't dismiss it." And there is a larger reason for Hillary to run. She has spent much of Clinton's second term trying to define—in wonky confabs with intellectuals, party leaders and foreign heads of state—a "third way," a progressive politics that hews neither to the left nor right and marries compassion with responsibility. Clinton's education agenda—accountability and school choice but not vouchers—fits the mold. The trouble is that it looks too much like the moderate conservatism practiced by Giuliani and George W. Bush. Clinton's fight for survival hasn't allowed him to highlight differences with G.O.P. centrists; he has more effectively defined himself against far-right zealotry. That leaves the task to Gore and Hillary. A Hillary campaign could help forge a guiding agenda for the post-Clinton era.

So will she or won't she? Maybe it is better to ask whether she should. "She may be the only person in the country," Torricelli says, "who can contribute to the national debate simply by entering a race." A Clinton-Giuliani matchup is tantalizing in part because, at its best, it would engage people in a way politics is seldom capable of doing these days. In 1964, on the night he won the U.S. Senate seat in New York, Bobby Kennedy quoted Tennyson: "Come my friends, 'Tis not too late to seek a better world." That sort of belief in the possibilities of American politics no longer exists. Hillary's run might just be a step toward restoring it. —*With reporting by Jay Branegan and James Carney/Washington, John Cloud and Elaine Rivera/New York and Karen Tumulty with Gore*

For more on Hillary Clinton, visit time.com

DIVIDING LINE

Jack E. White

Endangered Species

The police component in black-on-black crime



NO MATTER WHAT THE COURTS EVENTUALLY DECIDE ABOUT THE police shooting in New York City of Amadou Diallo, the mild-mannered African immigrant who was laid to rest in his native Guinea last week, many African Americans will agree with Johnnie Cochran that Diallo's death was yet another summary execution of an innocent black man by white racist cops. How else would you describe four members of an elite anticrime squad with a reputation for aggressiveness firing 41 shots at a skinny 22-year-old street merchant armed with nothing but a pager?

Well, you could call it business as usual. The sad truth is that in far too many places in America, black life is cheap. As outrageous as the police conduct in the Diallo case seems to have been, it is only a highly publicized example of the slaughter that has made black men an endangered species. Despite overall declines in the homicide rate, murder at the hands of another black man remained the leading cause of death for black males ages 15 to 24 through much of the '90s.

The underlying causes of the carnage—drugs, poor schooling, high unemployment and the breakdown of the family—are no secret. But there's another

factor that gets less attention: the conduct of the police. The Black Panthers may be defunct, but many inner-city residents agree with them that the cops are an occupation army more concerned with keeping minorities in check than with fighting crime. Special squads like the N.Y.P.D.'s street-crime unit, whose members killed Diallo, stop and frisk tens of thousands of people whose only crime is being black. Despite lawsuits by the A.C.L.U., African-American motorists are routinely pulled over by police in many states for



Diallo, top; plastic cups, above, mark shell casings found at the scene of the shooting

DWB—driving while black. Such tactics make it clear that to some cops, every black male is a suspect.

Decades of police abuse have completely destroyed inner-city residents' confidence in the criminal-justice system, argues Elijah Anderson, a social scientist at the University of Pennsylvania, in his forthcoming book, *Code of the Streets: Decency, Violence and the Moral Life of the Inner City*. The result is an every-man-a-vigilante mentality that makes violence inevitable. "Even decent people in inner-city neighborhoods are so distrustful of the police that they feel they have no choice but to take matters of personal defense into their own hands," says Anderson. "Instead of relying on the police to protect them, they let other people know that they can defend themselves with overwhelming force, which these days means having a gun and being willing to use it." The inflated sense of confidence that packing a gun engenders, especially in young men, can easily escalate a petty argument into a fatal confrontation. Step on somebody's shoes, and you could wind up dead.

Anderson says the heavy-handed tactics police employ to control the violence only make things worse, because they convince the vast majority of law-abiding inner-city residents that cops are the enemy. Unfortunately, too many people—and too many politicians, such as New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani—have not made the connection. As Hugh Price of the National Urban League puts it, even poor people have "a right to be protected by the police, not be preyed on by them." Until the cops figure that out, it will be open season on black men. ■

TOP: RICHARD HARRIS; ABOVE: GAMMA LIAISON; DAVID BURNS; GAMMA LIAISON

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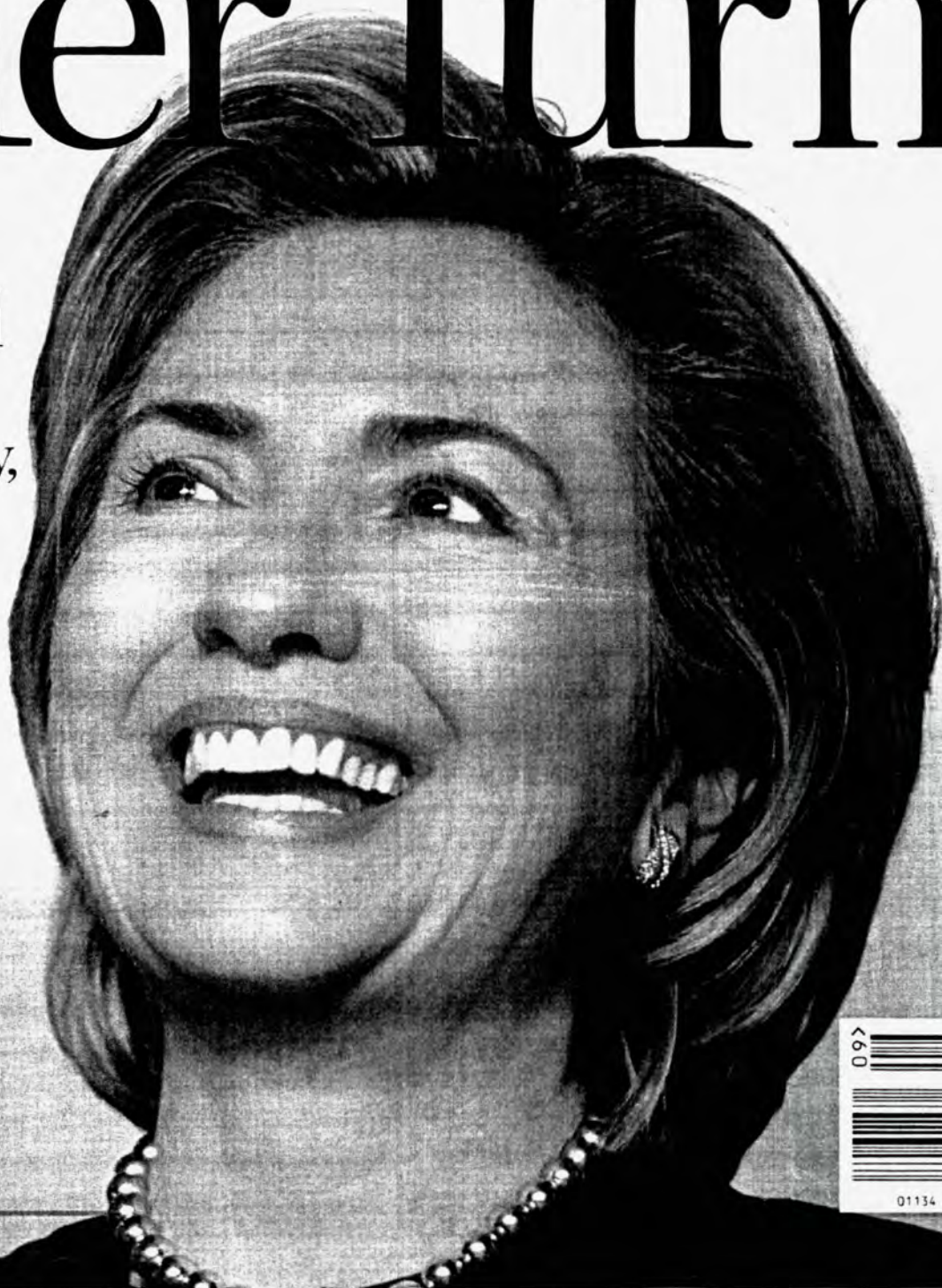
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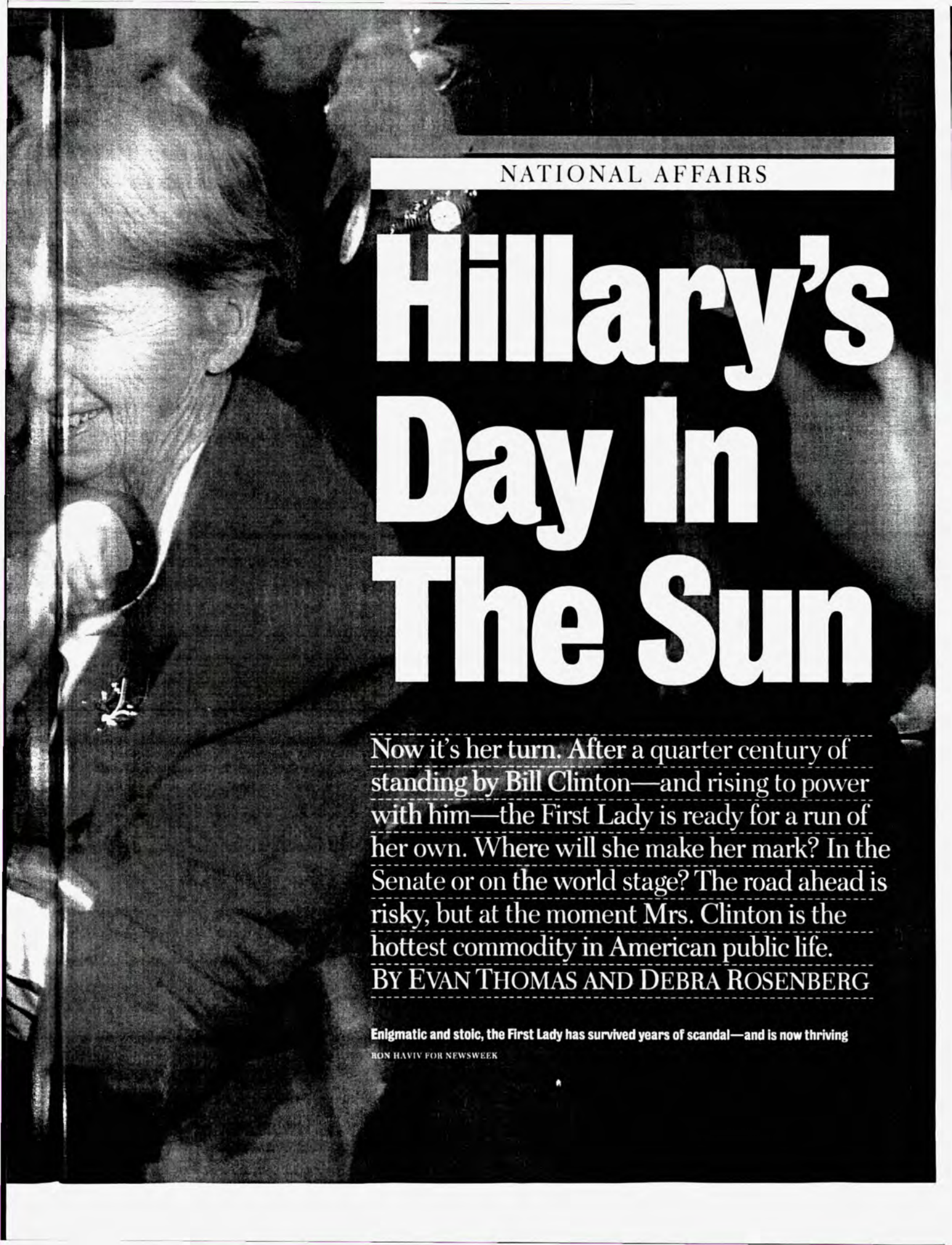
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Her Turn

Senate
or world
stage?
Either way,
Hillary's
ready for
her own
run at
history.







NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Hillary's Day In The Sun

Now it's her turn. After a quarter century of standing by Bill Clinton—and rising to power with him—the First Lady is ready for a run of her own. Where will she make her mark? In the Senate or on the world stage? The road ahead is risky, but at the moment Mrs. Clinton is the hottest commodity in American public life.

BY EVAN THOMAS AND DEBRA ROSENBERG

Enigmatic and stoic, the First Lady has survived years of scandal—and is now thriving

RON HAVIV FOR NEWSWEEK

THE IDEA FIRST occurred to Charlie Rangel, the powerful 14-term congressman from Harlem, as he listened to the crowds screaming for Hillary Clinton at a rally in Chicago last fall. "If you run for the Senate, you should run in New York," he told the First Lady afterward. He was surprised when she didn't dismiss the notion. So the congressman brought it up again when he saw her at the president's State of the Union address in January. Mrs. Clinton

had obviously been pondering her future. She replied that she was "serious" about running for the Senate, but insisted, "I can't think about it until the impeachment trial is over."

She waited, maybe, 10 minutes. As the gavel fell on the acquittal of President Clinton on Friday, Feb. 12, Hillary was sitting down to lunch with former White House aide Harold Ickes, an old hand at New York politics. Just a social lunch, said a White House spokesperson, but knowledgeable sources say the main item on the menu was whether the First Lady should make a run to succeed Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is retiring in January 2001. By the next day, Mrs. Clinton was working the phones, polling friends and advisers. Last Friday she met with Moynihan for a county-by-county discussion of New York state politics. With more politicians, lawyers and labor leaders on the First Lady's schedule in coming weeks, her friends were making even odds that Hillary Clinton will seek to become Senator Clinton.

It's her turn now. After a quarter century of standing by Bill Clinton—and rising to power with him—the woman who got him through moot court at Yale Law is emerging as the hottest commodity in American public

life. She weathered years of scandal—some of her own making, some of her husband's—and has earned widespread public approval. (In the NEWSWEEK Poll, 56 percent view her favorably and only 26 percent unfavorably.) The public knows more than it ever wanted to about her husband, but is

only just beginning to learn about her. Enigmatic and stoic, at once a familiar face and yet little understood, Mrs. Clinton could find herself in new territory—for herself and for the country.

The talk of her running for office is just one possible next chapter. She could be a

What's a First Lady to Do?

While Hillary mulls a Senate run, she's got plenty of companies and organizations lining up to be second choice. The First Lady is a long way from a decision, but that only fuels speculation on what *else* she might choose to do. "It's like a national parlor game," says one friend. Some of the options Mrs. Clinton may entertain:



The Author

She's sure to write at least one book—a memoir could fetch \$5 million, and one on women's issues would fare well, too



Ambassador to the U.N.

She's said to be interested—it's the perfect platform for her international causes—but she'd need a President Gore to make it happen





At last, a role reversal

If it's Hillary's turn at center stage, it's Bill's turn to be behind-the-scenes strategist—and breadwinner

The press, suffering from Monica withdrawal, gave the Hillary-for-Senate story enormous play. The First Lady, seemingly elated by the change of subject, signaled that she was in no rush to make up her mind. As one friend said, she had to enjoy "the delicious irony" that so many people were clamoring for her to run for office so soon after her husband had narrowly avoided being kicked out of his. "For a year, it's been, 'she's the victim, how could she stand by her man, poor pitiful Hillary,'" said a former White House official. "Now it's 'Of course she'd win!' Why should she want that to stop?" President Clinton appeared happy to let his wife bask in the glow. At his first press conference since the impeachment trial, the questions were largely about Hillary—not Monica or "Jane Doe No. 5." Indeed, the headlines were so positive that veteran Clinton watchers immediately suspected a ploy to distract from any lingering questions about the Lewinsky scandal.

But there is a deeper story behind Hillary's senatorial ambitions and the strong public reaction they arouse. (In the NEWSWEEK Poll, 78 percent think Hillary would make an effective senator.) In part, people are curious about the latest act in the complex and mysterious melodrama of the Clinton marriage. In the celebrity culture, Hillary ranks somewhere between Gwyneth Paltrow and the late Princess Diana; she can create a buzz by just changing her haircut. But millions of women and not a few men are also fascinated by Hillary's personal struggle and its resonance for the postfeminist age. She has never liked the role of dependent, much less victim. She has always searched, not always successfully, for a way to keep her dignity and preserve her family while earning power in her own right.

The First Lady can find any number of reasons *not* to run for office. She would be passing up a chance to cash in—and pay off all those legal bills. She'd have to jump into the media snake pit of New York. And if she won, she'd be a low-ranking senator in an institution built on seniority. Once in office—still living in the Washington she's come to loathe—she'd have to spend as much time on "pothole issues" as she

highly paid author, an ambassador or a foundation head; there are any number of places or ways for her to make her own mark. "It Takes a Village," her major policy book, was a best seller; publishing observers think she could get as much as \$5 million for her next volume. If she took to the speaking circuit,

she could make up to \$60,000 per appearance. She could do both while serving on corporate boards and running a foundation. But money is not the only object: each of these options would give her a voice and let her set her own agenda—one independent, at long last, from her husband's.



The Mogul

Aides say she isn't just getting big-bucks offers to sit on boards of directors—invites to serve as CEO are starting to come in, too.



The Teacher

Top law schools would kill to have her; Hillary has also mentioned lecturing at a politics center at the future Clinton library



The Charity Worker

With her formidable fund-raising skills and eclectic interests, starting her own charitable foundation could give her maximum freedom



The Activist Hillary's fierce devotion to service was forged early, and it has sustained her over the years—from her Watergate days (left, in 1974) to the health-care debacle (above, in 1994) to her crusade for children's rights (below, in 1998)



would on saving the world. Still, her friends say, all these negatives may be eclipsed by simple idealism. In an ironic, Washington-hating age, Hillary's sometimes self-righteous dutifulness may seem quaint or hokey, but to her, public service is still a real and urgent obligation. It has been since she shone in her Methodist youth group as an earnest teenager. She was always the policy person while Bill was the politician. She never showed much interest in running for office herself, though her friends wish she had and sometimes even wonder if the wrong Clinton wound up in the White House. It's not, they say, too late.

For the past six years, Hillary has tried, with grinding determination and mixed re-

sults, to redefine the role of First Lady. Many, indeed most, modern First Ladies have wielded influence behind the scenes (Rosalynn Carter, Nancy Reagan, Barbara Bush). Hillary sought to bring that power into the open. Too many people, however, saw her as Lady Macbeth. Her great cause—health-care reform—foundered in part because it was ill-conceived, but also because it was regarded as a palace conspiracy. Reactions were surprisingly violent; in Kentucky, Hillary was burned in effigy. Still, she did not sulk. Instead, she went abroad, spreading her "It Takes a Village" gospel and standing up for oppressed women. She inveighed against bride burning in India, female genital mutilation in

Africa, forced abortions in China. She became an icon, drawing adoring throngs—and boosting her poll ratings back home.

They climbed higher when the Monica story broke and Hillary became the Woman Wronged. She lashed back at first, decrying the "vast right-wing conspiracy," but then became quiet and loyal. In time, she achieved a kind of serenity; by December she was posing for *Vogue* and was hailed for her dignity in the face of betrayal. There was one problem: she hated what she calls "the pity press," the mawkish tributes to her chin-up stoicism. Running for the Senate offers Hillary the chance to earn her status—to owe the voters, not her husband. Winning a high elective office would make her a power in her own right.

In the NEWSWEEK Poll, Hillary Clinton beats New York Mayor Giuliani 46% to 34%, and 63% say that attacks on her about scandal will backfire

FOR THIS NEWSWEEK POLL, PRINCETON SURVEY RESEARCH ASSOCIATES INTERVIEWED 502 ADULTS BY TELEPHONE FEB. 14. THE MARGIN OF ERROR IS ± 5 PERCENTAGE POINTS. THE NEWSWEEK POLL © 1999 BY NEWSWEEK, INC.



The Good Wife No one doubts that Hillary is an exemplary mother, but her steadfast loyalty to her husband in times of trouble has drawn both praise and fire



The Campaigner Whether stumping for her husband during his runs for Arkansas governor (left, in 1982) or helping usher the likes of Sen. Chuck Schumer into office, Hillary is the consummate campaigner. Her star power would lend serious dazzle to a Senate run—but leave other Dems out in the cold.

She would not find the Senate warm and welcoming, especially if the Republicans stay in control. Many of her colleagues will have voted to convict her husband of high crimes. Much of the Washington media establishment would be all too ready to see her fail. In the beginning, she would have little clout on her committees or on the floor. No matter, say her more optimistic advisers. Coming of age at the time of the Great Society and the debates over civil rights, she has a nostalgic view of the Senate. Her model would be Robert F. Kennedy, who was not so much the junior senator from New York as a global crusader. Like RFK, she could make camera lights shine in dark places of neglect. Unlike RFK, Hillary actually likes

the minutiae of policy wonkery. She could fight over the fine print of that federal transportation grant to Utica.

Of course, to represent Utica (or Buffalo or Brooklyn), she'd have to go there, early and often. The carpetbagger charge would probably not stick in a state with a traditionally cosmopolitan view of its senators. She wouldn't have to actually declare her residency until Election Day, and a hotel room would legally suffice (RFK rented an estate in Glen Cove and stayed at the Carlyle). Even so, she'd be on the campaign trail and away from the White House for weeks at a time. The snickering is inevitable: was the president glad to have her out of the house?

More likely, a Senate run by the First

Lady would strengthen the Clintons' marriage. Running for office is what the Clintons do together—10 campaigns since 1974. With the exception of raising Chelsea, politics has always been their favorite shared pastime. Though Hillary is sometimes seen as more liberal than Bill, in fact they are both middle-of-the-roaders. Hillary sees a Senate campaign as a way to keep her husband's "third way" legacy alive. The president is more than eager to help. Indeed, Clinton has been toying with a Hillary-for-Senate run since at least last August, when the Lewinsky story was taking an ominous turn with the discovery of the semen-stained dress. At a tony East Hampton fund-raiser at the home of actor Alec Baldwin, the applause

86% of Americans think that Mrs. Clinton is tough enough to withstand criticism from opponents and the news media in a New York Senate race

for Hillary was loud and incessant. Leaning over to Democratic Party chair Judith Hope, Clinton whispered, "They love her in New York." Hope agreed, "She owns New York." Clinton mused, "Maybe she should run for office from here."

In a Senate race, "he'll be her Carville," said a friend (meaning that he'd be her top strategist, not the attack dog). Clinton could pay Hillary back for all those years she

schlepped along as helpmate on the campaign trail. The role reversal would also no doubt assuage some guilt. The president would have to take on another Hillary role as well—that of chief breadwinner. As a lawyer in Arkansas, Hillary earned more money than her husband the \$35,000-a-year governor. When it came time to settle the Paula Jones claim with an \$850,000 payment, a lot of the money had to come from

Hillary's blind trust. As a senator, Mrs. Clinton could accept no honoraria—no fat speaking fees. So the burden would be on Bill to pay off an estimated \$10 million in legal bills.

Hillary's friends say that money is not really an issue. The Clintons don't want to be rich, just comfortable. Still, it may not be so simple. Being "comfortable" for a former First Couple in New York City probably re-

Strategies for managing Hillary's Senate campaign—or her opponent's

How I'd Run Her ... How I'd Beat Her

BY HANK SHEINKOPF

POLITICAL CANDIDATES ARE RARELY AS GOOD AS their hype. But Hillary Clinton just might be. I've worked my share of New York Democratic campaigns, and I can tell you Mrs. Clinton would be a very attractive Senate candidate. Is she unbeatable? No—but with a carefully run campaign, she could easily keep her Republican opponent on the defensive.

How? To begin with, she's got to stick with issues. The New York tabloids are going to turn nasty on her early, drudging up scandal and smut. She should ignore them, and stay above the fray by hitting issues important to New York residents: welfare reform, Social Security, Medicaid, education. By concentrating on issues, she will set the agenda early and *force* the papers to cover what she's talking about. Focusing on issues will also allow Mrs. Clinton to showcase her great grasp of policy, getting people used to thinking of her as a person who has something to say, and who is thinking about their needs. Her position as heir to the Clinton legacy would set her up well in places like New York City, where the president is enormously popular. Politically, she should keep firmly in the center, with a little bow to the left on social issues to show compassion.

Then I'd hit television with ads that feature Mrs. Clinton in New York, surrounded by New Yorkers—and keep her schedule packed with town meetings to allow voters to engage her in conversation. One thing I'd avoid: multiple debates. They would inevitably stress divisiveness, and allow her opponent to bask in the glow of her celebrity. Since at least one debate is inevitable, I'd try to schedule it late in the game and steer it to her strengths—national and international issues—leaving an opponent like Rudolph Giuliani looking like a city manager with no grasp of larger problems.

Of course, if the stock market goes down the tubes between now and 2000, Mrs. Clinton's appeal could lose some of its luster. But barring that, I'd pity the poor Republican who decides to go up against her.

SHEINKOPF was a media adviser for Clinton Gore '96.

BY STUART STEVENS

EVERYONE IN WASHINGTON SEEMS TO THINK HILLARY Clinton would be impossible to beat in a Senate race. As usual, they're wrong. As a Republican campaign consultant, I can think of many ways a smart opponent like New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani could take her on—and win.

For starters, Mrs. Clinton's reasons for running are a mystery. Does she really want to be a senator, or is this just a midlife crisis? She's never lived in New York—and it is a bit of an insult to the state's voters that the Democratic Party thinks no one in the

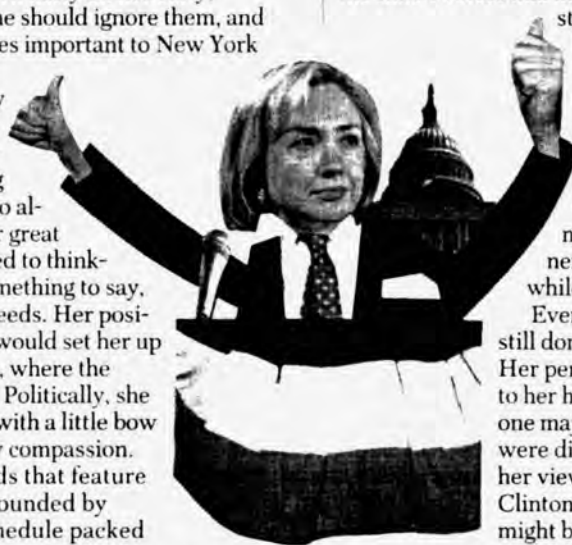
state is up to the job. We wouldn't even have to resort to negative ads to plant this thought—once she starts touring the state, her ignorance of homegrown issues like upstate dairy-price supports will become apparent. Her late introduction to New York's thorny politics would be obvious next to an experienced native opponent like Giuliani. Her opponent should let his local expertise shine while she fumbles.

Even after her years in public life, people still don't know what Hillary Clinton believes. Her personal views have often taken a back seat to her husband's. She did take a strong role in one major issue: health-care reform. The results were disastrous. Now she will have to define her views on a multitude of issues. Though Mrs. Clinton is personally well liked, her politics might be a little to the left of what New Yorkers want. A smart opponent would find issues like the death penalty, where Mrs. Clinton may take more liberal-leaning stands, and emphasize them in the campaign.

I would not advise attacking Hillary directly. It would only make her stronger, letting her play the martyr role she's perfected. Instead, leave it

to New York's vicious tabloids to do the dirty work, reliving the Clinton scandals and reminding voters of the things they don't like about her. Of course, Mrs. Clinton could still come out full of confidence and say all the right things. If that's the case, she would be a very formidable candidate. Even so, she would still have to convince New York's skeptical and sophisticated voters that she's in it for them, and not just for herself.

STEVENS was an adviser to Bob Dole's '96 primary campaign.



See Hillary run?

Both Dems and GOPers agree the First Lady is an impressive and experienced campaigner

quires a million-dollar co-op (Vineyard summer home not included). Money for a Senate campaign has to be raised in \$1,000 and \$5,000 chunks, and Hillary would have to place many of the calls herself (though not from the White House). When the First Lady/candidate travels with her Secret Service entourage, her campaign would have to pick up a big part of the bill. She would have to sacrifice most of her duties as First Lady and her last shred of privacy.

Then there is the biggest downside: what if she loses? True, in most early polls, including *NEWSWEEK*'s, she leads her putative opponent, New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, by about 10 percentage points. But Giuliani is a gut fighter with presidential ambitions of his own. Slaying Hillary could be an irresistible challenge. Then there are the New York tabloids, which will hound Hillary mercilessly. That may be enough for her to ask if there isn't a better, or at least easier, way to do good in the world. "She's getting flooded with all kinds of offers," says Mandy Grunwald, a media consultant who has advised Senator Moynihan and the Clintons. Perhaps the most tempting model to emulate is Gen. Colin Powell, who has raised many millions for charity (and a few for himself) by making uplifting speeches about service to the community. Powell, like Hillary, is a hands-on organizer; his America's Promise has been effective at making the private sector help impoverished youth. If they wanted to pool their talents, Powell and Hillary could organize a powerful army of do-gooders.

Right now, Hillary is "thinking about what the world will really look like," says Grunwald. "This is the first moment in a long time when she can really make a decision for herself." If she waits too long, she risks—in the Clinton tradition—being careless with the lives of others. In New York, the Democrats have to field Senate candidates and start raising money right away. (Recently, Mrs. Clinton gave a hug and, later, a pledge of fund-raising support to one anxious would-be candidate, Rep. Nita Lowey.) But Hillary can't be blamed for wanting to savor the moment. A lover of New York's pace and culture, she has told friends she'd like to live part time in Manhattan whether she runs or not. And the chatter about her Senate prospects will just generate more offers, book contracts and career opportunities. She has always been a strong woman. But she has never had such a golden chance to show her strength and put it to use, on her own terms.

With MATTHEW COOPER, GREGORY BEALS, MARK MILLER and DANIEL KLAIDMAN

Memorandum to Mrs. Clinton

From: George Stephanopoulos

Re: Why You Shouldn't Run

HERE'S MY UNSOLICITED TWO CENTS ON THE NEW YORK SENATE RACE, LET ME quickly add that I have no designs on the job myself, so I believe I can give an unbiased and unvarnished opinion. For your sake, I hope you don't run. You'd be a terrific senator, but the campaign wouldn't be a walkover, and being in the Senate may not be the worthiest use of your talents. Here are three things to think about.

The Campaign. You'll raise all the money you need, and you have name recognition money can't buy. But the campaign is still going to be a meat grinder. As Carville used to say, if you don't feed the press political "cheeseburgers" every day, they'll feed on you. You have to prepare for the worst. Whitewater billing records, cattle futures, the travel office and Castle Grande will all be back. Sure, you've answered all the allegations. But that's not going to stop the Republicans—and the New York Post—from weighing in again, ad nauseam. Do you really want to spend your last year in the White House reliving the most painful episodes of your tenure? If you have your husband's luck, your opponents will overplay the scandal card, but you can also expect tough scrutiny on legitimate issues. Giuliani has already attacked you about your elliptical support for a Palestinian state. If

you stick with that, you gain points for principle but lose votes with your base. And every time the president makes a decision, you'll be asked for your opinion. Every time you issue a position paper, the press will clamor for a White House response. What if the president undercuts your most effective campaign issue by making a deal with Republicans on partial privatization of Social Security and tax cuts? Will you take a stand or stand by your man? Then there's Al Gore to think about. A full-time campaign by you in New York will draw you away from helping his race in big states like California, Illinois and Florida. Which would be a better way to preserve your legacy? Electing Gore or capturing your own Senate seat? Victory would be a personal vindication, but what if you lose? Do you really want your eight years of hard work in the White House to appear to be wiped out by a failed electoral bid?

The Job. But assume you win. Is the Senate the best place for you to advance the causes you care about? Obviously it was for some of

those who came before you. Robert Kennedy used a New York Senate seat to shine a light on poverty. But you're one of the handful of people in the country who can serve as effectively from outside the Senate.

The Life. Look at some practical questions. Where are you going to live? You'll need a place in New York, a place in Washington and I assume at least an apartment in Little Rock. These are expensive propositions, and as a senator you won't be able to earn outside income. The bottom line may not be your primary concern, but it's still something you have to think about.

Being junior senator from New York is more of a grind and less glamorous than being First Lady. You won't fly on Air Force One or ride in escorted motorcades. Even senators have to ride the shuttle and wait in traffic. And as a freshman senator from a state you've never lived in, you'll have to return often to New York to do the job. People are saying now that working Poughkeepsie won't matter, but I think they're wrong: New Yorkers will still expect you to be *their* senator first and Eleanor Roosevelt second.

The enthusiasm about your potential candidacy must be both gratifying and flattering. Enjoy it; you deserve it. But you don't need to prove anything. You've served your country well, and you will again. You should take a few years. Write a book. Speak out on issues you care about. And who knows? After the Gore years, you might find that the time is right for your first campaign—one that would open in Manchester, not Manhattan.



Woman of the hour

George Stephanopoulos and Hillary Clinton during her husband's first term

BETWEEN THE LINES

PAGING MRS. ROOSEVELT

Hillary has Eleanor's sense of mission—and both overcame private pain with public service

BY JONATHAN ALTER

REMEMBER THOSE SEANCES IN THE White House solarium? In 1996 Bob Woodward published a book claiming that Hillary Clinton tried to make contact with the spirit of Eleanor Roosevelt. Well, she apparently succeeded. Eleanor and Hillary are now thoroughly enmeshed, and living large among 20th-century First Ladies. By channeling some of that classy Roosevelt spirit, Hillary helped bring her poor excuse for a husband back from the dead. And Hillary's careful study of Eleanor may help her with her own decisions ahead.

While Bill Clinton is no FDR, their wives have a surprising amount in common. After learning that FDR died in the company of his onetime mistress, Eleanor never spoke of the matter again. Barbara Walters or Katie Couric will do no better with Hillary, who has never heard a cigar joke (she watches little TV) and is highly unlikely to ever publicly explore her own feelings about her husband's infidelities. Hillary's new popularity is often ascribed to resurgent traditionalism; isn't it ironic, we're told, that this feminist was elevated by classic sympathy for a victim. But that's too pat. Like Eleanor, Hillary has gracefully reconciled public service with private humiliation. The dignity is timeless, and harnessed to purpose. Contrary to her reputation, Hillary is a supreme pragmatist and lacks Eleanor's passionate commitment to liberal principles. But their mutual sense of mission is unmistakable.

The question Hillary is asking herself is how to channel that old-fashioned notion of service. The Senate is appealing because "it's a forum not just to talk but to actually do" something constructive, says one close aide. Eleanor Roosevelt felt the same way about the United Nations, and what she did 50 years ago—championing the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights—helped bring more freedom around the world than any document since the Declaration of Independence. Hillary's problem is twofold: first, the Senate is a lot more talk than action; second, this whole talk-versus-action issue is precisely what might prevent her from getting elected in the first place.

Who wouldn't love to see her toe-to-toe with Rudy Giuliani? Columnist Jack Newfield calls it "Viagra for the press." But I'd argue that most of the handicappers predicting an especially ugly campaign have it wrong. Sure, the New York Post would carp about billing records and cattle futures. So what? Hillary can handle that. Her public support for a Palestinian state is fair game,



Time to cash in political capital

Hillary and Rudy Giuliani under the watchful eye of Mrs. Roosevelt

but if Giuliani hits her with old scandal stuff, it will backfire. Giuliani is too mean to go negative; you have to seem nice to get rough in politics.

The real problem for Hillary is her record. She doesn't have one. With health care a failure, she has nothing solid to show for her years as First Lady. And she lacks the political instincts to make it seem as if she does. All talk, no action. Impressive talk, around the world, but not connected to concrete achievement. An upbeat Giuliani campaign could simply pit his record against hers—delivering a better New York versus delivering some nice speeches. And if he knocks her off, giant-killer Giuliani would soon be Rudy-for-president. That might be the best reason to hope Hillary doesn't run.

A reason to hope. Accepting the nomination in 1992, Bill Clinton introduced himself as "The Man From Hope." Hillary, too, saw her mission as helping rekindle a faith in elective politics as a form of service. Then, in the flash of a thong, her husband cheesed the presidency and set back the cause of politics as a noble calling. By running, Hillary has a chance to repair some of the damage caused by Bill. Young people, especially women, who are turned off to politics might find themselves energized by her campaign, as their parents were by Bobby Kennedy's bid for the Senate in 1964. The upside to running is that it gives Hillary one last chance to redeem her faith—not in her husband, but in the political life they built together.

The downside is not just the risk of losing (yet more humiliation) but the risk of winning—of numbing committee hearings and a schedule where Trent Lott gets to tell you when you can go home at night. And what does it say about her commitment to her husband's agenda that she would prefer to spend the next two years

campaigning in Oswego to lobbying on Capitol Hill? As First Lady, she has more power than any senator to frame and dramatize issues. Running for the Senate may be good in the long term, but until Clinton leaves office on Jan. 20, 2001, it would be a huge step down.

There are alternatives, even within the Senate option. Like Eleanor, who kept an apartment in Greenwich Village during her husband's presidency, Hillary loves New York. But she might be better off running in her native Illinois in 2004. That would leave two years to finish the administration, two years to lecture, write and pay big bills and two years to plan what would be a much easier campaign against freshman GOP Sen. Peter Fitzgerald, a fluke candidate who is too conservative for Illinois.

But in politics, as in everything else, hesitation can be fatal. By 2004 Hillary may be about as viable a Senate candidate as Betty Ford. Even by 2000 the landscape could be different. As the president himself noted last week, it's impossible to "keep the pot boiling" all the way until the next election. Until then, both Clintons should, as Eleanor said of JFK, "show a little less profile and a little more courage." They've got the political capital; now is the moment to spend it.

BEHIND BIN LADEN • THE ANTI-GATES • SEXY TEEN FLICKS

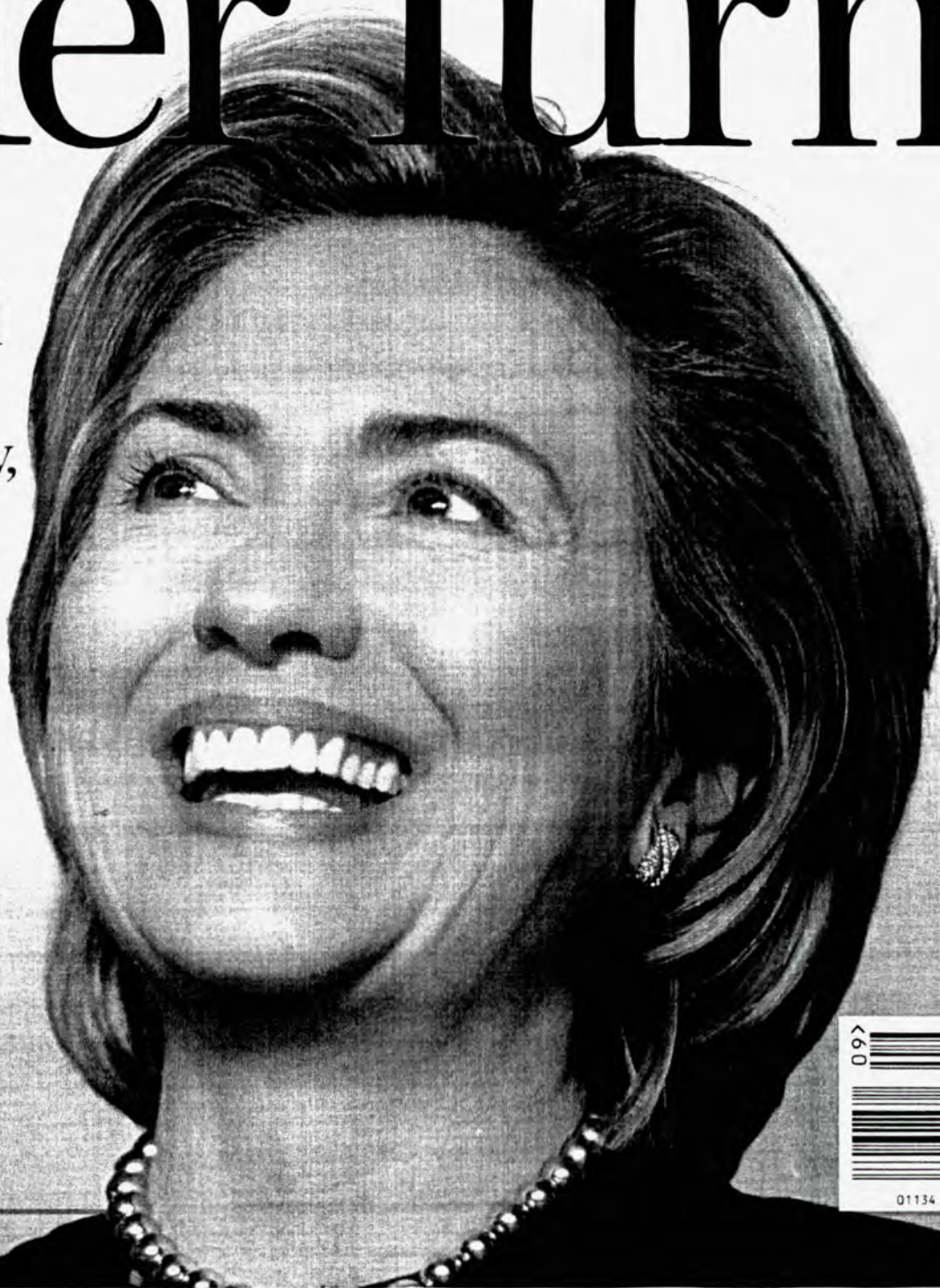
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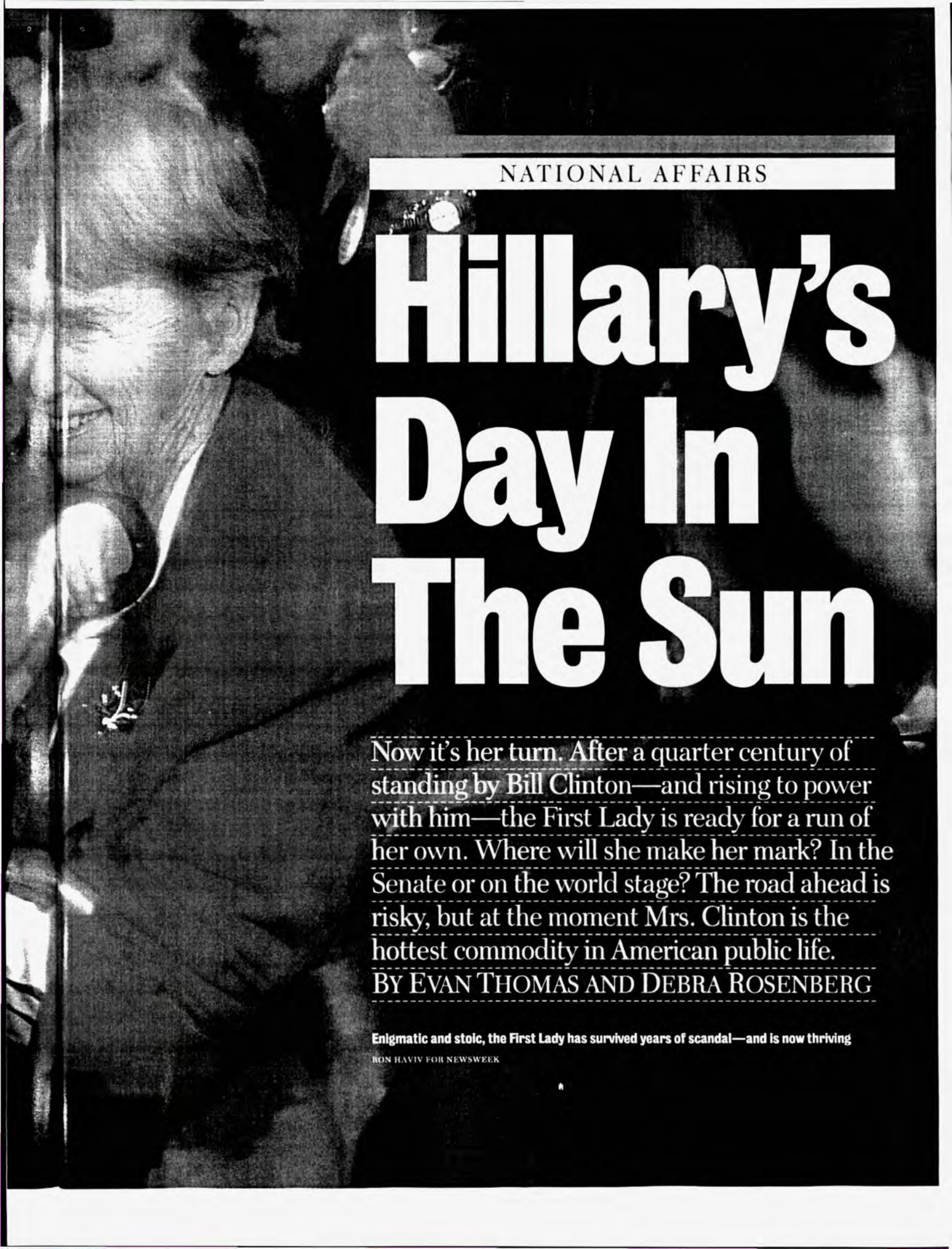
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Her Turn

Senate
or world
stage?
Either way,
Hillary's
ready for
her own
run at
history.







NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Hillary's Day In The Sun

Now it's her turn. After a quarter century of standing by Bill Clinton—and rising to power with him—the First Lady is ready for a run of her own. Where will she make her mark? In the Senate or on the world stage? The road ahead is risky, but at the moment Mrs. Clinton is the hottest commodity in American public life.

BY EVAN THOMAS AND DEBRA ROSENBERG

Enigmatic and stoic, the First Lady has survived years of scandal—and is now thriving

RON HAVIV FOR NEWSWEEK

THE IDEA FIRST occurred to Charlie Rangel, the powerful 14-term congressman from Harlem, as he listened to the crowds screaming for Hillary Clinton at a rally in Chicago last fall. "If you run for the Senate, you should run in New York," he told the First Lady afterward. He was surprised when she didn't dismiss the notion. So the congressman brought it up again when he saw her at the president's State of the Union address in January. Mrs. Clinton

had obviously been pondering her future. She replied that she was "serious" about running for the Senate, but insisted, "I can't think about it until the impeachment trial is over."

She waited, maybe, 10 minutes. As the gavel fell on the acquittal of President Clinton on Friday, Feb. 12, Hillary was sitting down to lunch with former White House aide Harold Ickes, an old hand at New York politics. Just a social lunch, said a White House spokesperson, but knowledgeable sources say the main item on the menu was whether the First Lady should make a run to succeed Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who is retiring in January 2001. By the next day, Mrs. Clinton was working the phones, polling friends and advisers. Last Friday she met with Moynihan for a county-by-county discussion of New York state politics. With more politicians, lawyers and labor leaders on the First Lady's schedule in coming weeks, her friends were making even odds that Hillary Clinton will seek to become Senator Clinton.

It's her turn now. After a quarter century of standing by Bill Clinton—and rising to power with him—the woman who got him through moot court at Yale Law is emerging as the hottest commodity in American public

What's a First Lady to Do?

While Hillary mulls a Senate run, she's got plenty of companies and organizations lining up to be second choice. The First Lady is a long way from a decision, but that only fuels speculation on what *else* she might choose to do. "It's like a national parlor game," says one friend. Some of the options Mrs. Clinton may entertain:



The Author

She's sure to write at least one book—a memoir could fetch \$5 million, and one on women's issues would fare well, too



Ambassador to the U.N.

She's said to be interested—it's the perfect platform for her international causes—but she'd need a President Gore to make it happen





At last, a role reversal

If it's Hillary's turn at center stage, it's Bill's turn to be behind-the-scenes strategist—and breadwinner

The press, suffering from Monica withdrawal, gave the Hillary-for-Senate story enormous play. The First Lady, seemingly elated by the change of subject, signaled that she was in no rush to make up her mind. As one friend said, she had to enjoy "the delicious irony" that so many people were clamoring for her to run for office so soon after her husband had narrowly avoided being kicked out of his. "For a year, it's been, 'she's the victim, how could she stand by her man, poor pitiful Hillary,'" said a former White House official. "Now it's 'Of course she'd win!' Why should she want that to stop?" President Clinton appeared happy to let his wife bask in the glow. At his first press conference since the impeachment trial, the questions were largely about Hillary—not Monica or "Jane Doe No. 5." Indeed, the headlines were so positive that veteran Clinton watchers immediately suspected a ploy to distract from any lingering questions about the Lewinsky scandal.

But there is a deeper story behind Hillary's senatorial ambitions and the strong public reaction they arouse. (In the NEWSWEEK Poll, 78 percent think Hillary would make an effective senator.) In part, people are curious about the latest act in the complex and mysterious melodrama of the Clinton marriage. In the celebrity culture, Hillary ranks somewhere between Gwyneth Paltrow and the late Princess Diana: she can create a buzz by just changing her haircut. But millions of women and not a few men are also fascinated by Hillary's personal struggle and its resonance for the postfeminist age. She has never liked the role of dependent, much less victim. She has always searched, not always successfully, for a way to keep her dignity and preserve her family while earning power in her own right.

The First Lady can find any number of reasons *not* to run for office. She would be passing up a chance to cash in—and pay off all those legal bills. She'd have to jump into the media snake pit of New York. And if she won, she'd be a low-ranking senator in an institution built on seniority. Once in office—still living in the Washington she's come to loathe—she'd have to spend as much time on "pothole issues" as she

highly paid author, an ambassador or a foundation head; there are any number of places or ways for her to make her own mark. "It Takes a Village," her major policy book, was a best seller; publishing observers think she could get as much as \$5 million for her next volume. If she took to the speaking circuit,

she could make up to \$60,000 per appearance. She could do both while serving on corporate boards and running a foundation. But money is not the only object: each of these options would give her a voice and let her set her own agenda—one independent, at long last, from her husband's.



The Mogul

Aides say she isn't just getting big-bucks offers to sit on boards of directors—invites to serve as CEO are starting to come in, too.



The Teacher

Top law schools would kill to have her: Hillary has also mentioned lecturing at a politics center at the future Clinton library



The Charity Worker

With her formidable fund-raising skills and eclectic interests, starting her own charitable foundation could give her maximum freedom

ILLUSTRATIONS BY STEPHEN KRONINGER



The Activist Hillary's fierce devotion to service was forged early, and it has sustained her over the years—from her Watergate days (left, in 1974) to the health-care debacle (above, in 1994) to her crusade for children's rights (below, in 1998)



would on saving the world. Still, her friends say, all these negatives may be eclipsed by simple idealism. In an ironic, Washington-hating age, Hillary's sometimes self-righteous dutifulness may seem quaint or hokey, but to her, public service is still a real and urgent obligation. It has been since she shone in her Methodist youth group as an earnest teenager. She was always the policy person while Bill was the politician. She never showed much interest in running for office herself, though her friends wish she had and sometimes even wonder if the wrong Clinton wound up in the White House. It's not, they say, too late.

For the past six years, Hillary has tried, with grinding determination and mixed re-

sults, to redefine the role of First Lady. Many, indeed most, modern First Ladies have wielded influence behind the scenes (Rosalynn Carter, Nancy Reagan, Barbara Bush). Hillary sought to bring that power into the open. Too many people, however, saw her as Lady Macbeth. Her great cause—health-care reform—foundered in part because it was ill-conceived, but also because it was regarded as a palace conspiracy. Reactions were surprisingly violent; in Kentucky, Hillary was burned in effigy. Still, she did not sulk. Instead, she went abroad, spreading her "It Takes a Village" gospel and standing up for oppressed women. She inveighed against bride burning in India, female genital mutilation in

Africa, forced abortions in China. She became an icon, drawing adoring throngs—and boosting her poll ratings back home.

They climbed higher when the Monica story broke and Hillary became the Woman Wronged. She lashed back at first, decrying the "vast right-wing conspiracy," but then became quiet and loyal. In time, she achieved a kind of serenity: by December she was posing for *Vogue* and was hailed for her dignity in the face of betrayal. There was one problem: she hated what she calls "the pity press," the mawkish tributes to her chin-up stoicism. Running for the Senate offers Hillary the chance to earn her status—to owe the voters, not her husband. Winning a high elective office would make her a power in her own right.

In the NEWSWEEK Poll, Hillary Clinton beats New York Mayor Giuliani 46% to 34%, and 63% say that attacks on her about scandal will backfire

FOR THIS NEWSWEEK POLL, PRINCETON SURVEY RESEARCH ASSOCIATES INTERVIEWED 502 ADULTS BY TELEPHONE FEB. 19. THE MARGIN OF ERROR IS ± 5 PERCENTAGE POINTS. THE NEWSWEEK POLL © 1999 BY NEWSWEEK, INC.



The Good Wife No one doubts that Hillary is an exemplary mother, but her steadfast loyalty to her husband in times of trouble has drawn both praise and fire



The Campaigner Whether stumping for her husband during his runs for Arkansas governor (left, in 1982) or helping usher the likes of Sen. Chuck Schumer into office, Hillary is the consummate campaigner. Her star power would lend serious dazzle to a Senate run—but leave other Dems out in the cold.

She would not find the Senate warm and welcoming, especially if the Republicans stay in control. Many of her colleagues will have voted to convict her husband of high crimes. Much of the Washington media establishment would be all too ready to see her fail. In the beginning, she would have little clout on her committees or on the floor. No matter, say her more optimistic advisers. Coming of age at the time of the Great Society and the debates over civil rights, she has a nostalgic view of the Senate. Her model would be Robert F. Kennedy, who was not so much the junior senator from New York as a global crusader. Like RFK, she could make camera lights shine in dark places of neglect. Unlike RFK, Hillary actually likes

the minutiae of policy wonkery. She could fight over the fine print of that federal transportation grant to Utica.

Of course, to represent Utica (or Buffalo or Brooklyn), she'd have to go there, early and often. The carpetbagger charge would probably not stick in a state with a traditionally cosmopolitan view of its senators. She wouldn't have to actually declare her residency until Election Day, and a hotel room would legally suffice (RFK rented an estate in Glen Cove and stayed at the Carlyle). Even so, she'd be on the campaign trail and away from the White House for weeks at a time. The snickering is inevitable: was the president glad to have her out of the house?

More likely, a Senate run by the First

Lady would strengthen the Clintons' marriage. Running for office is what the Clintons do together—10 campaigns since 1974. With the exception of raising Chelsea, politics has always been their favorite shared pastime. Though Hillary is sometimes seen as more liberal than Bill, in fact they are both middle-of-the-roaders. Hillary sees a Senate campaign as a way to keep her husband's "third way" legacy alive. The president is more than eager to help. Indeed, Clinton has been toying with a Hillary-for-Senate run since at least last August, when the Lewinsky story was taking an ominous turn with the discovery of the semen-stained dress. At a tony East Hampton fund-raiser at the home of actor Alec Baldwin, the applause

86% of Americans think that Mrs. Clinton is tough enough to withstand criticism from opponents and the news media in a New York Senate race

(CLOCKWISE FROM FAR LEFT) WALLY MCNAMEE—SYGMA; ERIC LARSEN—REUTERS/CORBIS; PAUL J. RICHARDS—AP; BRUCE MARRER—GAMMA LIAISON; LANDS SCENES—SYGMA; DAVID CORNELL—APOL; KIM ELLA—APOL

for Hillary was loud and incessant. Leaning over to Democratic Party chair Judith Hope, Clinton whispered, "They love her in New York." Hope agreed, "She owns New York." Clinton mused, "Maybe she should run for office from here."

In a Senate race, "he'll be her Carville," said a friend (meaning that he'd be her top strategist, not the attack dog). Clinton could pay Hillary back for all those years she

schlepped along as helpmate on the campaign trail. The role reversal would also no doubt assuage some guilt. The president would have to take on another Hillary role as well—that of chief breadwinner. As a lawyer in Arkansas, Hillary earned more money than her husband the \$35,000-a-year governor. When it came time to settle the Paula Jones claim with an \$850,000 payment, a lot of the money had to come from

Hillary's blind trust. As a senator, Mrs. Clinton could accept no honoraria—no fat speaking fees. So the burden would be on Bill to pay off an estimated \$10 million in legal bills.

Hillary's friends say that money is not really an issue. The Clintons don't want to be rich, just comfortable. Still, it may not be so simple. Being "comfortable" for a former First Couple in New York City probably re-

Strategies for managing Hillary's Senate campaign—or her opponent's

How I'd Run Her ... How I'd Beat Her

BY HANK SHEINKOPF

POLITICAL CANDIDATES ARE RARELY AS GOOD AS their hype. But Hillary Clinton just might be. I've worked my share of New York Democratic campaigns, and I can tell you Mrs. Clinton would be a very attractive Senate candidate. Is she unbeatable? No—but with a carefully run campaign, she could easily keep her Republican opponent on the defensive.

How? To begin with, she's got to stick with issues. The New York tabloids are going to turn nasty on her early, drudging up scandal and smut. She should ignore them, and stay above the fray by hitting issues important to New York residents: welfare reform, Social Security, Medicaid, education. By concentrating on issues, she will set the agenda early and *force* the papers to cover what she's talking about. Focusing on issues will also allow Mrs. Clinton to showcase her great grasp of policy, getting people used to thinking of her as a person who has something to say, and who is thinking about their needs. Her position as heir to the Clinton legacy would set her up well in places like New York City, where the president is enormously popular. Politically, she should keep firmly in the center, with a little bow to the left on social issues to show compassion.

Then I'd hit television with ads that feature Mrs. Clinton in New York, surrounded by New Yorkers—and keep her schedule packed with town meetings to allow voters to engage her in conversation. One thing I'd avoid: multiple debates. They would inevitably stress divisiveness, and allow her opponent to bask in the glow of her celebrity. Since at least one debate is inevitable, I'd try to schedule it late in the game and steer it to her strengths—national and international issues—leaving an opponent like Rudolph Giuliani looking like a city manager with no grasp of larger problems.

Of course, if the stock market goes down the tubes between now and 2000, Mrs. Clinton's appeal could lose some of its luster. But barring that, I'd pity the poor Republican who decides to go up against her.

SHEINKOPF was a media adviser for Clinton Gore '96.

BY STUART STEVENS

EVERYONE IN WASHINGTON SEEMS TO THINK HILLARY Clinton would be impossible to beat in a Senate race. As usual, they're wrong. As a Republican campaign consultant, I can think of many ways a smart opponent like New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani could take her on—and win.

For starters, Mrs. Clinton's reasons for running are a mystery. Does she really want to be a senator, or is this just a midlife crisis? She's never lived in New York—and it is a bit of an insult to the state's voters that the Democratic Party thinks no one in the

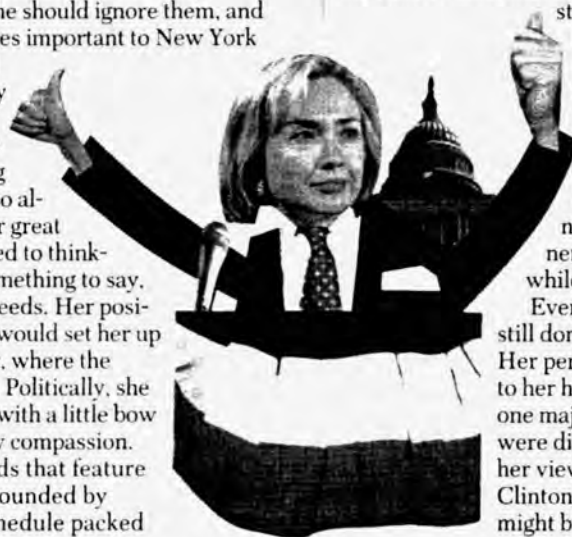
state is up to the job. We wouldn't even have to resort to negative ads to plant this thought—once she starts touring the state, her ignorance of homegrown issues like upstate dairy-price supports will become apparent. Her late introduction to New York's thorny politics would be obvious next to an experienced native opponent like Giuliani. Her opponent should let his local expertise shine while she fumbles.

Even after her years in public life, people still don't know what Hillary Clinton believes. Her personal views have often taken a back seat to her husband's. She did take a strong role in one major issue: health-care reform. The results were disastrous. Now she will have to define her views on a multitude of issues. Though Mrs. Clinton is personally well liked, her politics might be a little to the left of what New Yorkers want. A smart opponent would find issues like the death penalty, where Mrs. Clinton may take more liberal-leaning stands, and emphasize them in the campaign.

I would not advise attacking Hillary directly. It would only make her stronger, letting her play the martyr role she's perfected. Instead, leave it

to New York's vicious tabloids to do the dirty work, reliving the Clinton scandals and reminding voters of the things they don't like about her. Of course, Mrs. Clinton could still come out full of confidence and say all the right things. If that's the case, she would be a very formidable candidate. Even so, she would still have to convince New York's skeptical and sophisticated voters that she's in it for them, and not just for herself.

STEVENS was an adviser to Bob Dole's '96 primary campaign.



See Hillary run?

Both Dems and GOPers agree the First Lady is an impressive and experienced campaigner

quires a million-dollar co-op (Vineyard summer home not included). Money for a Senate campaign has to be raised in \$1,000 and \$5,000 chunks, and Hillary would have to place many of the calls herself (though not from the White House). When the First Lady/candidate travels with her Secret Service entourage, her campaign would have to pick up a big part of the bill. She would have to sacrifice most of her duties as First Lady and her last shred of privacy.

Then there is the biggest downside: what if she loses? True, in most early polls, including *NEWSWEEK*'s, she leads her putative opponent, New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, by about 10 percentage points. But Giuliani is a gut fighter with presidential ambitions of his own. Slaying Hillary could be an irresistible challenge. Then there are the New York tabloids, which will hound Hillary mercilessly. That may be enough for her to ask if there isn't a better, or at least easier, way to do good in the world. "She's getting flooded with all kinds of offers," says Mandy Grunwald, a media consultant who has advised Senator Moynihan and the Clintons. Perhaps the most tempting model to emulate is Gen. Colin Powell, who has raised many millions for charity (and a few for himself) by making uplifting speeches about service to the community. Powell, like Hillary, is a hands-on organizer; his America's Promise has been effective at making the private sector help impoverished youth. If they wanted to pool their talents, Powell and Hillary could organize a powerful army of do-gooders.

Right now, Hillary is "thinking about what the world will really look like," says Grunwald. "This is the first moment in a long time when she can really make a decision for herself." If she waits too long, she risks—in the Clinton tradition—being careless with the lives of others. In New York, the Democrats have to field Senate candidates and start raising money right away. (Recently, Mrs. Clinton gave a hug and, later, a pledge of fund-raising support to one anxious would-be candidate, Rep. Nita Lowey.) But Hillary can't be blamed for wanting to savor the moment. A lover of New York's pace and culture, she has told friends she'd like to live part time in Manhattan whether she runs or not. And the chatter about her Senate prospects will just generate more offers, book contracts and career opportunities. She has always been a strong woman. But she has never had such a golden chance to show her strength and put it to use, on her own terms.

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HERE'S MY UNSOLICITED TWO CENTS ON THE NEW YORK SENATE RACE. LET ME quickly add that I have no designs on the job myself, so I believe I can give an unbiased and unvarnished opinion. For your sake, I hope you don't run. You'd be a terrific senator, but the campaign wouldn't be a walkover, and being in the Senate may not be the worthiest use of your talents. Here are three things to think about.

The Campaign. You'll raise all the money you need, and you have name recognition money can't buy. But the campaign is still going to be a meat grinder. As Carville used to say, if you don't feed the press political "cheeseburgers" every day, they'll feed on you. You have to prepare for the worst. Whitewater billing records, cattle futures, the travel office and Castle Grande will all be back. Sure, you've answered all the allegations. But that's not going to stop the Republicans—and the New York Post—from weighing in again, *ad nauseam*. Do you really want to spend your last year in the White House reliving the most painful episodes of your tenure? If you have your husband's luck, your opponents will overplay the scandal card, but you can also expect tough scrutiny on legitimate issues. Giuliani has already attacked you about your elliptical support for a Palestinian state. If

you stick with that, you gain points for principle but lose votes with your base. And every time the president makes a decision, you'll be asked for your opinion. Every time you issue a position paper, the press will clamor for a White House response. What if the president undercuts your most effective campaign issue by making a deal with Republicans on partial privatization of Social Security and tax cuts? Will you take a stand or stand by your man? Then there's Al Gore to think about. A full-time campaign by you in New York will draw you away from helping his race in big states like California, Illinois and Florida. Which would be a better way to preserve your legacy? Electing Gore or capturing your own Senate seat? Victory would be a personal vindication, but what if you lose? Do you really want your eight years of hard work in the White House to appear to be wiped out by a failed electoral bid?

The Job. But assume you win. Is the Senate the best place for you to advance the causes you care about? Obviously it was for some of

those who came before you. Robert Kennedy used a New York Senate seat to shine a light on poverty. But you're one of the handful of people in the country who can serve as effectively from outside the Senate.

The Life. Look at some practical questions. Where are you going to live? You'll need a place in New York, a place in Washington and I assume at least an apartment in Little Rock. These are expensive propositions, and as a senator you won't be able to earn outside income. The bottom line may not be your primary concern, but it's still something you have to think about.

Being junior senator from New York is more of a grind and less glamorous than being First Lady. You won't fly on Air Force One or ride in escorted motorcades. Even senators have to ride the shuttle and wait in traffic. And as a freshman senator from a state you've never lived in, you'll have to return often to New York to do the job. People are saying now that working Poughkeepsie won't matter, but I think they're wrong: New Yorkers will still expect you to be *their* senator first and Eleanor Roosevelt second.

The enthusiasm about your potential candidacy must be both gratifying and flattering. Enjoy it; you deserve it. But you don't need to prove anything. You've served your country well, and you will again. You should take a few years. Write a book. Speak out on issues you care about. And who knows? After the Gore years, you might find that the time is right for your first campaign—one that would open in Manchester, not Manhattan.



Woman of the hour

George Stephanopoulos and Hillary Clinton during her husband's first term

BETWEEN THE LINES

PAGING MRS. ROOSEVELT

Hillary has Eleanor's sense of mission—and both overcame private pain with public service

BY JONATHAN ALTER

REMEMBER THOSE SEANCES IN THE White House solarium? In 1996 Bob Woodward published a book claiming that Hillary Clinton tried to make contact with the spirit of Eleanor Roosevelt. Well, she apparently succeeded. Eleanor and Hillary are now thoroughly enmeshed, and living large among 20th-century First Ladies. By channeling some of that classy Roosevelt spirit, Hillary helped bring her poor excuse for a husband back from the dead. And Hillary's careful study of Eleanor may help her with her own decisions ahead.

While Bill Clinton is no FDR, their wives have a surprising amount in common. After learning that FDR died in the company of his onetime mistress, Eleanor never spoke of the matter again. Barbara Walters or Katie Couric will do no better with Hillary, who has never heard a cigar joke (she watches little TV) and is highly unlikely to ever publicly explore her own feelings about her husband's infidelities. Hillary's new popularity is often ascribed to resurgent traditionalism; isn't it ironic, we're told, that this feminist was elevated by classic sympathy for a victim. But that's too pat. Like Eleanor, Hillary has gracefully reconciled public service with private humiliation. The dignity is timeless, and harnessed to purpose. Contrary to her reputation, Hillary is a supreme pragmatist and lacks Eleanor's passionate commitment to liberal principles. But their mutual sense of mission is unmistakable.

The question Hillary is asking herself is how to channel that old-fashioned notion of service. The Senate is appealing because "it's a forum not just to talk but to actually do" something constructive, says one close aide. Eleanor Roosevelt felt the same way about the United Nations, and what she did 50 years ago—championing the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights—helped bring more freedom around the world than any document since the Declaration of Independence. Hillary's problem is twofold: first, the Senate is a lot more talk than action; second, this whole talk-versus-action issue is precisely what might prevent her from getting elected in the first place.

Who wouldn't love to see her toe-to-toe with Rudy Giuliani? Columnist Jack Newfield calls it "Viagra for the press." But I'd argue that most of the handicappers predicting an especially ugly campaign have it wrong. Sure, the New York Post would carp about billing records and cattle futures. So what? Hillary can handle that. Her public support for a Palestinian state is fair game,

but if Giuliani hits her with old scandal stuff, it will backfire. Giuliani is too mean to go negative; you have to seem nice to get rough in politics.

The real problem for Hillary is her record. She doesn't have one. With health care a failure, she has nothing solid to show for her years as First Lady. And she lacks the political instincts to make it seem as if she does. All talk, no action. Impressive talk, around the world, but not connected to concrete achievement. An upbeat Giuliani campaign could simply pit his record against hers—delivering a better New York versus delivering some nice speeches. And if he knocks her off, giant-killer Giuliani would soon be Rudy-for-president. That might be the best reason to hope Hillary doesn't run.

A reason to hope. Accepting the nomination in 1992, Bill Clinton introduced himself as "The Man From Hope." Hillary, too, saw her mission as helping rekindle a faith in elective politics as a form of service. Then, in the flash of a thong, her husband cheesed the presidency and set back the cause of politics as a noble calling. By running, Hillary has a chance to repair some of the damage caused by Bill. Young people, especially women, who are turned off to politics might find themselves energized by her campaign, as their parents were by Bobby Kennedy's bid for the Senate in 1964. The upside to running is that it gives Hillary one last chance to redeem her faith—not in her husband, but in the political life they built together.

The downside is not just the risk of losing (yet more humiliation) but the risk of winning—of numbing committee hearings and a schedule where Trent Lott gets to tell you when you can go home at night. And what does it say about her commitment to her husband's agenda that she would prefer to spend the next two years

campaigning in Oswego to lobbying on Capitol Hill? As First Lady, she has more power than any senator to frame and dramatize issues. Running for the Senate may be good in the long term, but until Clinton leaves office on Jan. 20, 2001, it would be a huge step down.

There are alternatives, even within the Senate option. Like Eleanor, who kept an apartment in Greenwich Village during her husband's presidency, Hillary loves New York. But she might be better off running in her native Illinois in 2004. That would leave two years to finish the administration, two years to lecture, write and pay big bills and two years to plan what would be a much easier campaign against freshman GOP Sen. Peter Fitzgerald, a fluke candidate who is too conservative for Illinois.

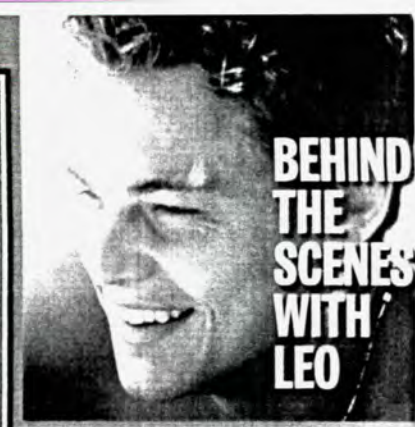
But in politics, as in everything else, hesitation can be fatal. By 2004 Hillary may be about as viable a Senate candidate as Betty Ford. Even by 2000 the landscape could be different. As the president himself noted last week, it's impossible to "keep the pot boiling" all the way until the next election. Until then, both Clintons should, as Eleanor said of JFK, "show a little less profile and a little more courage." They've got the political capital; now is the moment to spend it.



Time to cash in political capital
Hillary and Rudy Giuliani under the watchful eye of Mrs. Roosevelt

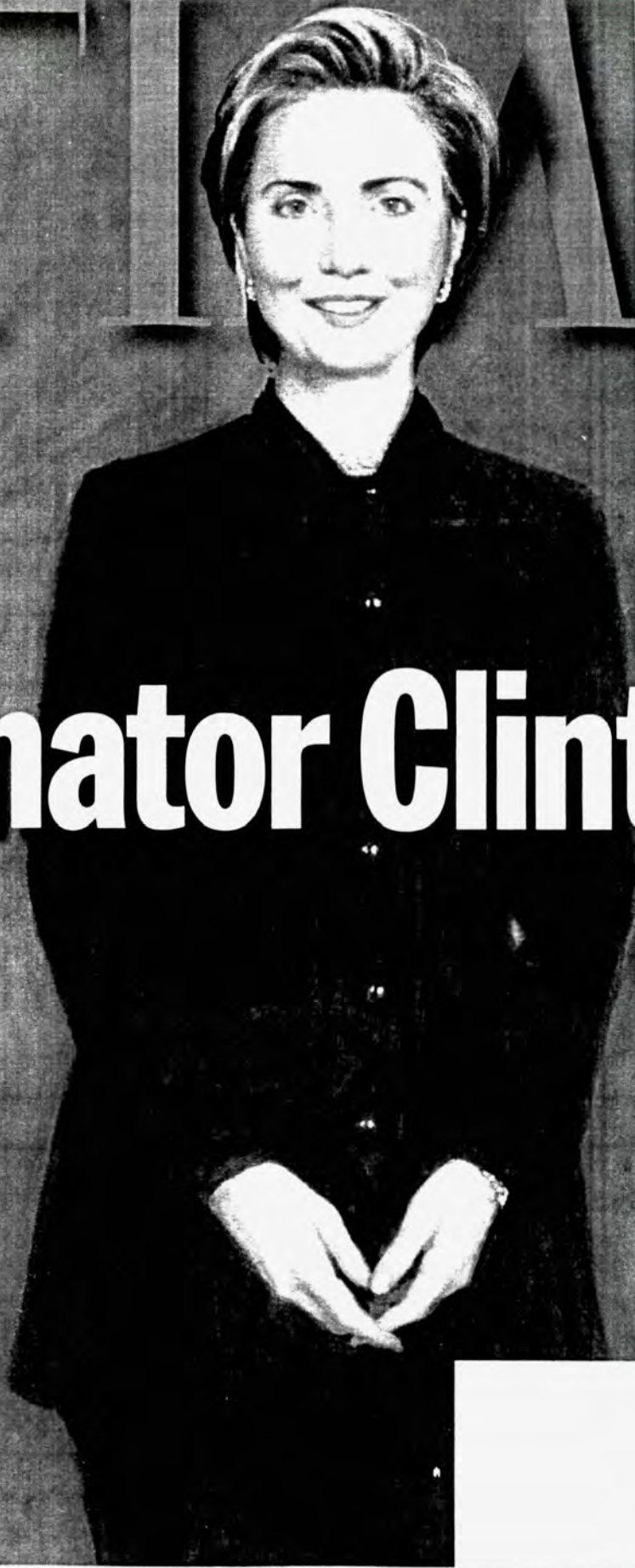
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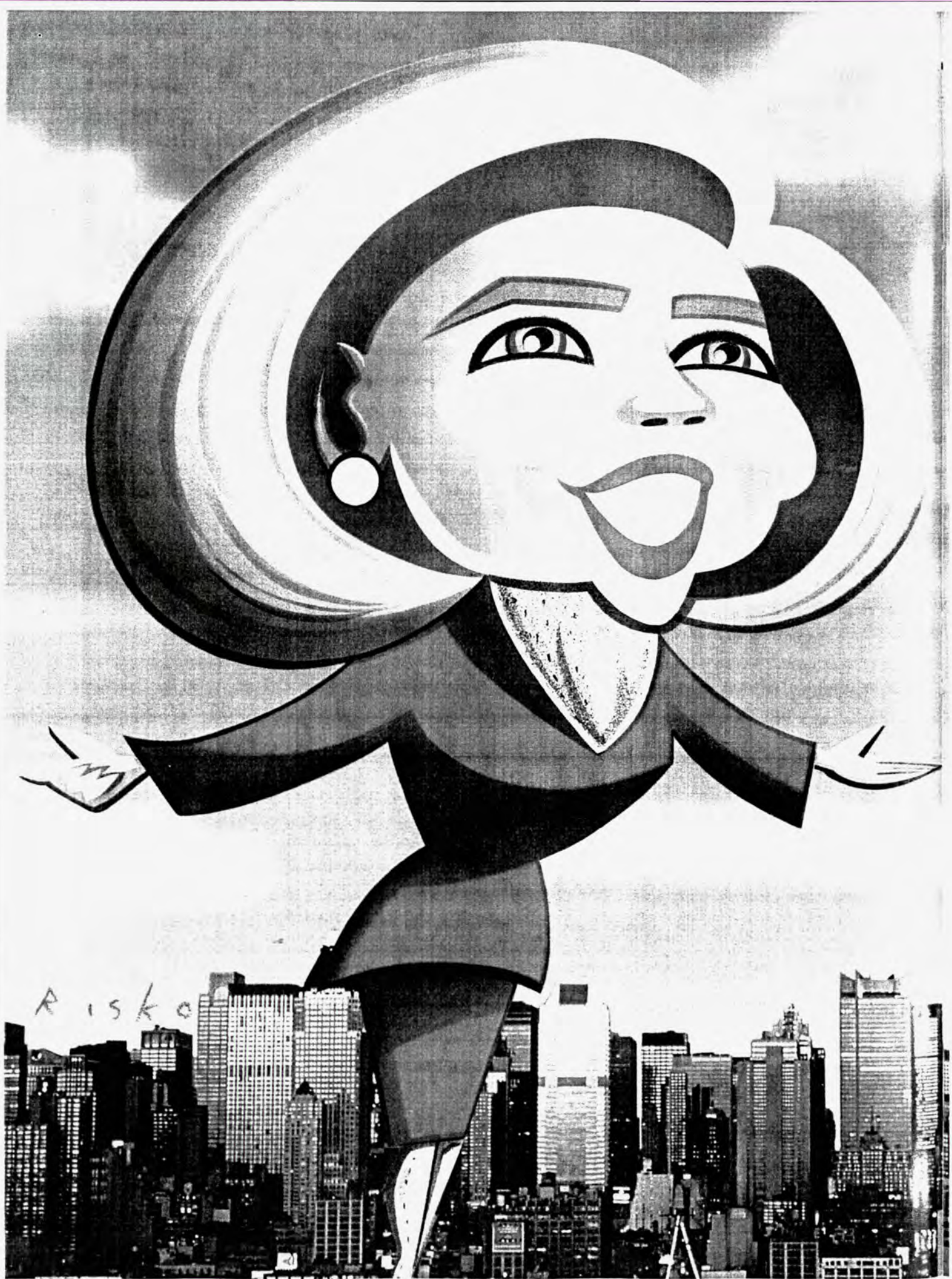
TIME



BEHIND
THE
SCENES
WITH
LEO

Senator Clinton?





N A T I O N

A RACE OF HER OWN

Hillary ignites the country with talk of a New York Senate bid. But will she do it, and—with the media and maybe Rudy lying in wait—can she win?

By ROMESH RATNESAR

CHARLIE RANGEL KNEW HE HAD Bill Clinton cornered. Air Force One was streaking toward Mexico early last week when Rangel, the 14-term Harlem Congressman with the incomparably raspy voice, cornered the President in Mexico and began advocating for his favorite cause: that Hillary Rodham Clinton should run for the Senate from New York in 2000. But the President didn't need any persuading. "He was more excited than I've ever seen him about any-

thing," Rangel says. So Rangel moved on to the First Lady. For weeks he had been goading her about running. Now he told her, "We gotta hold back the President. He's rippin', rarin' to go! He says we gotta have an agenda. We gotta let him know, because he's ready to go!"

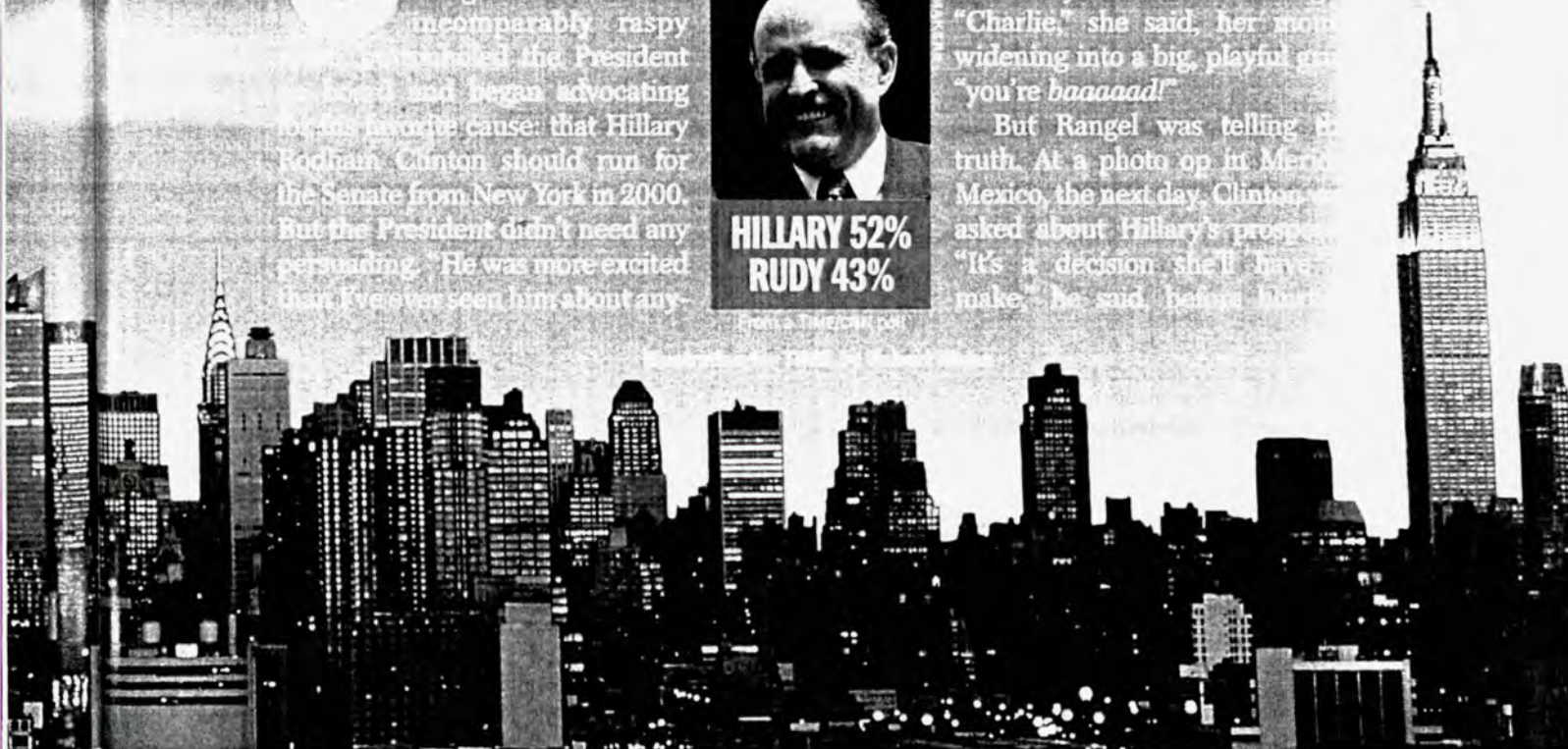
Hillary turned to Rangel. "Charlie," she said, her mouth widening into a big, playful grin. "you're *baaaaaad!*"

But Rangel was telling the truth. At a photo op in Mexico, the next day, Clinton was asked about Hillary's prospects. "It's a decision she'll have to make," he said, before Bush



HILLARY 52%
RUDY 43%

Photo: TIME/CORBIS



out his feeling that "she'd be great if she did... I think she would be terrific in the Senate."

So began a week in which talk about a Hillary run—which had been at a low buzz since January—rose to a clamorous din and then to a round-the-clock media roar. Just when the Republic thought it could safely turn its attention toward more pressing matters (How could the Yankees trade David Wells? What will *ER* do without George Clooney?), the Clintons snagged the headlines and talk shows for themselves—but with some good news for a change. Daniel Patrick Moynihan anointed the First Lady heir to his Senate seat, gushing over her "magnificent, young, bright, able, Illinois-Arkansas enthusiasm." When Virginia Senator Chuck Robb appeared at a White House forum on Social Security, he noted that he was the only one there from the Senate. "Of course, that's only the *current* U.S. Senate that I am referring to," he said, to gales of knowing laughter—and, hey, was that Bill and Hillary winking at each other behind his back?

The speculation grew so fervid that the First Lady on Tuesday issued a statement announcing that—gasp!—she was thinking about it: "I will give careful thought to a potential candidacy in order to reach a decision later this year." Released shortly before 6 p.m., perfectly timed to be read by the network news anchors, the statement revved the Washington-New York gossip machine. By Friday, when Hillary met for a private lunch with Moynihan, and Clinton again signaled his support during a press conference with French President Jacques Chirac, political hacks were salivating at the prospect of a celebrity death match between Clinton and New York City's imperious mayor, Rudolph Giuliani—a notion that makes the state's Democrats as giddy as 12-year-olds at an 'N Sync show. According to a TIME/CNN poll of New York voters last week, if the election were held now, Hillary would whip Giuliani (52% to 43%), and she would be in a dead heat with New York Governor George Pataki (49% to 47%).

All this hypothesizing may prove foolishly premature. There is the chance that the Hillary boomlet is being stoked by the Administration as the perfect post-impeachment diversion: a party in honor of the scandal's only victor, a celebration that doesn't appear smug. Who better than Hillary to fill the media vacuum left by That Woman? And what better way to create a diversion from the ongoing Clintonian sleaze watch, including the newly published allegation of a Clinton sexual assault in 1978 and the possibility

DO IT, HILLARY! HERE'S WHY

NEW YORK IS THE WORLD

You're an international icon, and New York is the global crossroads. Arkansas? Illinois? Nah. You're bigger than that

OUT FROM HIS SHADOW

Thirty years carrying Bill's water? It's your turn now. No more teas with the spouses! No pretending not to make policy!

A REAL BULLY PULPIT

Sure, the First Lady's office is big, but it's all about china and antiques. Senators have teeth. It's time to make some laws!

Clinton has told friends he thinks she'll run



that Judge Susan Webber Wright will hold him in contempt for his testimony in the Paula Jones case? For the White House staff, Hillary for Senate is a much needed balm. "Whether it's serious or not," says Clinton spokesman Joe Lockhart, "it's fun."

BUT IS IT REAL? THOUGH HILLARY HAS ALWAYS had large political ambitions, close friends at first thought the Senate idea was essentially frivolous, something she would swat down before long. When Rangel began pushing her to run in November, after Moynihan announced his retirement, Hillary seemed more flattered than serious. But she didn't discourage his overtures. Friends say she is ambivalent about doing the kind of high-profile good works—for the United Nations, for private founda-

tions—that others often assume are in her future. And the more Rangel talked, the more she listened, tried the idea on for size and liked the way it fit.

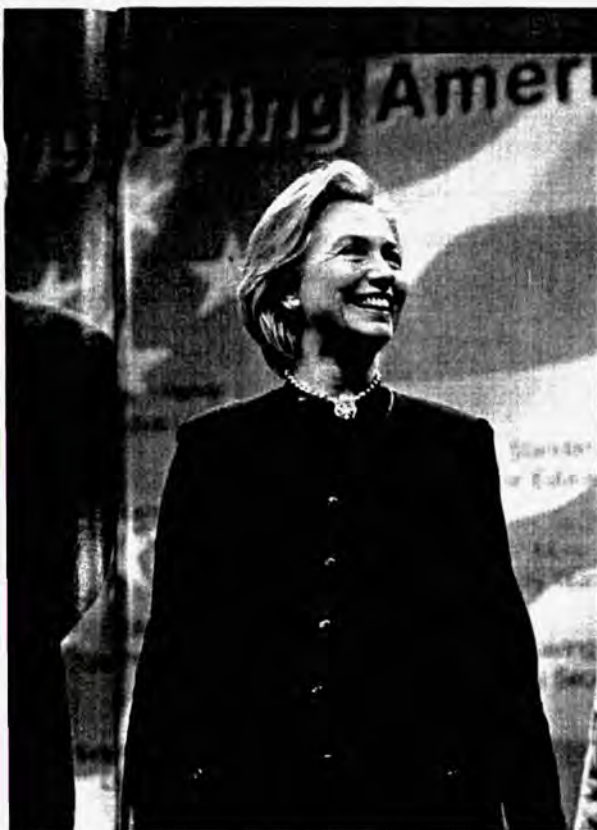
In early January, New Jersey Senator Robert Torricelli surmised on *Meet the Press* that Hillary would run. For Torricelli, who chairs the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, there were political reasons for keeping Hillary's name in play: the prospect of her as a candidate instantly made it harder for the G.O.P. to recruit its own candidates for New York's open seat, which Democrats desperately need to keep.

The draft-Hillary effort soon took on a life of its own. When powerful New York

TIME/CNN POLL OF NEW YORK STATE VOTERS

■ If the next election for U.S. Senator from New York were held today, for whom would you vote?

	Total	New York City	Suburbs	Upstate
Hillary Rodham Clinton	52%	68%	41%	44%
New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani	43%	28%	52%	51%
Hillary Rodham Clinton	49%	71%	42%	34%
New York Governor George Pataki	47%	26%	54%	61%



FUHGEDDABOUTIT! HERE'S WHY

NEW YORK IS HELL

Giuliani makes Ken Starr look like a patsy. He'll make you crazy. And the tabloids—don't get them started

PAY OFF HIS DEBT

It's hard to whittle down \$8 million in legal bills on \$134,000 a year. What about your book—and the speech circuit?

TRENT LOTT IS YOUR BOSS

President Gore could name you to the Cabinet—how about U.N. ambassador? Why toil in obscurity as one of 100?

done," Rangel says she told him. "I am very, very serious about this."

Signs of a fledgling Hillary-for-Senate operation have started to emerge. Former White House aide Harold Ickes, a seasoned New York operative who managed the Clinton-Gore re-election campaign, has reappeared as Hillary's chief political adviser. "I'm trying to provide her with information about the New York political situation," Ickes told TIME. "I don't see my function as urging her to run or urging her not to run." Mandy Grunwald, Clinton's media adviser in 1992 and veteran of three Moynihan campaigns, has also been invited into the inner circle. On the day of the Senate's vote on impeachment last month, the President dropped in on the First Lady, having lunch with Ickes—a strategy session at which Hillary instructed Ickes to set up meetings with New York power brokers. The President later told an aide, "If anyone had seen us, they would have seen us laughing, but not about what they would think." The aide took

that to mean they were talking New York politics, not impeachment. Privately, Clinton has said he thinks his wife will go for it.

Now might be her moment. Her favorability rating is at 78% in New York City and at 65% statewide. Her bravura performance in the run-up to last November's elections, when her stumping and fund raising helped seal Senate victories for Boxer and New York's Charles Schumer, enhanced her star power. She has fully returned from the psychic sojourn that followed Clinton's August admission of his affair with Lewinsky. She exerts a strong influence behind the scenes, and her fingerprints were all over dozens of items in the President's budget, from a tax credit for stay-at-home moms to increased funds for research into childhood asthma. Once the initial euphoria subsides, however, a draining, expensive Senate race that would start long before the Clintons have vacated the White House may look unappealing. The First Couple's colossal legal debts are one hindrance. Hillary has always been the breadwinner, but if she were elected, Senate ethics rules would drastically diminish her earning power. "It weighs heavily on her mind," says a close adviser. (To which Rangel responds, "What about Bill? Let him get a job.") The demands of campaigning would make it impossible for her to cash in right away by writing a memoir. And with the trial of her former Little Rock law partner Webster Hubbell set to begin in June, Hillary hasn't fully emerged from the shroud of investigation just yet.

As Al Gore might be tempted to men-

county-by-county results from 30 years' worth of past New York races.

As Al Gore might be tempted to men-

Democrats pestered Rangel about the First Lady's plans, he suggested they call her office themselves. Reporting back, they told Rangel, "You know what? She really is thinking about it." Earlier this year, Hillary asked California Senator Barbara Boxer—whose daughter is married to Hillary's brother—to approach Moynihan, with whom the Clintons have had cool relations, about a meeting to discuss a Senate race. Boxer went to Moynihan twice during the impeachment trial; he agreed to meet once it was over. Last Friday the First Lady received the Senator for lunch—"a chitchat, a little séance," as an aide put it—at the White House. Moynihan came armed with

■ Who would do a better job of handling the following issues:

	Hillary Rodham Clinton	Rudolph Giuliani
Health care	65%	26%
Education	64%	28%
Bringing federal money back to New York	49%	36%
Taxes	44%	40%
Crime	32%	59%

From a telephone poll of 819 registered voters in New York State for TIME/CNN on Feb. 17-18 by Yankelovich Partners Inc. Margin of error is ±3.4.

■ Hillary Clinton has said that she favors the creation of a Palestinian state in the Middle East. Do you agree or disagree?

Agree	43%
Disagree	24%
Not Sure	32%

■ Would Clinton's favoring a Palestinian state be a sufficient reason for your voting against her as Senator?*

Yes	25%
No	70%

*Asked of those who disagree with Clinton's Palestinian state position

tion to her, Hillary already has a campaign to pour her energies into. Gore needs Hillary's fund-raising and crowd-pleasing skills to win the presidency. She reminds swing voters of the things they like about the Clinton presidency, and she connects on the emotive issues—children, families—that Gore has trouble with. Last week Gore told *Time* he has not discussed the prospect of her running with either the First Lady or the President—an astounding assertion, given that every other Democratic notable seems to have had such a chat. In an interview, he twice deflected the question of whether he would prefer her to campaign for him or herself in 2000. "She'll be a positive force for Democrats," he said tersely, "whether she runs for the Senate or not."

Gore would no doubt be happy if Hillary decided to wait until 2004 to run in her home state of Illinois. Or there's Arkansas (where she owns a half interest in her mother's condo) in 2002, when backbench Republican Tim Hutchinson comes up for re-election. Since Tim is the brother of Asa, one of the House impeachment managers, knocking him out would satisfy Hillary's taste for political vengeance.

But Hillary knows about violent swings of public opinion. Riding high in the polls, she may sense that this is her best chance. Says Torricelli: "There is nothing less relevant than a former elected official." (Except, perhaps, a former nonelected official.) "I don't think Hillary wants to become part of the Rosalynn Carter or Nancy Reagan or Betty Ford routine," he says. "She doesn't want to talk about the good ole days."

The Clintons have never been patient. Bill ran his first campaign at the age of 28. In 1991, when George Bush's stratospheric approval ratings persuaded many Democrats to sit out the primaries, Bill and Hillary seized the opportunity. And now they may be doing it again. Ickes has set up a flurry of meetings and phone calls for next week with union leaders, local pols and minority leaders. The goal, says an adviser, is "to get a real feel for the politics of the place and the issues that matter there." But Hillary plays for keeps. The aim of all this preliminary work is chiefly to find out whether she can win. And that means figuring out how to beat Rudy Giuliani.

Though Giuliani is as yet undeclared—and may even opt to run for Governor in 2002 if Hillary goes for the Senate—contemplating the matchup is irresistible. The contrast between their public personas is delicious—Giuliani, the pugnacious former prosecutor who cleaned up the New York City streets; Hillary, the dignified stateswoman so long scrutinized by another prosecutor—and yet they have similarly ruthless instincts. The duel puts political junkies in a

IF SHE CAN MAKE IT THERE...

As First Lady she has visited New York 78 times. And recent stops looked a lot like campaigning



ROSIE SHOW

To promote her book—and mid-crisis cool—she did O'Donnell's program last December

PARTNERS?

In the Senate, Mrs. Clinton would be the junior colleague to New York's Charles Schumer







BRIGHT LIGHTS

The First Lady marveled at the mirrored bathroom in Louis Armstrong's New York City home

ROPE LINE

While touring historic sites last July, Mrs. Clinton worked a crowd in Ithaca

BACKSTAGE

Before Rosie O'Donnell's show, she shared a laugh with press secretary Marsha Berry

MIXED PAIR

At a women's rights celebration last year, Hillary met with Governor George Pataki



PHOTOGRAPHS FOR TIME BY DIANA WALKER

wistful mood. "It would be a fabulous campaign," says Fred Siegel, a political scientist at New York City's Cooper Union. "They're both tough, and they're both mean."

Democrats—who will have a hard time keeping the Moynihan seat against a well-financed, recognizable Republican like Giuliani if Hillary doesn't run—are all too cocky about Hillary's chances if she does. "She'd blow Giuliani out of the water," says Tony Podesta, a Gore adviser, voicing an opinion echoed by many—and one that is rosy in the extreme. In all likelihood, the race would be very close, and the winner would be the one who proved the more surefooted on New York's treacherous campaign trail.

As a contender, Hillary would start out with some tremendously favorable condi-

tions. "She's an icon in New York," says Republican Gerald Benjamin, a dean at the State University of New York in New Paltz. "She transcends ordinary politics here. The analogy is Bobby Kennedy"—another out-of-stater who was elected to the Senate in 1964. New York has 1.9 million more registered Democrats than Republicans, and Hillary's presence in the race would whip them into a frenzy. Among the Democrats' core constituencies—Manhattan liberals, women, unions and minorities—Hillary would bury Giuliani. The mayor's relations with blacks, especially, are precarious. The city's crackdown on crime has led to an increase in complaints against police and a sense of siege among blacks. The police shooting last month of Amadou Diallo, an

unarmed Guinean immigrant, has ignited passions. Though the crisis will be over long before the election—replaced, no doubt, by some other New York nightmare—community leaders say they won't forget. "This has unified blacks and Latinos," says Ruben Diaz Jr., a state assemblyman from the Bronx, "and together, they will vote against Giuliani and in droves for Hillary Clinton."

But make no mistake: against Giuliani, she would be in for a bruising fight. Sources say Ickes has warned her to gird for the battle of her life. "This is not a shoo-in," admits an adviser. Giuliani and his surrogates would try to make an issue of her carpetbagging and question her commitment to fixing potholes in Syracuse. As much as she will energize Democratic loyalists, her can-

IN CASE SHE WANTS SOME FREE ADVICE...



GERALDINE FERRARO, former Congresswoman

As a Democrat, I would love it if Hillary were to run. Not only is she right on the issues, but if she runs, she wins—and generates such a large turnout that she helps Democrats in every race. And, yes, I would love to see a woman representing New York in the U.S. Senate! But should she? Is it in her best interest to take on a campaign at this time?

I have run for the Senate twice in New York—unsuccessfully, alas—and I can tell you that it is no walk in the park. The tabloids try to eat you alive every day. Much worse, they go after your family. The media and Hillary's Republican opponent would surely attack her as a carpetbagger, revisit her commodities investments and Whitewater representation, distort her views on a Palestinian state and serve up snide analyses of her marriage. But I think she can successfully rebut them all. We have elected two men from out of state—a Connecticut Republican, James Buckley, and a Massachusetts Democrat, Bobby Kennedy—to represent us in the Senate. Hillary has spent more time in New York over the past seven years than either of them did in the years just before they ran. Mile for mile, event for event, cause for cause, she can't be equaled.

So why should she even consider saying no? The polls, the wooing, the potential of the Senate as a springboard for national office—all are highly seductive. But there are other things to be considered. Hillary is now in the second most powerful po-



sition in the country. Can you imagine giving that up to be a junior member of the minority in the Senate? And she would have to give it up. The people of this state would expect her to focus on the issues of concern to New York. They'd

want to see her in every county, and they would want to hear her views on health care, education and Social Security reform but also the cost of air fares upstate, PCBs in the Hudson River, the aquifers in Nassau County and on and on. And though she wouldn't have to live in New York, she'd have to run a campaign in New York, which might be tough to do from the White House. Federal election rules are very specific about what a campaign can and cannot do. I believe she'd be stepping into a quagmire trying to sort out what expenses could be paid by the taxpayer, because they were incurred in her role as First Lady, and what expenses would be paid by her campaign. The right wing would deluge the Federal Election Commission and Justice Department with complaints in an effort to derail her.

Does she need this? I don't think so. She's young and can wait four years to have her Senate seat. In 2004, Republican Peter Fitzgerald will be up for re-election in Illinois, a state that really is Hillary's home. By then, her book will have been written, her husband will be settled into a new job, Chelsea will be an adult, and the Senate will have a Democratic majority. Forget us politicians, Hillary: Do what's best for you.

didacy would mobilize the right, become fodder for G.O.P. direct-mail fund raising and unite New York's upstate conservatives—good news for Giuliani, who has never recovered their good graces since endorsing Mario Cuomo in the 1994 Governor's race.

For a Republican, Giuliani also runs extremely well with many Democratic-leaning swing voters. His brutally efficient success in reducing crime, paring welfare rolls, fighting smut and ending vagrancy has endeared him to middle-class white ethnics outside Manhattan; his pro-choice, pro-immigrant, opera-friendly moderation on social issues makes him palatable to soccer moms. While hardened city dwellers mutter about Giuliani's safer, duller New York, suburbanites love it. In the TIME/CNN sur-

vey, Giuliani received a favorability rating of 40% among New York City voters but outpolled Hillary 52% to 41% in the suburbs.

Then there's her Jewish problem: she will have to explain to Jewish groups what she really meant last year when she called for Palestinian statehood. In the TIME/CNN poll, half of Jewish voters, who account for 10% of the state's registered voters, say they disagree. While most say her position wouldn't be sufficient reason to vote against her, Giuliani—who won 7 of 10 Jewish votes in 1997—is already exploiting the issue; last week he slapped her for “siding with the Palestinians against the Israelis.” This is, after all, the man who in 1995 had Yasser Arafat ushered out of a city-sponsored party for the U.N.'s 50th anniversary.

In many ways, Rudy and Hillary will be battling each other on the same centrist policy terrain. It will heighten the chance that the campaign will turn on personal politics—who gets uglier, and more rattled, in the charge and countercharge of a New York election. Giuliani won't hesitate to go negative. In 1997 he accused his over-matched opponent, Ruth Messinger, of giving a party in the 1970s for an Attica prison inmate; suggested she supported X-rated video stores; and all but blamed her for the Brooklyn Dodgers' 1957 move to Los Angeles. But Giuliani could pay a price for personal attacks on Hillary. So he may let the tabloids shred her instead—as they did her husband during the 1992 primary.

When it comes to press relations, the



ED KOCH, former New York City mayor Rudy Giuliani will run the vilest possible campaign. He has no scruples, and he'll do anything to win. Nevertheless, Hillary has a spine made of steel and will overcome it. There'll be no surprises for her in terms of the garbage that will be hurled at her by Giuliani and his supporters. She'll beat Rudy Giuliani.

JIMMY BRESLIN, columnist Is she going to bring her husband up here? She's allowed to run; residency doesn't matter. In New York everybody comes from someplace else. [But] I know I can't vote for her. Anybody with a modicum of taste will not touch them. They brought us the worst scandal we've ever had, and now she wants to walk out of it and say she had nothing to do with it? She got on television here in New York and said it was a right-wing conspiracy—that was a bigger lie in its way than the one Clinton told on television. Come on. I really don't care what she does. They're over. They blew it.

DAVID GARTH, media consultant The real problem is how she handles herself under direct personal pressure. She did an amazing job standing by her husband, but when the gun is pointed at her, it becomes a more difficult problem. Plus, Rudy Giuliani has a very substantial record. He may not be the guy you want to go to the dance with, but he certainly is the guy you want to see lead the band. One trap she has to watch out for: a lot of people are emotionally bent on being anti-Giuliani. If she gets sucked into that by the media, I think she will not do well. She has to really keep her cool. If she started to become the heavy and started to get nasty, it wouldn't be appropriate.

MARIO CUOMO, former New York Governor You've never had to face the scrutiny of a press corps that is among the most competent, the brightest, most experienced and meanest in American history. You have to avoid saying the wrong thing. She should start by reminding people that her strength has been her intelligence and commitment to issues. Her slogan should be no slogans. Except for my son Andrew—who is considerably taller than the First Lady—I can't think of anybody who would make a better candidate than Hillary.

DICK MORRIS, former Clinton adviser I don't think she has a shot in New York. In places such as Elmira and Plattsburgh, people are not going to be voting for a Senator from Arkansas. Second thing is that Giuliani, while at the moment slightly weakened, is a very strong candidate. All of the issues that Hillary could use to win are issues on which Giuliani basically agrees with her. Finally, nobody knows what is going to happen after she leaves office, in terms of any of the rumors that have been circulating concerning indictments. By 2004 in Illinois, all of that stuff will be out of the way, but now she can't definitively say that, and Giuliani, a former prosecutor, will hammer it home.

SUSAN MOLINARI, former Congresswoman Mrs. Clinton can go out a winner as First Lady, or she can run in a race where she will be treated like we all are, with all our warts exposed, where every question is asked. The mayor wins this race handily.

CALVIN BUTTS III, pastor, Abyssinian Baptist Church Someone from New York would be better.
—Reported by Ratu Kamiani

polished Clinton might seem to have a natural advantage over the mercurial mayor, but Giuliani deals with New York reporters every day, albeit icily; Hillary deals with them not at all. "The New York media being what they are," says Bill Cunningham, who ran Moynihan's last campaign, "they would be looking for new ways to bring up old questions." How would Hillary hold up under scrutiny into Filegate, Travelgate, Whitewater, her commodities trades, to say nothing of inquiries about her marriage? On recent p.r.-friendly trips, she has frozen up when reporters pulled out their notepads. "She's essentially been protected from the press for most of her First Ladydom," says a friend and adviser. "If she runs, there's going to be a pile-on." Grunwald describes dealing with the New York press as "a hazing process. If you can take it, they respect you." And if you can't, they destroy you.

Why would she want to put up with it, especially when the prize is a six-year stint as a junior Senator? Perhaps because the alternative ways of pushing her issues are less lustrous. Grunwald says that "when somebody suggests that the U.S. Senate might be the best platform, you don't dismiss it." And there is a larger reason for Hillary to run. She has spent much of Clinton's second term trying to define—in wonky confabs with intellectuals, party leaders and foreign heads of state—a "third way," a progressive politics that hews neither to the left nor right and marries compassion with responsibility. Clinton's education agenda—accountability and school choice but not vouchers—fits the mold. The trouble is that it looks too much like the moderate conservatism practiced by Giuliani and George W. Bush. Clinton's fight for survival hasn't allowed him to highlight differences with G.O.P. centrists; he has more effectively defined himself against far-right zealotry. That leaves the task to Gore and Hillary. A Hillary campaign could help forge a guiding agenda for the post-Clinton era.

So will she or won't she? Maybe it is better to ask whether she should. "She may be the only person in the country," Torricelli says, "who can contribute to the national debate simply by entering a race." A Clinton-Giuliani matchup is tantalizing in part because, at its best, it would engage people in a way politics is seldom capable of doing these days. In 1964, on the night he won the U.S. Senate seat in New York, Bobby Kennedy quoted Tennyson: "Come my friends, 'Tis not too late to seek a better world." That sort of belief in the possibilities of American politics no longer exists. Hillary's run might just be a step toward restoring it. —*With reporting by Jay Branegan and James Carney/Washington, John Cloud and Elaine Rivera/New York and Karen Tumulty with Gore*

For more on Hillary Clinton, visit time.com

DIVIDING LINE

Jack E. White

Endangered Species

The police component in black-on-black crime



NO MATTER WHAT THE COURTS EVENTUALLY DECIDE ABOUT THE police shooting in New York City of Amadou Diallo, the mild-mannered African immigrant who was laid to rest in his native Guinea last week, many African Americans will agree with Johnnie Cochran that Diallo's death was yet another summary execution of an innocent black man by white racist cops. How else would you describe four members of an elite anticrime squad with a reputation for aggressiveness firing 41 shots at a skinny 22-year-old street merchant armed with nothing but a pager?

Well, you could call it business as usual. The sad truth is that in far too many places in America, black life is cheap. As outrageous as the police conduct in the Diallo case seems to have been, it is only a highly publicized example of the slaughter that has made black men an endangered species. Despite overall declines in the homicide rate, murder at the hands of another black man remained the leading cause of death for black males ages 15 to 24 through much of the '90s.

The underlying causes of the carnage—drugs, poor schooling, high unemployment and the breakdown of the family—are no secret. But there's another

factor that gets less attention: the conduct of the police. The Black Panthers may be defunct, but many inner-city residents agree with them that the cops are an occupation army more concerned with keeping minorities in check than with fighting crime. Special squads like the N.Y.P.D.'s street-crime unit, whose members killed Diallo, stop and frisk tens of thousands of people whose only crime is being black. Despite lawsuits by the A.C.L.U., African-American motorists are routinely pulled over by police in many states for



Diallo, top; plastic cups, above, mark shell casings found at the scene of the shooting

DWB—driving while black. Such tactics make it clear that to some cops, every black male is a suspect.

Decades of police abuse have completely destroyed inner-city residents' confidence in the criminal-justice system, argues Elijah Anderson, a social scientist at the University of Pennsylvania, in his forthcoming book, *Code of the Streets: Decency, Violence and the Moral Life of the Inner City*. The result is an every-man-a-vigilante mentality that makes violence inevitable. "Even decent people in inner-city neighborhoods are so distrustful of the police that they feel they have no choice but to take matters of personal defense into their own hands," says Anderson. "Instead of relying on the police to protect them, they let other people know that they can defend themselves with overwhelming force, which these days means having a gun and being willing to use it." The inflated sense of confidence that packing a gun engenders, especially in young men, can easily escalate a petty argument into a fatal confrontation. Step on somebody's shoes, and you could wind up dead.

Anderson says the heavy-handed tactics police employ to control the violence only make things worse, because they convince the vast majority of law-abiding inner-city residents that cops are the enemy. Unfortunately, too many people—and too many politicians, such as New York City Mayor Rudy Giuliani—have not made the connection. As Hugh Price of the National Urban League puts it, even poor people have "a right to be protected by the police, not be preyed on by them." Until the cops figure that out, it will be open season on black men. ■

Y FAIR

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Features

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Annie Leibovitz gets an exclusive tour of the Skywalker family's home planet of Tatooine, backdrop to George Lucas's wildly anticipated *Star Wars* prequel *The Phantom Menace*, while the mythmaking director introduces David Kamp to a new cast of cops, hooded Jawas, and Jedi Knights, who will take the screen alongside Yoda, R2-D2, and the rest on May 21.

HILLARY'S CHOICE | 136

Through scandal after scandal, Hillary Clinton has stood by her husband and turned her rage against his enemies as a nation debated the question *Why does she stay?* Penetrating a marriage that remains as mysterious as it is scrutinized, Gail Sheehy reveals a surprising saga of romance and power—and evidence that the First Lady may finally be asking herself whether it's all worth it.

PISTOL-PACKIN' DIVA | 144

Michael O'Neill aims his lens at Bernadette Peters, who gives a smoldering allure to sharpshooting legend Annie Oakley, Mimi Kramer finds, in the Broadway-bound revival of *Annie Get Your Gun*.

THE WORLD ACCORDING TO GARTH | 146

Seven months after pouring \$20 million into Livent, the Broadway colossus that produced such hits as *Ragtime* and *Show Boat* and the upcoming *Parade* and *Fosse*, Michael Ovitz found himself with a company on the verge of bankruptcy. Now, as the former superagent and his powerful board bring suit against Livent's flamboyant founder, impresario Garth Drabinsky, alleging years of fraud and mismanagement, Suzanna Andrews follows the money—and the motives.

LANE CHANGE | 150

Cliff Watts and Evgenia Peretz spotlight actress Diane Lane, who has her moment, at last, in actor Tony Goldwyn's directorial debut, *A Walk on the Moon*.

AND SO TO BEDFORD | 152

Once a peaceful exurban landscape of ratty tweeds and the right kind of money, Bedford, New York, has been dragged into the extravagant 90s—complete with surveillance cameras, feng shui, and spanking-new fortunes. Strolling through one of the East Coast's hottest enclaves, Alex Shoumatoff discovers why everyone from Michael Crichton and George Soros to Ralph Lauren and Donald Trump is calling it home. Photographs by Jonathan Becker.

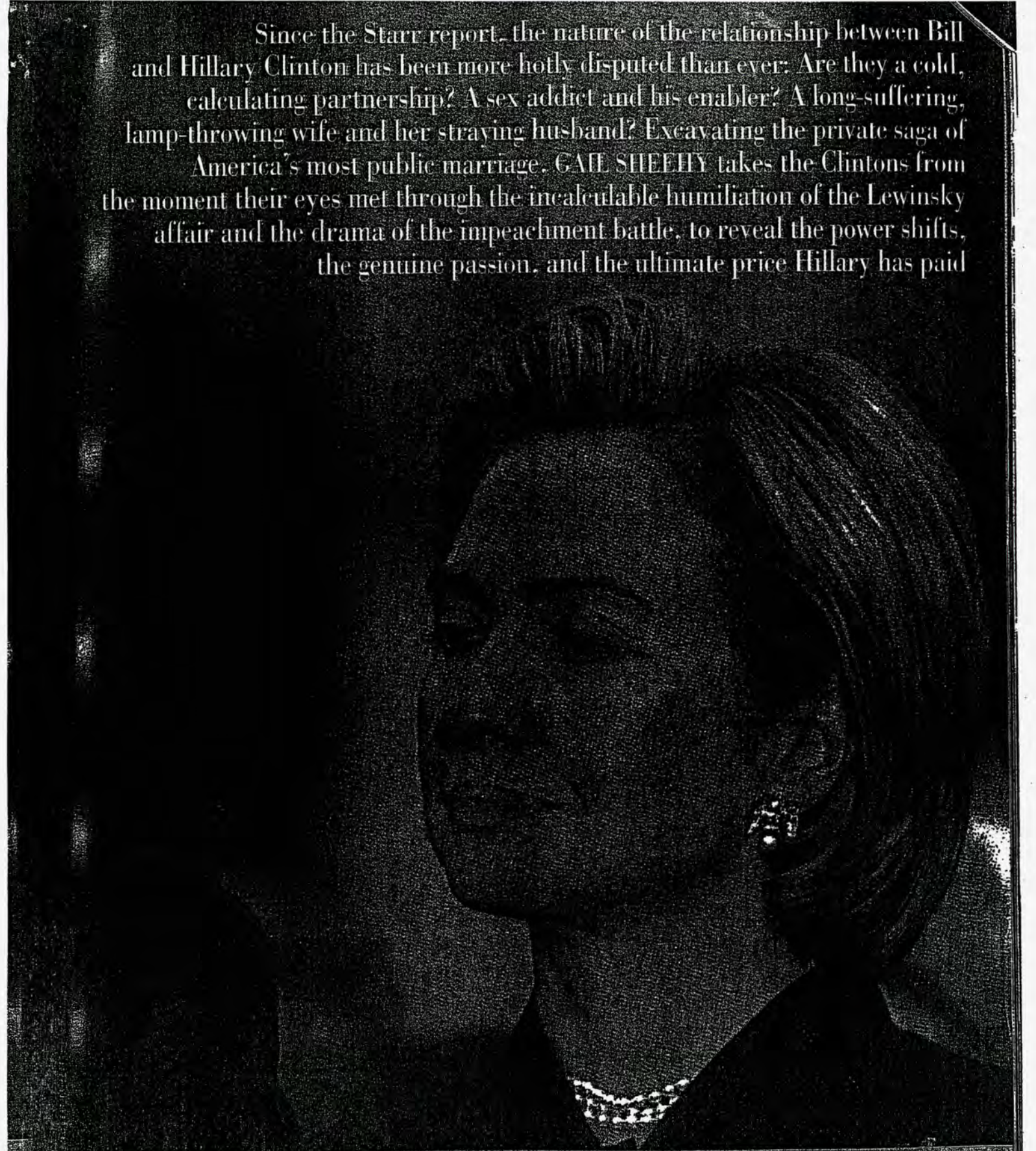
SPECIAL REPORT:

INSIDE
THE CLINTON
MARRIAGE



HILLARY'S

Since the Starr report, the nature of the relationship between Bill and Hillary Clinton has been more hotly disputed than ever: Are they a cold, calculating partnership? A sex addict and his enabler? A long-suffering, lamp-throwing wife and her straying husband? Excavating the private saga of America's most public marriage, GAIL SHEEHY takes the Clintons from the moment their eyes met through the incalculable humiliation of the Lewinsky affair and the drama of the impeachment battle, to reveal the power shifts, the genuine passion, and the ultimate price Hillary has paid



CHOICE

STATE OF THE UNION
President Bill Clinton and First Lady
Hillary Clinton face the nation on Saturday,
December 19, 1998, in the White House
Rose Garden, after his impeachment by the
House of Representatives. Days before, an
attorney close to the Clintons claimed, "She
hasn't forgiven him." Referring to Hillary's
reaction to her husband's relationship with
White House intern Monica Lewinsky.

S

he is angry. Not all of the time. But most of the time.

Those were the notes I made after I first met Hillary Clinton at Little Rock National Airport in 1992. It was a January Monday, the morning following her famous "I'm no Tammy Wynette" appearance on *60 Minutes* to defend her husband, Democratic presidential front-runner Bill Clinton, after the explosion of his first national sex scandal. Hillary's mother, Dorothy Rodham, had vetted me and I was granted rare access. For several days I flew knee-to-knee with Hillary in her six-seat chartered plane, observing as she fashioned the strategy (as Bill Clinton later acknowledged) to bring him "back from the dead."

I watched the Hillary iconography emerge. Voters seemed to accept her take-charge confidence. But there was a shadow. Many Americans I talked to, even then, seemed to feel she had sacrificed something, some human part of herself, in order to persuade us to vote for her husband. There was, and there remains to this day, a nagging suspicion about Hillary's motives and her marriage.

We didn't know that she was a woman with a secret, a wife experienced at drawing the draperies around her husband's demons. Even now, in the glare of impeachment, as special prosecutor Kenneth Starr threatens to pursue her husband past the year 2000, most Americans can hardly believe the spectacle of the Clintons.

During downtime in a motel in Pierre, South Dakota, I watched as Hillary flipped on the lobby TV and was suddenly faced with Gennifer Flowers playing tapes of her steamy calls to Governor Clinton. Hillary's eyes took this in with the glittering blink of a lizard. Not a tremor of emotion crossed her face. Nothing personal.

"Let's get Bill on the phone," I heard Hillary order her teary-eyed male campaign manager. But Clinton, according to Hillary, said he wasn't concerned. Throughout the scandal he behaved as if this were all about somebody else, not Bill. "Who is going to believe this woman?" he said. "Everybody knows you can be paid to do anything."



Hillary
says her mother
doesn't
"overemotionalize"
and avoids
"horribly overwrought
tizzies."





PARENTS-IN-TIME

Clockwise from top left: A six-year-old Bill Clinton poses with his mother (second from left), 1952. The future First Couple, four years after their marriage, at her 10-year reunion at Wellesley College in Massachusetts in 1979. Bill and Hillary relax in a Chicago hotel suite after a late-night staff party on Super Tuesday, March 1992. Hillary addresses the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, on February 2, 1998, 42 days after the Monica Lewinsky story surfaced. The Clintons, with two-year-old Chelsea on her father's lap, wave to supporters during the Cotton Plant Day parade in Arkansas, September 1982. Hillary at Wellesley in the late '60s, following her 1969 graduation; she attended Yale Law School, where she met her future husband.



"Everybody doesn't know that," Hillary snapped. It's her mouth that signals which Hillary you are getting. A mouth that can turn on like the Christmas lights at Rockefeller Center or bite your tongue out. "Bill, people who don't know you are going to say, 'Why were you even talking to this person?'"

Those who encounter the Clintons are always struck by how tough Hillary is on Bill. "But the more you see them," observes a former adviser, "the more you get why she withholds the approval that he seems to need, at times desperately." Hillary, adds the source, "has never held Bill accountable" for the transgressions that have rocked their lives. "She is in a perpetual state of suspended anger because of all that she has absorbed."

An hour after giving Bill his slap on the wrist, Hillary—soft and feminine now—entered the Pork Producers Rib Feed in Pierre. She was all smiles until her campaign manager whispered, "All three nets led with Flowers." That's when I saw the battle mouth. Hillary's lower lip juts out while the top one pulls tight. It is the look of a prizefighter with his mouthpiece stuffed in. In the plane I listened as Hillary rehearsed a retaliation. "In 1980 the Republicans started the negative advertising. In 1992 we have paid political character assassination. What Bill doesn't understand is you've got to do the same thing ... [pound the] Republican attack machine" and run against the press.

We had scarcely bumped down through the black hole of the Dakota night before Hillary, coatless, was clicking across the field toward a shack with a sign that said, RAPID CITY. She demanded a phone for a conference call: "Get Washington and Little Rock on the line." George Stephanopoulos and the baby-faced boys were about to be "inspired" by the candidate's wife. "Who's getting information on the Star? Who's tracking down all the research on Gennifer?"

In an earlier aside she had seethed to me: "If we'd been in front of a jury ... I would crucify her."

Her. Not him. Never him.

The saga of Bill and Hillary, with its echoes of Franklin and Eleanor, or Eleanor and Franklin, and sometimes Bonnie and Clyde, is animated by melodrama, scrapes, narrow escapes, and knock-down-drag-outs. Never more united than when battling adversaries and displaying their ferocious tenacity, the pair can't resist a turf war or a spitting match. His recklessness and her love of stepping in to save the day have created a dynamic of crisis (his) and management (hers). They have always seemed to thrive on it.

Every time he goes down, she rears up and turns into a lioness, tearing into the political veld to rip the flesh off their enemies. Bill Clinton, whom former presidential adviser Bill Curry describes as having "the passivity of a Buddha," sits in the huddle of legal experts and flak-catchers as Hillary growls out orders. "He's like the little kid who's been told to go to his



room," says a former Democratic political appointee who knows the Clintons. "Mom will handle everything. Knowing that the little kid will probably screw up again, even if she hides the cookie jar."

How many times must she save him? Why does she do it? What does she get out of this marriage? Why doesn't she run for office herself? *Why does she stay?*

If an intelligent person is betrayed repeatedly, and humiliated publicly, yet chooses to remain in that situation, one must ask: What are the rewards? The costs for Hillary have been high, but the benefits over the past 30 years have also been high.

In 1998, however, Hillary paid more than she could ever have anticipated for choosing to stay with Bill Clinton.

On a Saturday in January 1998, Hillary's husband, the president of the United States, denied under oath having had sexual relations with Jane Doe No. 6 (Monica Lewinsky). That was the weekend when lawyers for Paula Jones, a low-level state employee who was suing the president for sexual harassment in an incident at an Arkansas hotel seven years before, gave Clinton what friends call his "Oh, shit" moment. One or two questions about another woman, a 24-year-old White House intern from Beverly Hills, dragged out into 50 questions on an exam for which he was totally unprepared. His voice grew inaudible. How did they know about the calls, the gifts, the Black Dog T-shirt, for God's sake? Had Monica talked? He thought her testimony denying their affair was a done deal, but one of the questions during his deposition left him with grave doubts:

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

"It's certainly not the truth," said the president. "It would not be the truth."

Now he knew he would have to go home and tell Hillary, tell her something.

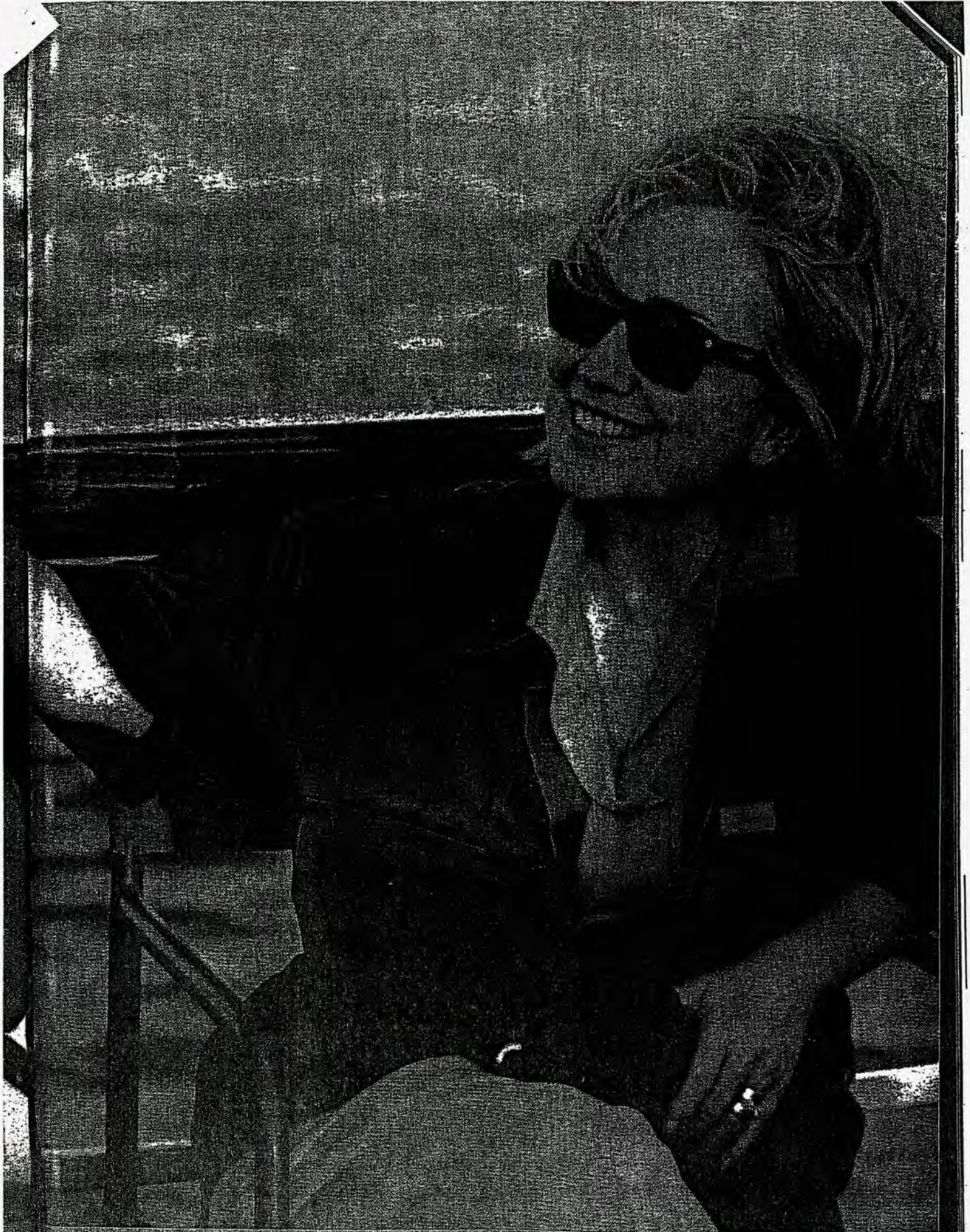
But there was no need to tell Hillary what she already knew, what she had known all along without special prosecutors or *Drudge Reports*. Her husband had a history with women.

No one knows what the president told his wife, in private, after his six-hour grilling. But the First Lady is vociferous in her one publicly stated grievance against her husband—that she was "mis-

YOU KEEP ME HANGING ON
President Bill Clinton and First Lady Hillary Clinton on the Chobe River in Botswana in March 1998, just months after revelations concerning his affair with Monica Lewinsky. "When Hillary rescues Bill, he invests her with a lot of power," says Eileen McGann, wife of former Clinton strategist Dick Morris.



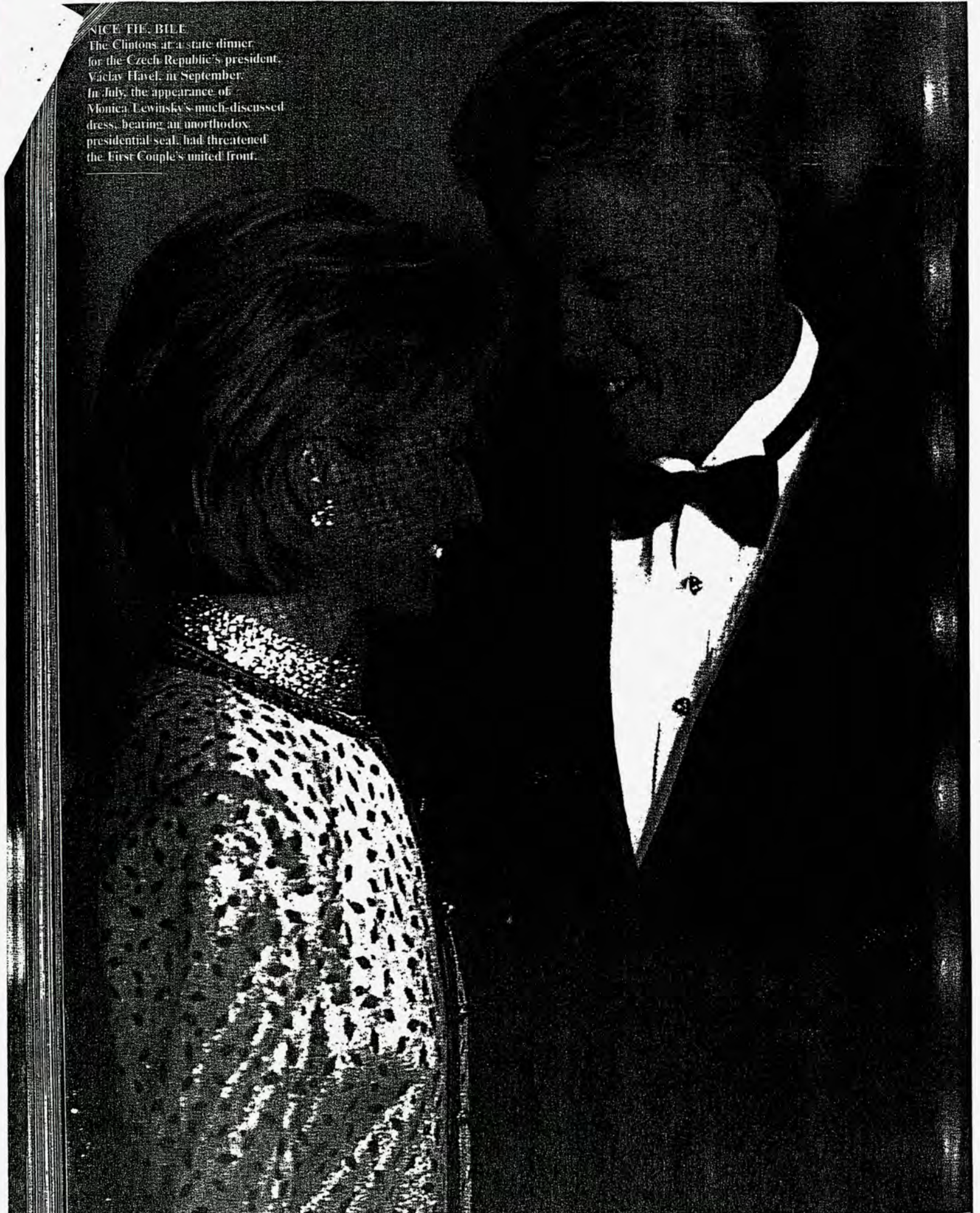
"He loses himself with people. Hillary has always been



en there to take control. His destiny was in her hands."

NICE FIE, BILL

The Clintons at a state dinner for the Czech Republic's president, Václav Havel, in September. In July, the appearance of Monica Lewinsky's much-discussed dress, bearing an unorthodox presidential seal, had threatened the First Couple's united front.



"We're all addicted," said Clinton. "Some to drugs."

led" by Bill Clinton about his relationship with Monica Lewinsky. (The name had to have been vaguely familiar to her. It was the First Lady herself who had recommended the young woman for an internship as a favor to Walter Kaye, a heavyweight contributor who was also a friend of Monica's mother's.) Those who defend Hillary Clinton believe that she may have been given an account similar to the one her husband gave their adviser Sidney Blumenthal:

Clinton said that the intern was going through a tough time. There was maybe a phone call. She came on to him, but he told her he couldn't have sex. "I've gone down that road before," he said. "I've caused pain for a lot of people and I'm not going to do that again." He said he tried to help a "troubled" person. She had threatened to say they'd had an affair. Monica, he said, told him that she was known as a stalker.

If Hillary had wanted the facts, this take-no-prisoners litigator could have crucified her husband, as she had threatened six years before to do with Gennifer Flowers. She could have "done a Betsey" on him and demanded updated lists of his dalliances, as Betsey Wright, his chief of staff, had done periodically when he was governor of Arkansas.

But apparently, she didn't. She never has. Where would it get her? This is a woman, a Methodist, whom one former aide calls "self-righteous," and whose husband has described her as "Calvinistic." Hillary could force him to spill details which she couldn't live with, and which, friends say, would wound her pride and force her to leave him. Or he could tell her a bald-faced lie.

Which is what he did.

"Hillary doesn't wait for the facts when it comes to his behavior," confided a lawyer close to the case. "She rushes to judgment and turns her anger on their external enemies." This attorney favored settling with Paula Jones, but the First Lady wouldn't have it. "Hillary held out," he says. Concession, even an inch, isn't her style. Except when it comes to her husband. I assumed that when she joined the president and his team for meetings on the Jones matter, the body language between Hillary and Bill had been hostile.

"Quite the opposite," said the lawyer. "It was hand-holding, arms around one another, lots of eye contact." It was the same in their initial meetings about Monica, at least until the middle of last Au-

gust. "Hillary's clearly made a decision. She's going to rise or fall with him. So she's going to stand with him," the lawyer told me at that time.

Eileen McGann, a successful attorney and the wife of longtime Clinton strategist Dick Morris, says, "When Hillary rescues Bill, he invests her with a lot of power. Those are the few times he's able to be warm and emotional and just give something."

Hillary had adopted a Valkyrian battle mode in order to save her marriage. Presumably, she learned not only to rationalize, but even to capitalize on her husband's weaknesses.

When Hillary the wife lost, Hillary as political partner usually made gains. She took charge. And he let her. She also gained something in their personal relationship. When his misbehavior was flagrant enough to incur her wrath, this normally narcissistic man compensated by giving his wife some attention, some warmth, some physical intimacy.

On the evening of January 17, the First Couple had planned to take chief of staff Erskine Bowles and his wife to dinner. The outing was also, apparently, meant to counteract any impression that the Clintons were upset by the Jones deposition.

The First Couple never made it. Except for church, they remained in seclusion until Monday. Clinton, we later learned, started phoning Vernon Jordan and arranging to meet his secretary on Sunday to enlist their help in rehearsing his story. Veteran Hillary-watchers were amused when they caught a radio interview she granted that Monday. "Hillary comes up with these cutesy descriptions," says a longtime associate of the couple's, citing the time Mrs. Clinton told a magazine about how much she liked to fix her husband little lunches in the new White House kitchen after his golf games. "She has this need to make them into homey characters, and when she does, there's always something to read between the lines."

Describing the weekend when the lawyers for Paula Jones dragged Monica Lewinsky into the fray, Hillary told radio listeners, "It wasn't difficult." On Saturday she "hunkered down and went through a lot of my household tasks." When her husband came home, they watched a movie.

And Sunday?

"We ... came home and actually cleaned closets."

Hillary has always been skillful at "compartmentalizing" her problems; it's learned behavior, like good study habits. But with Bill it's a matter of psychological survival. He told an interviewer he put the sexual-misconduct accusations brought up by the Paula Jones lawyers "in a little box." In this mode of defense he had been well tutored by his mother, Virginia Cassidy Blythe Clinton Dwire Kelley, a freelance nurse-anesthetist who, in her memoir, *Leading with My Heart*, describes herself as the victim of a campaign by "various forces [which] tried for thirty years to destroy my career." Just like her son.

When bad things happen, Virginia drilled her boys, just brainwash yourself to put them out of your mind. Bill and his brother, Roger, were troubled by the term "brainwashing," so she came up with the black box. "Construct an airtight box," Virginia schooled them. "I keep inside it what I want to think about. Inside is white, outside is black. ... This box is strong as steel."

Hillary Clinton has adopted the strategy. "We do box it off," she said of her troubles, "because there is no way you can let people with their own agendas interfere with your life, private life, or your duties. And that's what my husband does every day."

Indeed, Bill Clinton is at his best with his back against the wall. When his eternal-adolescent self slips out and Saturday Night Bill goes on a pleasure binge, Good Boy Bill has to prove that he doesn't associate with that callow fellow. *It's not him.*

"When he screws up, he knows it better than anybody," says Betsey Wright. "He's looking for the cat-o'-nine-tails."

Does Hillary provide it?

"Yes. She's a punisher. But not the dominant punisher. There's a multitude of people who do that for him."

When the Clintons took up occupancy in that narrow-halled, overstaffed house on Pennsylvania Avenue, Hillary believed that, at last, Bill would be more or less exclusively hers. If not because of a change of heart, then because of diminished opportunity. She told friends they had grown closer than ever.

But that could have been another one of Hillary's cleaning-out-the-closets stories—a fantasy of normalcy.

"Being in the White House when a crisis blows is like nothing else," recalls Dee Dee Myers. And a crisis blew the night before *The Washington Post* published its January 21 story headlined CLINTON AC-

CUSED OF URGING AIDE TO LIE. Bill and Hillary positioned themselves for combat. During these onslaughts, the Clintons—united professionally—can hide for days behind their public faces. Even from each other. “This type of siege is like World War I to the Clintons,” says Dick Morris, the strategist who, upon Hillary’s command, engineered Bill’s greatest comebacks. “They’re in the foxhole. Shells are bursting all around. The two of them against the world. If your buddy does something stupid ... you allow yourself maybe a moment of ‘Schmuck, what did you do that for?’ But there just isn’t a whole lot of time to allow yourself the luxury of reacting to things personally.”

When the Monica story hit, the president turned to Morris, whose days in the Clinton court had been cut short by revelations of his afternoons with a prostitute. Back then the disgraced Morris had called Clinton to apologize, but the president dismissed it. “Don’t, don’t,” he begged his friend. “We all do shit.”

Morris told me there were only three moments in his 21-year relationship with Clinton when the candidate—whose first instinct is usually to deflect blame onto everyone else—reproached himself. The first was in 1980, when Governor Clinton was rejected by Arkansas voters after his first term. A second was in 1994, after the Democrats’ devastating congressional defeat turned some party loyalists against the Clintons’ much vaunted co-presidency. Both losses sent Clinton, according to Morris, into four- or five-month periods of “lassitude, lethargy, and recriminations.” He endlessly spun out the what-ifs.

The third time Morris heard Clinton’s lifeless voice was when he phoned the president at 11:30 A.M. on January 21, after the Lewinsky scandal had broken wide open. “You poor son of a bitch,” commiserated Morris. “I’ve just read what’s going on.”

“Clinton’s whole tone between the lines,” says Morris, “was ‘Oh God, have I fucked up this time.’” The president brooded: “I didn’t do what they said I did, but ... And I may have done enough so that I don’t know if I can prove my innocence. ... There may be gifts. ... I gave her gifts. ... And there may be messages on her phone answering machine.”

The president was unusually unguarded: “You know, ever since the election I’ve tried to shut myself down. I’ve tried to shut my body down, sexually. ... But sometimes I slipped up and with this girl I just slipped up.”

Eleven hours later, Morris phoned Clinton with the results of an impromptu poll, and gave his judgment that the president should not confess or even try to explain the situation. “Well,” said the president, according to Morris, “we just have to win, then.” In a heartbeat, Clinton seemed to recover his ability to put the whole ugly mess in a black box. “It’s as if a third party did it,” said Morris, “as if it’s some misfortune, like rain. It’s totally unconnected with any of his causality.”

Clinton didn’t say what he’d told Hillary, but Morris is convinced there are many questions the two don’t ask each other. “It’s part of the partnership,” he says. “She doesn’t ask him about the sexual stuff. And he doesn’t ask about her commodities investments or her Madison Guaranty transactions.”

One reason Hillary Clinton is able to maintain her momentum is that she imposes a PG rating on the news digests her staff prepares for her—no sex, no late-night-talk-show gibes, no facts about the scandal that might distress or distract her. Hillary is not a news junkie like her husband. She would rather review reports on H.M.O.’s than wallow in tabloid or television accounts of her problems. Betsey Wright CONTINUED ON PAGE 168

Spotlight

PISTOL-PACKIN’ DIVA

S

he’s spent Sundays in the park with Sondheim (and Mandy Patinkin), and helped Steve Martin snare pennies from heaven. Now Bernadette Peters is taking aim at a relic, strapping on spurs as Annie Oakley in the current revival of *Annie Get Your Gun*, which just opened at the Kennedy Center and goes to Broadway in March.

Ethel Merman, for whom Irving Berlin famously wrote the part, brought to it a voice that could stampede cattle and a backwoods gawkiness—partly what the script seemed to call for, and partly the temper of the time. In the newly dark years after the war, it wasn’t permissible for a woman to express desire—or, really, even embody it—without seeming “bad.” Accordingly, Berlin’s Annie Oakley, who falls in love with her mentor and rival, Frank Butler, had to be portrayed as a tomboy, beginning with the potato-sack dress.

Peters brings sexuality into the picture and comes close to reinventing the part. Where Merman belted, Peters smolders and yearns, transforming Annie into a heroine who would be as at home in the bedroom as she is on the range. An aesthetic shift? Well, yes. “Performance style has changed a lot in 50 years,” Peters points out. But there’s an authenticity factor, too. The real Annie, explains Peters, was far from mannish. “That whole tomboy/potato-sack image was a Broadway invention,” as was the stormy relationship with Frank Butler. “Actually, it was a lifelong romance,” says Peters. “They met, they married, they stayed together 50 years. They even died within a few days of each other.”

Peters, who is herself happily married in real life (to investment adviser Michael Wittenberg), sees the relationship between Frank and Annie as a *pas de deux*. “Essentially, it’s a great love story,” she says, “about a woman who’s better than the guy she loves at the thing they’re both good at.” Relax, Ethel. —MIMI KRAMER

PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL O’NEILL

STYLED BY KIM MEEHAN; COSTUME DESIGNED BY WILLIAM IVEY LONGO; HAIR BY MAURY HOPSON; MAKEUP BY VINCENT LONGO; FOR DETAILS, SEE CREDITS PAGE

Bedford

ways and greens. Another worry is the traffic and parking problems that the P.G.A. tournaments Trump is planning to host will bring. Only narrow back roads lead up to the place.

But Trump didn't foresee a problem with the zoning. "The Achilles' heel of the town boards is that I have the right to put in 109 units. Is that what they want, as opposed to having the most beautiful golf course in the country? They'll find out what congestion is about."

As far as his golf game is concerned, Trump walks the talk. He plays to a handicap of 5, and that day, taking only one roving mulligan, he shot a 71. He just stepped up and hit the ball where it was supposed to go. No angst. It was fascinating to watch how his game mirrored his approach to life. "Life is all in the head, isn't it?" he said af-

ter stiffing a three-iron to a tiny pin flapping 200 yards away. "Life is what you do while you're waiting to die, so what difference does it make? Ever hear that expression?"

Casually birdieing the 18th hole, one of the toughest in golf, he said, "I just wanted to finish with a bird to indelibly imprint on your frigging head that the Trumpster can play."

Then we drove up to Seven Springs. We passed Nonsuch, a beautiful stone mansion in its own right, which Trump is planning to turn into a guesthouse. "What I bought for eight million is fucking nuts," he said. We pulled up into the courtyard of Seven Springs, which he had finished with Belgian cobblestones and a big Italian fountain in the center. The house itself, sided with pinkish granite quarried on the premises, has about 50,000 square feet, with three stories and two wings, one containing an indoor pool. It was designed in 1915 by Charles Platt, who also did the Soros place.

It is inarguably the most palatial house of all, far more deserving of the term *château* than the many other approximations in the neighborhood.

"It doesn't get any better than this, you'll agree, for a piece of land," he said as we careened down one of the future par-5s, in his black Wagoneer, chasing some deer into the woods. Six of the most celebrated golf-course architects, including Tom Fazio and Greg Norman, had submitted plans. Trump had gone with Arthur Hills, "who is known for using the land as is," he explained. "The other plans would have ripped the shit out of it. The course will take 190 acres, more than you need, but there will still be room for 11 mansions, and I'm going to spend \$30 million on it, twice the usual price of a top-of-the-line new course. I'm going so overboard, but, Alex, to be honest, you're given one opportunity with a piece of land like this."

And then he declared, "Bedford is beautiful and classy. And now it has life." □

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CONTINUED FROM PAGE 144 said jokingly to me, "Hillary Clinton is probably the only person in America you could tell a cigar joke to and she wouldn't get it."

Hillary carefully censors what she says about Bill—even with her own mother. Dorothy Rodham does not grant interviews. She lives in a condo in Little Rock co-owned by Hillary and often listens to right-wing talk radio. I was able recently to engage her in a conversation.

"I don't talk to Hillary about anything deeply personal concerning her marriage," Dorothy Rodham told me. "We don't sit down and have those mother-daughter discussions about how she relates to her husband, her daughter, or anything else as far as her personal life is concerned.... We don't talk about deeply personal things."

Without the benefit of uncensored views, Hillary was easily able to convince herself that Monica Lewinsky's story was a flat-out lie. As the media blared *All Monica, All the Time*, Hillary appeared eager to go on television to blame the scandal on a "vast right-wing conspiracy." Mandy Grunwald, who had served both Clintons well during the 1992 campaign, talked to Hillary's staff before the appearance to warn them, "Here's what's out there, for those of you who don't read newspapers." Grunwald believes her friend was "completely unfazed" by it all at that time, she emphasizes. "In her mind," Grunwald told me, "the scandals and accusations were all of a piece. There was no difference between Filegate, Travelgate, Paula Jones; they were all just more

of the same political charges that the Clintons have to deal with."

On the *Today* show in late January, speaking with a certainty that few married people could muster, Hillary declared that she and her husband "know everything there is to know about each other." Nobody could have predicted the snowball effect it would set off—except Bill Clinton.

He watched as Hillary strode into the flames, coordinating damage control, citing favorable polls, marshaling surrogates to warn darkly of "a day of reckoning" for media offenders. Hillary brought back old loyalists for the new battle and summoned pal Harry Thomason (husband and partner of television producer Linda Bloodworth-Thomason) to stage-manage the president's defiant, finger-wagging television appearance in January.

"I did not have sexual relations with that woman—Miss Lewinsky," Clinton declared with studied forcefulness on January 26.

The First Lady, sunny in yellow, stood beside her husband, nodding.

A major hole in their defense remained. It was personal. It was Chelsea. Their beloved daughter, their best thing, was called home only three weeks following her return to Stanford University after spending Christmas break with her parents.

Who was going to tell her, and what?

Very little had ever been allowed to take precedence over Chelsea—for either Clinton. In Little Rock, when Hillary was making trips to Washington for her work with the Children's Defense Fund, Chelsea was the girl who waited up for Governor Clinton. Betsey Wright recalls Bill's taking time to

practice the piano with Chelsea while impatient aides waited. The Clintons' resident baby-sitter in the mid-80s, Melinda Martin, told me, "Whenever Hillary was there, she always sat with Chelsea while she had dinner." The Clintons rarely went out together in those years of strain on their high-wire marriage. Bill once called Dick Morris to report, "I don't think we're going to make it." But Hillary, according to Betsey Wright, never gave her husband an out. Chelsea was their reason to hang on.

A long time ago, when Hillary was four, her mother gave her license to fight a girl who kept punching her: "There is no room in this house for cowards," Dorothy Rodham said. "The next time she hits you, I want you to hit her back." This became the model for Hillary's operational style. In effect, she told her husband there was no room in this White House for cowards.

You take your daughter to Camp David and explain it yourself. I'm going to Davos.

It was sometime after January 20 that Hillary decided to accept a last-minute invitation to address what an aide calls "the crème de la crème of the world" at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland. Davos gave her something else to think about. There, in the Swiss Alps, she would look out at an audience of 2,000 global power brokers—presidents, prime ministers, C.E.O.'s of multinationals, Nobel Prize winners, academics, and media moguls. She was accustomed to looking powerful men straight in the eye.

While the president struggled at Camp David to find the words to keep his daughter's trust, the First Lady reminded the

world of her own commanding voice. With her presidential-eagle brooch clamped at her neck on a collar of pearls, Hillary Clinton delivered her vision of priorities for improving the state of the world in the 21st century. She challenged the leaders to invest in education and opportunities for women and to share their wealth and power. Her 20-minute address was, according to Jim Hoge, the editor of *Foreign Affairs*, "beautifully phrased" and delivered without notes. "Her manner," said Hoge, "was that of someone at the top of her game." After a standing ovation, a top Democratic Party leader from Hillary's home state of Illinois was moved to political lust.

"That's our winning candidate for the Senate," he said.

Somebody else said, "Are you serious?"

The official didn't hold back: "If we could get rid of the kid [Bill Clinton], I'd run her in a minute. Nobody could beat her."

Hillary was on top. But how could she savor this moment, knowing that across the world her fragile family was once again in danger of being shattered?

The American public has suspected that Hillary Clinton's marriage is a match made of ambition; that she wants power and glory; that when the last hurrah is heard from the Clinton White House she will wait a respectable length of time, divorce her husband, and run for elective office herself.

But this was not Hillary's choice.

Although she is perceived as a hard-edged feminist, she has made the most traditional of choices—to gain her status in the world through her husband. And to hang on to him no matter what. Hillary's choice can be seen by reasonable people either as a sad throwback to the pre-feminist 50s or as a model of modern Machiavellian pragmatism. She has learned to look at the world the way men of power do: Never take attacks personally, and in the face of all obstacles hold on to one's life strategy in service of a larger agenda. She is both martyr and opportunist.

She is also a protector.

Her life strategy, decided long ago, was to take the raw material of a brilliant, emotionally battered child with a good heart and a desperate ambition and shape him into a political star to which she could hitch her wagon full of dreams for changing the world.

It took a Hillary to raise a president.

Claudia Riley, the widow of former Arkansas lieutenant governor Bob Riley, first met Clinton when he was back from

Oxford and at loose ends in Little Rock. "I know these people," she told me. "Bill was ambitious, but he's pretty laid-back. I don't think he ever thought that he was going to be president. Hillary knew where they could go.

"He loses himself with the people," Riley continued. "Hillary has always been there to take control. She saw the potential in Bill, and she was going to take his future and mold it. His destiny was in her hands. I believe this with all my heart and soul. She was the one who kept him in the channel."

Carolyn Yeldell Staley, Bill's boyhood



DEAR MAMA

President-Elect Bill Clinton in Little Rock, Arkansas, with his mother, Virginia Kelley. She was known for her streak; he became famous for being slick.

next-door neighbor from Hot Springs, saw the education of the young politician happen right in the Clintons' living room.

"Hillary taught him how to fight," she says.

Hillary tried to keep Bill on schedule. "I have to kick his ass every morning," she once told Susan McDougal, according to the late Jim McDougal, the Clintons' White-water guru. Hillary toughened him up.

As the years went on, the most ruthless of the Clintons' Praetorian Guard have all been Hillary's picks: the Cajun clown James Carville, the mercurial Dick Morris, and the courtier Sidney Blumenthal. The sure way to be in Hillary's inner circle, says a former White House spokesperson, "is to show a

balls-out, go-to-the-mat mentality about taking on their enemies. Anybody who has a hang-up about fairness is cast out as part of the enemy camp."

Hillary's disowning of her private circumstances allows her to get up every morning and put on the robes and jewels of her hard-won position as American royalty and go about her business of making a difference in the world. As First Lady she wields tremendous political power without electoral accountability. She is in a position to open up all kinds of private and nongovernmental avenues to do the good things she believes in for children, women, the protection of America's historical treasures—the list goes on and on. These are the most important things to Hillary Rodham Clinton.

And one more thing. She gets to keep Bill.

"I think she's in love with this guy," is the nearly ubiquitous refrain of their friends and advisers, although most admit that they are mystified by the dynamics of the Clintons' relationship.

In her first year at Yale Law, Hillary Rodham was "deliberately unattractive," according to one male classmate. "I believe it came down to her self-consciousness about her own looks," says this source. Lanny Davis, who was with Hillary at Yale and is now a partner at Patton Boggs in Washington, D.C., and one of Hillary's most loyal vassals, would often tease Hillary about the way she dressed: "Lurking somewhere beneath that headband and those glasses and that dress is a beautiful woman."

"I'm not hiding it," she would brush him off, annoyed. "I just don't care."

Although this was the late 60s, Hillary's preference for shapeless shifts, no makeup, and hair carelessly tangled down her back was not a political statement. Growing up, Hillary made no effort to be pretty. Makeup and clothes were not her métier; perfect grades and good works were far more important. Substance over style. That was Hillary. That was how she was raised.

"I wanted my children to be able to keep their equilibrium," Dorothy Rodham told me, explaining how she used a carpenter's level as a visual tool for instruction. She showed Hillary and her brothers the level with the bubble dead center. "Imagine having this carpenter's level inside you," she told them. "You try to keep that bubble in the center. Sometimes it will go way up

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here," she said, tipping the instrument to show how the bubble could drift, "and you have to bring it back."

The Rodhams emphasized self-reliance—no hands, no help, except from God and Goldwater. Hillary's father, Hugh Rodham, who came from a long line of Methodists, led the family each Sunday to the First United Methodist Church in Park Ridge, Illinois, a predominantly white, largely Republican suburb. As a family, Hillary writes in *It Takes a Village*, "we talked with God, walked with God, ate, studied and argued with God. Each night we knelt by our beds to pray."

Even as a girl, Hillary lived mostly up in her head. The heart was a fickle distraction in the Rodham household. Life was seen as combat. In fact, Hillary's father prided himself on having trained young recruits for combat during World War II. Hugh Ellsworth Rodham served as a chief petty officer in the navy, and he used his old methods in raising his children. "Well, Hillary," he would demand, "how are you going to dig yourself out of this one?" Hillary tellingly describes her father as "a self-sufficient, tough-minded, small businessman." He was his own boss and the sole employee of his screen-printing plant. This cold drillmaster asked for no help and offered little warmth.

"When I brought home straight A's from junior high," Hillary writes, "my father's only comment was, 'Well, Hillary, that must be an easy school you go to.'" No matter how well she did, her father was always "raising the bar." Hillary acknowledges that her father's "motivational ploy could have had the opposite effect on a child of a different temperament than mine."

Hillary's mother must have inculcated the horror of divorce that has shaped so many of Hillary's life choices. The stories Dorothy Rodham told were searing: about being abandoned by parents who split up when she was only eight, about being dispatched on a train for a three-day journey from Chicago to Los Angeles as the caretaker of her three-year-old sister. On hearing this tale, Hillary didn't cry. She got angry. "I was incredulous," she writes, "furious that any child, even in the safer 1920s, would be treated like that." Young Dorothy's mother disappeared from her life for a decade; Dorothy was raised by a demeaning grandmother until the age of 14, when she was hired by strangers to work for room and board. In Hillary's mind, her mother's experience became a parable of divorce and the pain of broken families. In her book she writes: "Children without fathers, or whose parents float in and out of their lives after

divorce, are precarious little boats in the most turbulent seas."

I asked Hillary's mother if, when things become what most of us would think of as intolerable, Hillary calls her just to talk and get unconditional love and support.

"No," Mrs. Rodham said, sounding every bit as matter-of-fact as her daughter. "Hillary is really so mature. She always has been. . . . She's always thought things out for herself. Then if she needs more help or direction, she'll discuss things."

Such as Chelsea?

"Of course, we've never discussed Chelsea," she said, except for obvious topics such as her choice of colleges.

Does she think that Hillary feels pain very deeply? "Of course she does—she is a very sensitive person," Mrs. Rodham said, her voice tightening. "But she is able not to overemotionalize it. . . . She doesn't go into one of these horribly overwrought kinds of tizzies. That's one thing I never did, either."

Hillary's fate came walking into the Yale Law School library in the fall of 1970. It took the form of a handsome southern boy with a wild shrub of hair, huge shoulders, pants too long, and shoes impossibly hickish. Bill Clinton's eyes, however, reached across the room and lit up for his fellow law student.

He had been following her around for weeks, having heard her speak up fearlessly in a class they shared in political and civil liberties. He had watched her in the cavernous wood-paneled dining room. She was magnetic, always challenging, arguing, drawing upperclassmen around her with her intellectual energy. So sharp, that Hillary Rodham, so big-city sharp, and staggeringly confident.

Yet almost from the very beginning, it was Hillary Rodham who pursued Bill Clinton.

When in 1992 I asked the candidate's wife to name the most ecstatic experience of her 20s, she laughed and replied, "Falling in love with Bill Clinton. . . . He wasn't afraid of me." There was even something childlike and desperately needy about him.

Bill Clinton tapped into a part of Hillary that no one ever had, says Betsey Wright. "Everyone else saw her as a terribly serious woman, very intense. He saw the side of her that liked spontaneity and laughter. He found her guttural laugh: it's fabulous—there's nothing held back. The public never sees that side of her. When she's laughing, that's when she's free."

Hillary made herself indispensable to the very political animal in Bill Clinton. In the summer of '72, when Bill went to Texas to volunteer in George McGovern's presidential campaign, Hillary had herself

assigned to Texas to work for the D.N.C. and ran around with Clinton, journalist Taylor Branch, and Betsey Wright. As a feisty champion of women in politics, Wright became "obsessed" with pushing Hillary into the fray. "But about political aspirations of her own she was always noncommittal," remembers Wright.

Back at Yale, Hillary had taken a small apartment with Bill. (Although she was scheduled to graduate in 1972, she remained in New Haven an extra year and lived with Bill until he finished in '73.) She began clinical work on children's issues, but it wasn't to earn an extra degree that Hillary stayed. She stayed to hang on to Bill Clinton.

Classmates of Hillary's from Wellesley and Yale saw her as one of their own, an exemplary product of these genteel northeastern breeding grounds of the ruling class. In this world, Bill Clinton was seen as strange fruit. "Exotic." "Other." "Not studious like Hillary." These are some of their classmates' clearest memories of Bill Clinton. One can imagine the bad case of the bends that may have afflicted this young man with the tempo of the South and the political instincts of a young Huey Long as he attempted to climb the steep passages through social classes.

Hillary could help him. Even back then, she was not particularly ideological; and "not, by any stretch of the imagination, radical," says her classmate Ken Kaufman. "At most she was an activist," he says. In a letter Hillary wrote during her college years at Wellesley, she claimed that she got outrageous at times, "as outrageous as a moral Methodist can get." But what mattered most to Hillary was winning. Bill Clinton liked that.

Less than a year after graduating from Yale Law among the 33 women in a class of 193, Hillary was drafted, at the age of 26, as a staff member of the Nixon impeachment committee. Bill headed back to Arkansas to launch his first campaign.

Hillary kept her hand in, calling Little Rock, laying out strategy, snapping orders at the young southern male volunteers. "They had to listen," says Rose Crane, a childhood friend of Clinton's, "because Bill was backing her up."

She had the structure. He had the sensibility. The two quickly became symbiotic. Hers was the precise, disciplined world of the tort, the logical argument. She was all up in the neocortex. Not only was Bill Clinton's I.Q. a match for Hillary's, he could also work from lower down in the brain. He has what science writer Daniel Goleman has defined as E.Q.—"emotional intelligence"—the capacity to tap into one's own and others'

emotions and use them as a source of power. When Hillary could break away for an unscheduled visit to Bill Clinton, she was strangely free, laughing, caught up in a realm of emotion and sexual passion that had never been encouraged in her.

I asked Betsey Wright if small-town Bill had ever met anyone like Hillary before. She was emphatic. "Nobody had met anyone like Hillary before."

The clash between this steely, plain-faced city girl and Bill's flamboyant mother was as inevitable as a tornado in the plains. I first picked up Virginia's rivalry with Hillary when I flew to Arkansas to interview the candidate's mother in '92. I phoned her before leaving my hotel to check on directions to her home. Virginia Kelley stopped me cold: "I've decided I don't have time for the interview. The ponies are running today." I pleaded: "But I've come such a long way, and your son is running for president." Mrs. Kelley was adamant. Her final brush-off was revealing: "Yeah, but your article's only going to be about Hillary anyway."

Virginia Kelley habitually went to bed with her makeup on because it took so long to apply it. She thought of her life as a movie with herself as the star. What a shock it

was to encounter the woman her Bill had chosen—although admittedly the smartest woman Virginia had ever met—a hippieish female who cared not one whit about makeup!

Bill had anticipated the friction. When Virginia gave Hillary an icy, decidedly non-southern reception, Bill waited until his girlfriend was out of the room to make a strong case for her. As related later to Carolyn Yeldell Staley, his argument went like this: "Look," said Bill, "I don't need to be married to a beauty queen or a sex goddess. I am going to be involved all my life in hard work in public service and I need somebody who is really ready to roll up her sleeves."

Virginia brooded. "I would grind my teeth and wish I could sit Hillary on the edge of my tub and give her some makeup lessons," she admits in her book. "None of that mattered to her, though. She was too busy getting educated and doing good things like starting youth-advocate programs." But by the time Bill moved back to Arkansas in the summer of '73 to launch

his political career, he was determined to win Hillary as his partner.

"Mother ... pray that it's Hillary," he begged Virginia. "Because I'll tell you this. For me it's Hillary or it's nobody."

His practical decision to take a life partner on whom he could sometimes lean, in stark contrast to a mother who had always leaned on him, did not prompt Clinton to give up other girls. He continued romancing a campaign volunteer from Fayetteville and enjoying flings in towns around the district. Betsey Wright joked about the "rodeo queens" who were always in hot pursuit. Occasionally, if Hillary arrived early, one of his women would have to be smuggled out a side door of the campaign office.



MY GUY BILL (SOMETIMES)

Hillary Clinton gazes at the president she helped create at an inaugural ball in Washington in January 1993.

But Hillary refused to let his big-haired home babes discourage her.

At one point, Bill told Betsey Wright, "I tried to run her off, but she just wouldn't go."

"I think we're all addicted to something," Bill Clinton told Carolyn Yeldell Staley in the mid-1980s, according to Clinton biographer David Maraniss. "Some people are addicted to drugs. Some to power. Some to food. Some to sex. We're all addicted to something." Hillary's addiction is Bill. He is her only rebellion, the one thing she can't logically explain.

Over the years, Hillary Rodham Clinton became just as expert at dismissing her husband's sexual proclivities as he became at denying them to himself. Says Betsey Wright, "Hillary has the most incredible ability to separate her personal hurts, her personal indignity, from a bigger picture, and a bigger goal, and a bigger love for him. I was always so jealous of it, because I could not do it. I'd get so mad at him, it was hard for me to remember anything I liked about him or that he had

ever done. She would get mad at him and yet she could sort through that *within a matter of hours.*"

As Dick Morris says, "Hillary loves Bill, and Bill loves Bill. It gives them something in common." It led to the most irrational act of her life. This is a woman whom nobody expected to set her course in life by moving to Fayetteville, Arkansas, and accepting an obscure teaching position. Her friends were stunned. "You don't move to Fayetteville, not when you are a graduate of Yale Law School," says Mandy Grunwald. "It can only be explained by love."

An addiction causes people to do things they would otherwise never think of doing. So addicted did Hillary become to Bill Clinton, she gave up her own career, she gave up her name (temporarily), she moved to no-account Arkansas and stayed for 18 years. Bill was for Hillary a taste of freedom, a flight from her Calvinist "should"s. He was, at least at the beginning, her escape—her Monica.

And then he became so much more.

On his campaign plane in January of 1992, Governor Bill Clinton gave me a grandiose prediction: "If I get elected president, it will be an unprecedented partnership, far more than Franklin Roosevelt and Eleanor. They were

two great people, but on different tracks. If I get elected, we'll do things together, like we always have."

Through the nearly 30 years that they have stalked the political jungles, Hillary and Bill have usually enjoyed a positive valence of power between them. But there are shifts. Dick Morris, a witness for many years, observes that the shifts in the balance of power occur about every two or three years.

At the beginning of the Clinton administration, Hillary boldly assumed the role of co-president with her husband's blessing. "There was some fear here that she was going to get gypped out of something she had paid a real price for," says Bill Curry, a former White House adviser. Hillary felt she had been sidelined in Arkansas. After all her visible contributions during her husband's governorship—including travels around the state to promote major education reform—she had been enraged by a 1989 poll conducted by Dick Morris which showed that voters saw her only as the governor's wife.

Washington, Hillary was determined, would be a different story. She wanted her

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own job. One consideration was attorney general, but by 1992 her brother Hugh Rodham, a public defender in Dade County, Florida, had dismissed that job in an interview with me. "Only local lawmaking," he termed it. He had his sister in mind for secretary of state. But in the Clinton administration's early days a little research turned up the anti-nepotism law which puts such positions out of reach for a president's wife. Hillary floated other ideas. "Time magazine thinks I would be a good chief of staff," she told Morris.

He differed, comparing that job to a baseball manager's. "The team's owner," he told Hillary, "has to be able to ditch the manager if the team isn't winning." Unditchable, Hillary remained determined to carve out her own political identity. Finally she decided to take charge of a key policy area. It was the president's idea to give her health-care reform, the major policy initiative of his first term.

She also continued to run many of the president's operations, as she always had. Bill Clinton, says a longtime ally, "likes to think, likes to talk, doesn't like to decide." He continues: "Perhaps a myth had developed in their marriage that Bill Clinton was utterly detached from the practicum of life and that she was good at it. But aside from his own philandering, almost every problem the guy got into—Whitewater, Travelgate, Filegate, the early appointments, how she made money, cattle futures—all that was Hillary. She is awful at this stuff. She is terrible. Almost the worst I have ever seen."

Hillary had handled "the practicum of life" out of necessity. In all his years as an Arkansas politician Bill Clinton had increased his income from \$25,000 to the princely sum of \$35,000 by his mid-40s. Hillary, not following her real passion, was working as a corporate lawyer. Her close friend and former Wellesley classmate Jan Piercey had told me: "She's responsible for the revenue in the family." And as her Whitewater investments and commodities trading revealed, the fact that she was better than Bill at the basics didn't mean she was good—in fact, financially she was glib but not particularly greedy.

"Handling White House operations wasn't what Hillary cared to do," concedes a top aide. "Frankly, what was happening in those early years of the administration was the sense we couldn't get our act together." Hillary's uncompromising style—an asset in the courtroom—proved contrary to the craft of capital politics, where compromise is a necessity. She had a tin ear for how to sell her ideas.

The First Lady, sources agree, was utterly blindsided by the crushing defeat of

Democrats in the 1994 congressional election. When the G.O.P., led by Newt Gingrich and his gang of budget cutters, seized control of the House of Representatives for the first time in 40 years, it was the First Lady, and her arrogant handling of the roundly rejected health-care initiative, who was blamed by many Democrats. Bill Clinton, says Curry, "didn't talk about it very much." The adviser continues: "In every matter—political, policy—he was fiercely loyal to the First Lady. He made it clear to anyone and everyone that he brooked no criticism of his wife."

It was the only time Dick Morris has ever seen Hillary Clinton "depressed." After that '94 election, he remembers her saying, "I just don't know what to do. I just don't know what works anymore. I don't trust my own judgment. Everything I do seems not to work." For the next six months or so, he says, Hillary lapsed into "tremendous insecurity, and almost an abdication." A former senior White House adviser says that for a period of two years—'94 to '96—Hillary Clinton "never came to a single one of the weekly strategy sessions in the White House."

Belatedly guided by the legacy of her heroine, Eleanor Roosevelt, Hillary managed to stage a comeback. Curry recalls his earlier dismay "that she missed the point of Eleanor Roosevelt, who didn't insinuate herself into day-to-day affairs and who understood that there was an extraordinary amount of charismatic power that simply flowed from being the First Lady." Hillary began a syndicated column based on Roosevelt's "My Day." She wrote *It Takes a Village*, a book which reflected her real area of expertise—child development. It became a best-seller. Hillary also decided to "go international" as an advocate for women's issues and human rights.

"She was really beginning to enjoy what she was making of the role of First Lady," says Don Baer, former White House communications director. And then, the Year of Monica. The revelations of her husband's lewd encounters in the Oval Office blew open the draperies on her carefully concealed private life. All the black boxes were exploded. In the most bizarre turn of the Clintons' twisted relationship, Hillary, in 1998, as the world's most publicly degraded wife, levitated far above her husband.

"In 1998," says Dick Morris, "she got all the power back."

Watching his wife on *Today* that January morning, watching her step forward once more to pick up the broken pieces, Bill Clinton couldn't split off his better self from the eternal adolescent who had lied to her.

Neel Lattimore, who served Hillary for six years as her press secretary, believes that the president "realized he had not only

betrayed her in their marriage, but also professionally, in a way that he'd never betrayed her before. That made it all the more difficult for him to be honest with her."

And so, to keep from telling Hillary the full and awful truth, Bill Clinton lied to everyone else. By the end of 1998 he was still lying about his lies.

All politicians lie some of the time. But Bill Clinton has earned a reputation for prevarication surpassing even Lyndon Johnson's and Richard Nixon's. A *New York Times* editorial pondered this president's "mysterious passion for lying." Why does he have to lie to so many people so much of the time?

"I think that we are what we have come from. We can never cast that away." Claudia Riley said this to me about Bill Clinton. Having watched him grow up politically, she always felt "a vagueness there, an undercurrent. I'm sure that he has fought the will-o'-the-wisp all of his life," she says.

Maybe no one understands who Bill Clinton is, and why, better than his wife, a woman who has spent 30 years studying and defending children. Hillary Clinton's book shows her deep understanding of the complicated emotional havoc that adults deal with when recovering from a damaged childhood. She has learned a great deal from living with Bill.

Hillary's husband was raised in a culture built on lies. Hot Springs, the town where he spent most of his childhood, was a warm bath of half-truths and hypocrisy where gamblers and bookies and fugitive mobsters from New York and Chicago found a resort just right for their tastes, where a proliferation of Baptist churches attempted to put proper Sunday faces on the bathhouses, betting parlors, and brothels that were supported by the local government. "In Hot Springs, growing up here, you were living a lie," a local prosecutor, Paul Bosson, told *Frontline* in "The Choice '96."

Clinton's spirited mother, Virginia Kelley, didn't recognize many boundaries. "I'm not one for rules, and the only rule in Hot Springs was to enjoy yourself" Kelley told readers of her memoir, *Leading with My Heart*. "You could carry your drink around with you downtown, even on Sundays." The flouting of rules in Hot Springs was so prevalent, the gambling so wide-open, that it never occurred to Virginia that some of her favorite activities were illegal. "When it came to a vote on legalization of gambling in Arkansas," Kelley writes, "I never was so shocked."

But ethical confusion was the simplest of the mysteries her son confronted.

It is possible that William Jefferson Blythe III came into the world a lie. Or, at best, a guess. Bill Blythe, the man whose name the future president was given for the record, was a traveling salesman, an eighth-

grade dropout, an accused bigamist who passed through Virginia's life for less than six months. Virginia was engaged when she met the elder Bill, but she and her new boyfriend were sleeping together six weeks later. "I was shameless," she admits. It was wartime and, as Virginia wrote, "we talked fast, played fast, fell in love fast." On September 3, 1943, she eloped with Blythe to Texarkana, Texas, where they were married by a justice of the peace. Two months later, Blythe was shipped off to North Africa. He served in World War II for the next three years and died in a car accident on May 17, 1946.

David Maraniss began to question Virginia's account of Bill Clinton's paternity in his 1995 book, *First in His Class*. Maraniss points out that in November 1945, nine months before the birth of William Jefferson Blythe (on August 19, 1946), Army Tech 3 W. J. Blythe was still in Italy.

The biographer reports that Virginia amended her version when questions about her son's father resurfaced after Bill Clinton's election to the presidency. "Her answer was that Billy was born a month early, induced weeks ahead of schedule because she had taken a fall and the doctor was concerned about her condition." In Virginia's 1994 memoir, however, she makes no mention of a fall or the birth having been premature. Her ghostwriter, James Morgan, told me that Virginia never spoke of an early, induced delivery. Morgan adds that he never checked into the discrepancies around Clinton's birth.

I found the one person still living who was present at the birth of the future president—the delivery-room nurse Wilma Booker. Proud to quote Bill Clinton saying she was "the first person to spank his butt," she recalls, "It was a hot day, real hot." The first words to greet the infant's arrival were shouted from the hall by his cousin Dale Drake: "Wilma, it's hot as holy hell in there!"

I asked Booker if Bill Clinton's birth could have been premature.

"No, not at that weight," she replied unequivocally. "I remember he was a nice-size baby, between eight and nine pounds. [His mother claimed he was 8.6 pounds.] Virginia got kinda big while she was pregnant."

In 1988, when Governor Clinton unexpectedly backed away from announcing what would have been his first campaign for the presidency, he gave Chelsea as his reason. "A long, long time ago, I made a promise to myself that if I was ever lucky enough to have a child she would never grow up wondering who her father was."

Clinton, most listeners believed, had slipped; he had meant to say *where* her father was. They thought he was referring to his desire not to be an absentee father. But Maraniss heard a more telling and

poignant revelation. Bill Clinton had unintentionally exposed the painful mystery at the center of his existence.

Virginia waved good-bye to her hometown, Hope, Arkansas, in 1947. She left her one-year-old son with his grandmother while she spent the next four years in nursing school in New Orleans. His grandmother Edith Cassidy subjected Bill to a regular regimen that his less-disciplined mother would describe as "unrelenting"—he "napped, played, ate, burped, slept in an unwavering cycle."

In 1950, Virginia announced her intention to marry Roger Clinton, a hard-drinking, high-living Buick dealer from Hot Springs. Edith strongly disapproved; she threatened to sue her daughter for custody of the four-year-old Bill. She even consulted a lawyer.

The world of Virginia and Roger in Hot Springs did turn out to be wild and uncontrollable. During their nights on the town, Virginia loved to "show off," as she put it, and had the habit of finding new dancing partners when Roger disappeared with the boys to gamble. "Our house was just bedlam," Virginia wrote in her memoir, "from the time we got home until dawn's early light, by which time Roger would usually have yelled himself to sleep." Later, when the drinking and beating and shouting of obscenities became unbearable, Virginia would sometimes bundle up her son in the middle of the night and stay with him at the nearest motel.

Young Billy Blythe, as he was known up through kindergarten, was not the least bit assertive. "Quite the contrary," I learned from his childhood friend and later presidential chief of staff Mack McLarty, "he had a measure of reservation." He was embarrassingly chubby, so chubby that he broke a leg skipping rope in kindergarten, recalls McLarty. But there was so much else to be embarrassed and reserved about.

Until his early adolescence, Bill was still the little boy trapped in the black box. Up there in the bedroom of the Clintons' house on Park Avenue, with his hands over his ears to shut out the chaos, he would focus on the snapshot of Bill Blythe he kept beside his bed. Staring at this shrine to a father about whom he knew next to nothing, he dreamed up an idealization to fill the empty place where others had fathers. "He always wanted my mother and I to have the best," Bill Clinton would tell his playmate Rose Crane. Did the boy look like the man in the snapshot? "No," says Crane, "not to me."

"The violence and dysfunction in our home made me a loner, which is contrary to the way people view me, because I'm gregarious, happy, all of that," Clinton once told an interviewer. "But I had to construct a whole life inside my own mind."

He retreated into novels and music and, without encouragement, sought out a Bap-

tist church and had himself baptized. "He walked to church," says Carolyn Yeldell Staley. "He got himself there. He made a personal decision to become a Christian, and as far as I know, none of his family was there." Billy's friends had no idea what went on behind the apparently normal façade of the Clinton household. He never said a bad word to his friends about Roger Clinton, even though his "stepfather" refused to legally adopt him.

He lied. Given the terrible truth, it was the better part of valor to lie.

At the age of 14, Bill stood up for his mother like a man. Virginia would remember his gentleness. He told his stepfather, "Daddy, if you're not able to stand up, I'll help you; but you must stand up to hear what I have to say." Roger Clinton, who by then was in the habit of gulping a tumbler of whiskey at their Sunday lunch, was that drunk. Quietly, very calmly, young Bill said, "Never... ever... touch my mother again."

When, in April of 1962, Virginia finally divorced Roger, she shifted her needy affections from husband to son—to a boy who perceived himself as a fat, slow 15-year-old who couldn't throw straight. They moved across town from Park Avenue to Scully Street, and now Bill became the man of her dreams. He had to be her date for nightclub-hopping with her rowdy drinking crowd.

But Roger still wasn't out of their lives. Sometimes he slept on their front porch like a derelict, or waited outside in his car moaning like a lame dog until Virginia would go out and sit with him.

For all young Bill's courage in standing up to his brutal stepfather and assuming the burden of protecting his mother—even having Roger arrested and filing affidavits to rid their family of this blight—Bill still lost. Four months later, Virginia took Roger back.

In that brief respite when Roger was out of their house, something astonishing took place. Billy Blythe went to a lawyer and asked to take "Clinton" as his legal name. He assumed a false identity as the son of a man whom his mother had just divorced and who had previously refused to give the boy his name.

So, at 15, he invented the first of many Bill Clintons.

When Kenneth Starr entered Monica's semen-stained dress as evidence against Bill Clinton at the end of July, only two people in the world knew if the stain was presidential. Bill Clinton was one of them, and he was still obfuscating. The situation made for a surreal atmosphere in East Hampton, Long Island, during the first weekend in August.

The Clintons made an O.T.R. ("on the run") visit to the Hamptons at peak lemon season. The plan was to raise money to help the D.N.C. retire its debt before the

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rugged fall election. The First Couple appeared to run the gamut of emotions during their stay. Looking relaxed and unconcerned, they visited with Steven Spielberg and his wife, Kate Capshaw, at the director's spread on Georgica Pond. At another point, Bill and Hillary, with the Mort Zuckermans and the Chevy Chases, dropped in for dinner at a down-home ribs joint, where the waitresses shrieked with delight.

At cocktails on Friday evening at financier Bruce Wasserstein's, Hillary looked as if she had been hit by a truck. The president appeared exhausted, with pinkish pouches under his eyes. The pair entered the event together, looking tense, but quickly separated. They stood at their appointed spots on the terrace, on a green grass brow leading down to the ocean, but Hillary wasn't working with the president, not the way she used to.

On Saturday night at a big-tent event at the home of actor-activists Alec Baldwin and Kim Basinger, in Amagansett, the Clintons looked colder than a poached-salmon plate.

Judith Hope, chairwoman of the New York State Democratic Party and the weekend's organizer, was personally offended by the mounting evidence against the president. Still, she made sure she was seated by him.

In his introduction, Alec Baldwin lavished prophetic praise on Hillary, calling her "the most effective First Lady in U.S. history." Then the First Lady rose to speak, sober in a brown silk pantsuit and noticeably untanned. She stuck strictly to issues and ideas. Bill Clinton sat behind her, and his gaze bordered on Nancy Reaganesque awe. When Hillary's remarks were repeatedly interrupted by gusts of applause, the president became excited. He turned to Judith Hope and whispered, "They really love her in New York."

"She owns New York," pronounced Hope.

"Maybe she should consider running for office in New York," he said with a chuckle.

"Well, that's what I think, but I can't say it to her," Hope insisted. "I get in trouble." She was recalling the previous Christmas, when she had said to Hillary on a receiving line, "A lot of people think when you leave the White House you ought to run for U.S. senator from New York." Hillary had simply raised her eyebrows in mock humility and laughed. But once this exchange found its way into print, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan went ballistic, and the next time Hillary saw Hope she said, "Please don't do that again. I just don't need this."

The crowd tensed as Hillary began to introduce the president. She spoke of his deep commitment. She reiterated his dreams

for the country, sending them up like bright kites. He appeared to be moved. Then she turned to welcome "my husband, President Bill Clinton."

Clinton leapt up and grabbed her, not just a hug and air kiss, but a prolonged clinch. Hillary swooned. They fell into each other's arms.

At that moment Judith Hope had an epiphany. "He just keeps seducing this woman, over and over again. This kind of chemistry can't be faked. She can't resist him."

As the audience smacked its hands together, Hope turned to her husband, attorney-activist Tom Twomey, and said wryly, "I am ever mindful that a woman's heart takes her where her mind knows she shouldn't go."

"He's only intimate when he's seducing," says Dick Morris. Along with every other Clinton observer, I have watched the man work the ballroom even after the help has begun stacking chairs on the tables and Hillary has gone to bed. His mother wrote, "Bill and Roger and I are all alike in that way: When we walk into a room, we want to win that room over... need to win that room over. If there are one hundred people in a room and ninety-nine of them love us and one doesn't, we'll spend all night trying to figure out why that one hasn't been enlightened."

But one-on-one, in terms of a real, intimate love relationship—such as a marriage—he backs away. He withholds. According to a formerly close aide who was by Clinton's side in both public and private situations, "He is emotionally unavailable. He lives on campaign junk love and casual sex—where no long-term commitment is required."

Bill Curry, who has known alcoholism in his own family, gained special insight into the president when he served as his adviser. "One of the things that happens when you rocket through the social classes," Curry says, "is that the emotionally familiar disappears. In part, Clinton connects to his own emotional origins in some of his behaviors."

His philandering is a secret excursion back to the warm bath of Hot Springs. One of the links that seem to connect all of his various women is that they are mirrors of Mom.

"If your whole survival has been built on manipulating chaos and learning how to live with role confusion," Curry says, "then you don't know how to establish boundaries or enforce contracts. The way Clinton's White House staff functioned seemed to me rooted in his life experience. People didn't do things on time; they didn't keep commitments or honor contracts—it was a floating adhocism." Curry sees in retrospect how the whole staff became a network of enablers for Clinton.

"We were all living in Hot Springs, every one of us."

But inch by inch last August, far away

from Arkansas, Clinton painted himself into a corner. No fib, obfuscation, intimidation, or cockamammy definition of "sexual relationship" would allow the president to wiggle out of facing himself—or facing his wife. The day he knew the jig was up may have been August 3, when Starr's deputies entered his house and literally drew blood, or it may have been August 6, when the F.B.I. informed Starr's office there was a DNA match between the blood sample and the stain on Monica's dress.

One week later he and Hillary had the dour duty of comforting the families at an emotional ceremony honoring the return of the coffins of 10 of the 12 Americans killed in the African embassy bombings. Normally, at such trying events, the First Couple hold hands. But that Thursday they stood apart on the rain-soaked tarmac of Andrews Air Force Base, where the memorial service took place. A tear leaked onto Bill Clinton's cheek, and he let it sit there as the cameras rolled. Hillary stood as stiff as a wooden soldier.

It was that night, while Chelsea was out with friends, that Bill Clinton finally gave his wife a bare-bones version of the truth. He told her that his involvement with Monica had been long-running and that it had been sexual. Perhaps most difficult for her to accept was the fact that this was not an isolated incident, but a relationship of 16 months. And the girl had been not much older than their daughter.

Mandy Grunwald, who like so many of the Clintons' faithful former lieutenants was sickened by the president's lies and betrayals, had strong ideas on what Hillary should do with her life. "Take care of her marriage. Don't worry about her image."

But the consensus among the masses was that Hillary must have known all about Monica. Many people believed that Hillary, too, had lied to them back in January.

Grunwald told me, "The public has for years had lots of misimpressions about Hillary. This one," she pointed out, "is based on an assessment of her that is true—that she's too smart, she must have known. It's in a way a compliment."

Chelsea Clinton, by some reports, was so shocked and devastated by the revelation that her father had lied to her and to her mother that she fought with him. Her friend the Reverend Jesse Jackson, who often called her at college to pray with her, called the White House to see if he could help. He found her distraught. Chelsea asked him to come. The night before the president was scheduled to testify before Starr's grand jury, Jackson told me, he calmed Chelsea and Hillary Clinton with Bible stories.

"You ask how can Bill with all his power make this mistake. Well, how could King David make it? David was a child prodigy. Slew Goliath. Israel's greatest king. And

talented musician, just as Bill is. And yet he became weak when he saw Bathsheba. Samson, with all of his strength and abilities, in the face of Delilah, he succumbed to the flesh."

Jackson wound up his ministering before midnight, in time to join the president in the private residence, where he was preparing for his testimony the next day. The self-appointed spiritual adviser said, "What's different here is that Ken Starr is able to play God with government funding."

Hillary, according to Jackson, let out her whooping laugh. "Where did you get that line?"

"It has a trademark," said the ever self-promoting reverend. "If you use it, give me credit."

Champions play with pain. They don't sit it out. "She was able to do this," Hillary's mother told me, "because she had a commitment to her daughter—somebody outside of her own problems that she was being strong and positive for." In her book, Hillary wrote about her overwhelming desire to protect Chelsea, "to minimize the odds of her suffering at the hands of someone who didn't have enough love or discipline, opportunity or responsibility, as a child." As it happened, she could not.

By all accounts, Hillary adamantly refused to read the Starr report. But that weekend, after composing herself, she turned to Sidney Blumenthal, the former journalist who "went inside" as a presidential assistant. He had boasted last summer to former colleagues that he could help Clinton get on with his wife. Seeing himself as a go-between, he faxed to the First Lady reams of vitriol for the president's statement to the nation.

Once more, Hillary hunkered down with her husband's lawyers to lay out a defense of the indefensible. She was one of the last people to sign off on the statement before the president addressed the nation with his surly non-apologia on the night of August 17. The address bore the unmistakable imprint of the First Lady: the anger, the outrage at privacy violated, the stubborn refusal to admit, apologize, or back down.

Hillary's political instincts again proved flawed. When Bill Clinton is influenced by his politically tone-deaf wife, he falls flat. Instead of coming clean in his speech, the president went back out and punched Ken Starr in the nose. Hillary had taught him too well how to fight.

In all the armchair analyses of "How could he?" I have never heard mentioned the three major personal marker events in Clinton's life that took place during the two years he carried on his romance with Monica. The two most adoring women in his life both "abandoned" him in ways he

could not prevent. Following a mastectomy, Virginia Kelley, the mother on whom he had an exaggerated dependence, had suffered a recurrence of cancer in 1992. The cancer had now spread to her spine, her skull, her pelvis. The doctor, she wrote, could tell she didn't want to hear a time frame. But even if Virginia could put this news in her black box, Clinton knew his mother was dying before he began his secret liaison with Monica. A year after his first inaugural celebration, he lost his mother for good.

But sad as that loss was, even more agonizing for Bill Clinton was the long, slow slipping out of his arms of his daughter. For years Chelsea had been his Saturday-night "date" for dinner on the many weekends when Hillary was out of town. Who would play hearts with him in the wee hours when insomnia would not let go its grip on his unquiet mind? Who, now, would love him unconditionally? Chelsea had one foot across the threshold of independence when Bill Clinton took up with Monica, a girl six years older than his daughter. Clinton himself was hurtling toward 50. His hearing wasn't so good, he needed reading glasses, his hair had long since gone wintry gray. And in the fall of '97, Chelsea would leave him for Stanford.

With Chelsea's departure, the Clintons would lose their most elemental personal bond, their one emotional oasis. Hillary, too, felt the void. A few years before Chelsea went off to college, Hillary even floated the idea of adopting another child. She was mocked—too old. In October '97, shortly after Chelsea started at Stanford, Hillary told a Miami banquet audience, "I'm looking for ways to divert myself from the empty nest. And I'll take just about any invitation to dinner that I can get."

On the day the president's affair with Monica Lewinsky began, the second day of the shutdown of the government by the Republicans over the budget, a snow-day atmosphere prevailed around the White House. That's when the sexy intern found her chance to snare the attention of the president of the United States. And this is not easy to do. As Betsey Wright told me, "You have to absolutely crush his skull to get his attention, because his mind is on so many things at once." Wright had to shake him and say, "You stop, pay attention to this, this is what's important right now, guy."

A prisoner of the White House, Clinton is deprived of the kind of spontaneous human contact that is his oxygen—the up-close, informal contact with people he had learned to love when he accompanied his grandfather on morning walks around his hometown. Clinton's life had been Work Work Work for how many years? And what had it cost him? He had tried to subdue his lusty

instinct since his re-election in '96, but by now, didn't he deserve something to help him take the pressure off? A former staffer close to Clinton, who saw him in workaholic mode by day and for long periods during crises or campaigning, surmises, "When he turns to sexual predation, he's rewarding himself. I've been a good boy, worked my ass off—I deserve a little hootie here."

While the affair continued, the third marker event occurred. Clinton stumbled down a flight of stairs at golf pro Greg Norman's house, and, overnight, he was hobbled like an old man, taking on all the accoutrements of decay and dependence—the wheelchair, the brace, the cane, the flaccid muscles.

Bill's final liaison with Monica was on March 29, a little over two weeks after his fall. Monica had to service her crippled lover while he was still using crutches.

Clinton had always believed he would die prematurely. He was haunted by the image of Bill Blythe's fatal car accident before his own birth, the car carrying the young man they said was his father careening off the road, out of control.

When Monica constructed her fantasy about the two of them having more time together in the future, Clinton hinted that he might be alone in three years. Then another vision—one of a crabbed old age—must have come upon him. Suddenly, according to Monica, he asked her an unexpected question: "What are we going to do when I'm 75 and I have to pee 25 times a day?"

During the darkest week in Hillary's dawning realization of the depths of her husband's betrayal, she remained mute. On August 18, she deputized her press secretary, Marsha Berry, to issue an opaque, politically safe statement. "Clearly, this is not the best day in Mrs. Clinton's life." But, the message continued, "her love for him is compassionate and steadfast." Did she forgive him? reporters asked. "Yes. She believes in this marriage." Did Chelsea forgive her father? No comment.

When did the president tell his wife about Monica? "She was misled. She learned the nature of his testimony over the weekend." A friend elaborated: "She did learn only that weekend, not about the sex, but that her husband was going to admit it—and humiliate her before the world. That was the epiphany. Public deniability would no longer be possible. Her nose would be rubbed in it."

Former White House press secretary Mike McCurry has since acknowledged that when the president's denials proved untrue, "it was devastating to all of us, from Mrs. Clinton on down."

Everyone saw on the news the Daddy's-in-the-doghouse walk across the White House lawn the next day, the president being led by his only sure friend in the world, Buddy the Labrador retriever. There was a parted sea of

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space between the couple, which their daughter tried valiantly to bridge by holding both parents' hands. With this seemingly endless journey across green grass, the shaken First Family set off for a 12-day vacation.

Arriving on Martha's Vineyard that Tuesday, the president climbed down the steps of his plane and fell into the huge, forgiving hug of Vernon Jordan. Hillary let the president cool his heels, alone, on-camera, while she hung back chatting up developer Richard Friedman about nothing more important than the weather.

Chelsea, out front, shook hands like a seasoned pol.

The unusually short official greeting line was the first clue that this, the Clintons' fourth summer holiday on the Vineyard, would be drastically different. The family quickly disappeared into Friedman's weathered 19th-century farmhouse.

But this year Hillary didn't ask that there be candles and wine and soft music playing, as she did when it had been only she and her husband snuggled in the guesthouse. The president even seemed reluctant to step inside. When Friedman stopped by to make sure his guests were settled, the president was outside playing fetch with his dog, alone. This year he wouldn't be dropping by the Bunch of Grapes Bookstore to pick up his stack for beach reading or sitting on the novelist Bill Styron's porch quoting from Márquez and Faulkner.

The first summer, Clinton had no sooner been introduced to Styron than he initiated a discussion of racial problems. According to the author's wife, Rose, at an appropriate moment Clinton winked at the author and said, "Surely I come quickly"—a quote from Styron's famous book *The Confessions of Nat Turner*. But this wouldn't be like the other summers. The Clintons would not be dancing on the beach and cavorting like kids in the surf. Bill didn't show his face in church or take out his golf clubs. Hillary didn't leave the house for the first two days. The press was on deathwatch.

In the Edgartown school gym, which was serving as press headquarters, Mike McCurry sweatily fended off restless journalists who asked incredulously why the Clintons were hiding.

"They've been out once or twice. We'll just see how it goes."

Asked if the president was "hearing a lot from the missus," McCurry smiled wanly. "They're talking."

Did they sound hostile or calm?

"It changes."

Would they seek marital counseling? I asked.

"There is no marital therapy."

Hillary emerged at last, on Saturday, to have lunch with Katharine Graham, another brilliant, emotionally abused wife whose husband had been unfaithful. Worried friends had been told that Hillary would give the signal when she was ready to be sociable.

That left the Rattners rattled. Steven Rattner, the media-savvy financial wizard at the investment-banking firm Lazard Frères, had been wheedling for four years to get the Clintons over for dinner at their home on the Vineyard. It had been all set for Saturday night. Then canceled. Then, at 5:30 P.M. on that very day, word was sent that the Clintons would indeed turn up. Place cards were tossed out. Rattner's wife, Maureen White, raced to put together a separate table for each of the Clintons. They didn't show up until after dark.

The big man came in alone. "How lonely and forlorn he looked," recalled one sympathetic guest. "So unsure, as if he didn't know if anybody was going to speak to him or not."

And guests did seem hesitant. What opening gambit could possibly suit the occasion? "Hi, Mr. President, have a good week?" The White House photographer scurried around to find some young people, any young people, to have their pictures taken with the president. With the president of the United States, for God's sake! But the teenagers made themselves conspicuously scarce. "They were furious with him, outraged, male and female alike," said one mother. Finally, the hostess rounded up her au pair and her au pair's friend, and they stood, eyes downcast, enduring the photo op like a forced kiss.

Hillary delayed her entrance until the president was safely below on the terrace. She had a snappy new haircut and was a study in animation, a total contrast to the president. Guests smothered her in lingering hugs, and though their sympathy was unsought, some whispered words of support in her ear. A few muttered later to one another, "I wish I had the guts to tell him what I really think."

Although a few intimates confided that Hillary was rethinking her life, her personal feelings were hidden under a bright glaze of conversation about a dozen different topics. When she wants to be warm, she is wonderfully warm. And funny. At another dinner party during their holiday, veteran newsman Mike Wallace innocently asked Hillary if she had ever had a stress test. "I'm having one now," she replied.

Martha's Vineyard, like East Hampton, was her crowd. "People feel very, very strongly about Hillary up here," said one Vineyard veteran. "She's Wellesley—she's one of us," remarked an attorney. "He's an Arkansas kid—up here, he's Hillary's husband." Robert

Kiley, a former Massachusetts and New York public-office holder seated at her table, said, "Her knowledge, her analytical skills, her passion were all on display—she was in fine fettle. That's her way of dealing with each of these crises. She admonishes him, beats on him, he makes promises he never keeps, and they go on until the next collapse."

"Hillary was completely internalizing it, while Clinton had to externalize it," observed a guest from New York. At his table, Clinton couldn't help ragging on Ken Starr. The conversation was dominated by the bombastic lawyer Alan Dershowitz, with whom the president discussed the Bible. Dershowitz, who teaches a course at Harvard on law and justice in the Bible, told me, "He had a very interesting analysis of the sinners of Sodom." According to one account, Clinton was particularly interested in Old Testament definitions of adultery.

What was truly astonishing, given this president's need to seduce every man and woman at any party, was how Clinton stuck to his table like glue. Even when Maureen White coaxed, "Mr. President, there are a lot of guests here who'd like to meet you," he refused to budge.

After dinner, Hillary held forth with her own salon. "I saw her in battle mode," says Dershowitz. "She is first and foremost a tough lawyer and politician. The words she used were designed to get my juices flowing: 'Where do we go from here?'"

Once more, Hillary was faced with a choice. Strike out on her own or bet on Bill? A long time ago, as a firebrand graduate of Yale Law School, Hillary Rodham faced the same choice—for the first time. Should she now tear up the life she had spent nearly 30 years building? Or believe in Bill Clinton's promises once more? How many times had she faced the same choice? Scores of times? Only, now she was 50.

"It was clearly a deep hurt and pain," one of Mrs. Clinton's closest friends told me. She described Hillary's state of mind: "It's like you go through a death and you can't live for weeks and weeks and weeks. And then the healing process begins. They are trying to work it through."

When Hillary appeared in Belfast, Northern Ireland, before Labor Day weekend, it was in full metal jacket. The inevitable gray thunderclouds of an Irish afternoon loomed overhead as she hurriedly descended from her plane. Head down, all business, the First Lady was wrapped in a long military greatcoat. Fifty minutes later, when the presidential limo pulled up to the new Waterfront Hall, in Belfast, a different Hillary swanned out like a movie star arriving at the Academy Awards. Sleek in a dark-blue Oscar de la Renta pantsuit, her hair expensively lightened, Hillary gave a practiced, queen-

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ly wave. It was her usual M.O. under fire: Look your best when you feel your worst.

The First Lady had come to Ireland for a Vital Voices women's conference saluting the nation's female peace activists for their pivotal role in the signing of the Good Friday peace agreement the previous spring. Her speech was 45 minutes of statesmanlike content. Breaking her unspoken rule, Hillary read from notes. She was coldly brilliant. Her words touched all the bases, but revealed none of her humanity.

When Bill Clinton arrived the following morning, his spirit appeared broken; despite praise for having been the indispensable man in promoting the peace process. Members of the traveling press remarked that they had never seen him so down and depressed. An adviser to the president conceded that "Hillary has not forgiven him."

She hadn't turned up to meet him at the airport. Later, before his speech, she arrived separately at Waterfront Hall, slipping in a side door just moments before he was introduced. The mere glimpse of her led to an ovation. Sitting with her friend Ambassador Philip Lader, she applauded mechanically and left the hall the moment her husband was finished speaking. For the next two days, she scarcely looked at the man. Whether on-stage or in their limo, or walking the drear mile in Omagh where a car bomb had blown away 29 civilians, Hillary was separated from the other Clinton by a wall of ice. She kept her eyes hidden behind the glare of reflective sunglasses, her arms slung behind her back, hands clasped. Whenever her husband tried to move close, he was repelled.

In Dublin it was worse. He stood next to Prime Minister Bertie Ahern while reporters played back a withering critique of his behavior delivered by Senator Joseph Lieberman on the floor of the U.S. Senate. The moderate Democrat had branded the president "immoral." Even more astonishing was the president's reaction to Lieberman's tongue-lashing.

"I agree with him," said Clinton, like the true child of alcoholic violence. And for the first time in public, he said he was "very sorry" for the affair. Hillary spent time with British prime minister Tony Blair, whose appreciation she had won the year before when the two had held a quiet, daylong conference at Chequers to discuss what the New Democrats and New Labour could do internationally to promote their common vision for a Third Way. "With all due respect to the prime minister," said one American participant, "she was as insightful in both theory and political strategy as anyone there."

And then, in Limerick, the sun suddenly came out.

Crowds, pressed into the form of a massive human cross at the intersection of Thomas and O'Connell Streets, waited for hours through a drenching downpour before President and Mrs. Clinton appeared and the rare Irish sun shone full. Hillary, in a stylish yellow slicker, leaned over to whisper in her husband's ear several times. He nodded and made notes. When he rose to speak, looking once again youthful and handsome and wearing a bright-red tie, her eyes followed him approvingly. Their old political symbiosis seemed to be switched back on. The crowd enveloped him in adoration unmatched since the visit of John F. Kennedy. And when the two stood to take their bows, Hillary's arm, almost absently, slipped around her husband's back. As automatic as a turnstile his arm thrust out and circled her waist.

Was it their night at the romantic Adare Manor Hotel, moonlight over the loch and vast gardens? Maybe they had just gotten a good night's sleep for a change. It wasn't exactly an embrace. But Hillary's signaling her public approval had resuscitated Bill Clinton. Now it was back to Washington, where for weeks the long knives had been sharpening and Kenneth Starr was ready to dump his pornographic report on the doorstep of Congress.

Back in Washington, Erskine Bowles sat the president down and did a deliberate "intervention." According to a former White House official, on Clinton's return his then chief of staff told him the time had come to admit his misbehavior and start apologizing, one-on-one, to Cabinet members and key party leaders he had misled. Unbelievably, Clinton had made only a few chatty calls to members of Congress before he left for the Vineyard, but to their frustration he had avoided mentioning the scandal.

Clinton's response was to invite more black brothers than ever to the annual White House prayer breakfast and amend his angry speech of August 17 with a full-bore Baptist-style confession—"I have sinned"—and a promise to seek redemption with the guidance of three Christian ministers.

Hillary went once more into high battle mode, hitting the road to save the necks of those Democratic senators the president would most need if it did come down to a Senate trial on impeachment.

"I would be more wary of challenging her than another member of Congress," admitted Congressman Jim McDermott, a Seattle psychiatrist who has insight into Hillary. Why? "Because I need the favor of people she knows."

McDermott was among a half-dozen Democratic congressional members rounded up by Hillary at the last minute to accompany her on a day trip to Puerto Rico. The official purpose of the trip was to commiserate with the victims of Hurricane Georges. Her per-

sonal agenda was to school these gentlemen in how to oppose an impeachment inquiry. The congressmen were seated in a section behind Hillary's refuge on her plane when the First Lady, radiant in a white suit (referred to as "disaster chic"), plopped down casually enough and immediately initiated a discussion of the inquiry—an issue on which the lawmakers would have to vote in a matter of days. About half the members of the group kept very quiet. Others, such as McDermott, offered alternatives. Hillary listened, briefly.

"And then she blew our hair back," said one of the congressmen. Adopting her lawyerly style, she said even if one stipulated that all the things Starr had charged were true, they did not rise to the level of an impeachable offense—treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors. "She'll listen," said McDermott, "but she challenges you. You have to beat her down."

Is she intimidating?

McDermott sighs assent. "If I was going to war, I'd want her covering my rear. She's never going to run from a fight."

The Clinton who found redemption in the fall of '98 was not Bill, who continued to infuriate Republicans with his unrepentant answers to questions sent to him by the Judiciary Committee. It was Hillary, who erased the memory of the '94 Democratic congressional defeat by emerging as the biggest draw of the fall '98 elections. At the annual awards dinner of the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities, held at the White House only two days after the elections, table guests sang her praises for pulling out senatorial victories for Chuck Schumer in New York and Barbara Boxer in California. Hillary herself was not shy about claiming credit. In fact, she told writer and honoree Garry Wills that she thought Democrats might have saved Senator Carol Moseley-Braun "if my team had gotten to Chicago a month earlier."

Wills, an early and staunch supporter of Clinton's, had joined a chorus of voices calling for her husband's resignation. When Hillary seated herself next to the influential writer, passing up the chance to sit beside the actor Gregory Peck, Wills questioned her judgment, implying that she wasn't going to change his mind.

She said shrewdly, "This way I get to talk to you and look at him."

The First Lady was, as Wills put it, "as Hillary as ever."

But she was more than that. She was a woman whose public world was now an oyster full of pearls. Hillary's valiant year may turn out to be comparable to Jacqueline Kennedy's example of dignified grief after the assassination of her husband. "Hillary has moved to a new level as a pub-

Clintons

lic figure," says Judith Hope. "She is a person of enormous political authority in her own right—not derived from her husband."

While the vote on impeachment of her husband hung in the balance in the House through the fall, Hillary went out of her way to establish a very public parallel social life—mostly in New York. (She went as far as Bulgaria in order to be out of Washington on her wedding anniversary.)

At the opening of Carnegie Hall's season she turned up, unescorted, in a black velvet gown. She sat in the box of former Treasury official Frank Newman and his wife, Elizabeth, who had relocated to Manhattan. "So, Liz, how are you adapting to New York?" the First Lady was curious to know. Sensing that Hillary herself was shopping for a place to relocate, Liz Newman said, "Hillary, what they care about here is the bottom line—they don't care about your private life." In December, Mrs. Clinton presided over the cover of *Vogue*—Queen Hillary in red velvet. That same month, the gown's designer, Oscar de la Renta, invited Hillary—who was in the Dominican Republic with a congressional delegation—to his new house at Punta Cana. She spent a night in the designer's plantation-style villa, relaxing in planter's chairs on the beachfront loggia.

Wags endlessly speculated on whether the marriage would survive once the Clintons were no longer in their White House bunker. But the question of far greater importance for the country was whether Hillary would choose to stand with her husband in his bodeful hour and, as she had done in the past, help him regain the reins of his runaway presidency.

The Clintons, who extol their ability to "compartmentalize," had taught the country to do the same. The American public has come to believe that the president's private behavior should be separate from his public duties. "But in reality, it's always been impossible to separate the private from the public man, especially in the highest office in the land," declares Robert Kiley, a longtime Democratic public official. "And there's no one who's been more clever at merging the two than Bill Clinton. He talks at Democratic events about his alcoholic stepfather and the violence and dysfunction in his family. Once you cross over that line, you can't call foul when your private behavior is used for political punishment."

In December, the institutions of government began to defend their own integrity. Scholars and lawmakers engaged in intense debate over the standards for impeachment of a president. The indissoluble sticking point of debate was where private lying left off and

public lying rose to the level of criminality. The "agony" Clinton admits he has caused his family was no longer able to be "boxed off" from the dangerous mistrust of his presidential leadership being fanned by his political enemies. They are all of a piece.

And for the first time, Clinton didn't have Virginia to make excuses for him; he didn't have Hillary either. By late fall Hillary had taken out her pugilist's mouthpiece and dropped out of the huddles on legal strategy where she had once been a key player on her husband's team. As I was making my last follow-up calls on this story in mid-December, I spoke to a lawyer close to the Clintons and made a very familiar note: "She's still angry. She hasn't forgiven him."

Hillary was not sitting with his lawyers to deal with the impeachment challenge, "not at all," confirmed this attorney, who was familiar with the case. He, like others, had heard rumors from within the Justice Department that Ken Starr was determined to bring an indictment against Clinton no matter what the outcome of the impeachment vote—and the statute of limitations gave Starr until the year 2003 to do it. The consequences of Clinton's private weaknesses would be hanging over his head for the rest of his life, the attorney pronounced gravely.

But would Hillary let her husband's demons bring her down with him? It certainly appeared, by December, to friends and media observers alike, that Hillary had crossed a line. The ice wall between the Clintons, thawed momentarily in Ireland, became a literal wall in Israel. As the First Family fled Washington only hours after the House Judiciary Committee voted on the first article of impeachment on Friday, December 11, the First Lady secluded herself in a separate compartment from the president on Air Force One. While Clinton was once again humiliated abroad by reporters' references to calls back home for his impeachment, Hillary split off and pursued her own public schedule. She was embraced in the sands of Gaza with unambiguous warmth as a heroine of the Palestinians, one who had boldly spoken out last spring—on her own—in favor of an eventual Palestinian state.

And this time, when the First Lady turned her back on the president and shook away his outstretched hand, it interrupted a solemn moment at the grave of slain Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin and displayed—on NBC and in the international media—the latest of Hillary's choices.

Working folie à deux cannot be maintained if one person stops playing the game. "He's been doing this high-wire routine and she's been his safety net," one friend observed. "If she decides to walk away... she could really do him in."

Of all the betrayals in their partnership, I

asked a personal and political supporter of Hillary's, was this one of a different order?

"Oh, yes, it is, yes, yes, yes, yes—and on so many different levels," she said fervently. "On the professional as well as the personal level. If they'd made an accommodation to each other, it seems to me that he hasn't kept up his end of the bargain on any count, except perhaps"—she stopped abruptly—"I started to say, being a good father, but you can't even say that anymore."

Chelsea, whom the Clintons let fly thousands of miles away from Washington for college, has been variously reported as being hospitalized for mysterious stomach pains and worrying her parents by not eating properly. Even Chelsea's refuge at Stanford has been invaded. Carolyn Starr, daughter of Special Prosecutor Kenneth, chose to enter the same university last fall. Chelsea has twice clashed verbally in public with the offspring of the man who has reportedly plagued her parents for more than four years. Just the fact that Chelsea is now being dragged into this saga may be the ultimate mortification for Hillary and Bill Clinton, portending a cycle of revenge that is almost Oresteian in scope.

Impeachment by the full House began to look inevitable by the second weekend of December. Democratic senator Robert Torricelli told reporters the president hadn't yet reconciled himself to that strong possibility. Clinton was described by a political ally as being in "a state of disbelief."

Apparently in an effort to send Clinton a wake-up call, White House insiders wrote yet another apologia for him and leaked it to MSNBC on the eve of the House vote on the four articles of impeachment. The president, reportedly furious when he learned of this manipulation, had little choice but to appear in the Rose Garden to deliver his scripted appeal. Alone. But his words held none of the old fire, none of the sunniness of the Comeback Kid, and they fell short of any admission of lying.

Hillary had taken herself across the country to shine her protective light on San Francisco's storm-damaged Conservatory of Flowers. As the days rolled by and the scheduled start of the impeachment debate on the House floor neared, Hillary was not in the thick of it all. The woman who had taught Clinton how to fight; the protector who kept his "precarious little boat" in what Claudia Riley called "the channel"; the Valkyrie who was always ready to lift her wounded barefoot boy from the battlefield and fly him to Valhalla, had at last withdrawn her approval.

In my view it was the withdrawal of Hillary's approval that brought the president to an inner collapse in mid-December.

"This is passivity shading into immobility." That was Bill Curry's reading of Clinton's

Buddha-like detachment from the lawmakers who turned thumbs down on him, day after day, during the week leading up to the final House vote. "Hillary is clearly less present and it clearly saps him of the energy to fight," adds Curry. "He probably never knew until now just how great a difference she makes."

With the White House shrouded in gloom, a top Clinton strategist tried to introduce a bit of cold reality: "It's time to think about the Senate and the trial." But even as these words were spoken, and less than 24 hours before the expected House debate to impeach William Jefferson Clinton that would lead to a Senate trial, the president gave the order to launch missiles against Baghdad. The capital was rife with suspicion that this was just a ploy to buy time on the Hill. But could he buy enough time to keep his political partner, his wife?

"That man would lie down and kill himself before he would let her leave him," insists Betsey Wright. "There have been other temptations, but Hillary is the love of his life."

Only on the eve of the first impeachment vote on the House floor in 130 years did the president's partner break her weeks of silence to offer a tepid appeal "to end divisiveness" in keeping with the holiday season. But with the president's associates openly describing him as "devastated," Hillary rose again like a lioness aroused. Early on that fateful Saturday, December 19, she sped in a presidential limousine up to the Hill to breathe fire into dispirited House Democrats. As defiant as ever, the First Lady—far more popular now than her husband with Democrats in Congress—staged a pep rally, charging Republicans with engaging in the politics of personal destruction. She was rewarded with a half-dozen standing ovations and hugs from House members.

But that afternoon, in a chamber one member called "full of hate," no one, not even Hillary Clinton, could save her husband from the terrible shame of entering history as only the second president of the United States to be impeached. Looking for-

lorn and friendless, Mr. Clinton emerged in the Rose Garden of the White House a few hours after the vote. A backdrop of two busloads of House Democrats appeared insufficient to bolster the president's will to fight. Never mentioning the word "impeachment," he flatly declared he would serve "until the last hour of the last day of my term." After threading his way back through a smattering of party members, Bill Clinton clutched the hand of his wife, and he didn't let go. The silent but eloquent evidence of his need for support from the woman who had provided it so many times in the past was, for many, the most memorable of the day's unforgettable images. She was his only sanctuary.

"It's lucky for America we have a woman with the strength to lead the nation right now," Congressman Dennis Kucinich told the media. His remarks elevated Hillary to the role her husband had, in brighter days, hoped she would take. Kucinich acknowledged that "everybody understands she is one of the leaders of the nation right now, as much as the president."

The fate of the wounded Clinton presidency will be decided this year. But will it be possible to ever repair the president's broken spirit or his shattered marriage? Dr. J. Philip Wogaman, one of Clinton's three chosen spiritual advisers and the senior minister of the Methodist church near the White House, told me, "Serious repentance is hard work and it doesn't happen overnight." How long does it take? "Probably a lifetime."

Could Bill Clinton be expected to devote the rest of his life to recovery? Based on her 20 years of frustration with Bill Clinton's habits, Betsey Wright predicted, "I think he'll spend the rest of his life trying to convince people he was done wrong on this."

Where does that leave Hillary?

To run for president herself? Senator?

"People ask her that around the world," says a White House official who has worked closely with her for some years. "She's never talked about running for elective office." But there have never been so many people with power and money pleading with her to change

her mind. Hillary's desire to clear the family name for history may override her fanatical insistence on privacy and her fears of endless scrutiny of her Whitewater machinations.

Betsey Wright dismisses any idea that Hillary would want an elective or appointive post. "I don't think she wants to be in Washington or in the thick of politics. I think she wants a life. Washington has been a cruel personal experience. It's taken a terrible personal toll."

Those closest to her say Hillary will definitely write a book, probably more than one. She is also chafing to find new ways to use her political skills to raise the status of women in Third World countries. She speaks with the greatest passion about her work in Africa. "She sees so many other ways to make a difference," says Peace Corps director Mark Gearan. Possibly through a charitable foundation. Or at the United Nations, where there is a precedent—Eleanor Roosevelt.

Would the Clintons' union have survived this long if their shared political career had not been a series of back-to-the-wall battles that united them against the outside?

"It's very easy to get into a mind-set of 'you and me against the world,'" says Eileen McGannon, a wife who knows from her experience with wayward husband Dick Morris. "It creates an inherent paranoia and it becomes self-destructive, because as long as you can make somebody outside be the enemy, you don't have to address the very difficult personal issues that have to be addressed if you want to have a real relationship."

Bill Clinton, with the blot of impeachment forever on his record, will be more dependent than ever on the kindness of Hillary. Recently resigned press secretary Mike McCurry was asked by a student audience at Northwestern University what President Clinton will be doing in 20 years.

"Whatever Hillary wants him to do!" McCurry barked.

Where Hillary Rodham Clinton goes from here is anyone's guess. The one thing we can know for certain is this:

It will be Hillary's choice. □

Drabinsky

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 150 rehearsal. "He cannot understand why people have abandoned him."

"I think Garth has a real heart," says a top Broadway producer. "He loved being with artists and loved doing important, beautiful, groundbreaking theater. I would like to believe it was just carelessness rather than something premeditated. The only really important question is: Did Garth realize he was doing it? If he did, that is a very twisted thing."

Garth Drabinsky was at his best last August 9 at the Toronto opening of *Fosse*, a three-hour musical celebration of the legendary choreographer-director Bob Fosse (*Sweet Charity*, *Pippin*, *Chicago*), who died in 1987. The idea was brought to Drabinsky by Fosse's daughter, Nicole, and the dances were reconstructed by Gwen Verdon, Fosse's longtime wife, and Anne Reinking, his longtime muse and lover. This was the show's first tryout en route to Boston and Los Angeles in the fall and New York this month. At the opening-night party, held at the Palavron Bistro, a popular Toronto restaurant,

Drabinsky displayed none of the renowned roughness and rudeness that led a Canadian columnist to refer to him recently in print as "repulsive." "Garth could be foul, sort of 'Fuck you, you're stupid,'" says a man who was there that night. But surrounded by his friends and supporters, including a gushing Roy Furman, who lined up to congratulate him on his new show, Drabinsky "was beaming that night, totally gracious, extraordinary," says the partygoer.

Afterward, Drabinsky spent several hours at his ad agency working on the *Fosse* campaign. "Nothing seemed wrong," recalls

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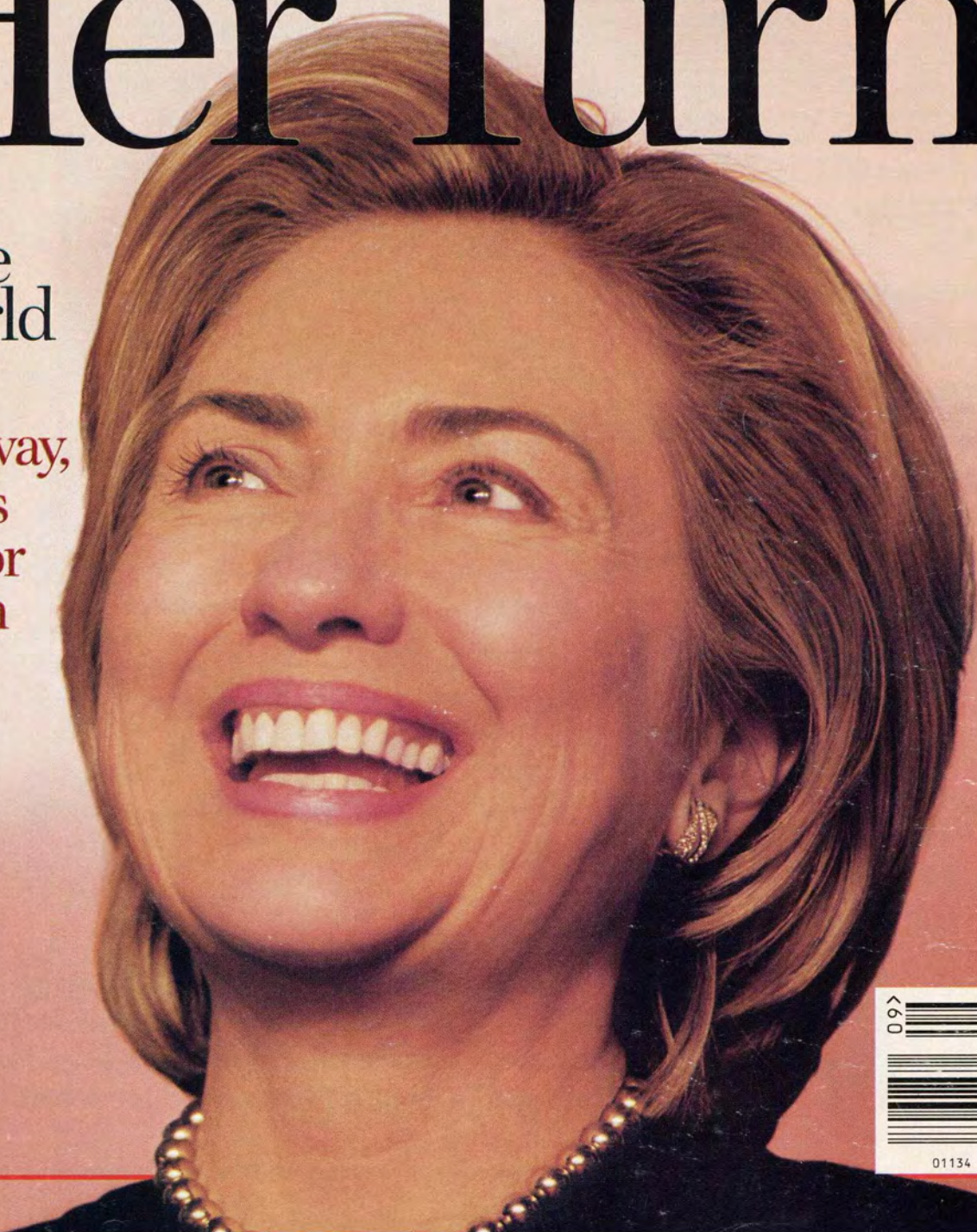
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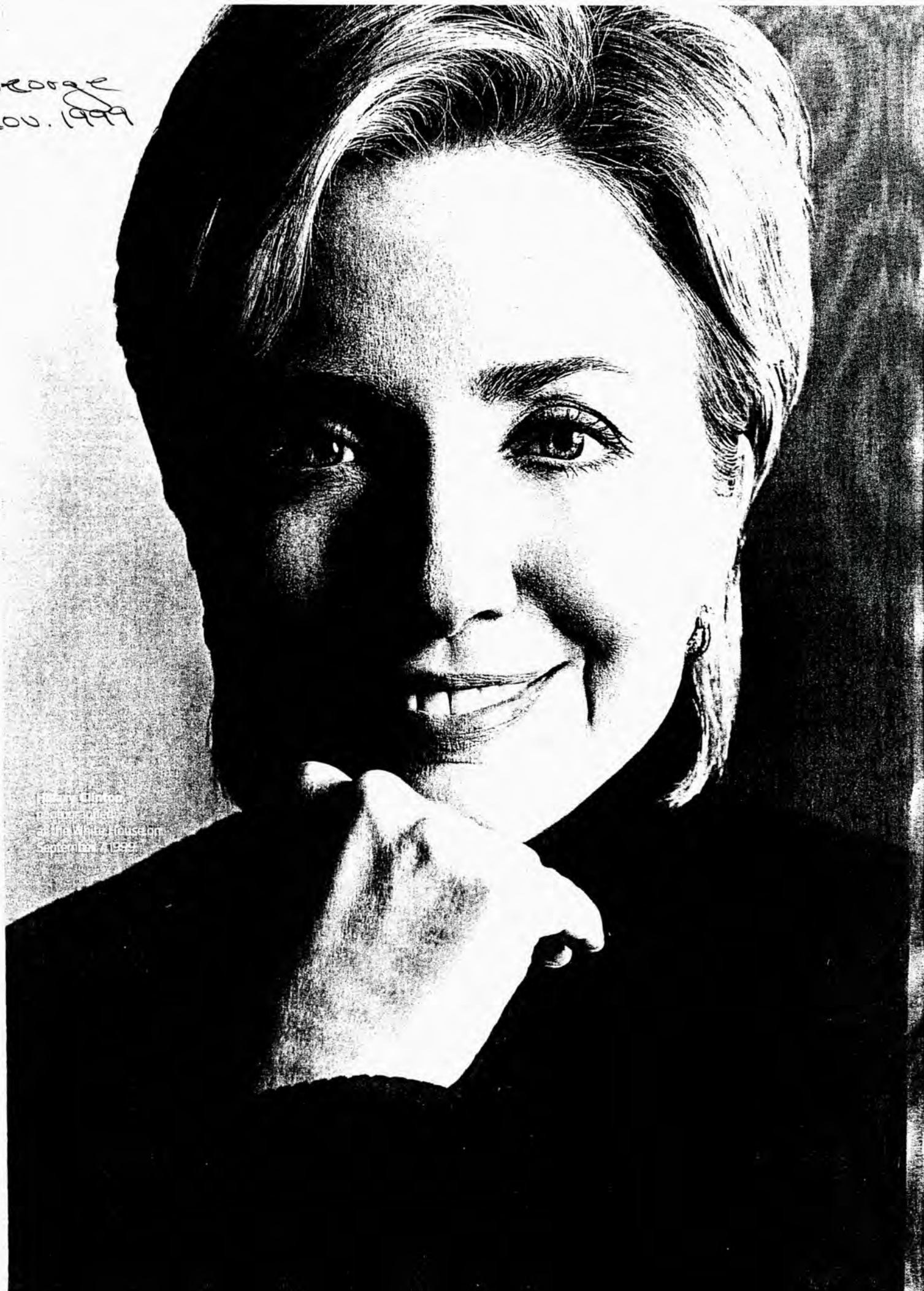
Either way,
Hillary's
ready for
her own
run at
history.



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George
Nov. 1999

Hillary Clinton
President-elect
at the White House on
September 7, 1999



After the crushing defeat
of Hillary Clinton's health care reform bill
in 1994, few expected the first lady to play a prominent role
in Washington. While the
press and her Republican enemies moved on to other
targets, Hillary lowered her profile and used subtler channels
to wield power within the White House and
on Capitol Hill. Running for Senate just makes it official.

*By Carl Sferrazza Anthony.
Portraits by Michael Thompson*

Hillary's
Secret
Power

On November 29, 1994, three weeks after the Republican party seized control of Congress for the first time in 40 years, Hillary Rodham Clinton addressed a symposium on the role of first ladies. In the gold-encrusted ballroom of Washington's Mayflower Hotel, a hushed audience had gathered expecting to hear Hillary ooze contrition—the congressional defeat of her ambitious agenda for health care reforms and the Republicans' massive victory had become synonymous in the public's imagination.

But when a poised and confident Hillary began to speak, it was obvious that the first lady had no intention of offering the expected mea culpas. She would continue to be active in public life, she declared. If she did otherwise, she added, "my husband and friends would probably have me committed. I, for better or worse, have spoken out on public issues for 25 years. Some kind of first lady amnesia would not have been very credible."

Such conviction was not isolated to large gatherings in front of television cameras. At a White House dinner a few weeks later, Hillary was in a similarly feisty mood, telling a guest, "Listen, I'm a big girl. I can take the hits. I don't mind a real debate on issues."

Yet, of course, things would change after November 1994. And in the months that followed, even the stubborn Hillary had to recognize that all the criticism and vitriol was not really about her health care plan—it was about Hillary herself. The role she had assumed as the engine of reform had sparked a national debate on the power she wielded within the White House. Her harshest enemies—the Hillary-hating crowd of newly elected Republicans on Capitol Hill—were determined to cast her as the most Machiavellian presidential spouse since Edith Wilson took control of the presidency of her infirm husband, Woodrow Wilson, in 1919. To them, she was Lady Clinton, whispering in the ear of her vacillating husband as the couple lay down to sleep at night, ignoring her husband's infidelities because she was more interested in acquiring power for herself.

In the face of such adversity, Hillary recognized that she would have to adapt. She could hold her head high at functions and deliver hollow bromides about issues, but that wasn't why she had come to Washington. If she was going to get anything done, she would have to change the way she was doing it, to make sure that the controversy surrounding her persona would not doom the changes she wanted to make. As Hillary says today, "This was the time of the most intense attacks from Congress—so it was not likely that I was going to testify on *anything* then." No longer could she act as a sort of unofficial cabinet member, empowered by her husband to take on the administration's biggest challenges. Instead, she would master the behind-the-scenes levers of power, building relationships with the White House staff, cabinet agencies—particularly female cabinet members—and trustworthy friends on Capitol Hill.

Flush with their victories over Hillary and congressional Democrats, the Republicans failed to realize just how successful she would become in this evolution. The inside-the-Beltway media—unable to get close to Hillary and bored by the serious issues she was working on—never paid her doings much attention either. "She has been floundering around in the last couple of years to

try to find some project for herself," Washington social doyenne Sally Quinn said on *Meet the Press* in February 1998. "The real problem for Hillary is her record," *Newsweek* pundit Jonathan Alter wrote in March 1999, assessing her Senate campaign. "She doesn't have one."

Yet by appearing more like a traditional first lady and removing herself from the glare of the media, a former staff member says, "she could get things done." Since 1994, Hillary has accomplished more than many—perhaps most—members of Congress, particularly in the areas of child care, human rights, and health care. But so adeptly has she disguised her influence in Washington that as she prepares to run for Daniel Patrick Moynihan's New York Senate seat next year, there has been no sustained review of exactly what Hillary Clinton has achieved in the White House.

"I think one of the reasons there hasn't been much coverage of what I've done is that there hasn't been one theme to my work," she explains. "It would take a certain amount of effort to follow what I've done, and that's just never been part of political reporting. But in terms of how I spent my days and what I did, I thought that it was pretty much a continuation of what I have always done, working on the same kind of issues, trying to raise them, trying to be strategic in thinking about how to be effective in promoting them, looking for allies. And I resist labeling myself because it's so limiting. I'm realistic, I'm pragmatic, I'm optimistic, and I think I'm patriotic."

Hillary's beliefs and her commitment to them haven't changed since 1994. But her tactics have. And unlike her plan to reform health care, they have succeeded.

The solarium on the third floor of the White House has long been the most private preserve of America's first families. Here in the glass-windowed parlor, Mamie Eisenhower played bridge and Caroline Kennedy had kindergarten classes. There's a terrace surrounding it, where President Eisenhower liked to grill steaks and where Hillary grows her own tomatoes. Cut off from public view, the solarium is decorated with comfortable furniture and political memorabilia, and is the Clintons' favored spot for intimate dinners, birthdays, family gatherings, and games—cards, Boggle, Scrabble. There are cushy, periwinkle-blue sofas and chintz-covered chairs. Scattered about are a rocking chair, homey throw blankets—including one that features an image of Buddy, the president's Labrador—a green-marble-topped coffee table, and another table crowded with Russian nesting dolls featuring the president, Hillary, and Chelsea. Apparently for visiting children, the Clintons have a collection of Beanie Babies, including a husky dog and a bald eagle.

This is where Hillary, wearing a canary-yellow pantsuit and perfect makeup, greets me for the first of two recent interviews in which she agreed to discuss her role in the White House. "We feel very comfortable and extremely well provided for here," she says. But sometimes she has to escape: She sneaks out for occasional walks along the Mall with a single Secret Service agent; and now that Chelsea is in college, she and the president retreat to Camp David more often. When their daughter was in high school, they liked to spend weekends in

town because Chelsea wanted time with her friends.

After the health care debacle in 1994, one of Hillary's challenges was distinguishing her work from her husband's. Her enemies have long maintained that what makes the first lady powerful is the authority she exerts over Bill Clinton, either from intellectual domination or some sort of crass sexual quid pro quo. That misogynistic canard misses the reality of a give-and-take between intellectual partners. The Clintons are so mutually reliant upon each other's political thinking that it is impossible to say where one's ideas stop and the other's begin. It is "very hard to dissect" her influence on the president, Hillary says. "We talk about everything, and have for as long as we've known each other... particularly on issues where we share a common commitment," such as welfare and education. They have their disagreements—for example, Hillary was unhappy with some of the provisions of Clinton's 1993 welfare bill. "I supported the bill," she says, "but I was very concerned about specifics." To fully support Clinton's legislation, Hillary insisted on a continuation of federally supported child care and Medicaid programs. "For her, those two components were absolutely essential to any kind of reform," says Melanne Verveer, the first lady's chief of staff. "Hillary made her views very clear."

When it comes to more formal discussions of policy, Hillary recognizes she is just one source of ideas. "Bill is someone who solicits opinions and advice from a broad range of people," she says. "And I'm one of those people. But depending upon the issue, I could be one of two or one of 100. It's just the way he makes decisions. All you can do is say, 'This is a really important issue, I'm hearing a lot about it, here's what I think about it, and I wish you would take that into consideration.' My perspective might not be as informed as someone else's. So I would not want a president who listened only to one person. It would be a very dangerous situation for the country."

Only if she "thinks it's really important or gets new information" will Hillary persist with her opinion on an issue. "A lot of times, I'll mention it once and that's it," she says. When pressed on issues that she and her husband have disagreed on, she demurs. "Well, you know, I just wouldn't talk about those things." She's starting to talk about them more, but it isn't easy: Hillary's recent criticism of the president's recommendation of clemency for jailed Puerto Rican terrorists was a political fiasco that infuriated Hispanic leaders in New York.

Another reason it's hard for Hillary to talk about policy is that she doesn't believe the press is truly interested. The day after she attended the premiere of *Shakespeare in Love* in December 1998, Hillary delivered a two-hour speech on international violations of children's rights. Her remarks received no coverage and were studiously ignored by the *New York Times*' Maureen Dowd, who devoted a Sunday column to the exploits of "Hollywood Hillary"—the first lady who had attended a movie opening. "There was a time when there were large and real ac-

From top: **Hillary** on her listening tour of New York in September; key advisers (from left) **Jacob Lew**, head of the White House's Office of Management and Budget, **James Wolfensohn**, World Bank president, and **Melanne Verveer**, Hillary's chief of staff; **Hillary** with President **Jerry Rawlings** of Ghana, in 1998.

When Hillary was 15, she wanted to be an astronaut but her mother hoped she would be the first woman to serve on the Supreme Court



Bobby Kennedy for his family's latest act of dynastic audacity. Where power carpetbagging is concerned, Hillary can take comfort in the example of Bobby's campaign.

He came late to the race; she comes early. She has not evinced the slightest interest in any other office; he had been tempted by the vice presidency and had looked seriously at the New York race only after Lyndon Johnson refused to make him his running mate. She has the luxury of large stretches of time in which to attend to the details; he had to scramble. In his rush to find a house in New York, Bobby ended up taking a 25-room Dutch Colonial in Glen Cove, Long Island, that he didn't really like and only rarely used. (As senator, he spent far more time in an apartment he found in Manhattan's United Nations Plaza.) Hillary and the president, on the other hand, looked at houses in a half dozen Westchester County towns before settling on an 11-room Dutch Colonial in Chappaqua.

Questions of timing ended up mattering in Bobby's campaign. They may matter no less in Hillary's. A famous person who decides to make a controversial race can count on two things to shape the way his or her candidacy is received: the power of celebrity—star power, the ability to draw a crowd—and the reality of a past, the record of a life, the thousand little things—words, deeds, sheer idle gossip—that collectively add up to a reputation. Very often famous candidates' reputations will offset the benefits they derive from their celebrity, and at no time will their reputation be more dangerous than at the moment that the effect of celebrity begins to wear off, as it inevitably will when it is subjected to the pressures of a campaign. What famous candidates learn to dread most is that the dazzling glow, which made the entry into the race so strangely, exhilaratingly easy, will begin to fade just as the heat of the campaign itself intensifies, in early to mid-October, leaving them alone with their past during the final, excruciating weeks of the contest. That is what happened to Bobby Kennedy in 1964, and it nearly cost

CONTINUED ON PAGE 140

complishments that she wished to achieve," Dowd wrote mockingly. "Historians will long wonder how Mrs. Clinton came in as Eleanor Roosevelt and left as Madonna."

Hillary is clearly exasperated by such portrayals. "You know, people ask me all the time, 'What has it been like for you here?'" she says. "Certainly, there have been some painful times, some challenging times. But when I look back, what I remember and what I have enjoyed are all the incredible opportunities. I feel blessed about that. I had an opportunity and I had an obligation, and I enjoyed what I did every day. I liked trying to help other people."

That desire to be perceived as a public servant who can transcend personal crisis is not disingenuous. Though her sense of duty can come across as patronizing noblesse oblige, Hillary has been devoted to public service since her teens. She learned the virtue of service from her Methodist father, Hugh Rodham, who took the family on tours of the ghettos of their hometown of Chicago.

Hugh Rodham died in April 1993, but his memory permeates Hillary's life. In October 1997, I joined the first lady and her two brothers, Tony and Hugh, on their first visit to Park Ridge, Illinois, since their parents sold their home 10 years earlier. As we went from room to room, the Rodham children laughed and reminisced about their childhood arguments and their father's carpentry work in the basement. After looking about Hillary's modest bedroom, everyone else turned to leave, but Hillary stayed behind for a moment. She peeked into the narrow closet, then peered through a small window that had once been her view on the world and in a low but audible voice said, "Wow." She had come a long way, but here were her roots.

Since her teenage years, when she spent summers babysitting for the children of Mexican migrant workers, Hillary has worked to make money. When her father declined to pay her full tuition at Yale Law School, she went out and earned it. In the summer of 1969, before starting law school, she shocked her family by getting a job in an Alaskan fish-canning factory. She was fired after she questioned the manager about some tainted product. "They were really dark and spoiled," she recalls. "But I guess nobody wanted to know that."

Hugh Rodham may have instilled in Hillary the importance of working, but it was her mother, the earthy Dorothy Rodham, who taught her to be ambitious. "You may be a girl," her mother told her, "but you can do whatever you choose to do." When Hillary was 15, she wanted to become an astronaut, but Dorothy hoped she would become the first woman to serve on the Supreme Court.

Hillary was not a hippy of the '60s. The wildest personal thing she ever did was paint a flower on her arm, only to wash it off a few hours later. There are no stories of any kind suggesting that she used drugs or indulged in free love—even by association. Devastated by the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., she joined other Wellesley students in a memorial march and wore an armband—but she never took part in sit-ins or riots. During the 1968 Chicago Democratic convention, she went to observe the riots between anti-war demonstrators and the police, not to participate. She did not want to destroy the status quo; she wanted to wake it up and have it take responsibility. She wasn't anti-establishment; she was reestablishment, recognizing that instead of insisting women be given power, they should be allowed to work to get it. She had an essentially conservative faith in proce-

ture. In the early '70s, with Watergate and the Vietnam War, masculine power had never seemed so fragile. Hillary saw an opportunity to prove herself, and that could only be done as she always did things—by working. Rather than drop out as a '60s radical, she got a degree, a briefcase, and a job and went to work as that icon of a later era, the '70s career woman.

When she arrived at the White House, Hillary was eager to break with precedent. She took an office in the West Wing with the president's staff, and placed her aides (except for employees of the Social Office) in the Old Executive Office Building next door. Then, in the winter of 1993, the president announced that his wife would head a White House task force to reform health care. Hillary would marshal the advice of more than 500 experts and a host of aides and present legislation to Congress that would guarantee health care for every American. The message was clear: Hillary was involved in the executive branch of the U.S. government. She had yet to learn that Washington wasn't ready for what critics would sneeringly call a "dual presidency." Nor could she have realized that the Republicans would make her role as reformer more contentious than the legislation itself.

To support her agenda, Hillary hired a group of aides—almost all are women—with similar political inclinations and policy backgrounds. Today her chief of staff is Melanne Verveer, a gentle-voiced, humorous, recent grandmother who started working for Hillary in 1993. A Washington veteran who worked for the liberal interest group People for the American Way from 1984 to 1992, Verveer is less interested in the fripperies that come with heading the first lady's secretariat than with realizing her boss's vision. She is Hillary's pilot, the person in her corner office until 10 at night, hammering out a meeting plan, a speech, or a policy-development proposal.

While her husband has had his problems with staff loyalty, Hillary has not. Key players, such as White House social secretary Capricia Marshall, director of scheduling Patti Solis, special assistant Pam Cicetti, director of special projects Kelly Craighead, director of correspondence Alice Pushkar, and policy adviser Nicole Rabner have been with her since Clinton's inauguration. Although Hillary demands excellence, her solicitude toward her staff is also famous—whether listening to their personal problems, singing happy birthday to them over the phone, or calling sick relatives. Her closeness with the staff promotes a collegial atmosphere. "She'll just dial around sometimes until she finds the person she wants," Verveer says. "She operates as a staff person. It's not the commandress in chief."

Hillary masterminds much of her own policy research. Rather than delegate to staff, she meets with experts in specific fields, many of whom she has known since the mid-1970s. In her "Eleanor Roosevelt room" in the residence, where she has collected all the ER memorabilia sent to her throughout the years, the first lady keeps the research she has accumulated—"vast pillars of paper," a former aide recalls. "She'll just go through the piles, and she'll say, 'Oh, here, somebody gave me this. Can you look into that?'"

Few of the directions and instructions are conveyed in

writing by Hillary. She rarely uses a computer, and unlike Barbara Bush or Lady Bird Johnson, she has kept no White House diary. "I don't put anything in writing that I don't have to," she explains. The investigations of independent counsel Kenneth Starr have made sure of that.

Hillary thinks out loud with her staff, posing questions, asking for follow-ups. A staff member will return with answers, and Hillary will reply with "five smart questions," a former aide says. "Hopefully, you can answer at least three of them." Then comes the question of whether the issue can be handled through the White House or a cabinet agency, or if it needs congressional support. If the latter is determined, Hillary may seek a sponsor on Capitol Hill, a like-minded Democrat to write legislation or push for its passage. But she's just as likely to decide that an interest group or a foundation is a less controversial—and hence more effective—public face for the policy push. "By determining the best avenue," one aide says, "we get a better result."

Hillary has never restricted herself to the views of policy wonks, and she is determined to meet ordinary Americans. Those meetings usually occur during visits to factories and schools and hospitals and rallies, and to a certain extent they fulfill the traditional "eyes and ears" role of a first lady. On October 28, 1997, after two days of parties in Chicago to mark her fiftieth birthday, Hillary attended one such event in a stale hotel hall. A long line formed at a microphone, and each person related a tale about child support or food stamps or Section 8 housing. Not until the final question from the floor had been answered did Hillary signal her readiness to leave. When at one point someone suggested that she might cut short the Q&A, she responded, "They came out for me. They told me their story. They sat here with me for an hour. The least I can do is listen to them with the same respect that they have given me."

Sometimes she can help. While meeting with Kosovo refugees in Macedonia last May, Hillary ran into Danica Georgieva, who had started a clothing company in Kocani with a U.S. government loan. She showed the first lady some of the high-quality linen blouses she was producing. Georgieva then said that Liz Claiborne was cutting back on orders because of the war in Kosovo, and that she would be forced to lay off much of her workforce. Within three days, Hillary had phoned Claiborne CEO Paul Charron, who remembers the incident vividly.

"I had not known Hillary before," he says. "I had never met her, and I'm not a contributor to the Democratic party. My secretary comes into my office and says, 'Will you speak with Hillary Clinton?' I said something to the effect of, 'You're kidding me.' So I picked up the phone, and she introduced herself and said she had just taken a trip to Macedonia.... Was there anything that could be done there? I said, 'I'm not sure, I can't afford production disruption, but let me see what I can do.' She said, 'I've got another question, Is there any way that we can convert the Macedonian apparel industry to producing goods or providing services in support of the refugees?' I said, 'That's a very good question. Let me get together with some of my friends and see what I can do.'"

Hillary wound up coordinating a joint effort between her office, the State Department, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and Liz Claiborne. Not only

From top: **Hillary** with her closest cabinet ally, **Madeleine Albright**, at the twentieth-anniversary celebration of the Congressional Caucus for Women in October 1997; Hillary announces her listening tour at **Senator Moynihan's** farm in July 1999.

did the company maintain the contract, it enlisted industry colleagues to help some of the other threatened factories in Macedonia. "If she had never used the power of her office to raise the questions," Charron says, "quite frankly, we would never have thought of it."

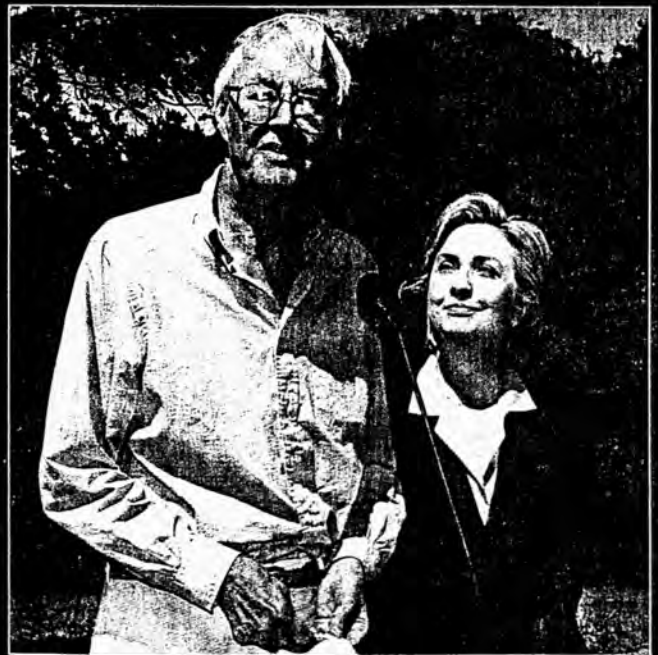
Closer to home, children's health has been a priority for Hillary. On one occasion in 1998, a couple on a rope-line told Hillary about their epileptic child and the paucity of new research to improve the lives of people with the condition. Back at the White House, Hillary fired off questions to her staff about the state of government research on epilepsy. "Just what's the story here?" she asked Verveer. A dossier on epilepsy research was hastily assembled, and when the findings confirmed what the couple had told Hillary, Verveer was asked to make a case for increased funding at a senior staff meeting. Thanks to Hillary's prodding, the National Institutes of Health's budget for epilepsy was increased in the 1999 federal budget.

The work is satisfying for Hillary, but it can take its toll. Onstage before a live audience at the Chicago Historical Society in 1997, Hillary was her typical energetic self. After the session, before heading out to a mammoth party for several thousand people in another part of town, she disappeared into a waiting room. Walking into the room moments later, I saw her collapsed on a folding chair, her head resting against the wall, her eyes shut. She seemed to be hardly breathing. I called to her to make sure she was all right, and when she didn't answer I became alarmed. I looked around only to see the Secret Service and her aides calmly going about their business—this was nothing more than a restorative catnap. Half an hour later, she was on her feet again, giving another speech.

One reason Congress was able to kill Hillary Clinton's health care reform in 1994 was internal White House confusion. The president's staff was preoccupied with the federal deficit and NAFTA, which left the first lady's team to fight for health care on its own. Ira Magaziner, a friend of the Clintons who served as Hillary's chief consultant on health care reform, recalls that the president's "economic, political, and legislative advisers didn't want anything to do with health care," until Clinton's economic programs had passed through Congress. It was "a very awkward situation," one aide reflects now.

Five years later, consultations between the East and West Wings are a much smoother process. Jacob Lew, the director of the Office of Management and Budget at the White House, who worked with Hillary on health care reform, says that she "fits into that better-established set of relationships." So does her staff: Verveer attends key morning meetings in the West Wing with the president's senior staff; several of Hillary's aides work on the Domestic Policy Council, attending the thrice-weekly meetings of the group, which coordinates all the president's domestic initiatives.

"If Hillary feels strongly about something and you're sitting with her in a meeting, you'll know that she feels strongly about it," Verveer says.



Hillary's views
are one of the most
important
factors as you think through
an idea," says a high-
ranking White House
official

FOR A WONDERFUL FIRST LADY, HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

-EDWARD A. HANNA, MAYOR



"I don't think there's ever been a feeling that the first lady's staffers are outlanders or intrusive," says Sidney Blumenthal, who has been a senior adviser to the president since 1997. "They're considered integral. They have a certain esprit de corps, a staff of mostly women who have had enormous political and policy experience."

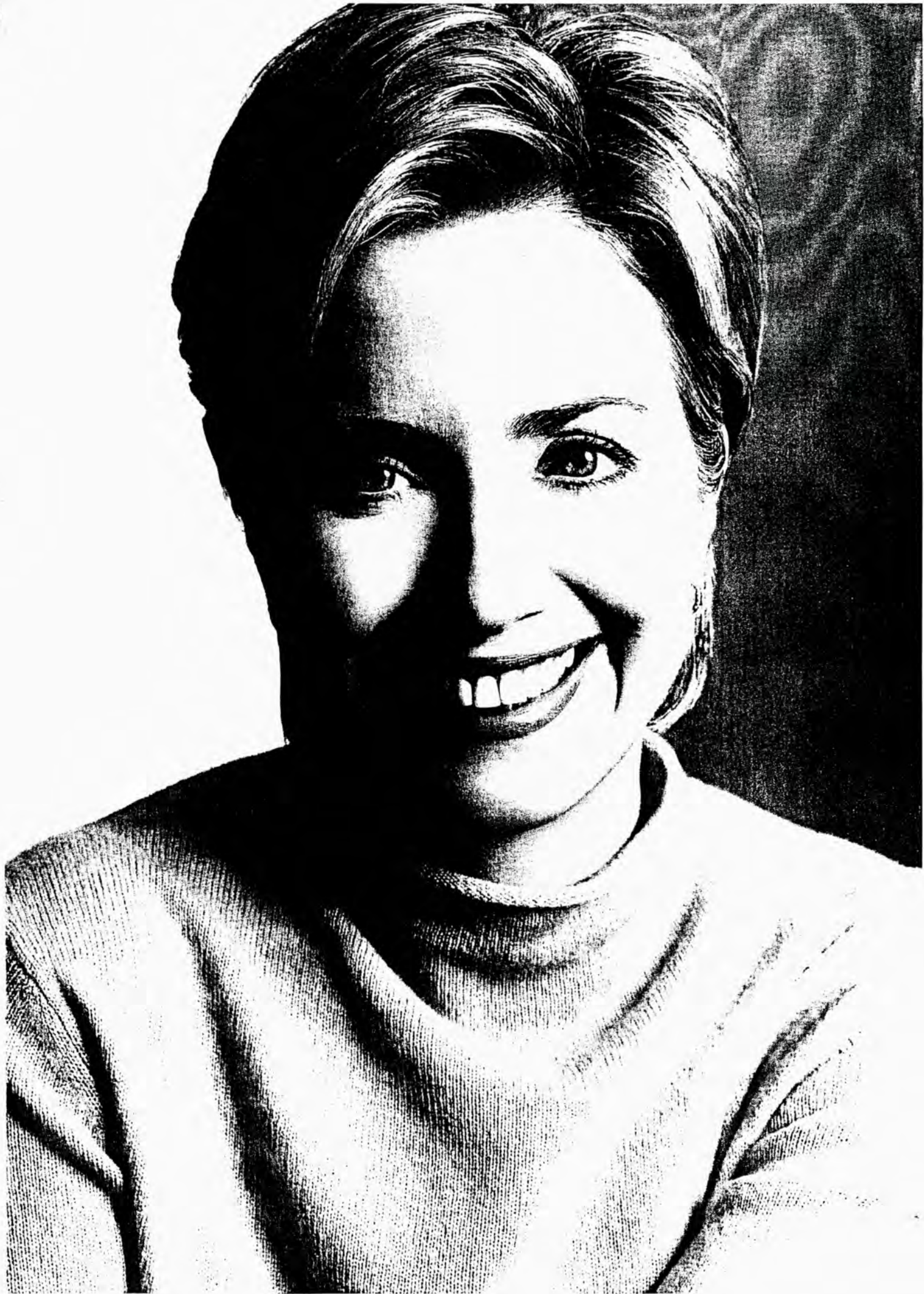
Hillary herself will occasionally attend senior staff meetings in the West Wing when the issues under discussion are strongly related to her expertise, such as children and health care. She will "listen to somebody saying that's not going to work. Then she will say, 'Well how do we make it work?'" Verveer says. "If she feels strongly about something and you're sitting with her in a meeting, you'll *know* that she feels strongly about it." In one session with a cabinet secretary this year, Hillary said flatly, "It's unconscionable that the regulations aren't out yet. Why don't we have this done? What are they going to say in two years' time?" She takes these gatherings seriously. "Well, we had the meeting," she'll say. "There were promises made. Let's see what happens now."

The exchange of information between the president's staff and Hillary flows both ways. The president's domestic-policy aides keep her informed of pending legislation that they know will be of interest to her. Or if they're working on an issue that they know she has strong feelings about or expertise in, they'll request her opinion, as they did last spring in the wake of the shooting in Littleton, Colorado. "When a tough decision has to be made, she's going to have the opportunity to offer strategic advice," Lew says. "Her views are one of the important factors as you think things through." Still, there's no evidence that the West Wing capitulates to please the boss's wife. What's more likely is that the president's advisers will meet with Hillary to get a read on how the president is thinking about an issue. One presidential aide says, "The Clintons think so similarly on important issues that she can be a good sounding board to the way he'll approach an issue."

Bill Clinton is an encyclopedia of policy, but even he concedes that his wife is better versed on children's issues than he is. "He sees this as one area where she has tremendous expertise," says Matthew Melmed, who is an informal adviser to Hillary and the director of Zero to Three, an organization that focuses on child-development issues. "He defers to her on this stuff."

Hillary's interest in children dates to her first year at Yale Law School, when she read an article in *Time* about Marian Wright Edelman, the children's-rights advocate who headed a fledgling Washington lobby called the Washington Research Project. When Edelman spoke on the New Haven campus in 1970, Hillary was there. Impressed by what she had heard, Hillary wrote to Edelman asking if she could work for the group over the summer vacation. Edelman had no budget but offered to take her as an unpaid intern. But Hillary secured grant money and went to work. Recognizing a promising student, Edelman recommended Hillary to Senator Walter Mondale's subcommittee on migrant CONTINUED ON PAGE 135

From top: Hillary at a New York hospital at the start of her listening tour in July; at a Kosovar refugee camp last June with the president.



SMOKING

done. All this happened a year ago. Mann finally sent me a copy of the script a year ago, and I read this bullshit." You mean, the scene with the Shiite Muslim? "Of course." But it's not in the movie. "I know that it's not. But in the movie, [Bergman] is still sitting blindfolded in front of the sheikh." So? "It never took place. He had nothing to do with setting up the interview." We discuss his correspondence with Mann. "I sent him a nice letter. Where the fuck is it?" he says, rustling papers. "Here it is. The file. [It was] a nice letter..." Is it true that the Wigand affair was *60 Minutes'* lowest point? "It wasn't a low point for me. It was a high point because we finally got the piece on the air, and we never, never, never would have gotten it on the air without me. Lowell had nothing to do with getting it on the air. Nothing." (Bergman says that his dogged protests eventually led Wallace to fight for the story again.)

We also discuss Bergman's contention that Hewitt and Wallace are blackballing him from getting work on *60 Minutes II*. First he says it's "laughable." Later on, he adds, "You can rest assured Hewitt ain't going to hire him." That doesn't sound so unreasonable. Why would Bergman, who is now working for PBS's *Frontline* and the *New York Times*, want to return to a network that he has so little respect for?

It is doubtful that a supporting role in a Hollywood movie will erase the reputation of a heavyweight like Mike Wallace, though it may very well deify Bergman. But whatever Michael Mann leads his audience to conclude about these two men, the Wallace-Bergman wars have illustrated one sure truth: In life, as in great journalism and great art, one can be right yet wrong, have integrity yet be fallible, tell the truth yet lie, be well intentioned yet be a traitor.

Last April, Bergman's contract with CBS News expired. The producer, who is participating in the film's publicity campaign and may write a book about the Wigand affair, has not talked to Wallace since then. "There is no relationship," Wallace says. At the end of our interview, Wallace concludes with his uncannily familiar bluntness, "Lowell is a good reporter. Some people have penis envy, some have microphone envy. I hope he finds a job. I just don't want to work next door to him." ☐

MILLENNIUM MAN

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 123 back the [budget surplus] because the schools would suffer; we want to build new schools in this country. Excuse me. Since when has the federal government ever built schools?"

He never trusted Democrats. Problem is, he's now losing confidence in Republicans. No vision. No answers. No hope of recapturing the White House unless they change. "We want to know what our party really stands for other than, you know, trim the budget and balance the budget. I understand all that," Arnold notes. "But say what you really stand for rather than going from one convention to the next talking about what we're against—guys like [Pat] Buchanan going up there and speaking about, 'We are anti-gay and we're anti-lesbian and anti-immigration. We are anti-taxation and anti-federal government.'"

Don't forget anti-Clinton. He was not impressed by the sight of so many Republicans foaming at the mouth during the impeachment proceedings and Lewinsky scandal. "That was another thing I will never forgive the Republican party for," he sputters. "We spent one year wasting time because there was a human failure. I was ashamed to call myself a Republican during that period. Instead of devoting all this energy and all these hearings to how we're going to solve the problems of the inner cities.... No, it's like, 'This man has to be removed from office because he's a national threat.' Yeah, that's a good one."

Arnold refusing to pile on Bill Clinton. Arnold bashing Pat Buchanan. Arnold saying good things about decaying neighborhoods and minority kids, talkin' equal opportunity and tolerance. To Keith Rhodes, a New Yorker raised by a single mother and who believes Mike Tyson has a heart of gold, Arnold sounds like Conan the Humanitarian. He told him that when the two sat down for a drink last September.

"Arnold, you so-called Republican," Rhodes says. "You look and smell and taste and feel so much like a Democrat."

Arnold puffed on his cigar, blew some smoke in Rhodes's face, and gave him that Terminator stare that says, "Don't poosh it."

The pilot tells us to prepare for touchdown in San Antonio.

Thousands of feet below, pulses are quickening at Edgar Allen Poe Middle School. Banners are being hung. Badminton players and pint-size gymnasts are loosening up to strut their stuff. Arnold is coming.

He checks his notes and asks if the mayor will be meeting their plane. "No," Reiss says. "He's gonna be at the school."

There will be many more mayors and many more schools and many more kids. Arnold is a driven machine. He brings Big Dreams. Someday soon, he vows, every city in the country "that suffers problems because of crime, teenage pregnancy, drug sales, gangs, and all those things" will be part of the Inner-City Games family.

"That's a lot of cities," someone observes.

The former Mr. Universe strikes a muscleman pose and triumphantly checks himself out. "Dat's a lot of brain," he says. "And a lot of body!" ☐

HILLARY'S POWERS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 116 workers, and through her work for Mondale, the young Hillary was soon researching migrant problems in housing, sanitation, health, and education.

Returning to Yale for her second year, Hillary volunteered at the university's Child Study Center, where she befriended Sally Provence, who was pioneering research on brain development in early childhood. She also volunteered at New Haven Hospital, where she worked on cases of child abuse, and at the city's Legal Services, providing free legal aid to the poor. At Yale, Hillary put in a postgraduate year focusing on law and medicine at the Child Study Center. One of her professors in family law was Joseph Goldstein, who was in the process of co-editing a book titled *Beyond the Best Interests of the Child*. Hillary was soon reviewing for Goldstein the history of children's legal rights. Her chapter for the book would be among the first writings to chronicle the judicial system's failure to address child abuse. It also laid down a new paradigm of adoption law: that a child's happiness mattered more than considerations such as wealth, birth family, race, or his or her potential adoptive parents. One of Hillary's first legal-aid cases involved a black foster-care child who was up for adoption. Hillary successfully argued that an older, low-income white woman who had been the foster parent for the child for two years should be able to adopt the girl. The woman and child had clearly become a family, Hillary said. Rather than be shuffled off to another foster home to wait for wealthier adoptive parents of similar racial makeup, the girl should stay in that home.

HILLARY'S POWERS

I asked Hillary what she considers to be her greatest achievements during her years at the White House. Without hesitation, she cited her role in initiating and shepherding the Adoption and Safe Families Act of 1997 through Congress. Helping to pass that bill has given her, she says, "as much satisfaction as anything that I've done."

The genesis of the bill can be traced to the aftermath of the 1994 midterm elections. Soon after he became Speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich declared that orphanages—like so many institutions of the Victorian era—weren't as grisly as novelists and liberals had made them out to be. Sensing an opportunity to

private discussions with the Children's Bureau, part of the Department of Health and Human Services Administration, about the federal government's role in child welfare. Just before the 1996 Democratic convention in Chicago, Hillary convened a meeting with about 20 foundation leaders to review the ideas that the policy experts had presented to her. It was, someone who was present says, the "bigger picture" she was interested in, and the opinions she heard in Chicago became "critical" to Hillary's thinking. The upshot of the meeting, according to one staffer, was what the government could do. Later that month, with Hillary's sup-

and Health and Human Services began hashing out recommendations and the specific legislative language to be used. The first lady and her longtime friend, Donna Shalala, the secretary of Health and Human Services, worked together closely, talking through some of the tougher issues. In early February 1997, Hillary combed through the emerging report, considering and reconsidering every detail. Among the most wrenching decisions was the issue of terminating parental rights. Hillary wanted to ensure support for families when appropriate. But as she had long advocated, she also wanted to guarantee that the health and safety of the child remained the paramount concerns during placement proceedings.

Mindful that health reform had been portrayed as byzantine and bureaucratic, Hillary also wanted to make certain that the effort would be simply and cogently understood. At her direction, an aide worked through the night on a terse executive summary of the report.

The formal presentation of the report, "Adoption 2002," released on Valentine's Day 1997, was staged around an Oval Office event. The Kansas girl whom Hillary had invited to speak at the White House in November 1995—who had been adopted in the interim—introduced the president. Her transformation was stunning. "She stood up straight. She was poised. She smiled. She talked. She looked you in the eye. She clearly had found so much confidence that stemmed from her new home," an observer says.

That summer, the White House found co-sponsorship interest on the Hill from Representatives David Camp, a Republican from Michigan, and Barbara Kennelly, a Democrat from Connecticut. They introduced a bill consistent with Hillary's recommendations, including one idea that had been lifted directly from the draft of her report. The government would give a per-child financial bonus to those states that increased adoption rates from the previous year. That summer, the legislation sailed through the House and was sent to the Senate. In the fall, Hillary continued to make speeches and appearances. By November, however, the Senate clock was ticking. The president's trade-negotiating authority had become the priority of the White House. There was a risk that Hillary's bill would die until the next session of Congress.

So Hillary herself began working the phones, calling friends on the Hill to get progress reports and rally sup-

"Every time Hillary goes on a trip," Vice President Al Gore says, "that's all we hear about from the president."

damage Gingrich politically, Hillary seized on the remark. In an article she wrote in *Newsweek* in January 1995, she declared that Gingrich's comment was absurd. Orphanages had become extinct, she said, because they were terrible places for children. Searching for ways to make herself relevant again, Hillary asked her staff to review government policy toward adoption. In the summer of 1995, she convened a White House meeting of policy experts to discuss the most pressing issues, such as long-term foster care and institutional barriers within the child welfare system, including cross-racial adoptions.

During National Adoption Month in November 1995, Hillary hosted the first in a series of events on the issue at the White House. With her on the dais that day was Dave Thomas, founder of the Wendy's fast-food chain and an ardent supporter of adoption: Thomas himself had been adopted. Also at the gathering were dozens of children waiting to be placed with foster families. One Kansas teenager—overweight, withdrawn, with clunky eyeglasses—read a poem about longing for a family and a room of her own. "Everyone was in tears," an observer recalls. Then Hillary spoke, challenging both the public and private sectors to do more to expedite adoptions.

As the public events continued throughout 1995 and '96, Hillary and her staff also plunged into a series of

port, Bill Clinton signed legislation that strengthened the 1993 Multi-Ethnic Placement Act and provided new tax credits for those who adopt.

Hillary then directed her staff to begin drafting more specific recommendations. Weeks before the 1996 election, some insiders thought that adoption was such a political winner that it could become part of Bill Clinton's reelection platform. But Hillary, wary that her husband's political enemies might use the issue as a way of attacking her influence in the White House, fought to keep it out of the platform. "So we waited," an aide says. After the elections, Hillary staged a forum on adoption that was broadcast from the Oval Office on November 14. Some children waiting to be adopted were invited. Hillary announced that the president was about to sign an executive memorandum, directing Health and Human Services to develop a plan within 90 days to double the number of adoptions by 2002 and to allow more children to be adopted more expeditiously.

Hard questions and policy negotiating followed. What was the five-year plan for doubling the adoption numbers from child welfare? How could new per-child incentives be created for states? The "reasonable effort" requirement to attempt to reunify a birth family before terminating parental rights differed from state to state—how could it be standardized? The White House

HILLARY'S POWERS

port. Some of her aides assured her that the legislation would pass, but an hour later a senator told her it was dead. "It was a roller-coaster," says a member of the first lady's staff.

Hillary and Verveer were in constant conversation with Erskine Bowles, then the White House chief of staff, who was negotiating with Senate majority leader Trent Lott down to the wire. The senator refused to comment on Hillary's efforts to help the bill through, but an aide recalls that Bowles made it clear to Lott that the president was intent on seeing his wife's proposals become law.

Bill Clinton's push for Hillary's legislation—reminiscent of LBJ's support of Lady Bird's national highway-beautification bill—is the exception to the general truth that Hillary has no particular spousal pull to elevate her issues above any other adviser's agenda. "You're never going to say that she doesn't get *some* special dispensation," says an aide who works for both of them. "Or that she shouldn't."

When it came time to call Senator Carl Levin, Hillary was particularly careful. The Michigan Democrat supported a national voluntary registry for people who wanted to locate birth children or birth parents, and had attached the measure to the adoption bill. The influential and conservative National Council on Adoption opposed Levin's amendment, and that meant trouble: For the adoption bill to pass, the support of all Democrats and a handful of sympathetic Republican senators was essential. The National Council's concern could turn some votes against the bill. White House aides talked to Levin aides, who informed the White House that the senator wouldn't budge. So Hillary called Levin and invited him to the White House. According to Levin, "I spent about 45 minutes with the first lady. She very strongly and very powerfully argued her case." Hillary promised Levin that after the bill was passed, she would support his registry plan and see if it could be created through Health and Human Services. After their conversation, the senator agreed to remove his measure. (To date, Levin's proposal has yet to be adopted.)

On November 13, Congress passed the bill. Four days later, in a huge White House ceremony, the president signed it.

More than a year later, Hillary unveiled part of the president's 2000 budget—\$300 million to support unadopted, aging children with housing, daily chores, and health coverage. Since then,

a new bill sponsored by Nancy Johnson and Benjamin Cardin has passed the House in a near unanimous vote; the Foster Care Independence bill, which will help older unadopted children make the transition to adulthood, was introduced by senators John Chafee of Rhode Island and Jay Rockefeller of West Virginia, and awaits debate in the Senate. "It's a powerful subject if you're into it," Rockefeller says. "But it's one in which you need someone to take you into it. Hillary does that. When it comes to children and family issues, I don't think there's a more informed, passionate person in the country.... We just had a meeting with some of these older children. They don't know how to run a washing machine, how to pay bills, how to find an apartment to live in, or pay rent—or how they can afford to pay rent." Hillary, one staffer says, is determined to "make this proposal a reality."

If Hillary's adoption legislation is not well known, her role in it is even less known. That suits her fine. "It is always the prerogative of the press to follow what they think is newsworthy," Hillary says when asked about her low profile on the issue. "Adoption has never commanded the kind of attention that something like health care has, because it only affects a small number of Americans. We have half a million children in foster care, but it's not an issue that's going to have much newsworthiness."

Hillary's defeat on health care hasn't changed her mind about the need for its reform. But it did teach her that trying to reform one of the country's largest economies all at once wasn't going to happen. "Our country is just not yet resolved on how it's going to deal with the health care needs of the population," she says. "The only way to make progress in this kind of environment" is incrementally. One colleague observes, "Even though health care was portrayed as this crushing blow, I don't think she ever stopped. It was immediately, 'Well, what about doing it this way?'"

At the very least, Hillary was determined to get coverage for low-income children. It was an area she knew; she could regain her confidence there. And politically, children's issues were a gold mine. "She was quite pragmatic," an aide says. "She understood that this was something we actually might be able to get done because people care about children." Hillary considered advocating an extension of Medicaid but realized that

some Republicans would detest the idea—more money, more big government, more Hillary as a tax-and-spend liberal, they would say. She had to find a way to achieve the same goal that would be politically palatable to Republicans.

"We needed to create this hybrid," she says, "where some states would do this through Medicaid and some would use their own funds. You've got to give them choice."

So Hillary began an all-out push within the administration, and in her speeches and writings, for what is now known as the Children's Health Insurance Program. The program allows the federal government to provide health insurance for low-income children through state grants, a popular idea with Republicans. Hillary pushed to make it an administration priority and, through the legislative process, continued to fine-tune it. "Nobody intuitively knows the importance of coalition better than Mrs. Clinton," says Rockefeller, who has worked with Hillary on CHIP. "She will treat [conservative senator] Phil Gramm with courtesy and respect. She might not walk arm-in-arm with Jesse Helms as Madeleine Albright did, but she will put out a similar sort of courtesy. She will reason with people." Administered through Health and Human Services, CHIP passed on August 5, 1997.

When an issue moves her, the first lady has no compunction about calling members of Congress to lobby, though she's careful about whom she calls and what she says. Verveer admits, "These are not things you will read about in any newspaper. She does not want to make waves, because she does not want to jeopardize the outcome."

Following President Clinton's 1998 State of the Union address on the creation of a historic preservation project called Save America's Treasures, Hillary felt that private funds could be leveraged more easily if Congress shook loose some money first. "Republicans who were in a pivotal position to help with this weren't necessarily there from the beginning," Verveer recalls. "The first lady made some calls: 'I really think this would make a huge difference,' she said. 'It has no ideological component to it. It's not special for Democrats or Republicans. It's something that every American would applaud.'" Ralph Regula, chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on the Interior, was persuaded by Hillary's arguments. "She

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was pragmatic about the federal funds, very much in agreement with me that matching private and state funding would indicate support in the community," he says. Congress allotted \$30 million of federal money, and Hillary went on the road to raise the private donations—an additional \$30 million.

Much of what Hillary Clinton has proposed in the last five years does not involve federal policy but rather the creation of public-private partnerships. Through her role as honorary chair of the president's Committee on the Arts and Humanities, she makes the case that the arts are an especially useful tool in providing at-risk children with a creative venue for emotional development. She helped find corporate sponsors, such as VH1, Binney & Smith (manufacturers of Crayola Crayons), and the General Electric Fund, for the Arts Education Partnership, a program to install music and painting classes in inner-city public schools. She has helped create such partnerships by exploiting the physical power of the White House, inviting representatives of charities and corporations to ceremonies and meetings—invitations that are almost never turned down. "Often it is not what we can do directly so much as the work we can put into motion that will affect people's lives," she says.

During her White House years, Hillary has not hesitated to call on the cabinet. She has worked on issues with Richard Riley at the Department of Education, Bruce Babbitt at the Department of Interior, and Andrew Cuomo at the Department of Housing and Urban Development. In October 1997, she persuaded Robert Rubin, secretary of the treasury, to convene a meeting of corporate CEOs. She wanted their advice on how American companies could be persuaded to adopt better child care measures for working parents. There are other, less obvious choices. "On child safety and domestic violence issues, Attorney General Janet Reno is a kindred spirit," Vermeer says. The first lady helped establish the Department of Justice's Violence Against Women office, a way of addressing a social problem without resorting to Congress: Since many Republicans resist the idea of specific efforts targeted at hate crimes, Hillary knew that she could accomplish more by working with Reno.

Hillary's closest cabinet ally is Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. Their relationship is "a partnership, a tag

team," Albright says. "We lay out the policy, and she is probably the best unofficial ambassador we have. When she comes back from a trip overseas, she always writes a report, and we'll discuss it and distribute it in the State Department." Since 1993, Hillary has made 51 trips to foreign countries, usually on her own. She is the most widely traveled first lady in history.

Together, Hillary and Albright have made women's rights a tenet of U.S. foreign policy. But Hillary presents the issue using more conservative language than the Hillary of Yale Law School would have. "If women aren't achieving their role in society, if they can't participate in the economy, if they can't have their basic needs met or be educated, then there's little chance that those countries are going to prosper," she says. "So it is in our interest to pay attention to women's issues if we want to see democracy flowering." This is not women's lib for the rest of the world; it's human rights as a path to capitalism and democracy. Again, the goals are consistent with what Hillary has long sought, but they're presented in a way that an opposition party might accept.

One of the specific programs she has helped shape is Vital Voices, a U.S.-sponsored initiative to promote the participation of women in politics around the world. It's more than a high-minded coffee klatch, as some have dismissed it. When the first lady held a Vital Voices conference in Northern Ireland in 1998, it was her status, Albright says, that drew 400 female leaders from all over Northern Ireland and the United Kingdom, Unionists and Nationalists alike. "Out of that," Albright says, "came a bunch of new projects, training, and exchanges that are visible evidence of our support for the Good Friday peace agreement." It's grassroots activism—from the top down.

Before departing on an overseas journey, Albright often briefs the first lady. They keep in frequent contact, mostly by phone, Albright says. When Albright and Hillary travel together, they'll hold joint meetings with women's groups. If Albright meets with a foreign minister, Hillary will have a follow-up conversation with staffers from nongovernmental organizations. Albright explains, "When she meets with them, she gives them credibility and legitimacy, and they can go out and really push for an agenda for getting more women into the various political levels within a country."

In the spring of 1998, amid rising tensions in Kosovo, Hillary made a trip to Bulgaria. She arrived at six in the morning and went straight from the airport to give a televised speech. Later in the day, she met with President Petar Stoyanov, then with Prime Minister Ivan Kostov. She also met with an unprecedented gathering of first ladies from Albania, Bulgaria, Greece, Macedonia, Rumania, Slovenia, and Turkey.

During her solo trip to South Africa in March 1997, Hillary met with a group of women who had sought a loan from U.S. Agency for International Development to build houses and had completed three of them. She has been an ardent supporter of loans provided by USAID. A year later, during their joint trip to Africa, Hillary insisted that President Clinton visit the town. She was delighted to see that more than 100 homes had been built by the women.

Later, at a Washington lunch for Ghana's president, Jerry Rawlings, President Clinton turned to USAID administrator J. Brian Atwood and said, "I just talked to Hillary. And every time she calls, she wants to see your budget increase." Al Gore chimed in, "Yeah, every time Hillary goes on a trip, you know, that's all we hear about from the president."

Jim Wolfensohn, president of the World Bank, believes that women in developing nations have an "intuitive respect" for Hillary. "When she travels, there tends to be so much hoopla that it is difficult to establish the human contact. But somehow she manages to do that. It's gone beyond the photo opportunity to substantive discussions." That is the same technique Hillary has shown in New York in recent months on her listening tour: traveling, meeting with groups of people, trying to draw out their concerns. The New York media have been skeptical of Hillary's listening campaign, but that may be a mistake: She has been perfecting this strategy for years on overseas trips, and she has used it to master complicated policy issues that put most reporters to sleep. If she can do it in Macedonia, her thinking seems to be, she can do it in New York.

The first lady's months on the campaign trail in New York might just be a leave of absence from the world scene. As Wolfensohn adds, "She tells me that one of the reasons she wants to run for the Senate is so that she can deal directly with America's concerns abroad."

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New York is no longer the most populous state in the Union nor the wealthiest nor the most cosmopolitan. Those states are, respectively, California, Connecticut, and California again. Yet New York remains the most powerful symbol of American life around the world, and with Hillary eager to play a role beyond the shores of the United States, no Senate seat in the country matches her political ambitions quite as well as the one that will be vacated by Daniel Patrick Moynihan next year.

Several factors prompted the first lady to run. "For the last couple of years, I had intended to live in New York after the White House," she says. "My mind had already moved to that—long before anyone talked to me about running for office. I just imagined I would be living there and working there. It seemed serendipitous that what I intended to do—live in New York—coincided with what people were urging me to do."

Hillary has also come to realize the

me out of the blue. It's not anything I planned. It's not anything I thought actively about." It is, instead, a continuation of the work that she has been doing since 1994—indeed, since her childhood in Chicago. In that context, a Senate run for Hillary doesn't seem surprising; it seems almost inevitable.

Hillary flatly disavows the charge that she can't be a candidate and a first lady at the same time: "Most people who run for political office have another job. A member of the House who runs for the Senate has to continue to be a member of the House. A governor who runs for president has to continue to be a governor. I see it in a similar light."

In fact, Hillary says, her new role as candidate is a boost to her work as first lady, not a hindrance. "Whether it's campaigning on behalf of someone else or whether I go forward on my own, I will always be furthering the work that I have done in the White House."

Some pundits have suggested that

edge that even some of the more obscure and seemingly docile first ladies affected policy. Although she has been most commonly compared to Eleanor Roosevelt, who was similarly ambitious and controversial, Hillary has also focused on another legend: Dolley Madison.

"There is a special feeling I have about Dolley," Hillary says of the woman whose reputation is fixed as the ice cream-doling party girl but who was, in reality, adept at subtle lobbying for the Madison administration. "Her strength, her character, her skill, her sheer energy really set her apart. She was not only a wonderful hostess but also a skilled diplomat who could bring people together and help them work on behalf of common causes." At a White House costume party several years ago, Hillary dressed herself up as Dolley. It cannot be coincidental that in 1844 the former first lady was awarded an unprecedented honorary congressional seat.

Ironically, the woman who had to adjust from her very public responsibility for health care reform to working more discreetly on policy must now revert to taking credit for what she's done. It isn't easy. Between trips to New York for her listening tour, Hillary told me of her reluctance to use the word *I* in reference to achievements she's been behind. She is used to speaking out on issues, she says, but "really doing it for myself has taken some getting used to." She admits that this self-consciousness may be "a sense that it's not appropriate to be the person in the spotlight saying, 'Hey, look over here,' as opposed to just looking at the results. I like being part of a team. I like having everyone feel that they have a stake in what we're doing. Maybe that's more of a personal attitude, or maybe it has something to do with gender. I'm not sure."

It's not over yet. In the next 12 months, the first lady-cum-candidate has an ambitious agenda. She reels off "sensible gun control...doing what needs to be done on Social Security and Medicare...laying the groundwork for diminishing and then eliminating the national debt...the pension proposal...raise the minimum wage again."

The last time I spoke with her, the first lady seemed increasingly more comfortable mentioning her own work than she had in previous conversations. On issues close to her, such as adoption, child welfare, and the welfare-to-work transition, she will "continue to push." But there are new is-

Hillary flatly disavows the charge that she can't be a candidate and the first lady. "Most people who run for political office have another job," she says.

role of the Senate in many of the issues that she has already begun work on. "I have seen in the last few years the importance of what goes on in the Senate," she explains. "Time and again, important decisions about our future were made by one vote or a handful of votes in the Senate." She names Vice President Gore's tie-breaking vote for the administration's deficit-reduction plan in 1993 and the slim margin on the 1994 crime bill as examples of the chamber's role.

"These decisions have a direct impact on how people live in New York," Hillary says. "So I decided I should be part of that debate. If I'm fortunate enough to persuade the people of New York that I could be their representative, I want to be in the thick of it."

Hillary is clearly excited by the prospect of getting back to work after having been a volunteer, and she denies the suggestion that it's time for her career, rather than her husband's, to be primary. "I just don't feel that way," she insists. "[Running for Senate] came to

Hillary isn't prepared for the rough-and-tumble of a campaign in which she, rather than her husband, is the candidate, but she sounds almost eager to leap into the fray. Whether it's New York City mayor Rudy Giuliani fundraising in Arkansas, historian Doris Kearns Goodwin questioning Hillary's loyalty to the Yankees, or comedian Jackie Mason accusing her of exploiting her step-grandfather to get the Jewish vote, she is unflustered. "Most voters in New York are more interested in what their senator can do for them, not in the political back-and-forth that plays out in so much of the political commentary these days," she says. "That is just a diversion to drown out what I would do for the economy or what I would do for education or how I would try to continue to help people with health care."

More than any first lady since Lady Bird Johnson, Hillary Clinton has steeped herself in the history of her predecessors. She takes comfort in the knowl-

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sues as well. "I've seen how important farming is in my travels around New York, because upstate New York has been lagging behind the rest of the state in job creation and income growth," she says. After all the years of listening, Hillary is finally finding her own voice. 

HOW BOBBY DID IT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 113 him the election.

At the beginning of the campaign, he was the fifth Beatle; the size and enthusiasm of the crowds made up for his own lackluster style on the hustings. Bobby hardly ever even mentioned his opponent, the Republican incumbent Kenneth Keating, a grandfatherly figure from Buffalo, and he was reluctant to comment on Keating's record. Kennedy's campaign, R.W. Apple observed in the *Times*, resembled a "personal-appearance tour by a movie star," and relied on glamour and nostalgia to insulate the candidate from the uglier realities of a Senate race. True, a certain section of the liberal intelligentsia was from the first suspicious about Bobby's past, about his uneasy relationship with postwar liberalism, about the brutal, bullying way he'd pushed around liberal idols like Herbert Lehman, the former New York governor and senator, and Eleanor Roosevelt's good-government protégés. But the grumblings of Gore Vidal had little effect on Bobby's strong showings in the early polls. Vidal and his allies might revive old stories about Bobby's apprenticeship under Joe McCarthy, but in the war of liberal wits, such Kennedy supporters as Arthur Schlesinger, John Kenneth Galbraith, and George Plimpton were more than equal to the task of parrying their opponents' blows—sometimes literally. Plimpton pushed playwright Arthur Kopit over a sofa in the Manhattan apartment of Kennedy aide William vanden Heuvel when Kopit pronounced himself unable to vote for Bobby.

If Vidal and his compatriots failed to undermine Bobby's commanding lead in the polls, they nevertheless succeeded in painting a damaging picture of the candidate as a ruthless opportunist, a "little Torquemada," in Vidal's words, a creature of McCarthy. The picture was just plausible enough to limit Bobby's ability to maneuver in important ways. Although Bobby had been forced to turn to New York's Democratic party bosses for support early in the campaign, he was determined to do nothing else

that could justify the reproaches of his liberal critics. This left him in a quandary when, in October, the novelty of his glamour began to wear off and the polls suggested that his popularity was slipping. Afraid to do anything that might lend credibility to the idea that he was a cruel and unfeeling adventurer, Bobby at first refused to strike out at his Republican opponent. Keating, a white-haired teddy bear of a man, was gaining strength, but Kennedy believed that if he took the offensive against his courtly adversary, it would confirm all the old perceptions that Vidal & Co. had worked to keep alive.

Keating himself came conveniently to the rescue. In September, in a bid for the Jewish vote, Keating made the outlandish charge that as attorney general Bobby had been sympathetic to the plight of former Nazis. The ploy backfired. In Arthur Schlesinger's view, Keating's miscalculation marked a turning point in the campaign. The charge gave Bobby the excuse he needed to attack Keating without looking like a bully himself—and it revived, too, Bobby's own fighting spirit, which had been overwhelmed by his continuing melancholy, by the as yet uncompleted processes of mourning. On October 12, Columbus Day, Bobby, speaking in Buffalo, responded to Keating's charge with the kind of righteous indignation that elicits voters' sympathy. Keating's decision to go negative, together with a successful advertising blitz and the help of LBJ's coattails, enabled Kennedy to beat Keating by more than 700,000 votes on Election Day. "If he hadn't attacked me," Kennedy later said of his opponent, "I would have had a hell of a time."

The realities of a modern Senate campaign have forced Hillary to show her hand earlier than Bobby did. With the 2000 elections still a year away, Hillary will have to spend more time in the earthy morass of local politics than Bobby did, and she will find it even harder to maintain the pristine glow of her celebrity as she wades through those unpromising bogs. She must worry that she will find herself, next October, in precisely the same position in which Bobby found himself 35 Octobers ago—that of a candidate who possesses all the liabilities of a public reputation and none of the compensating assets of a celebrity. The burden of Hillary's public reputation is, of course, very different from Bobby's, but a questionable commodities trade, the convoluted finances of Whitewater, and an ill-conceived attempt to reform the health care system could nevertheless prove damaging in the unpredictable ways that past mistakes often do. If

Bobby's 1964 race demonstrates anything, it's that it is easy for even a shrewd politician to wind up at the mercy of his public reputation.

The specific lessons of Bobby's race may mean less to Hillary than the things Bobby was able to do with the office after he won it. Some people have speculated that Hillary wouldn't really like being a senator, wouldn't really like being just another lawmaker in a crowded chamber. But if she succeeds in following Bobby's example, Hillary will be something more than an ordinary senator. She will easily be the most famous person on Capitol Hill, and she will be treated accordingly. When, three decades ago, a senator complained that one of the committee chairmen was giving Bobby preferential treatment, the chairman denied it. "I treat him the same way I'd treat any future president," the chairman said. Like Bobby, Hillary too will command a certain deference in the Senate, and she will find it easier than her colleagues to draw attention to the causes she chooses to champion. She will attract the brightest staffers, just as Bobby did; when she travels abroad, she will take with her, as he did, a media entourage that a sitting president might envy. True, it will be difficult for her to hold the kind of court that Bobby held at Hickory Hill, a shadow government that at times rivaled the White House in influence and often outshone it in glamour. Hillary lacks the capital to do that, but she could very well end up being the most visible senator since R.F.K.

Hillary undoubtedly sees herself as the natural heir to Bobby's supercharged senatorial career, and a number of old Kennedy hands have come forward to validate her claim. In September, William vanden Heuvel hosted a fundraiser for Hillary in his New York home. It was just like the good old days, only this time there were no reports of wavering playwrights being pushed over sofas. Still, Hillary will not be able to claim Bobby's senatorial mantle without a fight; her most likely opponent, Rudy Giuliani, has an equally plausible claim on R.F.K.'s legacy. The mayor, after all, turned New York City around with precisely the kind of tough, innovative politics that Bobby himself most admired. But if in the end she succeeds in capturing Bobby's legacy and his seat, Hillary, too, will have done something that Bobby could wholeheartedly approve: She will have proved herself to be, like him, as tough as they come. 

Michael Knox Beran is the author of The Last Patrician: Bobby Kennedy and the End of American Aristocracy.

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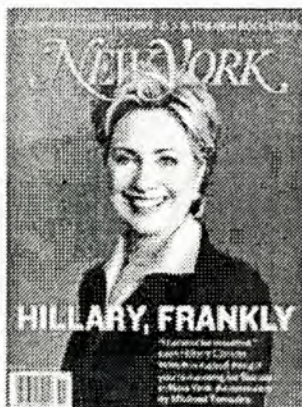
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"Part of what I bring is that there is nothing anybody can say about me that will hurt my feelings. I *cannot* be insulted. You know? I just can't be."

-- Hillary Clinton, "Hillary Up Close"

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FEATURES

Hillary Up Close

BY MICHAEL TOMASKY

Shaking her image as the controversial wife of a controversial president and coming into her own as a New Yorker hasn't been easy. "I've had to learn from my mistakes," she says in an interview covering everything from the mayor to modern art. How is she preparing for the hard knocks of a New York race? Well, for one thing, she's a Three Stooges fan.

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Since 1992, Hillary Clinton has morphed from two-for-the-price-of-one partner to failed health-care czar to long-suffering wife and, now, New York Senate hopeful. In a freewheeling interview, she talks about the road she's been on -- and the one to come.

BY MICHAEL TOMASKY



Somehow, in New York more than most other places, campaigns are hammered into shape by events that happen outside them. And so, suddenly, with the alleged shooting by police of Patrick Dorismond and Mayor Giuliani's release of Dorismond's sealed juvenile record, boom, we have a campaign. For the first time, after months of fragile caution, Hillary Clinton tore into the mayor, who, as is his custom, tore back. The mayor's actions in the past week reinforced for New Yorkers just how well we know him -- in maintaining his barrage on Dorismond's character, Giuliani was not making elaborate political calculations beyond the understanding of others; he was just being himself. By contrast, Mrs. Clinton's verbal grenades showed a side of her we've never seen, more aggressive and direct than she's ever been since she started coming to the state last July. It underscored, her immense fame notwithstanding, how little we know about her -- as a candidate, to be sure, and simply as a person in her own right.

If nothing else, this improbable campaign will see to it that Hillary Clinton's frequently mutating image will receive one more makeover. Whether she's sincere or ambitious, distrustful of people or open to them, are among the questions about her that voters will answer in their own way come November. But what follows should shed some light on them. In her most extensive interview since coming to New York, she talks about her candidacy, her caution, her recent incaution, the press, the health-care failure, Bill's shadow, Trent Lott, archaeology, modern art, the Stanhope, even the Three Stooges and *The Flintstones*. However you feel about her, you'll find out something here you didn't know.

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"I was told that New York's was the toughest political environment in the country. I think that's right. People offer me their opinions at the drop of a hat, but by and large, I feel very welcome."

New York Magazine: What grade would you give yourself so far as a candidate?

Hillary Rodham Clinton: I'd grade myself as Needs Improvement but Making an Effort and Getting Better [laughs].

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NYM: *Okay. I'll put a grade on that, C-plus. Fair?*

HRC: I don't think about it that way. It's been a learning experience. You know, I have a lot of sympathy for the vice-president, who, when I watched him start his campaign last spring, I could tell was really having a hard time making the transition. And I didn't realize how hard that would be until I tried to do it myself. To move out of saying *we* to *I* -- you know, it took some time to figure out how to do that.

NYM: *I was in Rochester, at the hotel, that morning the Village Voice story came out about Giuliani's letter accusing you of "hostility to America's religious traditions." When you walked through those double doors, you were quaking with rage. But then when you started to speak, the rhetoric was very soft and very careful.*

HRC: Well, I was outraged. I thought it was a . . . misuse of campaign tactics and rhetoric, and it was insulting to me. But I understood why he did it, and why he will continue to do it --

NYM: *Why is that?*

HRC: It raises a lot of money. This isn't complicated. That's why he won't release his letters. He doesn't want us to see what else he's saying about me to open the pocketbooks of the far right and the people who respond to Ollie North and Jesse Helms and Richard Viguerie.

But I also believe that it's important when you're in a campaign to always remember that this is *not* about you. That if you become emotionally angry and say everything that's on your mind about how you feel, you lose a chance to communicate clearly that what you're really going to get up every day worrying about is not what your opponent says about you but what you're going to do for people.

I also believe that it is just more difficult for women candidates to express their strong feelings about things affecting them, as opposed to how I feel about gun control or the deteriorating public schools or stirring up racial hostility, which I can be as angry about and as determined to fix as I possibly can be. But I think you make a mistake if you let any campaign become about *you*. I know who I am. I know what I believe. I know what I would do in the Senate. And I know what my religious convictions are. There's nothing he can say, after I've calmed down, that will affect who I am.

NYM: *Well, let me ask you about the Diallo verdict, and your response to that. Again, I felt it was soft, didn't really take a side, didn't really --*

HRC: I did not want in any way to be a part of a reaction that could conceivably have resulted in any kind of disorder or violence. I did not have any official responsibility or job that would enable me to help control anything. And I thought it was very important to be measured and to be thoughtful about what I said. I carry a very heavy responsibility. I'm not the usual Senate candidate [*laughs*], for better or worse. I don't want anything I say or do to feed into the kind of, ah, climate in which people engage in insults.

NYM: *Then, last week, after the Dorismond shooting, you really took the gloves off and went after the mayor. What made you do that?*

HRC: It was wrong for the mayor to rush to judgment and release Patrick Dorismond's records. It was wrong for him to refuse to reach out, and it was wrong for him to make the situation worse by lashing out and losing control.

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From the April 3, 2000 issue of New York Magazine.



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NYM: How do you respond to the mayor's charge that you politicized this?

HRC: You know, when the incident occurred, the mayor and I both said New Yorkers should wait and reserve judgment until all the facts come out. I am still waiting. It was the mayor who politicized this and led the rush to judgment here.

NYM: Some people have observed that, while they may agree with you on the mayor's role, it sounds like you're getting into an argument about his mayoralty, and since you haven't lived here, that's an argument you can't ultimately win.

HRC: I'm talking about leadership here. I mean, if Rudy Giuliani won't represent all New Yorkers as mayor, then how is he going to represent the whole state in the Senate?

NYM: You describe yourself as a New Democrat. Many liberals spent eight years thinking and hoping you were sort of the liberal secret weapon in the White House. And then there's this other set of people who believe you have this secret radical agenda. How have your views changed since you were young?

HRC: Well, my gosh, I've gone from a Barry Goldwater Republican to a New Democrat, but I think my underlying values have remained pretty constant. Individual responsibility and community -- I don't see those as mutually inconsistent. I think our politics of the last 30 years has been fraught with false choices that I don't think reflect the common-sense, pragmatic progressive strain of American politics that I've always identified with.

NYM: Where would you put yourself on a continuum between Pat Moynihan and Chuck Schumer?

HRC: I know that people often talk about how there's a division between being the senator who fixes potholes and the senator who sees the big issues on the horizon. I don't think there has to be a contradiction there. If you're in the Senate, you have to do both. Oftentimes, what is most local and personal that the government can affect is the way you build trust and faith in government at the ground level. So I think it's important to help people with their Social Security problems or their disability problems or their potholes or their highway interchange or whatever it is that to them symbolizes the government.

But at the same time, it's important to be a leader. When I'm upstate, I obviously talk about the upstate economy. But I also talk about it when I'm downstate. It matters to people in this city that there's been an exodus of people from upstate New York. And the result is, with the loss of population, New York's likely to lose two or three members of Congress in the 2000 redistricting. That's devastating for what I think we need to do for New York.

And then there are issues both nationally and internationally that New Yorkers are concerned about. And there are issues on the horizon that are not yet political issues. I don't have any New Yorkers coming up to me now except in the

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most specialized circumstances who ask me what my opinion is about the human-genome project. I mean, that's not an issue that's on most New Yorkers' minds. And yet when we get the genome mapped by 2003, or earlier, that's going to have a huge effect on the life of New Yorkers. On teaching hospitals. On research. On insurability. So I want to be someone who is really grounded enough to respond to people's needs and help, and somebody who's going to be a leader in raising issues. So I'd like to be a combination of that.

NYM: *I've talked to some Capitol Hill staffers from 1994, and the picture they paint for me of the health-care situation is you, or the White House, insisting on an all-or-nothing package and not being willing to do the compromising and horse-trading that gets legislation passed.*

HRC: Well, I'd paint a very different picture. We did what we were asked to do by the leadership, which at that time was Democratic in both the House and the Senate. We had a lot of internal debates about how to proceed. And they wanted us to present a piece of legislation, not just a framework. In retrospect, knowing what I now know, I don't think that was the best way to proceed. But that's what we did. And it was drafted in the basement of the Cannon Building with Hill staffers involved with it every step of the way. It was reviewed and signed off on by the chairmen of the committees. And the plan was that the Republicans would put forth their version, which Senator [John] Chafee [of Rhode Island] was in charge of drafting. And Senator Chafee and I had numerous conversations about this. And the plan was that we would introduce our legislation, he would introduce his, and the Congress would, in an act of great, you know, bipartisan achievement, hammer out the differences and come out with whatever the atmosphere would permit.

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NYM: *Where did it collapse?*

HRC: Well, it collapsed at several points. It collapsed when Senator Dole decided that he was going to run for president. And he was advised by Republican strategists that they didn't want *any* kind of health-care bill. It collapsed also because the changes that both of us would have made were contrary to certain interests that were banded together.

NYM: *How has that experience changed the approach you'll take if elected? And what Republicans in the Senate do you think you could establish good relations with?*

HRC: Depending upon the issue, I think I could work with a lot of them. That's been the pattern of the last seven years, and that's the only way to be successful in the Senate. We all learned a lot from the health-care experience. From my perspective, even though I thought we tried to reach out and involve a lot of people, we were not successful in creating an awareness of how much of that was going on. I also learned that it's very difficult for anyone to present a piece of legislation to the Congress. Even if you're asked to do that. Because just as Senator Bradley found out with the details of his health-care plan, you are then subject to it being nitpicked apart.

NYM: *How do you show that you're still there, in terms of leadership?*

HRC: One of the ways is not to end the story at the White House and health care. You'd think that after health care, I'd taken to my bed with vapors or something, you know? And so it's my obligation to go to you and say, "Well, if you care about the following 25 things, here's what I've done on them." The work I did *continued*. I immediately began to work on the Children's Health Insurance Program. I wrote a best-selling book and gave away a million dollars to children's charities. I was the point person on welfare reform with a lot of the advocates' groups, 'cause I had worked with them, and I had to persuade them, insofar as I was able, to go along with the concessions that were made to get a bill passed. I started the emphasis in the administration on women and women's needs around the world as part of our foreign-policy objectives. I worked on microcredit. I worked to change the foster-care and adoption system.

People don't know that because I made a very, for me, pragmatic decision. I realized that because of the role I was in -- I mean, I have worked all my life, ever since I was 13. All of a sudden, I'm in this full-time-volunteer position. And the health-care issue was very polarizing. So I had to make a decision: How do I get things done in the time that I have here in the White House? How do I show leadership even if I don't immediately get credit for it? So that was what I chose to do.

NYM: *One might suspect that Trent Lott would block something that has your name on it, simply because it has your name on it.*

HRC: I don't think that works in the Senate, because there are too many individual prerogatives that you have to balance off if you're the majority leader

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of the Senate. I have no reason to believe that. Also, there are many ways of getting things done rather than [being] direct and confrontational. I will make alliances with people who you might not imagine that I could. Just a quick example: One of my great concerns in public life is the foster-care and adoption system. In the last seven years, we've been able to make changes that were never thought possible before. And we did that on a piece of legislation in this last Congress that meant a lot to me. Every year, 20,000 kids age out of the foster-care system. And usually what happens to those kids is that when they turn 18 or graduate from high school, whichever happens first, a social worker shows up in many jurisdictions with a black plastic garbage bag and says, "Put your stuff in, you're moving." And they have nowhere to move to.

So I worked with some members of Congress to change that. To provide some more support for these kids, to keep them on Medicaid, et cetera. I worked in the Senate with John Chafee. And in the House, I worked with somebody who's never had a good word to say about me or my husband -- Tom DeLay -- but who cares about foster care. I think he was as surprised as he could be that we invited him to the White House, that he was part of the team that we put together. He was very helpful in getting the legislation through.

NYM: *Even people who really feel connected to you and don't feel connected to Rudy emotionally at all still see him as this guy who has tremendous executive ability. How do you compete with that force-of-nature kind of executive ability that the mayor conveys?*

HRC: Well, the first thing I would say is that I don't deny that some good things have happened in the city. I love New York, you know, and the fact that many people who live here and work here are feeling better about this city I think is great. And I'm glad that he was mayor during a great economic boom that was contributed to in some great measure by the president's economic policies, and was given additional tools to fight crime. So he used the time well. And I applaud him for that. And he's a very tough opponent. He's gonna run a very hard campaign, I'm well aware of that.

But I think there are three major differences that people have to ask themselves about us when they're going to make their decision about voting. First, I don't think we need another Republican in the Senate. That's the first thing I'd ask New Yorkers to look at.

Second, there are significant differences between us on the issues. I think his support for the Republican budget plan, his support for George Bush, means that he would support the kinds of fiscal policies that would undermine the economic prosperity of New York and the country. I think if you look at public education, his whole policy is vouchers. Poverty has gone down around the nation; it has *not* gone down in New York City. New York now has the distinction of having the second-highest rate of poverty in the country and the biggest gap between the rich and the poor. I don't think that's acceptable.

And then, finally, there's a real contrast in leadership styles. Willingness to listen to people and actually learn from people. In the Senate, I would look for every possible way to work with my colleagues to try to get things done for New York. And I wouldn't expect if I disagreed with them, I could sue them or fire them.

But part of what I bring is that there is nothing anybody can say about me that will hurt my feelings. I *cannot* be insulted. You know? I just can't be. And so whatever comes in this campaign, or whatever will come in the future, my goal is as it was after health care: What can I do to help people and get things done?

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NYM: Aside from politics and policy, what are your intellectual interests and passions? Who's your favorite novelist? What about art? Or music?

HRC: Wow [pauses]. How much time do we have? I have fairly catholic tastes. I'm very interested in archaeology. And I'm interested in prehistory as well as what we think of as the periods of history that there's a record of.

One of the highlights of my last seven years in the White House was on my first African trip, when I went to East Africa, the Olduvai Gorge, where the Leakeys made a lot of their discoveries, and walked the gorge with some of the paleoanthropologists and archaeologists who worked there, and just talked about the transition to *Homo sapiens* and then to historic man. I was in a rain forest in Australia, and Bill and I were being guided around by an aboriginal guide. We're walking through this rain forest, and he was saying things like, "You see that tree over there? The bark of that tree, if you boil it, and then you leave the pulp in the sun, it cures gangrene, our people tell us." There were so many examples of that. And I'm sitting there thinking, you know, modern man has no understanding of what we owe to the people of the last million years. Because we're so impressed with ourselves and what we've learned in the last hundred years, especially with the speed of knowledge and the Internet. But think how many generations it took to figure out what you boiled and put in the sun to cure a dread disease.

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"I carry a very heavy responsibility. I'm not the usual Senate candidate, for better or worse. I don't want anything I say or do to feed into the kind of, ah, climate in which people engage in insults."

NYM: And that's from college, or --

HRC: No, it's just been an interest of mine. I subscribe to *Archaeology* magazine because I love reading about it. So going to Egypt was a lifelong desire of mine, to be able to go and see the tombs and be guided around by Egyptologists who've spent their lives studying this. If I were to have an interest that I were to go back to school and study and think about and spend time on, or go on an archaeological dig, that would be at the top of my list.

Also, I really love art of all kinds. One of the things I'm happiest about in my time at the White House is that I was able to bring twentieth-century American art and sculpture to the White House, which has always been a particular love of mine. The de Kooning family lent us a big piece for the second floor of the White House. We added a [Henry Ossawa] Tanner, the first African-American artist in the collection, and we added an O'Keeffe in the permanent collection. And I started a sculpture exhibition in what's called the First Lady's Garden. Bill and I had our first date at the Yale University Art Museum in New Haven. We've

always loved modern sculpture.

And I like a lot of modern Expressionist and abstract work. But as I say, I'm very catholic. Literature, I'm a big fan of Dostoevsky. As I get older, I appreciate Shakespeare even more. I like Thomas Hardy; I like Dickens. Most recently, I've been reading a lot of American literature, particularly modern works by women. I think the best book I read last year was *The Poisonwood Bible*, by Barbara Kingsolver. I thought that was brilliant.

NYM: *Have you had a chance, on the subject of art, to go to the Met or moma?*

HRC: When I was a private citizen, I used to go all the time. The Stanhope is now a very fancy place, but back in the early eighties, it was not yet there. And it was in a pretty great location, right across from the Met. I used to go and stay there all the time. It was inexpensive, if you can believe it, very friendly, and there was an Irish-American bellman by the name of Pat who used to greet me. And I felt very much at home there. Toward the end of the eighties, it was taken over, and it was gentrified and really made into a beautiful place. The last time I went there, Pat met me, and he said to me, 'Ah, Mrs. Clinton, this place will no longer be for the likes of us.' " [Laughs.]

NYM: *Because New Yorkers love people who love New York, you know, why can't you just sort of stop the car and go into Saks or something?*

HRC: Well, because I'm mobbed. I went to the supermarket in Chappaqua, which is, you know, hardly a heavily populated area, and I could not get up and down the aisles. I loved it. I talked with a lot of people, and they came up and asked me questions and said things to me. I can't seem to get anywhere without drawing so much attention that I can't really do what I came to do. I suppose I could go to the theater, because the lights go out. But I don't know how to do this. I'm having a really hard time. I find that people are really interested in talking to me. I'm hoping that I'll be able to get back and do some of the things that I like to do. What's ironic is that if I go someplace with my husband, who obviously travels with a huge entourage, he draws all the attention, so I can kind of go and look at things or visit with people and feel like I'm actually out there enjoying the experience. But now that I do it on my own, I find that people are really interested in talking to me and seeing me, and wish me well and ask me questions. I'm hoping that I'll be able to get back and do some of the things that I like to do.

NYM: *Any plans for your husband to come up anytime soon?*

HRC: There aren't any plans right now. We have a long way to go between now and the election, but I do anticipate him campaigning for me.

NYM: *I was thinking about the way the vice-president took pains to distance himself from the president. Do you feel that you have to do anything like that?*

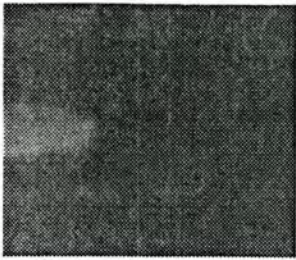
HRC: You know, I think my job is to demonstrate my own record and qualifications, but I'm also very proud of the record and progress the administration has made. I say that in nearly every speech I make. We've done a lot of things I'd like to see continued, and there are other areas I'd like to work on that have not been as high a priority up until now. It's important for people to know what I'd do, but I don't see that that's in any way inconsistent with having been supportive of what the president has done.

NYM: *What did you least expect about New York that you've found? What has surprised you most, or taken you aback?*

HRC: I don't know that I'm surprised by anything yet. I was always told it was the toughest political atmosphere in the country. I think that's right. I don't think that's a surprise. People offer me their opinion at the drop of a hat, but by and large, I feel very welcome, and very much at home.

NYM: *How would you compare this press corps to Washington's? You've had a pretty tough time of it so far.*

HRC: But I don't view it as tough times as much as I've had to learn how to be a candidate. I don't think the press here -- with maybe one or two exceptions, as



we know [*laughing*] – I don't think it's been unusually tough on me. I think it's just got a certain way of doing business with the people that it covers. And I've had to learn, as I said when I started on Senator Moynihan's farm, how to be a candidate. I had to learn from my own mistakes. All in all, I think the press has been pretty fair to me.

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NYM: *What are the specific burdens, then, of being both First Lady and candidate?*

HRC: Well, I don't know any person who runs for Senate who gets as much attention as I do at this point in the race. Adding to my high visibility is the fact that because I do come from the White House, I think it's appropriate that people would be weighing what I say and trying to understand whether what I'm saying is in some way related to the administration, or to the president, or to the Justice Department, or to somebody else. So I think I have that extra caution, to be as clear as I can and not to raise any extraneous issues. And that's what I'm trying to do.

NYM: *That might be a particular liability in New York, which is a place that likes its politicians -- well, to mouth off, really. Ed Koch is the archetype of this.*

HRC: He is. And I think as the campaign goes on, that becomes more of an option for me. I have a lot to say. I have a lot of, you know, irreverent mouthing-off to do. Which I fully intend to be able to do. But I don't think that this far out from an election, when I'm still getting to know people and people are still getting to know me, that that's the best way for me to spend whatever time I can have getting into people's living rooms.

There's a rhythm to any campaign, and in this campaign, people are intensely interested, and while they're interested about me, I want them to get to see me talking about what they care about, and how I'd go about the business of the Senate. There'll be plenty of time for one-liners and retorts, but it's not now.

NYM: *Okay, I asked you about serious things like literature. What silly things do you like? I, for example, have a soft spot for The Flintstones.*

HRC: Well . . . it's funny you should mention *The Flintstones*. My family were big *Flintstones* fans, too. And I can't carry a tune, but I could in an off-key way join my brothers in the humming of the *Flintstones* theme song. My father *hated* *The Flintstones*. My father had this devastating stroke and was in intensive care. And we're all in there with him. It's shortly before he died. The doctors had said, "He's not going to come out of it." And my brother said, "Yeah, but, you know, if he wanted to, maybe he could. And what always gets a rise out of him is the theme from *The Flintstones*." So there we are in intensive care singing and humming -- and carrying on, with tears coming down our faces -- *The Flintstones*. And my mother's saying, "Oh, God, he's always hated that, don't do that!" My brothers to this day swear that they saw a slight flicker of distaste on his face.

I happen to be more of a Three Stooges fan. I walked into -- oh, I know where we were, we were doing an event at C.W. Post with Chuck Schumer on making college tuition tax-deductible, and we had a family who was sort of representing what this would mean to them. And I walked in, and the man who was going to be on the program and his wife -- he had on a Three Stooges tie. Which I've never seen! And I mean, all their faces in big relief coming down his chest, you know? And so I go up to the man, and I go [*she leans forward, puts her hands right in front of my face, and, à la curly, starts snapping her fingers and rapping her knuckles*], and he looks at me like [*laughs, imitates man's shock*], you know.

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her knuckles], and he looks at me like [*laughs, imitates man's shock*], you know . . . and I say, "Hi, I want to be your senator!"

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