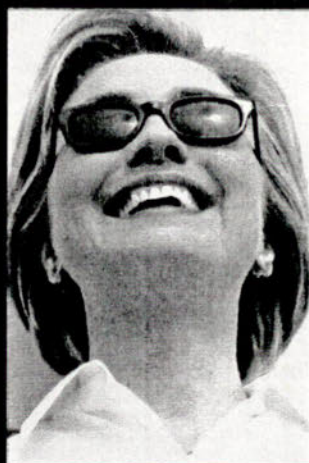


PREMIERE ISSUE

# talk

## HILLARY OPENS UP

*"This was a sin  
of weakness..."*



## GWYNETH GOES BAD

## GEORGE W. GETS REAL



## JFK JR.: IMAGES OF SUMMER BY PETER BEARD

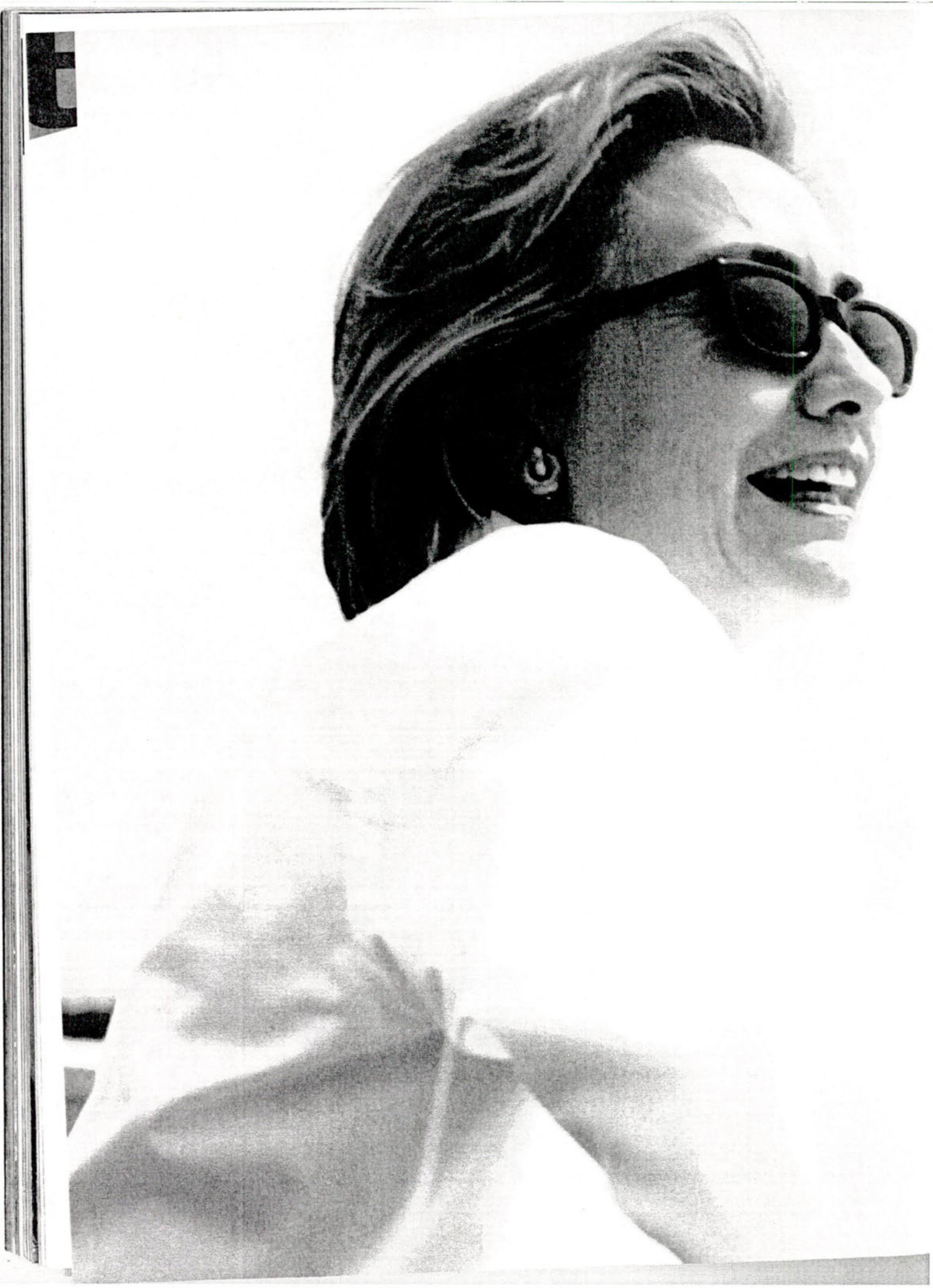
PLUS: Tom Stoppard's Memoir • Richard Butler's Iraq Bombshell • The Unsolved Mysteries of Princess Diana • Safari Massacre • Michael Korda's Country Life • Martin Amis Slays *Hannibal* • Sally Brompton's Horoscope • and Drew Barrymore, Rupert Everett, and Angelina Jolie

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

# the **I**ntimate 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.*

*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*

**By Lucinda Franks**  
**Photos by Michel Comte**



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 Broadrick 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."

*Lucinda Franks is a Talk contributing writer.*

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, Mohamed 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



**"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."**

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.**

**"There has been enormous pain, enormous anger, but**



**have been with him half my life and he is a very, very good man."**

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.



## "Life is not a linear progression."

I



t has many paths and challenges."

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—

CONTINUED ON PAGE 248

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.







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.

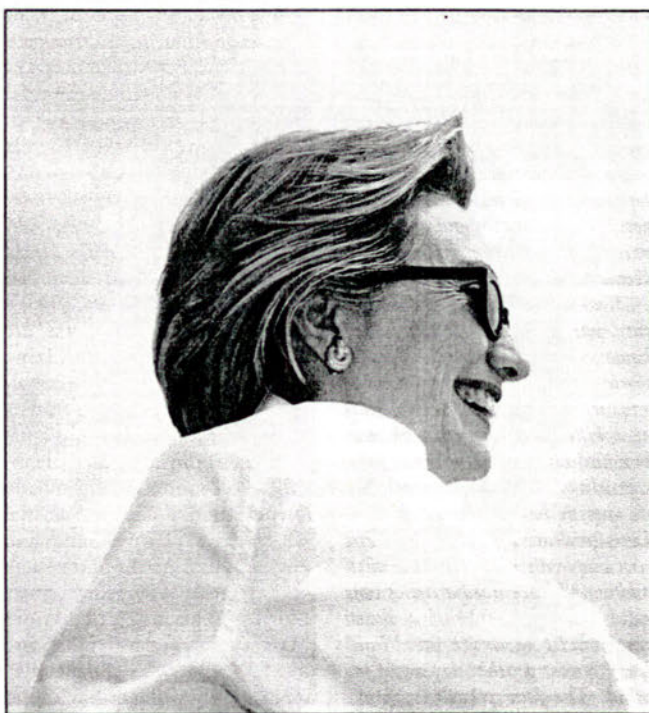
"Corinthians?" I suggested.

"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

**He has to do this himself. He's responsible for his own behavior. You have the confrontation with the person and then it is their responsibility. Nobody can do it for you.**

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."

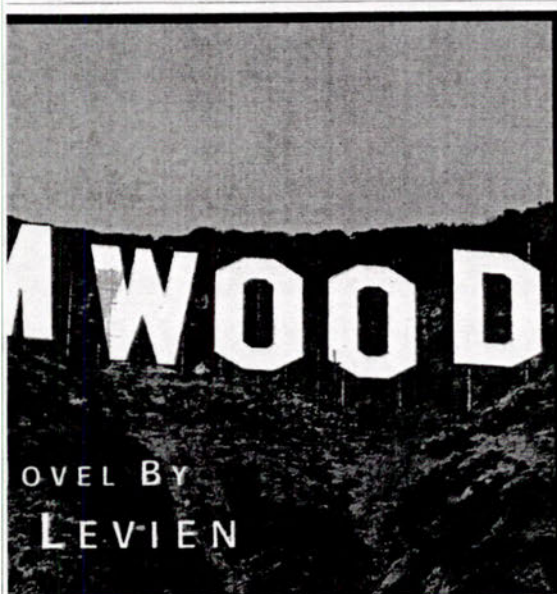
"I'm so glad to be saying goodbye to public housing," Hillary tells me. Unlike the Bushes, who had their place in Kennebunkport, or the Reagans, who owned a ranch in Santa Barbara, the Clintons have been confined to the White House. They haven't felt comfortable here from the beginning. For eight years 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 Columbo. 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





side of the industry that defines America for the rest of the world. *Wormwood* is a stunning debut novel."

transforms itself from Hollywood to Wormwood for the first time. A smartly groomed, episodic novel that ironically, in its business knifings, is itself too literary to become a strong contender in the current market. It's still among the top 100 best-selling novels of 1991. *What Makes Sammy Run?*

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HYPERION

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 Jacobowitz of Salon Chns DC. Makeup: Barbara ren Black Label shirt Fifth Avenue and Neir wide.

**Gwyneth Paltrow**  
Stylist: Joe Zee. Hair: John Sahag Workshop Markey for Club Monac & Gabbana bra avail NYC, and Fred Segal. Swimwear bikini bottom by Ralph Lauren, NYC, available at Body W design: Gerard Santo.

**Fight Style (pages 4)**  
Hair: Didier Malige fr Beauté. Makeup: Mary abeth Arden. Locatio Events Center at the Mi & Casino in Las Vegas

Page 49: Prada top, be available at Prada, Mac and Saks Fifth Avenue

Pages 50-51: Louis Vu pants available at Lou call 800-847-2956.

Page 52: Chanel cam Chanel boutiques nati

Page 53: Left: Dolce & available at Maxfield's, I & Gabbana boutique, E & Gabbana skirt avail Beverly Hills; Dolce & G Bal Harbour; and Dolce tique, NYC. Dolce & G available at Dolce & G: NYC, and Dolce & Gabb Harbour. Right: Yves S Gauche marabou top Saint Laurent boutique Avenue, NYC; and Neir las. Yves Saint Laure trousers available at Y: boutique, NYC, and S: selected stores. Yve: Footwear shoes availa Laurent boutique, NYC; NYC; and Neiman Marc

Page 54: Versace top ar at Versace boutique, I Hills.

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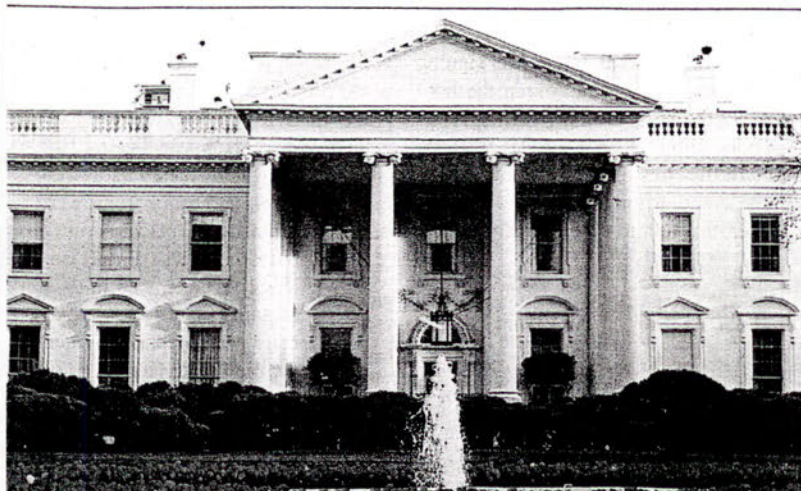
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Clifford/Corbis Ltd.



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## THE WHITE HOUSE/continued

hands on the South Lawn after signing their peace agreement. Among the thousands of guests were two former Presidents—Jimmy Carter and George Bush.

In the President's private study in the Treaty Room on the second floor, there is a photo of the President and



1993: President Bill Clinton shares a moment in the Oval Office with his daughter, Chelsea, then 13.

me with Al and Tipper Gore and three former Presidents—Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter and George Bush. It reminds us of the unbroken link between the past and the present. The President and I know we are merely short-term tenants, and we feel very strongly the obligations of our stewardship.

When we arrived, extensive renovations of the exterior of the building were under way—including the removal of some 40 coats of paint and the repair of the stonework. I have been privileged to oversee the refurbishing of the Blue Room, the East Room, the State Dining Room and the Grand Foyer.

Upon moving in, I learned that the Blue Room—the oval centerpiece of the main floor and one of my favorite places—needed attention. In the peak tourist seasons, 30,000 visitors a week walk through the main floor—1.5 million each year! The draperies and upholstery in the room, last replaced in 1972, were badly worn and sun-damaged. After months of hard work and anxious moments, we unveiled the final product in 1995. I was delighted and relieved with the positive reaction.

None of this could have been accomplished without the White House Endowment Fund, a nonprofit charitable organization created to provide permanent support for the White House

collections of fine art and furnishings and to preserve the historical character of the public rooms. Congress appropriates funds for the daily operation and maintenance of the house, but until the creation of the Endowment Fund, refurbishing projects and acquisitions were paid for primarily by private contributions. It was First Lady Rosalynn Carter who, in 1979, initiated the effort to establish a permanent endowment for the White House; and it was my predecessor, Barbara Bush, who created the current fund in 1990 with its goal of raising \$25 million. I'm proud to say that, with the help of many wonderful people, we've not only met but also exceeded that goal.

In less than two years, another First Family will move in. Before we go, though, I'll help celebrate the bicentennial of the White House with events that include a symposium on its history and a book on its furnishings and rooms. I hope you will find a way to celebrate with us.

## To Learn More

For further information about the President's home, you can read *The Living White House*, published by the White House Historical Association, and William Seale's *The President's House: A History*.

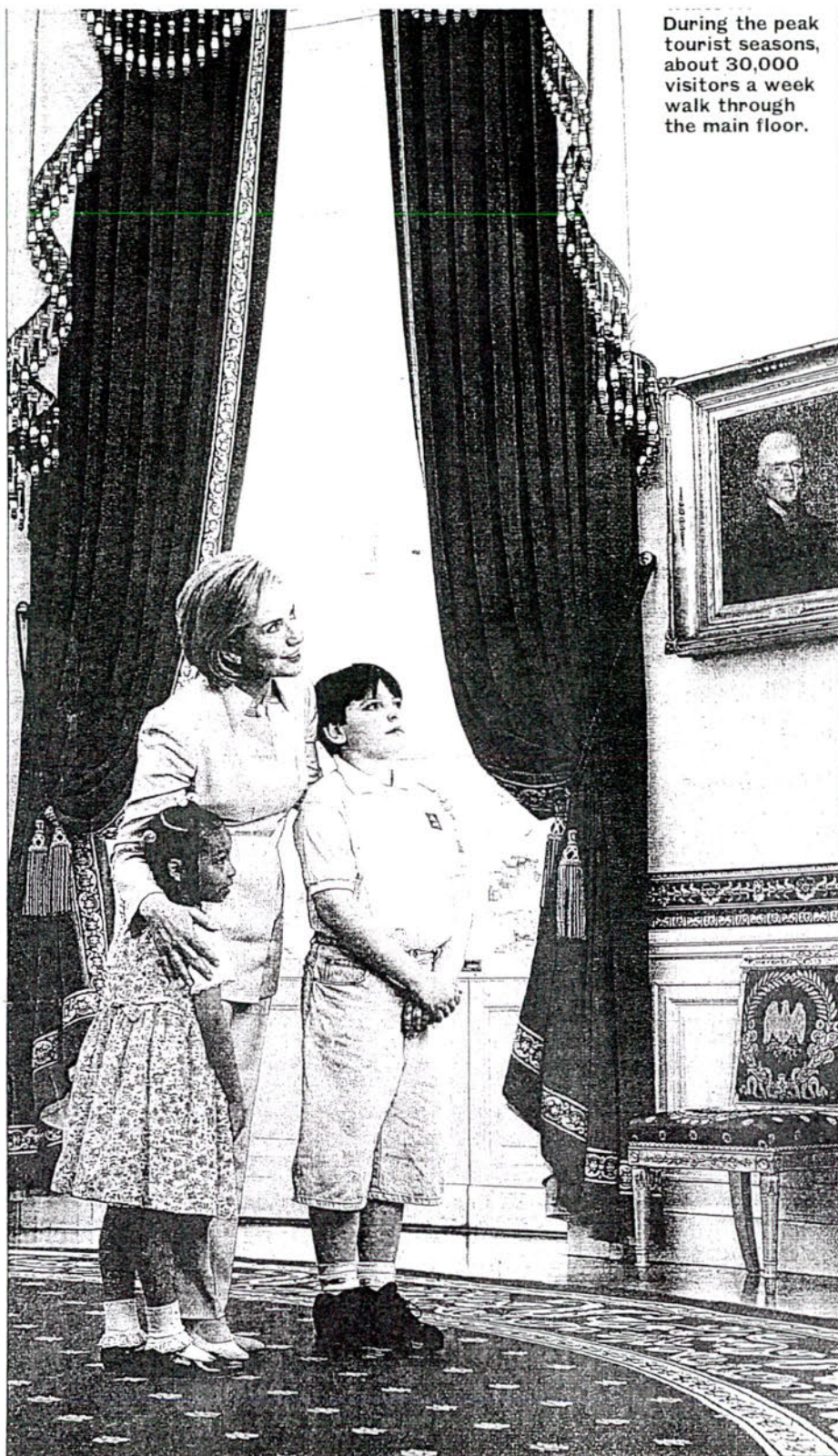
For more details about the forthcoming events, write to the Anniversary Committee Celebrating Freedom and Democracy, Dept. P, 3112 M St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007.

To learn about a virtual tour of the White House, visit the White House Historical Association's Web site at [www.whitehousehistory.org](http://www.whitehousehistory.org).

For details about real tours of the White House, visit [www.whitehouse.gov](http://www.whitehouse.gov) on the Web. And if you're interested in the White House pets, you can read Mrs. Clinton's book *Dear Socks, Dear Buddy*.

Students in grades K-12 who wish to take part in a national art exhibition or choral concert in November 2000 can visit [www.wh200th.org](http://www.wh200th.org) on the Web or call 1-800-336-3768.





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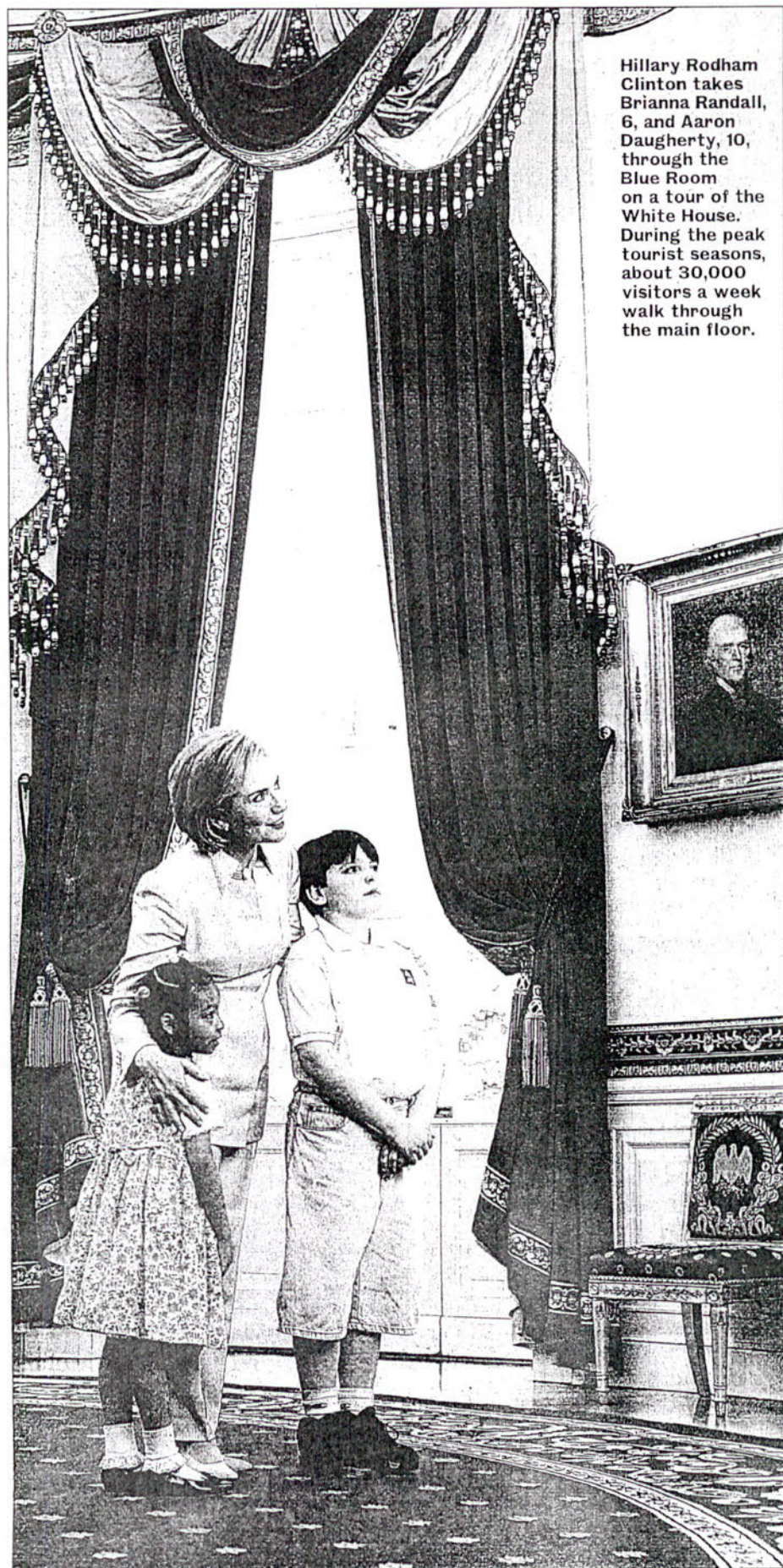
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Gifford/Gammie-Lutism

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when, as the new first lady of the White House, I spent the morning of January 20, 1989, swearing-in the new President and traveling down the East Wing to our new home. The inaugural Parade took place on the Ellipse—the spot where, on the morning of the 1790s, we would have gathered to watch the world's most distinguished men. Then we stepped out onto the balcony where we were joined by the people who work so hard to make the White House not just a beautiful home, but a warm and inviting family to live. The day of business was over, and the family—especially the 12 then. I, as the White House's first lady, whom had served for 12 years. Together, the White House Curator's Office, we planned the inaugural ceremony and some of the events from Arkansas as well as Washington. The inaugural ceremony was a scavenger hunt attended by 13 inaugural

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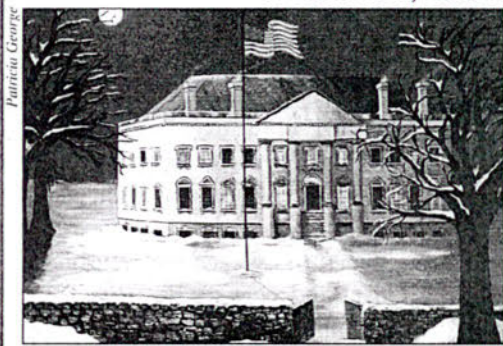
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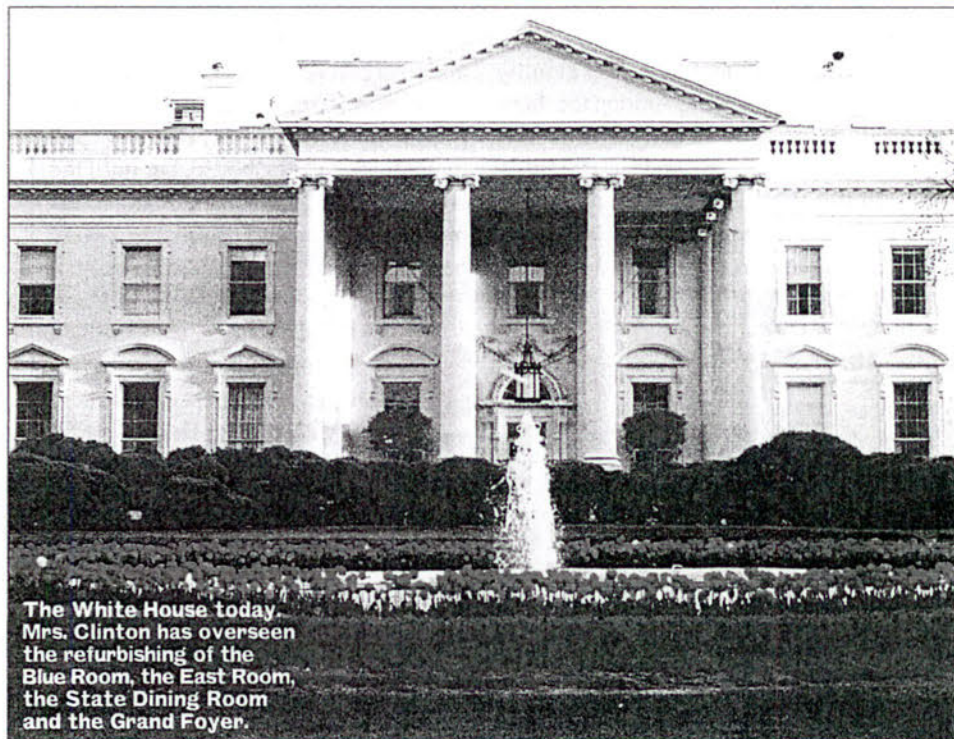
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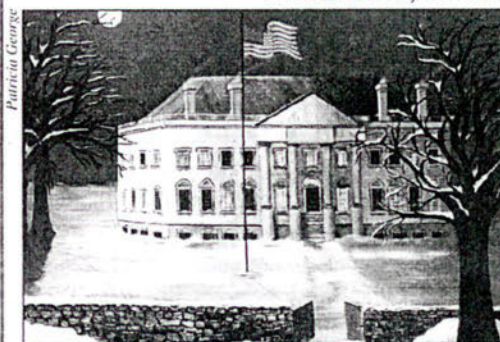


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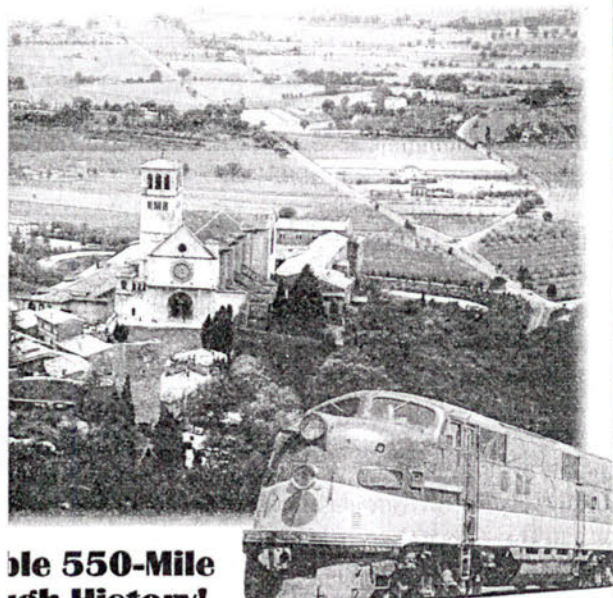
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### THE WHITE HOUSE/continued

hands on the South Lawn after signing their peace agreement. Among the thousands of guests were two former Presidents—Jimmy Carter and George Bush.

In the President's private study in the Treaty Room on the second floor, there is a photo of the President and



1993: President Bill Clinton shares a moment in the Oval Office with his daughter, Chelsea, then 13.

me with Al and Tipper Gore and three former Presidents—Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter and George Bush. It reminds us of the unbroken link between the past and the present. The President and I know we are merely short-term tenants, and we feel very strongly the obligations of our stewardship.

When we arrived, extensive renovations of the exterior of the building were under way—including the removal of some 40 coats of paint and the repair of the stonework. I have been privileged to oversee the refurbishing of the Blue Room, the East Room, the State Dining Room and the Grand Foyer.

Upon moving in, I learned that the Blue Room—the oval centerpiece of the main floor and one of my favorite places—needed attention. In the peak tourist seasons, 30,000 visitors a week walk through the main floor—1.5 million each year! The draperies and upholstery in the room, last replaced in 1972, were badly worn and sun-damaged. After months of hard work and anxious moments, we unveiled the final product in 1995. I was delighted and relieved with the positive reaction.

None of this could have been accomplished without the White House Endowment Fund, a nonprofit charitable organization created to provide permanent support for the White House

collections of fine art and furnishings and to preserve the historical character of the public rooms. Congress appropriates funds for the daily operation and maintenance of the house, but until the creation of the Endowment Fund, refurbishing projects and acquisitions were paid for primarily by private contributions.

It was First Lady Rosalynn Carter who, in 1979, initiated the effort to establish a permanent endowment for the White House; and it was my predecessor, Barbara Bush, who created the current fund in 1990 with its goal of raising \$25 million. I'm proud to say that, with the help of many wonderful people, we've not only met but also exceeded that goal.

In less than two years, another First Family will move in. Before we go, though, I'll help celebrate the bicentennial of the White House with

events that include a symposium on its history and a book on its furnishings and rooms. I hope you will find a way to celebrate with us.

## To Learn More

For further information about the President's home, you can read *The Living White House*, published by the White House Historical Association, and William Seale's *The President's House: A History*.

For more details about the forthcoming events, write to the Anniversary Committee Celebrating Freedom and Democracy, Dept. P, 3112 M St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007.

To learn about a virtual tour of the White House, visit the White House Historical Association's Web site at [www.whitehousehistory.org](http://www.whitehousehistory.org).

For details about real tours of the White House, visit [www.whitehouse.gov](http://www.whitehouse.gov) on the Web. And if you're interested in the White House pets, you can read Mrs. Clinton's book *Dear Socks, Dear Buddy*.

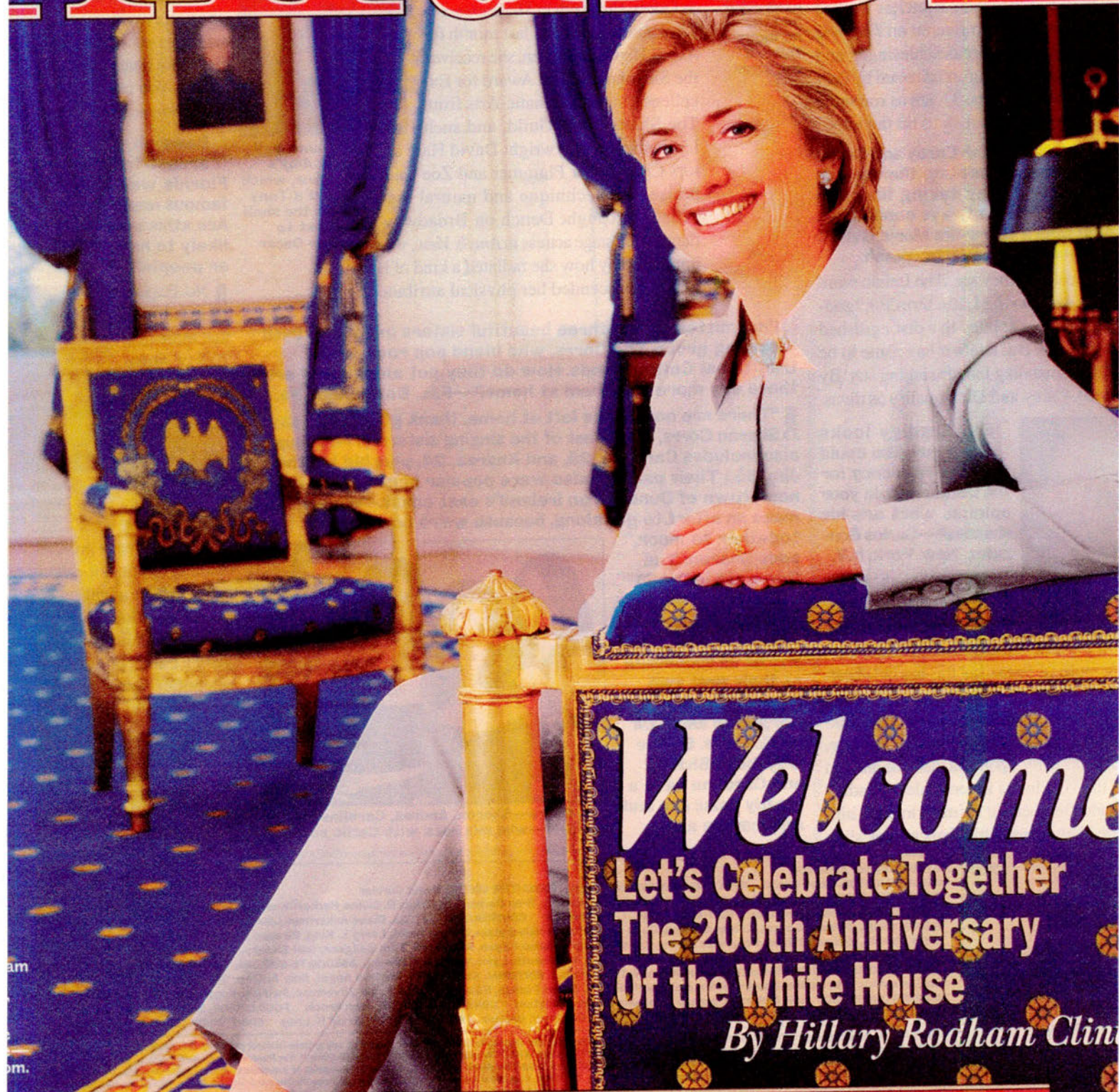
Students in grades K-12 who wish to take part in a national art exhibition or choral concert in November 2000 can visit [www.wh200th.org](http://www.wh200th.org) on the Web or call 1-800-336-3768.



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# PARADISE



## Welcome

Let's Celebrate Together  
The 200th Anniversary  
Of the White House

By Hillary Rodham Clinton

INSIDE: A Lifesaving Answer By Marilyn vos Savant



"It has been an honor and a privilege to live in the White House," says First Lady, who describes her awestruck first days there, how she created her family and how you can participate in the 200th anniversary of the histo

Hillary Rodham Clinton takes Brianna Randall, 6, and Aaron Daugherty, 10, through the Blue Room on a tour of the White House. During the peak tourist seasons, about 30,000 visitors a week walk through the main floor.

Eddie Adams

# Come Celebrate With Us

BY HILLARY RODHAM

*President and Mrs. Clinton are looking forward to marking the 200th anniversary of the White House with a number of events throughout the coming year. Here, the First Lady reflects on what it has been like to live in the White House and how it feels to be the custodian of a national treasure, and she describes some of the ways you can join in the celebration.*

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## Anniversary

Hillary Rodham to participate i events to help i occasion.





as been an honor and a privilege to live in the White House," says the First Lady, who describes her awestruck first days there, how she created a home for her family and how you can participate in the 200th anniversary of the historic building.

A photograph of Hillary Rodham Clinton, Brianna Randall, and Aaron Daugherty in the Blue Room of the White House. Hillary is standing and looking up at a large blue and gold curtain. Brianna and Aaron are standing next to her, also looking up. A portrait of John Adams is on the wall, and a blue and gold patterned chair is in the foreground.

Hillary Rodham Clinton takes Brianna Randall, 6, and Aaron Daugherty, 10, through the Blue Room on a tour of the White House. During the peak tourist seasons, about 30,000 visitors a week walk through the main floor.

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**E**VEN AS A YOUNG GIRL, I WAS fascinated by the White House. I loved to gaze at photos of it. Later, whenever I flew into Washington, I would strain for a glimpse of its graceful and stately lines as the plane swept low over the Potomac. Next year, on the eve of a new century and a new millennium, Americans also will celebrate a big birthday in Washington: the 200th anniversary of the federal government's move to the District of Columbia, the building of the White House and the Capitol, and the creation of the Library of Congress. Many events celebrating the 200th anniversary will take place.

It was on Nov. 1, 1800, that our second President, John Adams, moved from the temporary capital in Philadelphia to what was then called the President's House in Washington. Since then, every American President has lived in the White House. Only George Washington, who oversaw its design and the choice of its location, never slept here.

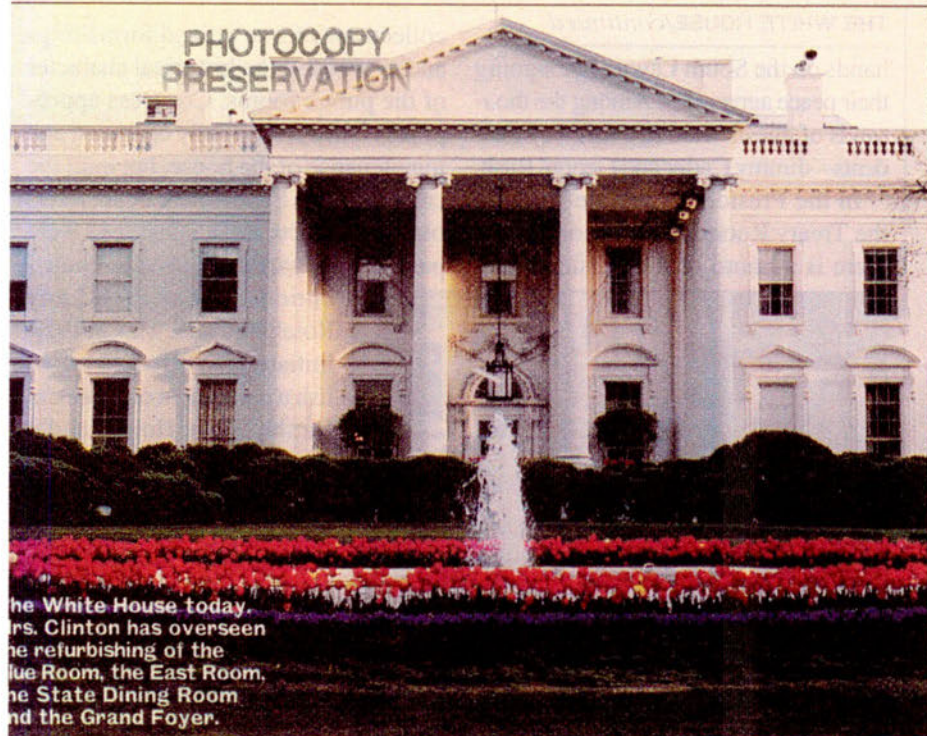
It has been an honor and a privilege to live in the White House and, even more, to be the custodian of such a national treasure. Go back with me to Jan. 20, 1993, my husband's first day as President, and imagine the sense of

## Anniversary Events

**Hillary Rodham Clinton invites you to participate in the following events to help mark the historic occasion.**



PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



he White House today.  
Mrs. Clinton has overseen  
the refurbishing of the  
Blue Room, the East Room,  
the State Dining Room  
and the Grand Foyer.

humility and awe I felt when, as the new First Lady, I first entered the White House. Bill, Chelsea and I had spent the morning at the Capitol for the swearing-in ceremonies and then traveled down Pennsylvania Avenue to our new home. After watching the Inaugural Parade from the reviewing stand, we proceeded to the North Portico—the spot where, over the next several years, we would welcome some of the world's most distinguished foreign leaders. Then we stepped into the Grand Foyer, where we were greeted by the many people who work so hard to make the White House not just a living museum but also a warm and inviting place for the First Family to live.

One of my first orders of business was to create a home for my family—especially Chelsea, who was only 12 then. I knew I could rely on the White House's residence staff, many of whom had served in previous administrations. Together, with help from the White House Curator's Office and the Usher's Office, we planned a special party for Chelsea and some of her friends—old ones from Arkansas as well as new ones from Washington. The highlight of the evening was a scavenger hunt. While Bill and I attended 13 inau-

gural balls, Chelsea's friends roamed all over her new house, finding items of historical significance like the Gettysburg Address, as well as the hidden staircase

## The Burning of the White House

On Aug. 24, 1814, British soldiers invaded Washington, setting fire to the Capitol building and the President's House, as it was known then. A blackened, burned-out shell was all that was left after fires swept



The President's House, 1800: This recent painting was based on details in William Seale's book *The White House: The History of an American Idea*.

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Shortly after the inauguration, I received a startling introduction to the First Lady's responsibilities when Gary Walt-

ers, the chief usher of the White House, and Ann Stock, my social secretary, came to me and said, 'So, what are your plans for Christmas?' I almost fell off of my chair. I love Christmas, but December was still months away, and it hadn't occurred to me that we would have to begin preparing so early. But I soon learned how important early planning is at the White House.

The people who work here do a great job of helping the First Family feel at home. I'll never forget when, on my birthday in 1995, I came down the formal staircase to find the entry hall transformed into a 1950s-style living room—replete with plastic-covered divans and rabbit ears on top of a big old TV! My friends and staff had planned a surprise party that took me back to my younger years. It was one of the best birthday parties ever.

One of our favorite pastimes at the White House is to have friends in for a movie and popcorn in the theater on a Friday or Saturday night. Outside, we

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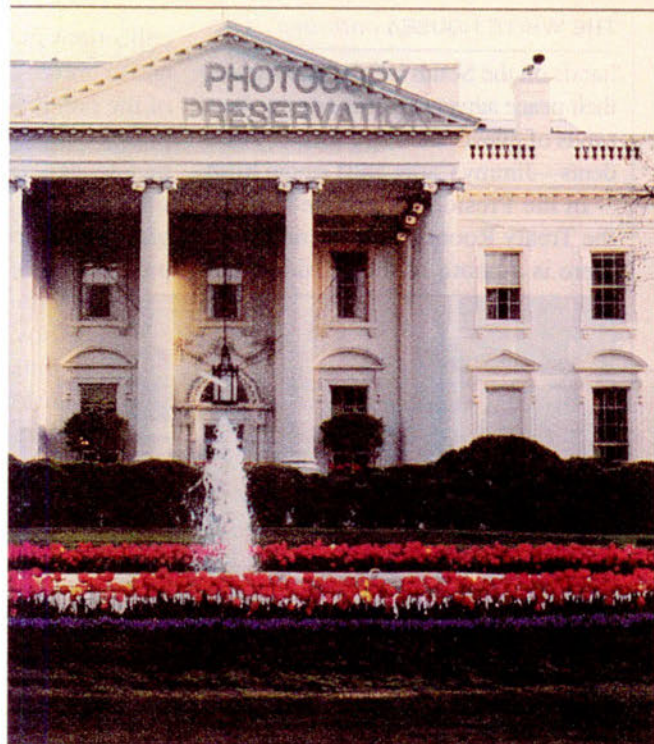
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when, as the new First Lady of the United States, I moved into the White House. I spent the morning of the inauguration swearing-in ceremony, then traveled down the East Wing to our new home. The inaugural Parade and, we proceeded—the spot where, in 1796, we would hold the world's most distinguished ceremony. Then we stepped into the White House where we were surrounded by people who work so hard to make the White House not just a beautiful home, but a warm and inviting family to live. The business of the White House family—especially when I was only 12 then. I remember the White House's history, the people who had served there, the traditions. Together, the House Curator's Office, we planned the Inauguration and some of the events from Arkansas as well as Washington. The inauguration was a scavenger hunt attended 13 inaugu-

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Zachary, who have played all over the grounds. And our Labrador, Buddy, and cat, Socks, spend most of their time outside, chasing balls, birds and squirrel

I also started sculpture exhibits in the Jacqueline Kennedy Garden, showcasing



1989: First Lady Barbara Bush in the White House with her daughter, Doro Bush Koch, and granddaughter, Ellie, then 2.

American art. And, like every President's family before us, Bill and I have planted trees on the grounds. I remember how poignant it was to plant dogwoods in memory of Commerce Secretary Ron Brown and the Oklahoma City bombing victim

It is impossible to enter the White House

and not be touched by the lives of those who have come before. Burn marks remain on the exterior from the fire set by the British in 1814. And no one can enter the Lincoln Bedroom without thinking of President Lincoln drafting the Emancipation Proclamation. To walk into the Map Room without picturing FDR commanding our forces during World War II. One of the most significant events of my husband's Presidency occurred on Sept. 11,

1993, when Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasir Arafat shook hands.

*continue*

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**A CALENDAR FOR 2000:**  
The White House Historical Association is selling a commemorative calendar featuring paintings by artist from the 13 original states and the District of Columbia.



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## THE WHITE HOUSE/continued

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Critical Marks: Warren Beatty Chris O'Donnell Tobey Maguire

# George

NOT JUST  
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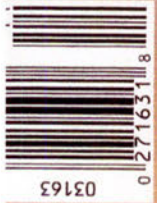
Hillary  
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An Exclusive Interview  
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Terminator 2000  
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town because Chelsea wanted time with her friends.

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."

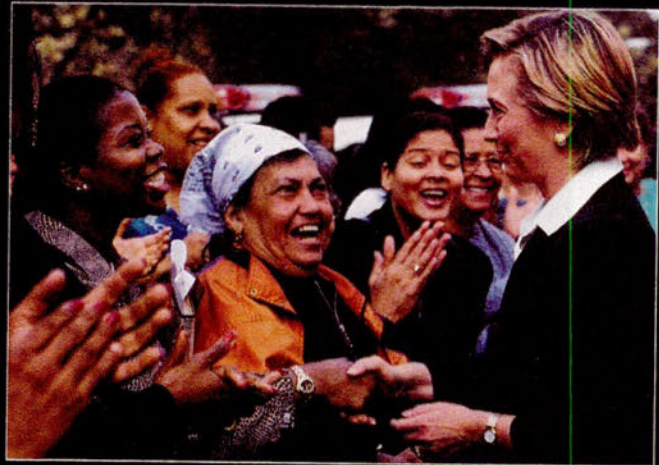
When it comes to more formal discussions of policy, Hillary recognizes she is just one source of ideas. "Bill is someone who solicits opinions and advice from a broad range of people," she says. "And I'm one of those people. But depending upon the issue, I could be one of two or one of 100. It's just 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.



PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION





## how bobby did it

Like Hillary Clinton, Robert F. Kennedy was called a carpetbagger when he ran for Senate from New York in 1964. Here's how he shed that label and won the race—and what lessons his campaign may hold for the first lady. *By Michael Knox Beran*

Robert F. Kennedy, the U.S. attorney general, courts the New York electorate in August 1964.

He didn't really want the job. That's what made his campaign so different from what hers will be. Bobby Kennedy's universe had been blown apart the November before he announced his intention to run. He was still coming to terms with the world that rifle fire in Dallas had brought into being when, in the summer of 1964, he made up his mind to seek a Senate seat from New York. He owed it, he believed, to his brother's memory and to his family's traditions; he saw no other way to remain true to both. On a July weekend in Hyannisport, Massachusetts—four months before Election Day—Bobby huddled with Arthur Schlesinger, Averell Harriman, and an old school chum, Dave Hackett, and decided that he would make the race. He qualified his decision only by insisting that Robert Wagner, New York City's mayor and the most prominent Democratic politician in the state, be persuaded to endorse him first. When Wagner endorsed him, the race was on.

His diffident body language revealed the extent of his ambivalence. He half shrank from the new world that Dallas had made for him, half shrank from the klieg lights, the crowds, the cameras. The outward festivities of a campaign were too weirdly incommensurate with his own interior grief. On the day the Warren Report was released, he couldn't bring himself to campaign. He secluded himself in the darkness to mourn alone. How different his almost undesired race was from Hillary Clinton's liberating quest. She runs, in part, to escape the shadow of a presidential husband. Throughout his campaign, Bobby mourned the absence of a presidential brother and dwelled constantly on the memory of a time when he had lived contentedly in the shade.

The term *carpetbagger* doesn't quite capture the problem Bobby faced 35 years ago, or the one Hillary Clinton confronts today. He wasn't the only senatorial hopeful in New York's history to have hailed from another state. One of New York's first senators, Rufus King, had originally been a Massachusetts man. Since Bobby's time, two other out-of-staters have managed to capture his seat. James L. Buckley (William F.'s brother) was a Connecticut resident before he assumed the seat that Bobby held. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Buckley's successor in the Senate, was a Massachusetts resident before he ran for the seat in 1976. Few people cared. The animosity that a candidacy like

Bobby's or Hillary's provokes has as much to do with power as with carpetbagging. What kind of democracy has ours become, the critics ask, when an influential family and its minions can dispose of a Senate seat with the same cavalier arrogance with which an eighteenth-century grantee disposed of a pocket borough? Power corrupts, the civic purist argues, and the dynastic power of a family like the Kennedys or, to a lesser extent, the Clintons, corrupts most effectively of all.

In 1964, the *New York Times* took upon itself the role of protector of the civic faith. The paper ran a series of editorials condemning the "Kennedy blitzkrieg" and voiced many of the same arguments that are today being made about Hillary's anticipated run. Was New York "so poverty-stricken for United States Senate material," the *Times* asked, that it had "to import a young man so obviously nonresident that he is just about to be a Massachusetts delegate to the Democratic National Convention?" Bobby, unlike Hillary, was able to counter his critics by pointing to a large chunk of childhood spent in New York. But he was not about to base his candidacy, he said, on where he had gone to grade school. He instead boldly proclaimed that his very familiarity with power at the highest levels—his service in Washington, the knowledge of national problems it had given him, the methods of problem-solving it had taught him—was his greatest asset. On the late August day on which he officially announced his candidacy, Bobby, standing in front of Gracie Mansion with Mayor Wagner, argued that New York was not "separate from the nation." Because he understood the nation's problems, he asserted, he automatically understood New York's problems, too. This was brazen: Kennedy was in effect saying that he was too valuable a national problem solver—too valuable a national political commodity—not to be given preference by the voters of New York.

Presumptuous, perhaps, but at the same time breathtakingly candid and a good deal more compelling than the well-trodden rhetoric of public service, the "honorable profession" homilies that he and his older brother had cribbed from such patrician statesmen as Franklin Roosevelt and Henry Stimson. Convincing or not, Bobby's strategy worked. Citizens had in the past smiled on the ambition of families like the Adamses and the Roosevelts, and in 1964 New York voters were similarly willing to forgive



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."

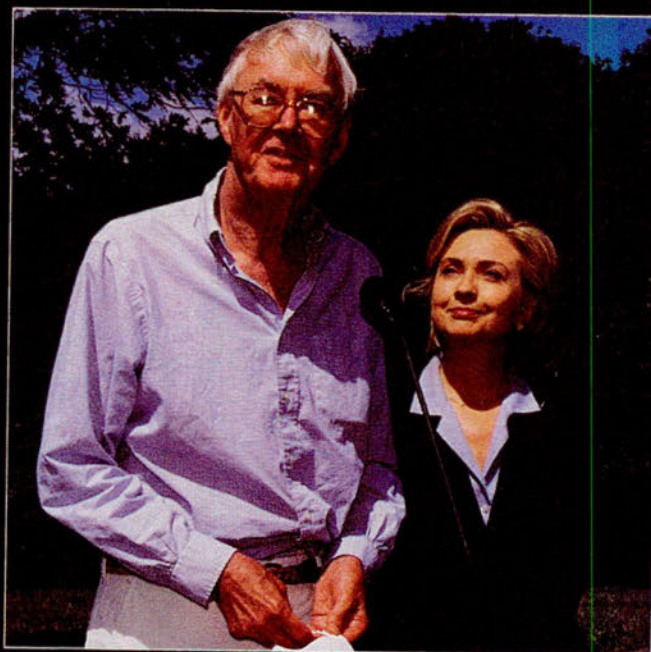
Closer to home, children's health has been a priority for Hillary. On one occasion in 1998, a couple on a rope-line told Hillary about their epileptic child and the paucity of new research to improve the lives of people with the condition. Back at the White House, Hillary fired off questions to her staff 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.

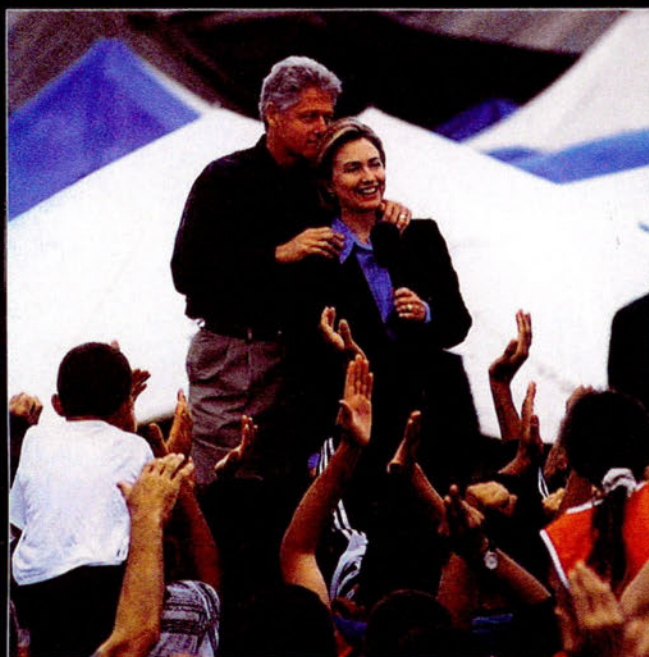
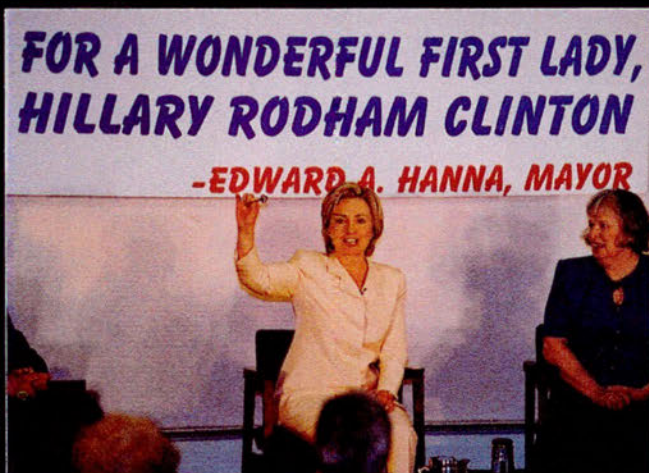
Five years later, consultations between the East and West Wings are a much smoother process. Jacob Lew, the director of the Office of Management and Budget at the White House, who worked with Hillary on health care reform, says that she "fits into that better-established set of relationships." So does 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.



"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."

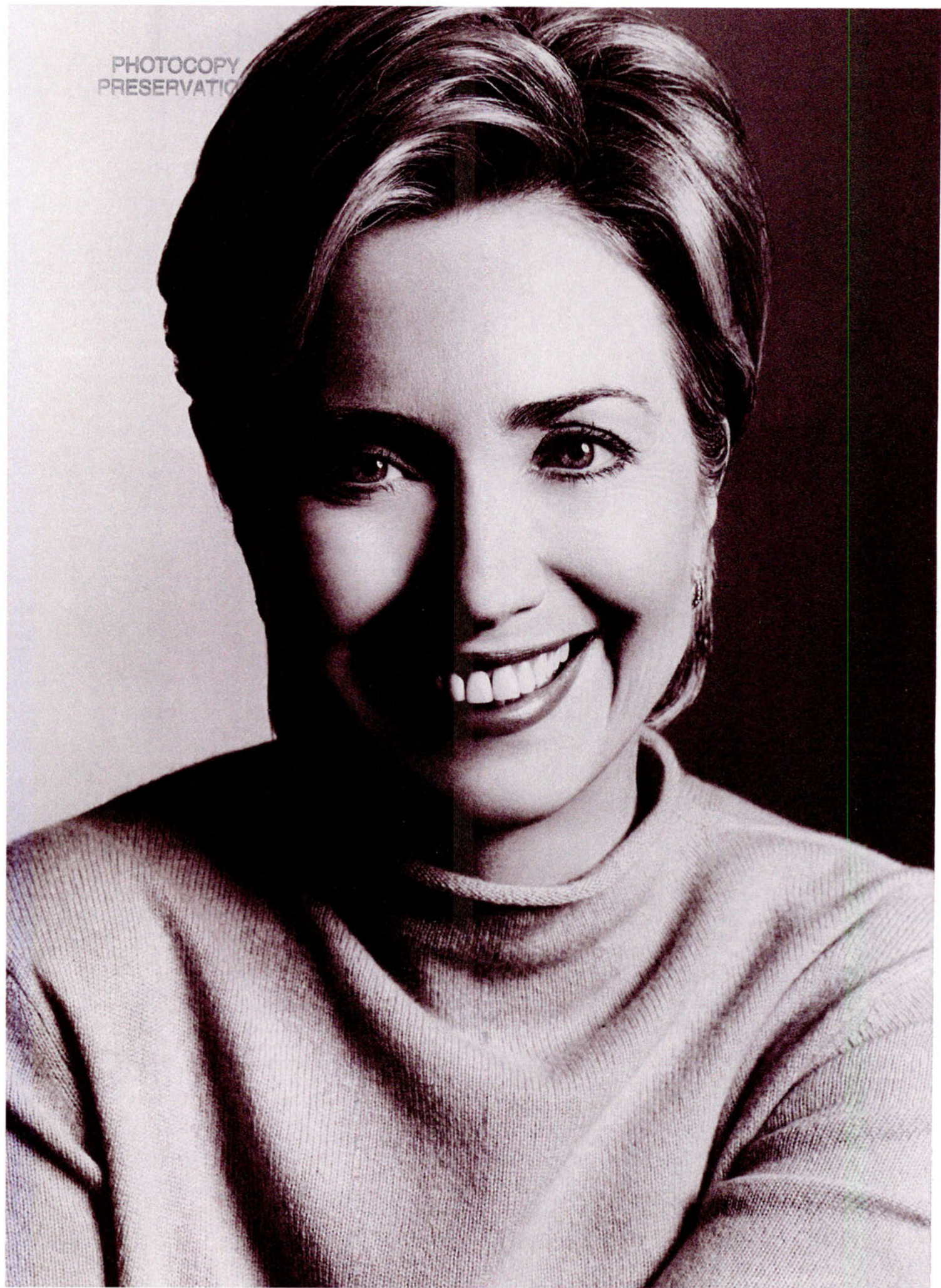
Hillary's interest in children dates to her first year at Yale Law School, when she read an article in *Time* about Marian Wright Edelman, the children's-rights advocate who headed a fledgling Washington lobby called the Washington Research Project. When Edelman spoke on the New Haven campus in 1970, 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**.

FROM TOP: DALLAS/SIPA; EDDIE MULLHOLLAND/LAISON AGENCY



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PRESERVATION





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 hidden power

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



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-

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



dure. 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 solicitousness 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



# Arnold

He's back.  
Ready to kick  
some box-  
office butt  
with his super-  
natural  
thriller *End of  
Days* and  
terminate  
ill-tempered  
Republican  
cyborgs like  
Pat Buchanan.  
For Arnold,  
the future is  
now.

By Tom Dunkel.

Portrait by  
Mario Sorrenti

"He lukes like me!" Arnold Schwarzenegger exclaims in that familiar muscle-bound baritone, eyeing the 12-year-old boy who was just introduced to him. "He's got dat Austrian luke."

For the record, Gerardo Guerrero—affectionately known as Little Arnold around Ponce de Leon middle school in Coral Gables, Florida—"luke" nothing like his idol. He's small and skinny, not to mention unmistakably Hispanic. But for the last year, Gerardo has been asking teachers almost daily whether Arnold Schwarzenegger would be visiting Ponce de Leon anytime soon. Now Schwarzenegger has actually shown up, casting an extra-large shadow in the hall outside the school's packed auditorium. Little Arnold has been given the heady responsibility of escorting the guest of honor to a seat in the front row. Every local TV station has a camera crew on hand. After all, Schwarzenegger is the biggest thing to hit Miami since...well, yesterday, when Puff Daddy blew into town.

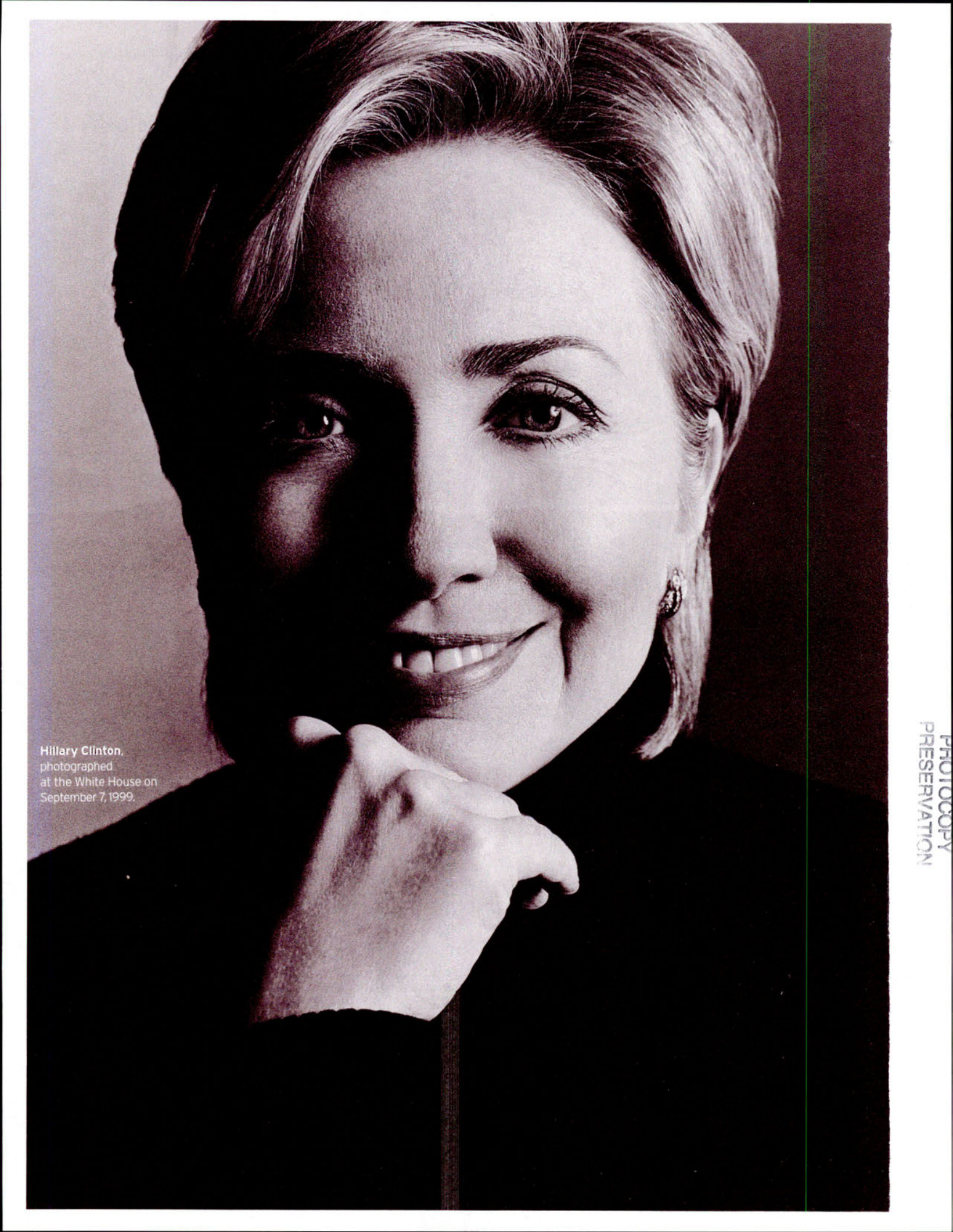
"I never thought he'd come," mumbles Little Arnold, so stunned that he appears to be sleepwalking on air.

Little Arnold's heart, kidneys, and vital organs are sound. He isn't terminally ill. Big Arnold hasn't journeyed to Miami on some Make-A-Wish mercy mission. The Terminator has something bigger in mind: eliminating the great divide between America the prosperous and America the poor. Schwarzenegger serves as national chairman of the Inner-City Games Foundation, which began as an event in 1991 to promote youth sports in urban areas and has since morphed into a nonprofit organization providing everything from mentors to computer classes.

"If you have any brain, you can see the vacuum," Arnold says. "Nobody's really doing anything about that. You don't pay attention by giving lip service, like, you know, when candidates travel around to the inner cities with their suits on. Who are they going to inspire?"

A few marquee activists—Barbra Streisand, Robert Redford, and Steven Spielberg, for example—have opted to maximize their influence by forming nonprofit organizations. But Arnold has outdone them all by quietly putting together a nationwide network of grassroots, public-private partnerships that function as a kind of quasi social-service agency. It may mark the birth of a new political creature: the celebtrician, a by-product of the age of celebrity and the era of downsized government. If politicians can't do everything, maybe movie stars will have to pick up the slack. Who knows? In the not-too-distant future, George Clooney may launch an HMO and the ever affable Tom Hanks might negotiate a peace agreement between Israel and Syria.





Hillary Clinton,  
photographed  
at the White House on  
September 7, 1999.



# 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."

**H**illary'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



## SMOKING

done. All this happened a year ago. Mann finally sent me a copy of the script a year ago, and I read this bull-shit." 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."

**T**he 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 post-graduate 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 shuttled 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-

port 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 co-gently 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

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.

**D**uring 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," Verveer 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, Romania, 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."

PHOTOCOPY  
PRESERVATION



# HILLARY'S POWERS

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-



# HILLARY'S POWERS

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. **E**

## HOW BOBBY DID IT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 113 him the election.

At the beginning of the campaign, he was the fifth Beagle; 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. **E**

*Michael Knox Beran is the author of The Last Patrician: Bobby Kennedy and the End of American Aristocracy.*

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