

**Office of the First Lady
Press Office
Files of Lissa Muscatine**

Contents: Files from Marsha Berry

Archived from OEOB 103 by Gayleen Dalsimer on January 2, 2001

12 of 42

Files from Marsha Berry

1. Clips
2. Committee on the Arts and Humanities
3. POTUS 2nd year Accomplishments
4. Legal:
5. Use of Presidential Seal
6. WEBB Hubbell
7. Bennett
8. CPB File
9. Denmark
10. 1994 Summit of the Americas
11. India
12. Dream Catcher
13. Attacks
14. Oprah 1995
15. Trude Feldman
16. Hillary Rodham Clinton Finances
17. Madison and Guaranty Savings and Loans
18. Responses of Hillary Rodham Clinton for Madison and Guaranty Savings and Loans
19. Responses of Hillary Rodham Clinton for Madison and Guaranty Savings and Loans

Enclosures filed in
Oversize Attachments # 20089

NARA # 17293

CBS NEWS - 60 MINUTES II

"HILLARY CLINTON"

INTERVIEW WITH HILLARY CLINTON

BY DAN RATHER

PRODUCER: MAPES

TAPE #1/W.O.00959

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

I'm glad to be here.

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

A lot of saying how sorry we were.

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

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

Yeah.

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

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

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

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

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

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

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

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

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

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

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

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

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

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

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

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

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

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

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

many of us have.

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

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

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

DAN RATHER:

Well, give this lifetime of study, give me a

DAN RATHER (cont'd):

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

Uh-huh (AFFIRMATIVE) .

DAN RATHER:

What else?

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

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

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

City, and-- I was just stunned.

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

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

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

DAN RATHER:

How big was your high school?

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

DAN RATHER:

Two or three thousand?

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

Right.

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

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

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

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

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

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

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

DAN RATHER:

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

DAN RATHER (cont'd):

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

DAN RATHER:

Well, suggest some concrete things for us.

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

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

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

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

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

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

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

DAN RATHER:

Quickly define charter school. A lot of people

DAN RATHER (cont'd):

still don't know what it is.

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

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

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

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

I know. (LAUGHTER)

DAN RATHER:

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

DAN RATHER (cont'd):

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

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

DAN RATHER: AFFIRM -- YES, GO ON.

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

I know.

DAN RATHER:

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

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

Right.

DAN RATHER:

Now, it's in the papers again now.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Uh-huh (AFFIRMATIVE).

DAN RATHER:

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

DAN RATHER (cont'd):

description of where you are?

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

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

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

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

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

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

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

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

Yes, I am.

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

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

DAN RATHER:

You really haven't made the final decision.

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

Well, you know--

DAN RATHER:

--particularly in a tough state like New York.

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

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

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

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

minds.

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

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

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

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

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

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

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

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

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

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

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

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

process. I just know how tough it is.

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

DAN RATHER:

Well, you know I talked--

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

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

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

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

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

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

Right.

DAN RATHER:

--the Senate or not.

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

DAN RATHER:

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

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

Uh-huh (AFFIRMATIVE).

DAN RATHER:

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

(LAUGHTER)

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

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

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

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

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

Right.

DAN RATHER:

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

DAN RATHER (cont'd):

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

DAN RATHER:

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

DAN RATHER (cont'd):

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

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

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

(LAUGHTER)

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

Uh-huh (AFFIRMATIVE).

DAN RATHER:

--of Hillary Rodham Clinton.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Uh-huh (AFFIRMATIVE).

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

I have no idea. I have no idea.

DAN RATHER:

What would you like it to be?

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

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

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

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

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

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

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

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

And-- you know, when you go through any kind of difficult experience-- you have a choice. I mean, you can let it break you, and embitter you, or you can take whatever-- you've experienced, whatever

pain or suffering, like those brave families I saw today-- in Littleton. And-- decide that you're still gonna have faith, your faith in God, your faith in your fellow man. That you're still

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

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

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

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

Uh-huh (AFFIRMATIVE).

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

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

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

But it also comes out of my personal experience.

DAN RATHER:

Do you believe in redemption?

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

HILLARY CLINTON (cont'd):

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

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

DAN RATHER:

You smile but I sense you're serious -

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

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

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

DAN RATHER:

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

DAN RATHER (cont'd):

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

Uh-huh (AFFIRMATIVE).

DAN RATHER:

You've said that you're obviously interested in

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

DAN RATHER:

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

HILLARY CLINTON:

No, I haven't.

DAN RATHER:

Every considered it?

HILLARY CLINTON:

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

DAN RATHER:

Mrs. Clinton, thank you very much.

HILLARY CLINTON:

Thanks, Dan.

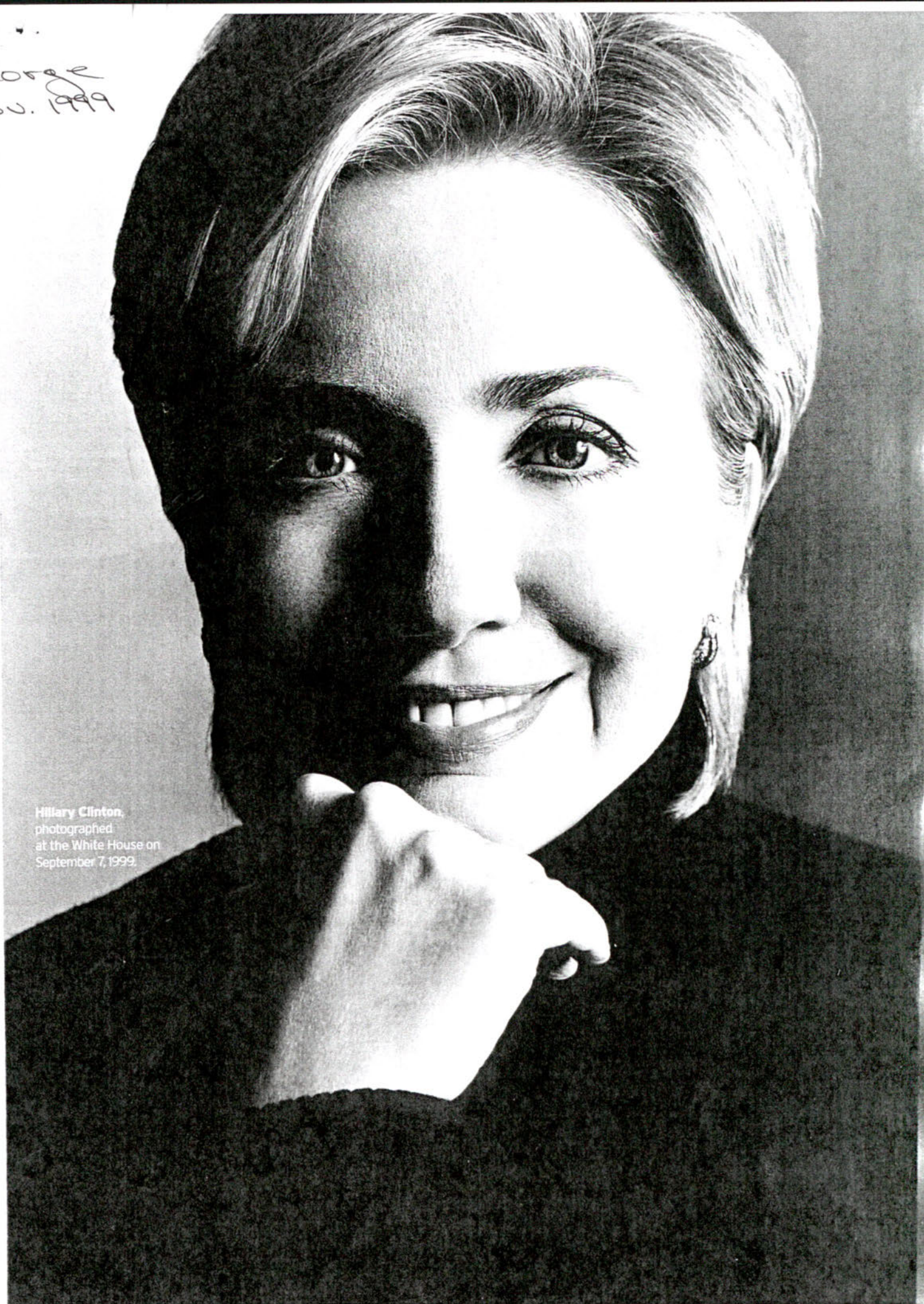
DAN RATHER:

Thank you.

END OF TRANSCRIPT

George
Nov. 1999

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



After the crushing defeat
of Hillary Clinton's health care reform bill
in 1994, few expected the first lady to play a prominent role
in Washington. While the
press and her Republican enemies moved on to other
targets, Hillary lowered her profile and used subtler channels
to wield power within the White House and
on Capitol Hill. Running for Senate just makes it official.

*By Carl Sferrazza Anthony.
Portraits by Michael Thompson*

hillary's
hidden
power

On November 29, 1994, three weeks after the Republican party seized control of Congress for the first time in 40 years, Hillary Rodham Clinton addressed a symposium on the role of first ladies. In the gold-encrusted ballroom of Washington's Mayflower Hotel, a hushed audience had gathered expecting to hear Hillary ooze contrition—the congressional defeat of her ambitious agenda for health care reforms and the Republicans' massive victory had become synonymous in the public's imagination.

But when a poised and confident Hillary began to speak, it was obvious that the first lady had no intention of offering the expected mea culpas. She would continue to be active in public life, she declared. If she did otherwise, she added, "my husband and friends would probably have me committed. I, for better or worse, have spoken out on public issues for 25 years. Some kind of first lady amnesia would not have been very credible."

Such conviction was not isolated to large gatherings in front of television cameras. At a White House dinner a few weeks later, Hillary was in a similarly feisty mood, telling a guest, "Listen, I'm a big girl. I can take the hits. I don't mind a real debate on issues."

Yet, of course, things would change after November 1994. And in the months that followed, even the stubborn Hillary had to recognize that all the criticism and vitriol was not really about her health care plan—it was about Hillary herself. The role she had assumed as the engine of reform had sparked a national debate on the power she wielded within the White House. Her harshest enemies—the Hillary-hating crowd of newly elected Republicans on Capitol Hill—were determined to cast her as the most Machiavellian presidential spouse since Edith Wilson took control of the presidency of her infirm husband, Woodrow Wilson, in 1919. To them, she was Lady Clinton, whispering in the ear of her vacillating husband as the couple lay down to sleep at night, ignoring her husband's infidelities because she was more interested in acquiring power for herself.

In the face of such adversity, Hillary recognized that she would have to adapt. She could hold her head high at functions and deliver hollow bromides about issues, but that wasn't why she had come to Washington. If she was going to get anything done, she would have to change the way she was doing it, to make sure that the controversy surrounding her persona would not doom the changes she wanted to make. As Hillary says today, "This was the time of the most intense attacks from Congress—so it was not likely that I was going to testify on anything then." No longer could she act as a sort of unofficial cabinet member, empowered by her husband to take on the administration's biggest challenges. Instead, she would master the behind-the-scenes levers of power, building relationships with the White House staff, cabinet agencies—particularly female cabinet members—and trustworthy friends on Capitol Hill.

Flush with their victories over Hillary and congressional Democrats, the Republicans failed to realize just how successful she would become in this evolution. The inside-the-Beltway media—unable to get close to Hillary and bored by the serious issues she was working on—never paid her doings much attention either. "She has been floundering around in the last couple of years to

try to find some project for herself," Washington social doyenne Sally Quinn said on *Meet the Press* in February 1998. "The real problem for Hillary is her record," *Newsweek* pundit Jonathan Alter wrote in March 1999, assessing her Senate campaign. "She doesn't have one."

Yet by appearing more like a traditional first lady and removing herself from the glare of the media, a former staff member says, "she could get things done." Since 1994, Hillary has accomplished more than many—perhaps most—members of Congress, particularly in the areas of child care, human rights, and health care. But so adeptly has she disguised her influence in Washington that as she prepares to run for Daniel Patrick Moynihan's New York Senate seat next year, there has been no sustained review of exactly what Hillary Clinton has achieved in the White House.

"I think one of the reasons there hasn't been much coverage of what I've done is that there hasn't been one theme to my work," she explains. "It would take a certain amount of effort to follow what I've done, and that's just never been part of political reporting. But in terms of how I spent my days and what I did, I thought that it was pretty much a continuation of what I have always done, working on the same kind of issues, trying to raise them, trying to be strategic in thinking about how to be effective in promoting them, looking for allies. And I resist labeling myself because it's so limiting. I'm realistic, I'm pragmatic, I'm optimistic, and I think I'm patriotic."

Hillary's beliefs and her commitment to them haven't changed since 1994. But her tactics have. And unlike her plan to reform health care, they have succeeded.

The solarium on the third floor of the White House has long been the most private preserve of America's first families. Here in the glass-windowed parlor, Mamie Eisenhower played bridge and Caroline Kennedy had kindergarten classes. There's a terrace surrounding it, where President Eisenhower liked to grill steaks and where Hillary grows her own tomatoes. Cut off from public view, the solarium is decorated with comfortable furniture and political memorabilia, and is the Clintons' favored spot for intimate dinners, birthdays, family gatherings, and games—cards, Boggle, Scrabble. There are cushy, periwinkle-blue sofas and chintz-covered chairs. Scattered about are a rocking chair, homey throw blankets—including one that features an image of Buddy, the president's Labrador—a green-marble-topped coffee table, and another table crowded with Russian nesting dolls featuring the president, Hillary, and Chelsea. Apparently for visiting children, the Clintons have a collection of Beanie Babies, including a husky dog and a bald eagle.

This is where Hillary, wearing a canary-yellow pantsuit and perfect makeup, greets me for the first of two recent interviews in which she agreed to discuss her role in the White House. "We feel very comfortable and extremely well provided for here," she says. But sometimes she has to escape: She sneaks out for occasional walks along the Mall with a single Secret Service agent; and now that Chelsea is in college, she and the president retreat to Camp David more often. When their daughter was in high school, they liked to spend weekends in

town because Chelsea wanted time with her friends.

After the health care debacle in 1994, one of Hillary's challenges was distinguishing her work from her husband's. Her enemies have long maintained that what makes the first lady powerful is the authority she exerts over Bill Clinton, either from intellectual domination or some sort of crass sexual quid pro quo. That misogynistic canard misses the reality of a give-and-take between intellectual partners. The Clintons are so mutually reliant upon each other's political thinking that it is impossible to say where one's ideas stop and the other's begin. It is "very hard to dissect" her influence on the president, Hillary says. "We talk about everything, and have for as long as we've known each other...particularly on issues where we share a common commitment," such as welfare and education. They have their disagreements—for example, Hillary was unhappy with some of the provisions of Clinton's 1993 welfare bill. "I supported the bill," she says, "but I was very concerned about specifics." To fully support Clinton's legislation, Hillary insisted on a continuation of federally supported child care and Medicaid programs. "For her, those two components were absolutely essential to any kind of reform," says Melanne Verveer, the first lady's chief of staff. "Hillary made her views very clear."

When it comes to more formal discussions of policy, Hillary recognizes she is just one source of ideas. "Bill is someone who solicits opinions and advice from a broad range of people," she says. "And I'm one of those people. But depending upon the issue, I could be one of two or one of 100. It's just the way he makes decisions. All you can do is say, 'This is a really important issue, I'm hearing a lot about it, here's what I think about it, and I wish you would take that into consideration.' My perspective might not be as informed as someone else's. So I would not want a president who listened only to one person. It would be a very dangerous situation for the country."

Only if she "thinks it's really important or gets new information" will Hillary persist with her opinion on an issue. "A lot of times, I'll mention it once and that's it," she says. When pressed on issues that she and her husband have disagreed on, she demurs. "Well, you know, I just wouldn't talk about those things." She's starting to talk about them more, but it isn't easy: Hillary's recent criticism of the president's recommendation of clemency for jailed Puerto Rican terrorists was a political fiasco that infuriated Hispanic leaders in New York.

Another reason it's hard for Hillary to talk about policy is that she doesn't believe the press is truly interested. The day after she attended the premiere of *Shakespeare in Love* in December 1998, Hillary delivered a two-hour speech on international violations of children's rights. Her remarks received no coverage and were studiously ignored by the *New York Times*' Maureen Dowd, who devoted a Sunday column to the exploits of "Hollywood Hillary"—the first lady who had attended a movie opening. "There was a time when there were large and real ac-

From top: **Hillary** on her listening tour of New York in September; key advisers (from left) **Jacob Lew**, head of the White House's Office of Management and Budget, **James Wolfensohn**, World Bank president, and **Melanne Verveer**, Hillary's chief of staff; **Hillary** with President **Jerry Rawlings** of Ghana, in 1998.

When Hillary
was 15, she wanted to be an
astronaut,
but her mother hoped she would
be the first woman
to serve on the
Supreme Court.





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 grandee 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 patriotic 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 Kennedys, and in 1964 New York voters were similarly willing to forgive

Bobby Kennedy for his family's latest act of dynastic audacity. Where power carpetbagging is concerned, Hillary can take comfort in the example of Bobby's campaign.

He came late to the race; she comes early. She has not evinced the slightest interest in any other office; he had been tempted by the vice presidency and had looked seriously at the New York race only after Lyndon Johnson refused to make him his running mate. She has the luxury of large stretches of time in which to attend to the details; he had to scramble. In his rush to find a house in New York, Bobby ended up taking a 25-room Dutch Colonial in Glen Cove, Long Island, that he didn't really like and only rarely used. (As senator, he spent far more time in an apartment he found in Manhattan's United Nations Plaza.) Hillary and the president, on the other hand, looked at houses in a half dozen Westchester County towns before settling on an 11-room Dutch Colonial in Chappaqua.

Questions of timing ended up mattering in Bobby's campaign. They may matter no less in Hillary's. A famous person who decides to make a controversial race can count on two things to shape the way his or her candidacy is received: the power of celebrity—star power, the ability to draw a crowd—and the reality of a past, the record of a life, the thousand little things—words, deeds, sheer idle gossip—that collectively add up to a reputation. Very often famous candidates' reputations will offset the benefits they derive from their celebrity, and at no time will their reputation be more dangerous than at the moment that the effect of celebrity begins to wear off, as it inevitably will when it is subjected to the pressures of a campaign. What famous candidates learn to dread most is that the dazzling glow, which made the entry into the race so strangely, exhilaratingly easy, will begin to fade just as the heat of the campaign itself intensifies, in early to mid-October, leaving them alone with their past during the final, excruciating weeks of the contest. That is what happened to Bobby Kennedy in 1964, and it nearly cost

CONTINUED ON PAGE 140

complishments that she wished to achieve," Dowd wrote mockingly. "Historians will long wonder how Mrs. Clinton came in as Eleanor Roosevelt and left as Madonna."

Hillary is clearly exasperated by such portrayals. "You know, people ask me all the time, 'What has it been like for you here?'" she says. "Certainly, there have been some painful times, some challenging times. But when I look back, what I remember and what I have enjoyed are all the incredible opportunities. I feel blessed about that. I had an opportunity and I had an obligation, and I enjoyed what I did every day. I liked trying to help other people."

That desire to be perceived as a public servant who can transcend personal crisis is not disingenuous. Though her sense of duty can come across as patronizing noblesse oblige, Hillary has been devoted to public service since her teens. She learned the virtue of service from her Methodist father, Hugh Rodham, who took the family on tours of the ghettos of their hometown of Chicago.

Hugh Rodham died in April 1993, but his memory permeates Hillary's life. In October 1997, I joined the first lady and her two brothers, Tony and Hugh, on their first visit to Park Ridge, Illinois, since their parents sold their home 10 years earlier. As we went from room to room, the Rodham children laughed and reminisced about their childhood arguments and their father's carpentry work in the basement. After looking about Hillary's modest bedroom, everyone else turned to leave, but Hillary stayed behind for a moment. She peeked into the narrow closet, then peered through a small window that had once been her view on the world and in a low but audible voice said, "Wow." She had come a long way, but here were her roots.

Since her teenage years, when she spent summers babysitting for the children of Mexican migrant workers, Hillary has worked to make money. When her father declined to pay her full tuition at Yale Law School, she went out and earned it. In the summer of 1969, before starting law school, she shocked her family by getting a job in an Alaskan fish-canning factory. She was fired after she questioned the manager about some tainted product. "They were really dark and spoiled," she recalls. "But I guess nobody wanted to know that."

Hugh Rodham may have instilled in Hillary the importance of working, but it was her mother, the earthy Dorothy Rodham, who taught her to be ambitious. "You may be a girl," her mother told her, "but you can do whatever you choose to do." When Hillary was 15, she wanted to become an astronaut, but Dorothy hoped she would become the first woman to serve on the Supreme Court.

Hillary was not a hippy of the '60s. The wildest personal thing she ever did was paint a flower on her arm, only to wash it off a few hours later. There are no stories of any kind suggesting that she used drugs or indulged in free love—even by association. Devastated by the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., she joined other Wellesley students in a memorial march and wore an armband—but she never took part in sit-ins or riots. During the 1968 Chicago Democratic convention, she went to observe the riots between anti-war demonstrators and the police, not to participate. She did not want to destroy the status quo; she wanted to wake it up and have it take responsibility. She wasn't anti-establishment; she was reestablishment, recognizing that instead of insisting women be given power, they should be allowed to work to get it. She had an essentially conservative faith in proce-

ture. In the early '70s, with Watergate and the Vietnam War, masculine power had never seemed so fragile. Hillary saw an opportunity to prove herself, and that could only be done as she always did things—by working. Rather than drop out as a '60s radical, she got a degree, a briefcase, and a job and went to work as that icon of a later era, the '70s career woman.

When she arrived at the White House, Hillary was eager to break with precedent. She took an office in the West Wing with the president's staff, and placed her aides (except for employees of the Social Office) in the Old Executive Office Building next door. Then, in the winter of 1993, the president announced that his wife would head a White House task force to reform health care. Hillary would marshal the advice of more than 500 experts and a host of aides and present legislation to Congress that would guarantee health care for every American. The message was clear: Hillary was involved in the executive branch of the U.S. government. She had yet to learn that Washington wasn't ready for what critics would sneeringly call a "dual presidency." Nor could she have realized that the Republicans would make her role as reformer more contentious than the legislation itself.

To support her agenda, Hillary hired a group of aides—almost all are women—with similar political inclinations and policy backgrounds. Today her chief of staff is Melanne Vermeer, 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, Vermeer 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," Vermeer says. "She operates as a staff person. It's not the commandress in chief."

Hillary masterminds much of her own policy research. Rather than delegate to staff, she meets with experts in specific fields, many of whom she has known since the mid-1970s. In her "Eleanor Roosevelt room" in the residence, where she has collected all the ER memorabilia sent to her throughout the years, the first lady keeps the research she has accumulated—"vast pillars of paper," a former aide recalls. "She'll just go through the piles, and she'll say, 'Oh, here, somebody gave me this. Can you look into that?'"

Few of the directions and instructions are conveyed in

writing by Hillary. She rarely uses a computer, and unlike Barbara Bush or Lady Bird Johnson, she has kept no White House diary. "I don't put anything in writing that I don't have to," she explains. The investigations of independent counsel Kenneth Starr have made sure of that.

Hillary thinks out loud with her staff, posing questions, asking for follow-ups. A staff member will return with answers, and Hillary will reply with "five smart questions," a former aide says. "Hopefully, you can answer at least three of them." Then comes the question of whether the issue can be handled through the White House or a cabinet agency, or if it needs congressional support. If the latter is determined, Hillary may seek a sponsor on Capitol Hill, a like-minded Democrat to write legislation or push for its passage. But she's just as likely to decide that an interest group or a foundation is a less controversial—and hence more effective—public face for the policy push. "By determining the best avenue," one aide says, "we get a better result."

Hillary has never restricted herself to the views of policy wonks, and she is determined to meet ordinary Americans. Those meetings usually occur during visits to factories and schools and hospitals and rallies, and to a certain extent they fulfill the traditional "eyes and ears" role of a first lady. On October 28, 1997, after two days of parties in Chicago to mark her fiftieth birthday, Hillary attended one such event in a stale hotel hall. A long line formed at a microphone, and each person related a tale about child support or food stamps or Section 8 housing. Not until the final question from the floor had been answered did Hillary signal her readiness to leave. When at one point someone suggested that she might cut short the Q&A, she responded, "They came out for me. They told me their story. They sat here with me for an hour. The least I can do is listen to them with the same respect that they have given me."

Sometimes she can help. While meeting with Kosovo refugees in Macedonia last May, Hillary ran into Danica Georgieva, who had started a clothing company in Kocani with a U.S. government loan. She showed the first lady some of the high-quality linen blouses she was producing. Georgieva then said that Liz Claiborne was cutting back on orders because of the war in Kosovo, and that she would be forced to lay off much of her workforce. Within three days, Hillary had phoned Claiborne CEO Paul Charron, who remembers the incident vividly.

"I had not known Hillary before," he says. "I had never met her, and I'm not a contributor to the Democratic party. My secretary comes into my office and says, Will you speak with Hillary Clinton? I said something to the effect of, 'You're kidding me.' So I picked up the phone, and she introduced herself and said she had just taken a trip to Macedonia.... Was there anything that could be done there? I said, 'I'm not sure, I can't afford production disruption, but let me see what I can do.' She said, 'I've got another question, Is there any way that we can convert the Macedonian apparel industry to producing goods or providing services in support of the refugees?' I said, 'That's a very good question. Let me get together with some of my friends and see what I can do.'"

Hillary wound up coordinating a joint effort between her office, the State Department, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and Liz Claiborne. Not only

From top: **Hillary** with her closest cabinet ally, **Madeleine Albright**, at the twentieth-anniversary celebration of the Congressional Caucus for Women in October 1997; Hillary announces her listening tour at **Senator Moynihan's** farm in July 1999.

did the company maintain the contract, it enlisted industry colleagues to help some of the other threatened factories in Macedonia. "If she had never used the power of her office to raise the questions," Charron says, "quite frankly, we would never have thought of it."

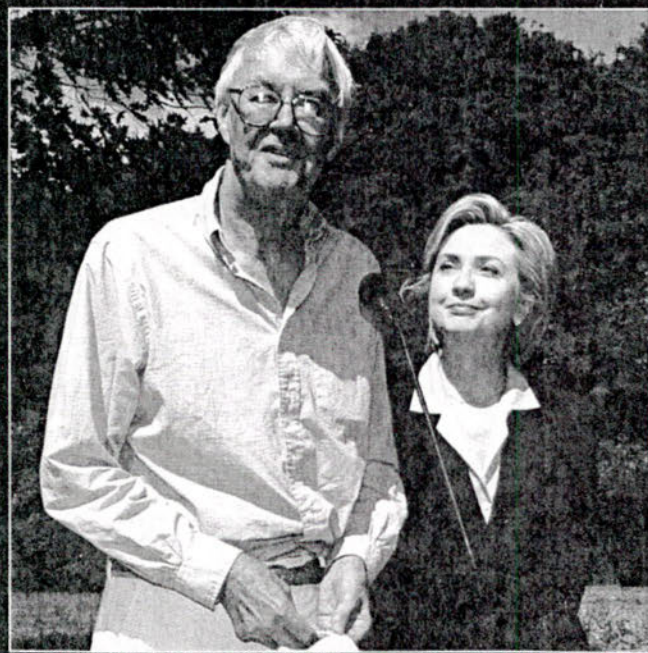
Closer to home, children's health has been a priority for Hillary. On one occasion in 1998, a couple on a rope-line told Hillary about their epileptic child and the paucity of new research to improve the lives of people with the condition. Back at the White House, Hillary fired off questions to her staff about the state of government research on epilepsy. "Just what's the story here?" she asked Verveer. A dossier on epilepsy research was hastily assembled, and when the findings confirmed what the couple had told Hillary, Verveer was asked to make a case for increased funding at a senior staff meeting. Thanks to Hillary's prodding, the National Institutes of Health's budget for epilepsy was increased in the 1999 federal budget.

The work is satisfying for Hillary, but it can take its toll. Onstage before a live audience at the Chicago Historical Society in 1997, Hillary was her typical energetic self. After the session, before heading out to a mammoth party for several thousand people in another part of town, she disappeared into a waiting room. Walking into the room moments later, I saw her collapsed on a folding chair, her head resting against the wall, her eyes shut. She seemed to be hardly breathing. I called to her to make sure she was all right, and when she didn't answer I became alarmed. I looked around only to see the Secret Service and her aides calmly going about their business—this was nothing more than a restorative catnap. Half an hour later, she was on her feet again, giving another speech.

One reason Congress was able to kill Hillary Clinton's health care reform in 1994 was internal White House confusion. The president's staff was preoccupied with the federal deficit and NAFTA, which left the first lady's team to fight for health care on its own. Ira Magaziner, a friend of the Clintons who served as Hillary's chief consultant on health care reform, recalls that the president's "economic, political, and legislative advisers didn't want anything to do with health care," until Clinton's economic programs had passed through Congress. It was "a very awkward situation," one aide reflects now.

Five years later, consultations between the East and West Wings are a much smoother process. Jacob Lew, the director of the Office of Management and Budget at the White House, who worked with Hillary on health care reform, says that she "fits into that better-established set of relationships." So does her staff: Verveer attends key morning meetings in the West Wing with the president's senior staff; several of Hillary's aides work on the Domestic Policy Council, attending the thrice-weekly meetings of the group, which coordinates all the president's domestic initiatives.

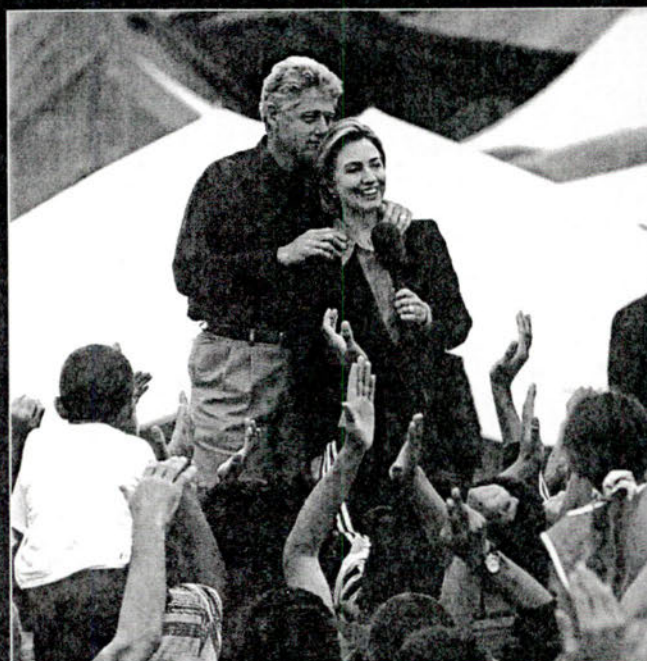
"If Hillary feels strongly about something and you're sitting with her in a meeting, you'll know that she feels **strongly** about it," Verveer says.



"Hillary's views
are one of the most
important
factors as you think through
an idea," says a high-
ranking White House
official.

**FOR A WONDERFUL FIRST LADY,
HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON**

-EDWARD A. HANNA, MAYOR



"I don't think there's ever been a feeling that the first lady's staffers are outlanders or intrusive," says Sidney Blumenthal, who has been a senior adviser to the president since 1997. "They're considered integral. They have a certain esprit de corps, a staff of mostly women who have had enormous political and policy experience."

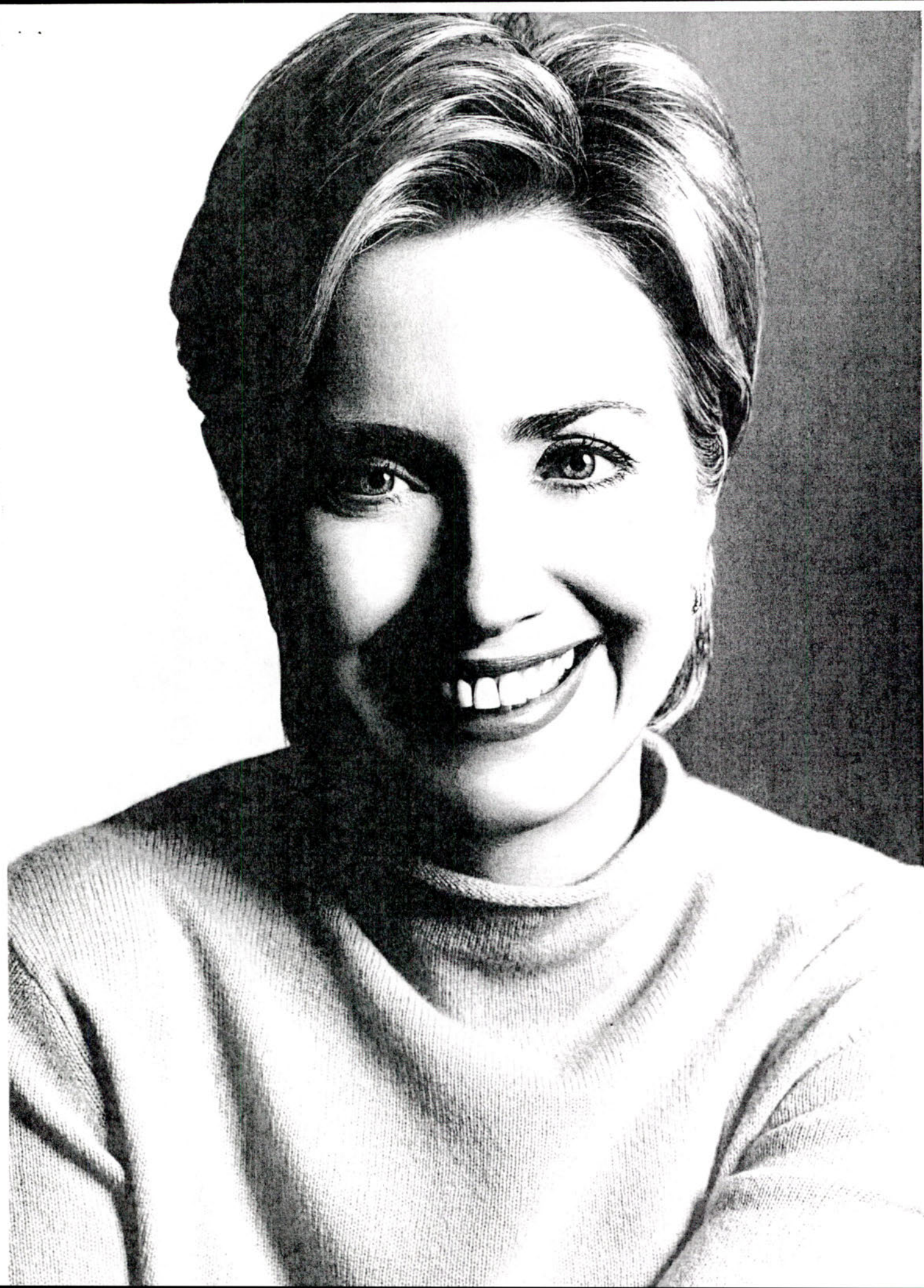
Hillary herself will occasionally attend senior staff meetings in the West Wing when the issues under discussion are strongly related to her expertise, such as children and health care. She will "listen to somebody saying that's not going to work. Then she will say, 'Well how do we make it work?'" Verveer says. "If she feels strongly about something and you're sitting with her in a meeting, you'll know that she feels strongly about it." In one session with a cabinet secretary this year, Hillary said flatly, "It's unconscionable that the regulations aren't out yet. Why don't we have this done? What are they going to say in two years' time?" She takes these gatherings seriously. "Well, we had the meeting," she'll say. "There were promises made. Let's see what happens now."

The exchange of information between the president's staff and Hillary flows both ways. The president's domestic-policy aides keep her informed of pending legislation that they know will be of interest to her. Or if they're working on an issue that they know she has strong feelings about or expertise in, they'll request her opinion, as they did last spring in the wake of the shooting in Littleton, Colorado. "When a tough decision has to be made, she's going to have the opportunity to offer strategic advice," Lew says. "Her views are one of the important factors as you think things through." Still, there's no evidence that the West Wing capitulates to please the boss's wife. What's more likely is that the president's advisers will meet with Hillary to get a read on how the president is thinking about an issue. One presidential aide says, "The Clintons think so similarly on important issues that she can be a good sounding board to the way he'll approach an issue."

Bill Clinton is an encyclopedia of policy, but even he concedes that his wife is better versed on children's issues than he is. "He sees this as one area where she has tremendous expertise," says Matthew Melmed, who is an informal adviser to Hillary and the director of Zero to Three, an organization that focuses on child-development issues. "He defers to her on this stuff."

Hillary's interest in children dates to her first year at Yale Law School, when she read an article in *Time* about Marian Wright Edelman, the children's-rights advocate who headed a fledgling Washington lobby called the Washington Research Project. When Edelman spoke on the New Haven campus in 1970, Hillary was there. Impressed by what she had heard, Hillary wrote to Edelman asking if she could work for the group over the summer vacation. Edelman had no budget but offered to take her as an unpaid intern. But Hillary secured grant money and went to work. Recognizing a promising student, Edelman recommended Hillary to Senator Walter Mondale's subcommittee on migrant **CONTINUED ON PAGE 135**

From top: **Hillary** at a New York hospital at the start of her listening tour in July; at a Kosovar refugee camp last June with the **president**.



SMOKING

done. All this happened a year ago. Mann finally sent me a copy of the script a year ago, and I read this bullshit." You mean, the scene with the Shiite Muslim? "Of course." But it's not in the movie. "I know that it's not. But in the movie, [Bergman] is still sitting blindfolded in front of the sheikh." So? "It never took place. He had nothing to do with setting up the interview." We discuss his correspondence with Mann. "I sent him a nice letter. Where the fuck is it?" he says, rustling papers. "Here it is. The file. [It was] a nice letter..." Is it true that the Wigand affair was *60 Minutes*' lowest point? "It wasn't a low point for me. It was a high point because we finally got the piece on the air, and we never, never, never would have gotten it on the air without me. Lowell had nothing to do with getting it on the air. Nothing." (Bergman says that his dogged protests eventually led Wallace to fight for the story again.)

We also discuss Bergman's contention that Hewitt and Wallace are blackballing him from getting work on *60 Minutes II*. First he says it's "laughable." Later on, he adds, "You can rest assured Hewitt ain't going to hire him." That doesn't sound so unreasonable. Why would Bergman, who is now working for PBS's *Frontline* and the *New York Times*, want to return to a network that he has so little respect for?

It is doubtful that a supporting role in a Hollywood movie will erase the reputation of a heavyweight like Mike Wallace, though it may very well deify Bergman. But whatever Michael Mann leads his audience to conclude about these two men, the Wallace-Bergman wars have illustrated one sure truth: In life, as in great journalism and great art, one can be right yet wrong, have integrity yet be fallible, tell the truth yet lie, be well intentioned yet be a traitor.

Last April, Bergman's contract with CBS News expired. The producer, who is participating in the film's publicity campaign and may write a book about the Wigand affair, has not talked to Wallace since then. "There is no relationship," Wallace says. At the end of our interview, Wallace concludes with his uncannily familiar bluntness, "Lowell is a good reporter. Some people have penis envy, some have microphone envy. I hope he finds a job. I just don't want to work next door to him." ☐

MILLENNIUM MAN

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 123 back the [budget surplus] because the schools would suffer; we want to build new schools in this country. Excuse me. Since when has the federal government ever built schools?"

He never trusted Democrats. Problem is, he's now losing confidence in Republicans. No vision. No answers. No hope of recapturing the White House unless they change. "We want to know what our party really stands for other than, you know, trim the budget and balance the budget. I understand all that," Arnold notes. "But say what you really stand for rather than going from one convention to the next talking about what we're against—guys like [Pat] Buchanan going up there and speaking about, 'We are anti-gay and we're anti-lesbian and anti-immigration. We are anti-taxation and anti-federal government.'"

Don't forget anti-Clinton. He was not impressed by the sight of so many Republicans foaming at the mouth during the impeachment proceedings and Lewinsky scandal. "That was another thing I will never forgive the Republican party for," he sputters. "We spent one year wasting time because there was a human failure. I was ashamed to call myself a Republican during that period. Instead of devoting all this energy and all these hearings to how we're going to solve the problems of the inner cities.... No, it's like, 'This man has to be removed from office because he's a national threat.' Yeah, that's a good one."

Arnold refusing to pile on Bill Clinton. Arnold bashing Pat Buchanan. Arnold saying good things about decaying neighborhoods and minority kids, talkin' equal opportunity and tolerance. To Keith Rhodes, a New Yorker raised by a single mother and who believes Mike Tyson has a heart of gold, Arnold sounds like Conan the Humanitarian. He told him that when the two sat down for a drink last September.

"Arnold, you so-called Republican," Rhodes says. "You look and smell and taste and feel so much like a Democrat."

Arnold puffed on his cigar, blew some smoke in Rhodes's face, and gave him that Terminator stare that says, "Don't poosh it."

The pilot tells us to prepare for touchdown in San Antonio.

Thousands of feet below, pulses are quickening at Edgar Allen Poe Middle School. Banners are being hung. Badminton players and pint-size gymnasts are loosening up to strut their stuff. Arnold is coming.

He checks his notes and asks if the mayor will be meeting their plane. "No," Reiss says. "He's gonna be at the school."

There will be many more mayors and many more schools and many more kids. Arnold is a driven machine. He brings Big Dreams. Someday soon, he vows, every city in the country "that suffers problems because of crime, teenage pregnancy, drug sales, gangs, and all those things" will be part of the Inner-City Games family.

"That's a lot of cities," someone observes.

The former Mr. Universe strikes a muscleman pose and triumphantly checks himself out. "Dat's a lot of brain," he says. "And a lot of body!" ☐

HILLARY'S POWERS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 116 workers, and through her work for Mondale, the young Hillary was soon researching migrant problems in housing, sanitation, health, and education.

Returning to Yale for her second year, Hillary volunteered at the university's Child Study Center, where she befriended Sally Provence, who was pioneering research on brain development in early childhood. She also volunteered at New Haven Hospital, where she worked on cases of child abuse, and at the city's Legal Services, providing free legal aid to the poor. At Yale, Hillary put in a 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-

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 coherently 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."

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.

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.

Hard questions and policy negotiating followed. What was the five-year plan for doubling the adoption numbers from child welfare? How could new per-child incentives be created for states? The "reasonable effort" requirement to attempt to reunify a birth family before terminating parental rights differed from state to state—how could it be standardized? The White House

HILLARY'S POWERS

port. Some of her aides assured her that the legislation would pass, but an hour later a senator told her it was dead. "It was a roller-coaster," says a member of the first lady's staff.

Hillary and Verveer were in constant conversation with Erskine Bowles, then the White House chief of staff, who was negotiating with Senate majority leader Trent Lott down to the wire. The senator refused to comment on Hillary's efforts to help the bill through, but an aide recalls that Bowles made it clear to Lott that the president was intent on seeing his wife's proposals become law.

Bill Clinton's push for Hillary's legislation—reminiscent of LBJ's support of Lady Bird's national highway-beautification bill—is the exception to the general truth that Hillary has no particular spousal pull to elevate her issues above any other adviser's agenda. "You're never going to say that she doesn't get *some* special dispensation," says an aide who works for both of them. "Or that she shouldn't."

When it came time to call Senator Carl Levin, Hillary was particularly careful. The Michigan Democrat supported a national voluntary registry for people who wanted to locate birth children or birth parents, and had attached the measure to the adoption bill. The influential and conservative National Council on Adoption opposed Levin's amendment, and that meant trouble: For the adoption bill to pass, the support of all Democrats and a handful of sympathetic Republican senators was essential. The National Council's concern could turn some votes against the bill. White House aides talked to Levin aides, who informed the White House that the senator wouldn't budge. So Hillary called Levin and invited him to the White House. According to Levin, "I spent about 45 minutes with the first lady. She very strongly and very powerfully argued her case." Hillary promised Levin that after the bill was passed, she would support his registry plan and see if it could be created through Health and Human Services. After their conversation, the senator agreed to remove his measure. (To date, Levin's proposal has yet to be adopted.)

On November 13, Congress passed the bill. Four days later, in a huge White House ceremony, the president signed it.

More than a year later, Hillary unveiled part of the president's 2000 budget—\$300 million to support unadopted, aging children with housing, daily chores, and health coverage. Since then,

a new bill sponsored by Nancy Johnson and Benjamin Cardin has passed the House in a near unanimous vote; the Foster Care Independence bill, which will help older unadopted children make the transition to adulthood, was introduced by senators John Chafee of Rhode Island and Jay Rockefeller of West Virginia, and awaits debate in the Senate. "It's a powerful subject if you're into it," Rockefeller says. "But it's one in which you need someone to take you into it. Hillary does that. When it comes to children and family issues, I don't think there's a more informed, passionate person in the country.... We just had a meeting with some of these older children. They don't know how to run a washing machine, how to pay bills, how to find an apartment to live in, or pay rent—or how they can afford to pay rent." Hillary, one staffer says, is determined to "make this proposal a reality."

If Hillary's adoption legislation is not well known, her role in it is even less known. That suits her fine. "It is always the prerogative of the press to follow what they think is newsworthy," Hillary says when asked about her low profile on the issue. "Adoption has never commanded the kind of attention that something like health care has, because it only affects a small number of Americans. We have half a million children in foster care, but it's not an issue that's going to have much newsworthiness."

Hillary's defeat on health care hasn't changed her mind about the need for its reform. But it did teach her that trying to reform one of the country's largest economies all at once wasn't going to happen. "Our country is just not yet resolved on how it's going to deal with the health care needs of the population," she says. "The only way to make progress in this kind of environment" is incrementally. One colleague observes, "Even though health care was portrayed as this crushing blow, I don't think she ever stopped. It was immediately, 'Well, what about doing it this way?'"

At the very least, Hillary was determined to get coverage for low-income children. It was an area she knew; she could regain her confidence there. And politically, children's issues were a gold mine. "She was quite pragmatic," an aide says. "She understood that this was something we actually might be able to get done because people care about children." Hillary considered advocating an extension of Medicaid but realized that

some Republicans would detest the idea—more money, more big government, more Hillary as a tax-and-spend liberal, they would say. She had to find a way to achieve the same goal that would be politically palatable to Republicans.

"We needed to create this hybrid," she says, "where some states would do this through Medicaid and some would use their own funds. You've got to give them choice."

So Hillary began an all-out push within the administration, and in her speeches and writings, for what is now known as the Children's Health Insurance Program. The program allows the federal government to provide health insurance for low-income children through state grants, a popular idea with Republicans. Hillary pushed to make it an administration priority and, through the legislative process, continued to fine-tune it. "Nobody intuitively knows the importance of coalition better than Mrs. Clinton," says Rockefeller, who has worked with Hillary on CHIP. "She will treat [conservative senator] Phil Gramm with courtesy and respect. She might not walk arm-in-arm with Jesse Helms as Madeleine Albright did, but she will put out a similar sort of courtesy. She will reason with people." Administered through Health and Human Services, CHIP passed on August 5, 1997.

When an issue moves her, the first lady has no compunction about calling members of Congress to lobby, though she's careful about whom she calls and what she says. Verveer admits, "These are not things you will read about in any newspaper. She does not want to make waves, because she does not want to jeopardize the outcome."

Following President Clinton's 1998 State of the Union address on the creation of a historic preservation project called Save America's Treasures, Hillary felt that private funds could be leveraged more easily if Congress shook loose some money first. "Republicans who were in a pivotal position to help with this weren't necessarily there from the beginning," Verveer recalls. "The first lady made some calls: 'I really think this would make a huge difference,' she said. 'It has no ideological component to it. It's not special for Democrats or Republicans. It's something that every American would applaud.'" Ralph Regula, chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on the Interior, was persuaded by Hillary's arguments. "She

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.

During her White House years, Hillary has not hesitated to call on the cabinet. She has worked on issues with Richard Riley at the Department of Education, Bruce Babbitt at the Department of Interior, and Andrew Cuomo at the Department of Housing and Urban Development. In October 1997, she persuaded Robert Rubin, secretary of the treasury, to convene a meeting of corporate CEOs. She wanted their advice on how American companies could be persuaded to adopt better child care measures for working parents. There are other, less obvious choices. "On child safety and domestic violence issues, Attorney General Janet Reno is a kindred spirit," 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, Rumania, Slovenia, and Turkey.

During her solo trip to South Africa in March 1997, Hillary met with a group of women who had sought a loan from U.S. Agency for International Development to build houses and had completed three of them. She has been an ardent supporter of loans provided by USAID. A year later, during their joint trip to Africa, Hillary insisted that President Clinton visit the town. She was delighted to see that more than 100 homes had been built by the women.

Later, at a Washington lunch for Ghana's president, Jerry Rawlings, President Clinton turned to USAID administrator J. Brian Atwood and said, "I just talked to Hillary. And every time she calls, she wants to see your budget increase." Al Gore chimed in, "Yeah, every time Hillary goes on a trip, you know, that's all we hear about from the president."

Jim Wolfensohn, president of the World Bank, believes that women in developing nations have an "intuitive respect" for Hillary. "When she travels, there tends to be so much hoopla that it is difficult to establish the human contact. But somehow she manages to do that. It's gone beyond the photo opportunity to substantive discussions." That is the same technique Hillary has shown in New York in recent months on her listening tour: traveling, meeting with groups of people, trying to draw out their concerns. The New York media have been skeptical of Hillary's listening campaign, but that may be a mistake: She has been perfecting this strategy for years on overseas trips, and she has used it to master complicated policy issues that put most reporters to sleep. If she can do it in Macedonia, her thinking seems to be, she can do it in New York.

The first lady's months on the campaign trail in New York might just be a leave of absence from the world scene. As Wolfensohn adds, "She tells me that one of the reasons she wants to run for the Senate is so that she can deal directly with America's concerns abroad."

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. **C**

HOW BOBBY DID IT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 113 him the election.

At the beginning of the campaign, he was the fifth Beatle; the size and enthusiasm of the crowds made up for his own lackluster style on the hustings. Bobby hardly ever even mentioned his opponent, the Republican incumbent Kenneth Keating, a grandfatherly figure from Buffalo, and he was reluctant to comment on Keating's record. Kennedy's campaign, R.W. Apple observed in the *Times*, resembled a "personal-appearance tour by a movie star," and relied on glamour and nostalgia to insulate the candidate from the uglier realities of a Senate race. True, a certain section of the liberal intelligentsia was from the first suspicious about Bobby's past, about his uneasy relationship with postwar liberalism, about the brutal, bullying way he'd pushed around liberal idols like Herbert Lehman, the former New York governor and senator, and Eleanor Roosevelt's good-government protégés. But the grumblings of Gore Vidal had little effect on Bobby's strong showings in the early polls. Vidal and his allies might revive old stories about Bobby's apprenticeship under Joe McCarthy, but in the war of liberal wits, such Kennedy supporters as Arthur Schlesinger, John Kenneth Galbraith, and George Plimpton were more than equal to the task of parrying their opponents' blows—sometimes literally. Plimpton pushed playwright Arthur Kopit over a sofa in the Manhattan apartment of Kennedy aide William vanden Heuvel when Kopit pronounced himself unable to vote for Bobby.

If Vidal and his compatriots failed to undermine Bobby's commanding lead in the polls, they nevertheless succeeded in painting a damaging picture of the candidate as a ruthless opportunist, a "little Torquemada," in Vidal's words, a creature of McCarthy. The picture was just plausible enough to limit Bobby's ability to maneuver in important ways. Although Bobby had been forced to turn to New York's Democratic party bosses for support early in the campaign, he was determined to do nothing else

that could justify the reproaches of his liberal critics. This left him in a quandary when, in October, the novelty of his glamour began to wear off and the polls suggested that his popularity was slipping. Afraid to do anything that might lend credibility to the idea that he was a cruel and unfeeling adventurer, Bobby at first refused to strike out at his Republican opponent. Keating, a white-haired teddy bear of a man, was gaining strength, but Kennedy believed that if he took the offensive against his courtly adversary, it would confirm all the old perceptions that Vidal & Co. had worked to keep alive.

Keating himself came conveniently to the rescue. In September, in a bid for the Jewish vote, Keating made the outlandish charge that as attorney general Bobby had been sympathetic to the plight of former Nazis. The ploy backfired. In Arthur Schlesinger's view, Keating's miscalculation marked a turning point in the campaign. The charge gave Bobby the excuse he needed to attack Keating without looking like a bully himself—and it revived, too, Bobby's own fighting spirit, which had been overwhelmed by his continuing melancholy, by the as yet uncompleted processes of mourning. On October 12, Columbus Day, Bobby, speaking in Buffalo, responded to Keating's charge with the kind of righteous indignation that elicits voters' sympathy. Keating's decision to go negative, together with a successful advertising blitz and the help of LBJ's coattails, enabled Kennedy to beat Keating by more than 700,000 votes on Election Day. "If he hadn't attacked me," Kennedy later said of his opponent, "I would have had a hell of a time."

The realities of a modern Senate campaign have forced Hillary to show her hand earlier than Bobby did. With the 2000 elections still a year away, Hillary will have to spend more time in the earthy morass of local politics than Bobby did, and she will find it even harder to maintain the pristine glow of her celebrity as she wades through those unpromising bogs. She must worry that she will find herself, next October, in precisely the same position in which Bobby found himself 35 Octobers ago—that of a candidate who possesses all the liabilities of a public reputation and none of the compensating assets of a celebrity. The burden of Hillary's public reputation is, of course, very different from Bobby's, but a questionable commodities trade, the convoluted finances of Whitewater, and an ill-conceived attempt to reform the health care system could nevertheless prove damaging in the unpredictable ways that past mistakes often do. If

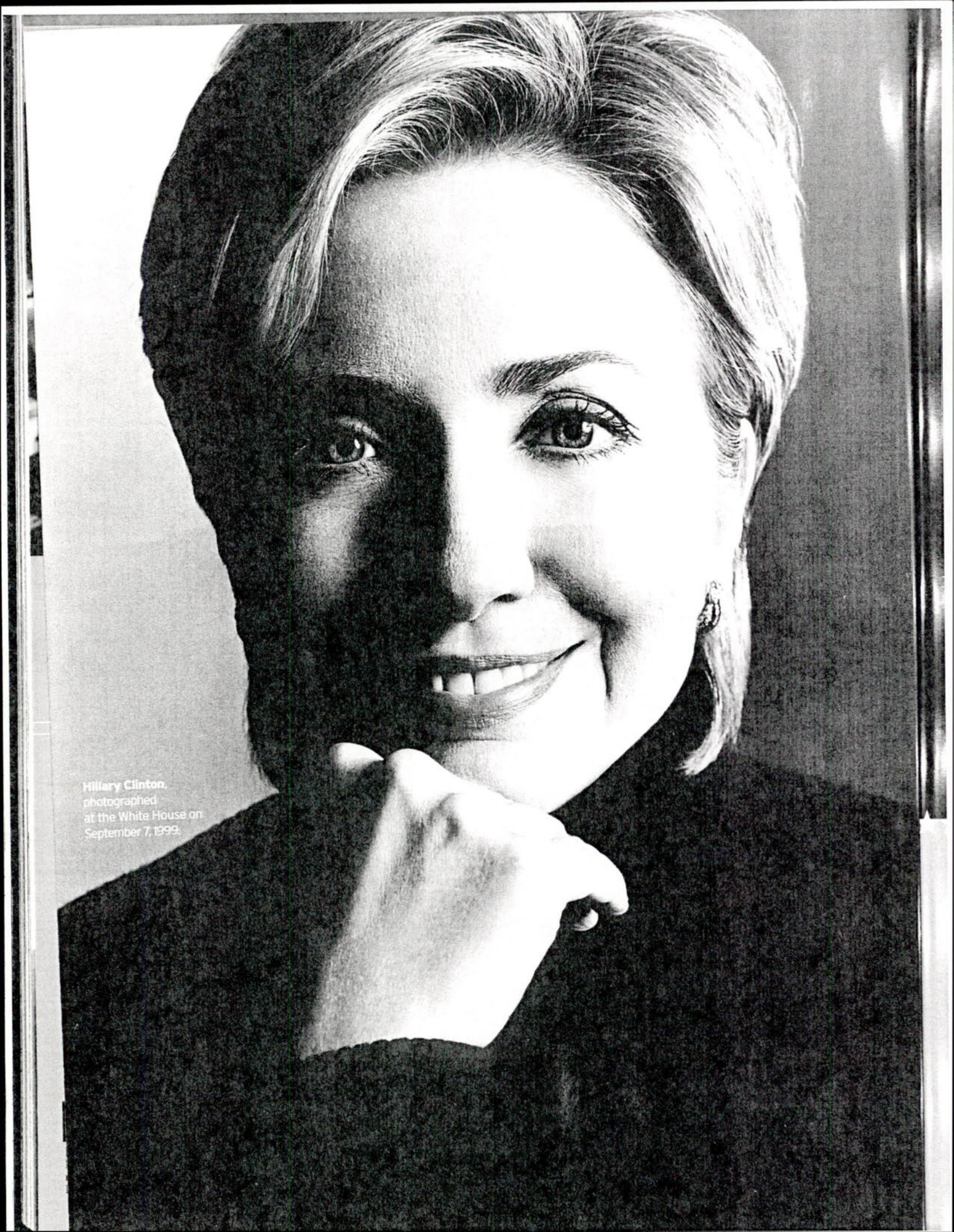
Bobby's 1964 race demonstrates anything, it's that it is easy for even a shrewd politician to wind up at the mercy of his public reputation.

The specific lessons of Bobby's race may mean less to Hillary than the things Bobby was able to do with the office after he won it. Some people have speculated that Hillary wouldn't really like being a senator, wouldn't really like being just another lawmaker in a crowded chamber. But if she succeeds in following Bobby's example, Hillary will be something more than an ordinary senator. She will easily be the most famous person on Capitol Hill, and she will be treated accordingly. When, three decades ago, a senator complained that one of the committee chairmen was giving Bobby preferential treatment, the chairman denied it. "I treat him the same way I'd treat any future president," the chairman said. Like Bobby, Hillary too will command a certain deference in the Senate, and she will find it easier than her colleagues to draw attention to the causes she chooses to champion. She will attract the brightest staffers, just as Bobby did; when she travels abroad, she will take with her, as he did, a media entourage that a sitting president might envy. True, it will be difficult for her to hold the kind of court that Bobby held at Hickory Hill, a shadow government that at times rivaled the White House in influence and often outshone it in glamour. Hillary lacks the capital to do that, but she could very well end up being the most visible senator since R.F.K.

Hillary undoubtedly sees herself as the natural heir to Bobby's supercharged senatorial career, and a number of old Kennedy hands have come forward to validate her claim. In September, William vanden Heuvel hosted a fundraiser for Hillary in his New York home. It was just like the good old days, only this time there were no reports of wavering playwrights being pushed over sofas. Still, Hillary will not be able to claim Bobby's senatorial mantle without a fight; her most likely opponent, Rudy Giuliani, has an equally plausible claim on R.F.K.'s legacy. The mayor, after all, turned New York City around with precisely the kind of tough, innovative politics that Bobby himself most admired. But if in the end she succeeds in capturing Bobby's legacy and his seat, Hillary, too, will have done something that Bobby could wholeheartedly approve: She will have proved herself to be, like him, as tough as they come. **C**

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

George | November, Vol. IV, No. 11, ISSN#1084-662X, is published monthly by George Publishing Company, L.L.C., and managed by Hachette Filipacchi Magazines, Inc., 1633 Broadway, New York, NY 10019. George and Not Just Politics are Universal trademarks of Random Ventures, Inc., under license to George Publishing Company, L.L.C. Periodical postage rates are paid at New York, NY 10001, and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: CHANGE OF ADDRESS: Send change of address to: George, P.O. Box 30202, Boulder, CO 80322-0202, or call 303-604-1464; fax 303-604-7455. One-year subscription rates (12 issues): for U.S. and possessions, \$24; for Canada, \$34 (includes 7 percent GST tax); for foreign, \$32. Canada: an business Number 897940342RT. Copyright ©1999 George Publishing Company, L.L.C. All rights reserved. Printed in the U.S.A. Reprints: To reprint articles in bulk quantity for promotional use, please call Michelle Turkel at 212-767-7724. Back issues: For U.S. and possessions, \$7.95 each (for Canada, \$9.25; for other foreign, \$14.25) in U.S. funds. Send a check or money order to ISL George magazine, 30 Montgomery St., Jersey City, NJ 07302, or call 201-451-9420. Occasionally we share our information with other reputable companies whose products and services might interest you. If you prefer not to participate in this opportunity please call the following number and indicate that to the operator: 303-604-1464.

A black and white portrait of Hillary Clinton. She is shown from the chest up, wearing a dark, high-necked garment. Her hair is short and styled. She is resting her chin on her right hand and looking directly at the camera with a slight smile. The lighting is dramatic, with strong highlights and shadows.

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

After the crushing defeat
of Hillary Clinton's health care reform bill
in 1994, few expected the first lady to play a prominent role
in Washington. While the
press and her Republican enemies moved on to other
targets, Hillary lowered her profile and used subtler channels
to wield power within the White House and
on Capitol Hill. Running for Senate just makes it official.

*By Carl Sferrazza Anthony.
Portraits by Michael Thompson*

hillary's hidden power

GEORGE
NOVEMBER 99

On November 29, 1994, three weeks after the Republican party seized control of Congress for the first time in 40 years, Hillary Rodham Clinton addressed a symposium on the role of first ladies. In the gold-encrusted ballroom of Washington's Mayflower Hotel, a hushed audience had gathered expecting to hear Hillary ooze contrition—the congressional defeat of her ambitious agenda for health care reforms and the Republicans' massive victory had become synonymous in the public's imagination.

But when a poised and confident Hillary began to speak, it was obvious that the first lady had no intention of offering the expected mea culpas. She would continue to be active in public life, she declared. If she did otherwise, she added, "my husband and friends would probably have me committed. I, for better or worse, have spoken out on public issues for 25 years. Some kind of first lady amnesia would not have been very credible."

Such conviction was not isolated to large gatherings in front of television cameras. At a White House dinner a few weeks later, Hillary was in a similarly feisty mood, telling a guest, "Listen, I'm a big girl. I can take the hits. I don't mind a real debate on issues."

Yet, of course, things would change after November 1994. And in the months that followed, even the stubborn Hillary had to recognize that all the criticism and vitriol was not really about her health care plan—it was about Hillary herself. The role she had assumed as the engine of reform had sparked a national debate on the power she wielded within the White House. Her harshest enemies—the Hillary-hating crowd of newly elected Republicans on Capitol Hill—were determined to cast her as the most Machiavellian presidential spouse since Edith Wilson took control of the presidency of her infirm husband, Woodrow Wilson, in 1919. To them, she was Lady Clinton, whispering in the ear of her vacillating husband as the couple lay down to sleep at night, ignoring her husband's infidelities because she was more interested in acquiring power for herself.

In the face of such adversity, Hillary recognized that she would have to adapt. She could hold her head high at functions and deliver hollow bromides about issues, but that wasn't why she had come to Washington. If she was going to get anything done, she would have to change the way she was doing it, to make sure that the controversy surrounding her persona would not doom the changes she wanted to make. As Hillary says today, "This was the time of the most intense attacks from Congress—so it was not likely that I was going to testify on anything then." No longer could she act as a sort of unofficial cabinet member, empowered by her husband to take on the administration's biggest challenges. Instead, she would master the behind-the-scenes levers of power, building relationships with the White House staff, cabinet agencies—particularly female cabinet members—and trustworthy friends on Capitol Hill.

Flush with their victories over Hillary and congressional Democrats, the Republicans failed to realize just how successful she would become in this evolution. The inside-the-Beltway media—unable to get close to Hillary and bored by the serious issues she was working on—never paid her doings much attention either. "She has been floundering around in the last couple of years to

try to find some project for herself," Washington social doyenne Sally Quinn said on *Meet the Press* in February 1998. "The real problem for Hillary is her record," *Newsweek* pundit Jonathan Alter wrote in March 1999, assessing her Senate campaign. "She doesn't have one."

Yet by appearing more like a traditional first lady and removing herself from the glare of the media, a former staff member says, "she could get things done." Since 1994, Hillary has accomplished more than many—perhaps most—members of Congress, particularly in the areas of child care, human rights, and health care. But so adeptly has she disguised her influence in Washington that as she prepares to run for Daniel Patrick Moynihan's New York Senate seat next year, there has been no sustained review of exactly what Hillary Clinton has achieved in the White House.

"I think one of the reasons there hasn't been much coverage of what I've done is that there hasn't been one theme to my work," she explains. "It would take a certain amount of effort to follow what I've done, and that's just never been part of political reporting. But in terms of how I spent my days and what I did, I thought that it was pretty much a continuation of what I have always done, working on the same kind of issues, trying to raise them, trying to be strategic in thinking about how to be effective in promoting them, looking for allies. And I resist labeling myself because it's so limiting. I'm realistic, I'm pragmatic, I'm optimistic, and I think I'm patriotic."

Hillary's beliefs and her commitment to them haven't changed since 1994. But her tactics have. And unlike her plan to reform health care, they have succeeded.

The solarium on the third floor of the White House has long been the most private preserve of America's first families. Here in the glass-windowed parlor, Mamie Eisenhower played bridge and Caroline Kennedy had kindergarten classes. There's a terrace surrounding it, where President Eisenhower liked to grill steaks and where Hillary grows her own tomatoes. Cut off from public view, the solarium is decorated with comfortable furniture and political memorabilia, and is the Clintons' favored spot for intimate dinners, birthdays, family gatherings, and games—cards, Boggle, Scrabble. There are cushy, periwinkle-blue sofas and chintz-covered chairs. Scattered about are a rocking chair, homey throw blankets—including one that features an image of Buddy, the president's Labrador—a green-marble-topped coffee table, and another table crowded with Russian nesting dolls featuring the president, Hillary, and Chelsea. Apparently for visiting children, the Clintons have a collection of Beanie Babies, including a husky dog and a bald eagle.

This is where Hillary, wearing a canary-yellow pantsuit and perfect makeup, greets me for the first of two recent interviews in which she agreed to discuss her role in the White House. "We feel very comfortable and extremely well provided for here," she says. But sometimes she has to escape: She sneaks out for occasional walks along the Mall with a single Secret Service agent, and now that Chelsea is in college, she and the president retreat to Camp David more often. When their daughter was in high school, they liked to spend weekends in

ocial
oru-
rd,"
rch
sn't

and
mer
ince
per-
the
But
ing-
rick
has
lin-

cov-
one
tain
just
is of
was
lone,
nem,
effec-
st la-
I'm

ven't
like
ed.

ouse
neri-
par-
oline
ter-
liked
oma-
rated
bilia,
ners,
Bog-
sofas
rock-
that
for—
table
pres-
chil-
s, in-

ellow
rst of
is her
e and
some-
ional
gent;
ident
ghter
ds in

town because Chelsea wanted time with her friends.

After the health care debacle in 1994, one of Hillary's challenges was distinguishing her work from her husband's. Her enemies have long maintained that what makes the first lady powerful is the authority she exerts over Bill Clinton, either from intellectual domination or some sort of crass sexual quid pro quo. That misogynistic canard misses the reality of a give-and-take between intellectual partners. The Clintons are so mutually reliant upon each other's political thinking that it is impossible to say where one's ideas stop and the other's begin. It is "very hard to dissect" her influence on the president, Hillary says. "We talk about everything, and have for as long as we've known each other... particularly on issues where we share a common commitment," such as welfare and education. They have their disagreements—for example, Hillary was unhappy with some of the provisions of Clinton's 1993 welfare bill. "I supported the bill," she says, "but I was very concerned about specifics." To fully support Clinton's legislation, Hillary insisted on a continuation of federally supported child care and Medicaid programs. "For her, those two components were absolutely essential to any kind of reform," says Melanne Verveer, the first lady's chief of staff. "Hillary made her views very clear."

When it comes to more formal discussions of policy, Hillary recognizes she is just one source of ideas. "Bill is someone who solicits opinions and advice from a broad range of people," she says. "And I'm one of those people. But depending upon the issue, I could be one of two or one of 100. It's just the way he makes decisions. All you can do is say, 'This is a really important issue, I'm hearing a lot about it, here's what I think about it, and I wish you would take that into consideration.' My perspective might not be as informed as someone else's. So I would not want a president who listened only to one person. It would be a very dangerous situation for the country."

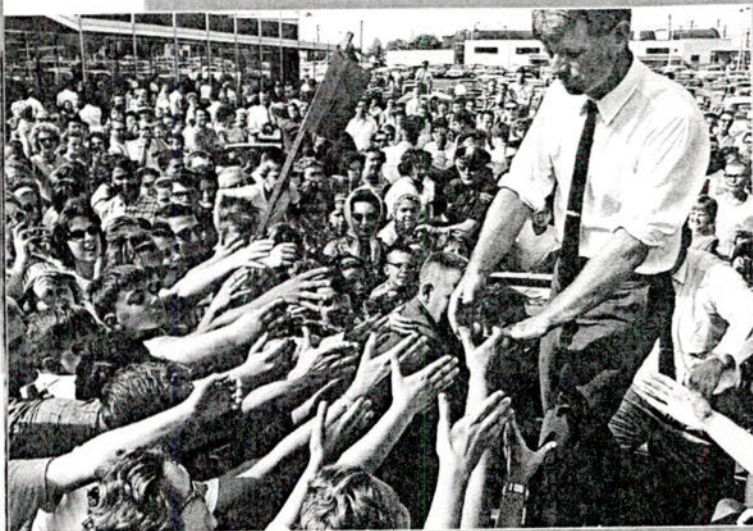
Only if she "thinks it's really important or gets new information" will Hillary persist with her opinion on an issue. "A lot of times, I'll mention it once and that's it," she says. When pressed on issues that she and her husband have disagreed on, she demurs. "Well, you know, I just wouldn't talk about those things." She's starting to talk about them more, but it isn't easy: Hillary's recent criticism of the president's recommendation of clemency for jailed Puerto Rican terrorists was a political fiasco that infuriated Hispanic leaders in New York.

Another reason it's hard for Hillary to talk about policy is that she doesn't believe the press is truly interested. The day after she attended the premiere of *Shakespeare in Love* in December 1998, Hillary delivered a two-hour speech on international violations of children's rights. Her remarks received no coverage and were studiously ignored by the *New York Times'* Maureen Dowd, who devoted a Sunday column to the exploits of "Hollywood Hillary"—the first lady who had attended a movie opening. "There was a time when there were large and real ac-

From top: **Hillary** on her listening tour of New York in September; key advisers (from left) **Jacob Lew**, head of the White House's Office of Management and Budget, **James Wolfensohn**, World Bank president, and **Melanne Verveer**, Hillary's chief of staff; **Hillary** with President **Jerry Rawlings** of Ghana, in 1998.

When Hillary
was 15, she wanted to be an
astronaut,
but her mother hoped she would
be the first woman
to serve on the
Supreme Court.





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 grandee 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 Grace 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

Bobby Kennedy for his family's latest act of dynastic audacity. Where power carpetbagging is concerned, Hillary can take comfort in the example of Bobby's campaign.

He came late to the race; she comes early. She has not evinced the slightest interest in any other office; he had been tempted by the vice presidency and had looked seriously at the New York race only after Lyndon Johnson refused to make him his running mate. She has the luxury of large stretches of time in which to attend to the details; he had to scramble. In his rush to find a house in New York, Bobby ended up taking a 25-room Dutch Colonial in Glen Cove, Long Island, that he didn't really like and only rarely used. (As senator, he spent far more time in an apartment he found in Manhattan's United Nations Plaza.) Hillary and the president, on the other hand, looked at houses in a half dozen Westchester County towns before settling on an 11-room Dutch Colonial in Chappaqua.

Questions of timing ended up mattering in Bobby's campaign. They may matter no less in Hillary's. A famous person who decides to make a controversial race can count on two things to shape the way his or her candidacy is received: the power of celebrity—star power, the ability to draw a crowd—and the reality of a past, the record of a life, the thousand little things—words, deeds, sheer idle gossip—that collectively add up to a reputation. Very often famous candidates' reputations will offset the benefits they derive from their celebrity, and at no time will their reputation be more dangerous than at the moment that the effect of celebrity begins to wear off, as it inevitably will when it is subjected to the pressures of a campaign. What famous candidates learn to dread most is that the dazzling glow, which made the entry into the race so strangely, exhilaratingly easy, will begin to fade just as the heat of the campaign itself intensifies, in early to mid-October, leaving them alone with their past during the final, excruciating weeks of the contest. That is what happened to Bobby Kennedy in 1964, and it nearly cost

CONTINUED ON PAGE 140

complishments that she wished to achieve," Dowd wrote mockingly. "Historians will long wonder how Mrs. Clinton came in as Eleanor Roosevelt and left as Madonna."

Hillary is clearly exasperated by such portrayals. "You know, people ask me all the time, 'What has it been like for you here?'" she says. "Certainly, there have been some painful times, some challenging times. But when I look back, what I remember and what I have enjoyed are all the incredible opportunities. I feel blessed about that. I had an opportunity and I had an obligation, and I enjoyed what I did every day. I liked trying to help other people."

That desire to be perceived as a public servant who can transcend personal crisis is not disingenuous. Though her sense of duty can come across as patronizing noblesse oblige, Hillary has been devoted to public service since her teens. She learned the virtue of service from her Methodist father, Hugh Rodham, who took the family on tours of the ghettos of their hometown of Chicago.

Hugh Rodham died in April 1993, but his memory permeates Hillary's life. In October 1997, I joined the first lady and her two brothers, Tony and Hugh, on their first visit to Park Ridge, Illinois, since their parents sold their home 10 years earlier. As we went from room to room, the Rodham children laughed and reminisced about their childhood arguments and their father's carpentry work in the basement. After looking about Hillary's modest bedroom, everyone else turned to leave, but Hillary stayed behind for a moment. She peeked into the narrow closet, then peered through a small window that had once been her view on the world and in a low but audible voice said, "Wow." She had come a long way, but here were her roots.

Since her teenage years, when she spent summers babysitting for the children of Mexican migrant workers, Hillary has worked to make money. When her father declined to pay her full tuition at Yale Law School, she went out and earned it. In the summer of 1969, before starting law school, she shocked her family by getting a job in an Alaskan fish-canning factory. She was fired after she questioned the manager about some tainted product. "They were really dark and spoiled," she recalls. "But I guess nobody wanted to know that."

Hugh Rodham may have instilled in Hillary the importance of working, but it was her mother, the earthy Dorothy Rodham, who taught her to be ambitious. "You may be a girl," her mother told her, "but you can do whatever you choose to do." When Hillary was 15, she wanted to become an astronaut, but Dorothy hoped she would become the first woman to serve on the Supreme Court.

Hillary was not a hippy of the '60s. The wildest personal thing she ever did was paint a flower on her arm, only to wash it off a few hours later. There are no stories of any kind suggesting that she used drugs or indulged in free love—even by association. Devastated by the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr., she joined other Wellesley students in a memorial march and wore an armband—but she never took part in sit-ins or riots. During the 1968 Chicago Democratic convention, she went to observe the riots between anti-war demonstrators and the police, not to participate. She did not want to destroy the status quo; she wanted to wake it up and have it take responsibility. She wasn't anti-establishment; she was reestablishment, recognizing that instead of insisting women be given power, they should be allowed to work to get it. She had an essentially conservative faith in proce-

ture. In the early '70s, with Watergate and the Vietnam War, masculine power had never seemed so fragile. Hillary saw an opportunity to prove herself, and that could only be done as she always did things—by working. Rather than drop out as a '60s radical, she got a degree, a briefcase, and a job and went to work as that icon of a later era, the '70s career woman.

When she arrived at the White House, Hillary was eager to break with precedent. She took an office in the West Wing with the president's staff, and placed her aides (except for employees of the Social Office) in the Old Executive Office Building next door. Then, in the winter of 1993, the president announced that his wife would head a White House task force to reform health care. Hillary would marshal the advice of more than 500 experts and a host of aides and present legislation to Congress that would guarantee health care for every American. The message was clear: Hillary was involved in the executive branch of the U.S. government. She had yet to learn that Washington wasn't ready for what critics would sneeringly call a "dual presidency." Nor could she have realized that the Republicans would make her role as reformer more contentious than the legislation itself.

To support her agenda, Hillary hired a group of aides—almost all are women—with similar political inclinations and policy backgrounds. Today her chief of staff is Melanne Verveer, a gentle-voiced, humorous, recent grandmother who started working for Hillary in 1993. A Washington veteran who worked for the liberal interest group People for the American Way from 1984 to 1992, Verveer is less interested in the fripperies that come with heading the first lady's secretariat than with realizing her boss's vision. She is Hillary's pilot, the person in her corner office until 10 at night, hammering out a meeting plan, a speech, or a policy-development proposal.

While her husband has had his problems with staff loyalty, Hillary has not. Key players, such as White House social secretary Capricia Marshall, director of scheduling Patti Solis, special assistant Pam Cicetti, director of special projects Kelly Craighead, director of correspondence Alice Pushkar, and policy adviser Nicole Rabner have been with her since Clinton's inauguration. Although Hillary demands excellence, her 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

From top: **Hillary** with her closest cabinet ally, **Madeleine Albright**, at the twentieth-anniversary celebration of the Congressional Caucus for Women in October 1997; Hillary announces her listening tour at **Senator Moynihan's** farm in July 1999.

did the company maintain the contract, it enlisted industry colleagues to help some of the other threatened factories in Macedonia. "If she had never used the power of her office to raise the questions," Charron says, "quite frankly, we would never have thought of it."

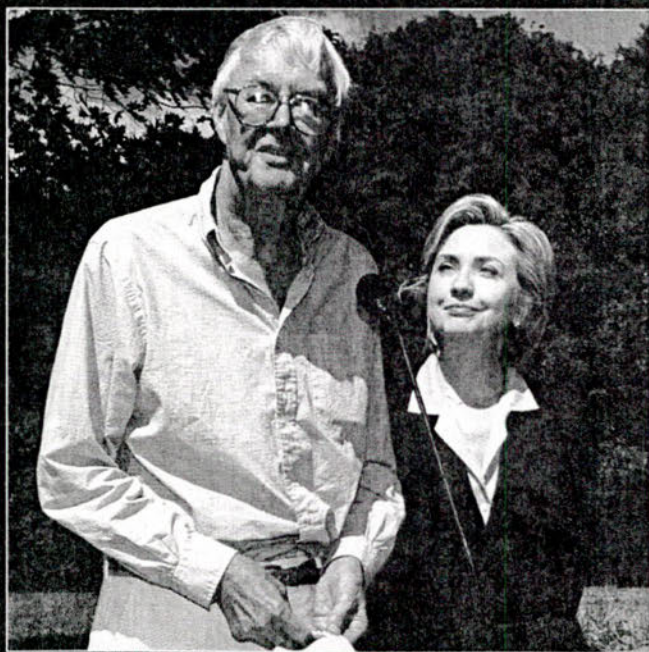
Closer to home, children's health has been a priority for Hillary. On one occasion in 1998, a couple on a rope-line told Hillary about their epileptic child and the paucity of new research to improve the lives of people with the condition. Back at the White House, Hillary fired off questions to her staff about the state of government research on epilepsy. "Just what's the story here?" she asked Verveer. A dossier on epilepsy research was hastily assembled, and when the findings confirmed what the couple had told Hillary, Verveer was asked to make a case for increased funding at a senior staff meeting. Thanks to Hillary's prodding, the National Institutes of Health's budget for epilepsy was increased in the 1999 federal budget.

The work is satisfying for Hillary, but it can take its toll. Onstage before a live audience at the Chicago Historical Society in 1997, Hillary was her typical energetic self. After the session, before heading out to a mammoth party for several thousand people in another part of town, she disappeared into a waiting room. Walking into the room moments later, I saw her collapsed on a folding chair, her head resting against the wall, her eyes shut. She seemed to be hardly breathing. I called to her to make sure she was all right, and when she didn't answer I became alarmed. I looked around only to see the Secret Service and her aides calmly going about their business—this was nothing more than a restorative catnap. Half an hour later, she was on her feet again, giving another speech.

One reason Congress was able to kill Hillary Clinton's health care reform in 1994 was internal White House confusion. The president's staff was preoccupied with the federal deficit and NAFTA, which left the first lady's team to fight for health care on its own. Ira Magaziner, a friend of the Clintons who served as Hillary's chief consultant on health care reform, recalls that the president's "economic, political, and legislative advisers didn't want anything to do with health care," until Clinton's economic programs had passed through Congress. It was "a very awkward situation," one aide reflects now.

Five years later, consultations between the East and West Wings are a much smoother process. Jacob Lew, the director of the Office of Management and Budget at the White House, who worked with Hillary on health care reform, says that she "fits into that better-established set of relationships." So does her staff: Verveer attends key morning meetings in the West Wing with the president's senior staff; several of Hillary's aides work on the Domestic Policy Council, attending the thrice-weekly meetings of the group, which coordinates all the president's domestic initiatives.

"If Hillary feels strongly about something and you're sitting with her in a meeting, you'll know that she feels **strongly** about it," Verveer says.



"Hillary's views are one of the most **important** factors as you think through an idea," says a high-ranking White House official.

FOR A WONDERFUL FIRST LADY, HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

-EDWARD A. HANNA, MAYOR



"I don't think there's ever been a feeling that the first lady's staffers are outsiders 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**.

first
ney
psi-
ave
who

staff
dis-
chil-
ring
v do
ngly
et-
one
said
out
ing
ngs
ere

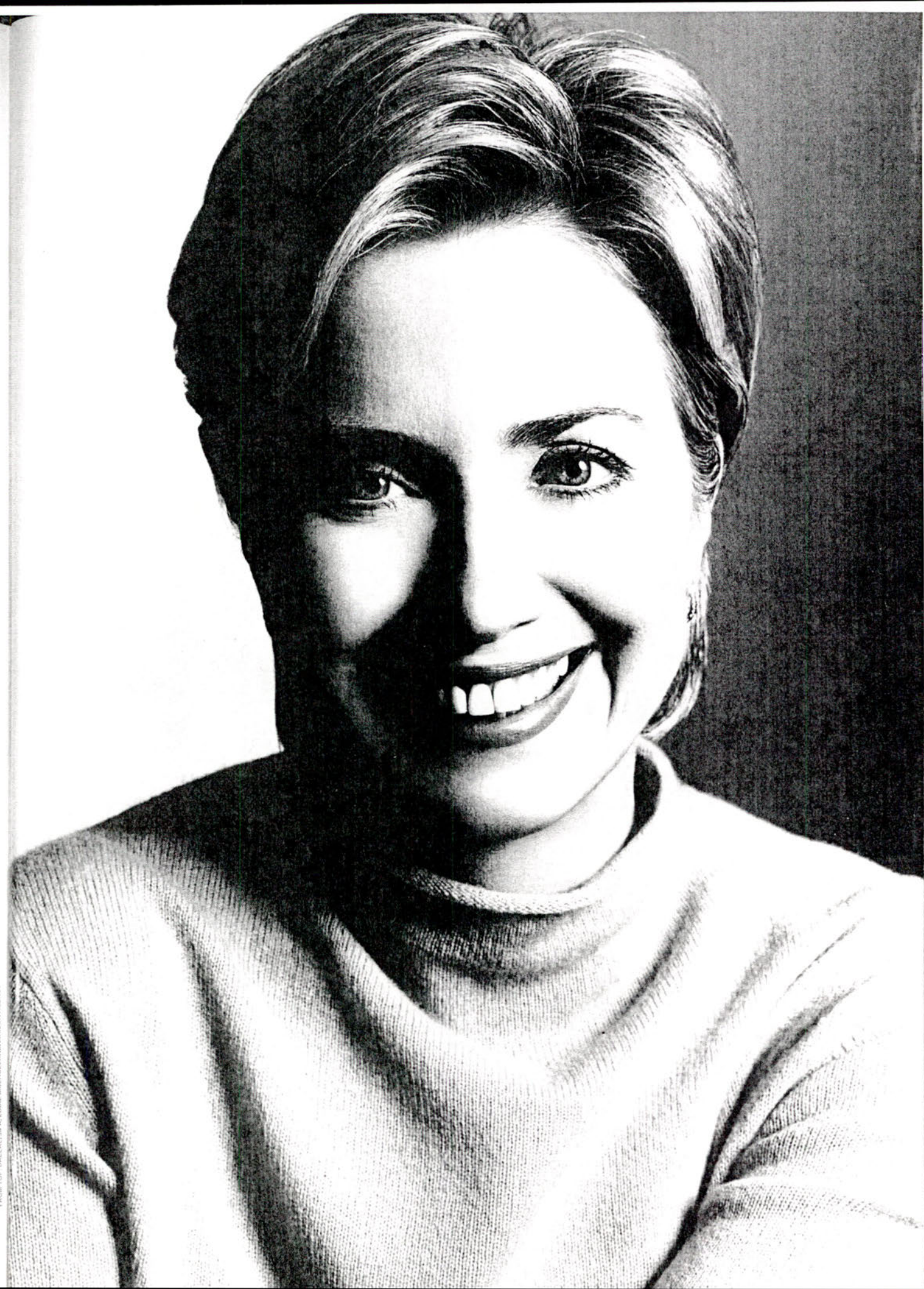
ent's
do-
gis-
or if
has
her
oot-
has
ffer
the
still
s t
the
ead
One
arly
ing

but
sed
s as
per-
for-
ree,
t is-

r at
out
cate
the
on
Im-
del-
the
d to
ant
stu-
lter
E 135

ning
ent.

FROM TOP: JAMES CAFFEY, EDDIE BRIDGEMAN, AND JASON AGENCY



MADAM PRESIDENT

Eleanor Clift +
Tom Brazaitis
(Summer 2000)

ONE

The Other Clinton

Daniel Patrick Moynihan stepped away from the microphone, seeming to forget momentarily why he was there. With a smile fixed on her face, Hillary Rodham Clinton didn't move a muscle, or betray an emotion. Maybe it was the rustling of the camera crews, or the air of expectancy that clung to the event like early morning dew, for Moynihan immediately sensed his error. "My God, I almost forgot," he said, scurrying back to address the media throng assembled at his farm in upstate New York. "I'm here to say that I hope she will go all the way. I mean to go all the way with her. I think she's going to win." There was a sprinkling of laughter among well-wishers familiar with Moynihan's egocentric ways. The First Lady had won him over, but not completely. "If Moynihan were a university, endorsements would be the equivalent of an honorary degree," observed a former aide. "He doesn't think much of them."

Receiving Moynihan's blessing, however tepid, was a victory for Hillary Clinton. Stepping to the microphone and beaming broadly, she thanked the man she hopes to succeed in the U.S. Senate, hailing him as "probably the wisest New Yorker we can know at this time." There is nothing she won't say to flatter Moynihan, a gifted intellectual accustomed to having others behave around him like supplicants. Having announced her exploratory committee a month earlier on "Good Morning America," here she was on a sunny July day at Pindars Corner, the heart of Moyniland, a coup in itself and the result of months of courting both the senator and his influential wife, Liz Moynihan. If Hillary had undertaken this kind of full-court press of Moynihan back in 1993 and 1994, who knows, maybe she could have altered the fate of her health care bill. Instead, the mercurial Moynihan, frustrated by the imperious and self-righteous First Lady, would amuse visitors to his senate office by holding aloft her 1,342-page plan and letting it drop to the floor with a thud to signal his disdain. As chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, Moynihan was a critical

player for Hillary to have on her side. Alienating him as she and others in the White House did helped doom what many believe was a rare opportunity for health care reform.

Engineering major social change as First Lady proved to be an unworkable combination. Now Hillary would discover whether campaigning for a U.S. Senate seat as First Lady would prove just as lethal an experiment. "Why the Senate and why New York and why me?" she said, posing the questions on everybody's mind. She cited her deep interest in education and health care, the fact that she has been a "tireless advocate" for those and other issues, and she hoped she could convince New Yorkers that "what I'm for is as important if not more important than where I'm from."

The quirky Moynihan is once again essential to Hillary if she is to succeed in her first bid for elective office. He won reelection three times with his highbrow mix of principles and parochial interests. One of the most successful politicians in the state, and indeed the country, he manages always to seem above politics, a master at combining the politically expedient with the intellectually workable. With Moynihan telling voters that Hillary will best carry on his centrist policies, and that she will act in the highest tradition of a philosopher senator, it becomes much tougher for Republicans to paint her as a radical liberal whose pro-government views would damage the interests of New Yorkers.

Hillary Clinton has learned a lot about being a politician in the seven years she has been First Lady, and her handling of Moynihan is Exhibit A. "The animosity that existed before is completely gone," marvels a former Moynihan aide. Yet he warns that Mrs. Clinton needs to keep up the courtship. "She can't cross it off her to-do list at all. The Moynihans are high maintenance. And for her to conclude that she's done enough, and not do more work, is a big mistake. To know them is to know that," the aide says. Moynihan sees Hillary enhancing his stature if he can help get her elected. And he doesn't talk just to hear himself talk (although sometimes it feels that way), he cares about issues, and he cares about ideas.

Instead of just trying to charm Moynihan, Hillary is listening to those ideas. After one of their meetings in the early spring of 1999, Moynihan sent the First Lady a note. She was overseas at the time, and when she returned, she called him at ten o'clock at night to apologize for not having responded. The next day, Moynihan noticed that some of his thoughts on the ethnic conflict in Kosovo, as expressed in his note, were incorporated into a speech President Clinton gave.

There are almost as many legacies at stake in Hillary's Senate run (four including Moynihan) as there are boroughs in New York City (five). Win or lose, she steals some thunder from her husband, which could well be at

least a subliminal motivation for her to enter the race. If historians judge the success of the Clinton presidency by its staying power, then Hillary's victory is every bit as critical to her husband's legacy as the vice president's. Many analysts think the First Lady's political ambition makes it harder for Al Gore to break away and be his own man when the stage remains crowded with Clintons, his and hers. Finally, there is Hillary herself. Leaving the White House after eight hard years, in which her image with the public rocketed from pathbreaker to power-seeker to poor victim, why would she risk further battering in a race where the outcome is uncertain?

That's what Liz Moynihan wanted to know when Hillary first broached with her the idea of running. "Are you crazy?" she asked. "Why do you want to do this?" Mrs. Moynihan pointed out that a junior senator doesn't have the power or the platform of a former First Lady, and that the race would be tough. She managed her husband's three Senate campaigns, and knows that New York is a minefield of ethnic politics that can explode the hopes of a novice like Hillary. She cautioned the First Lady against getting talked into running by Democrats desperate for a celebrity candidate to raise the funds to compete for the seat. Prominent among those privately advising Hillary was Harold Ickes, a liberal and longtime activist in New York politics whose father served in Franklin Roosevelt's cabinet. The senior Ickes once urged Eleanor Roosevelt to run for the U.S. Senate from New York. Mrs. Roosevelt turned down the idea, writing in May of 1945, "I feel very strongly that running for office is not the way in which I can be most useful." She believed that public office was too constraining, and she wanted to preserve her ability to speak out "free of any obligation."

Half of a century later, Hillary Clinton sees public office as a liberating experience and a way to gain legitimacy. As a little girl, Hillary liked Margaret Chase Smith, one of the few people in the Republican party who stood up to Joe McCarthy. "I admired her kind of flinty Yankee integrity," she says. But when the young Hillary was deciding her own career, her role models were *Marion* Wright Edelman of the Children's Defense Fund and Jane Addams, the pioneer social worker, women who labored in the trenches on behalf of children's issues and women's issues. Elective office wasn't part of Hillary's life plan. "I always just saw myself as an activist, a citizen activist," she said. Yet, those who know her have long viewed her as a potential candidate for office.

"I always thought she would run," says William Galston, a former White House domestic policy adviser. "She desperately wants her own voice. This notion that the Senate is a comedown, I don't buy. She's a person who speaks out about public policy. That's who she is. From a state like New York, with its political tradition, it couldn't be a better forum."

Running for the Senate as First Lady, nobody's ever done it before. That's what appeals to Hillary. As the first First Lady with professional credentials, she tried to broaden the role in a more conventional way by taking on a policy job in her husband's first term, but her failure to achieve her goal of universal health care made that route problematical. Also, aides say Hillary's interest in running for office peaked after Elizabeth Dole left the Red Cross in mid-January 1999 to launch her bid for the presidency. "That killed her," says one associate. "You could track her interest after that." Seeing Elizabeth Dole get all the attention as the first possible woman president accelerated Hillary's timetable for getting herself into the public's eye. "She'd love to be the first," says the aide.

Mrs. Clinton has toyed before with running for public office. Pollster Dick Morris says that in 1990, the Clintons commissioned him to do two polls to test the receptivity in Arkansas to Hillary succeeding her husband as governor. The first sounding confirmed her popularity with voters but determined she had not created enough of an independent image to be a credible candidate. Unhappy with the results, Hillary sent Morris back into the field with more nuanced questions, but the results remained the same.

For a woman with the intellectual promise that Hillary exhibited, growing up at the height of the women's liberation movement, it must rankle her that her power and influence are so derivative. The yearning to get out on the high diving board on her own, and take the plunge, must be overpowering. Clearly she wants emotional and political independence from Bill Clinton, or she would not put so much at risk. Only minutes after the Senate acquitted Clinton on charges of perjury and obstruction of justice in the Lewinsky affair on Friday, February 12, 1999, Hillary sat down to lunch at the White House with Ickes to begin wargaming her political future. "After that whole thing was over, she felt as if she had crawled out from under a rock—and it was her turn," says a friend. "She had to think about what she was going to do with the rest of her life."

Ickes laid out the promise and the perils of a potential Senate campaign. He was characteristically blunt. She had never run for office. New York might be the toughest state in the union for a politician with its overlay of ethnicity that, as a Midwesterner, she had no experience with. New Yorkers had never elected a woman statewide, though several talented women had tried, including Geraldine Ferraro, twice. Raising the necessary funds would be a formidable task. During the last eight months of his candidacy, Charles Schumer, who won the New York Senate race in 1998, spent 75 percent of his time fund-raising.

On the positive side, Ickes pointed out that in a presidential year,

Democratic registration exceeds Republican registration in the state by about two million. Next to Arkansas, Bill Clinton ran up his highest victory margins in New York. The economy has thrived under policies advanced by President Clinton, and she could tie her likely opponent, New York mayor Rudy Giuliani, to the GOP. But any race would be close, he told her. Polls showing her ten points ahead were fantasy. She and Giuliani would both be tough, articulate candidates, and if neither of them makes any killer mistakes, the winner might not be known until election night.

The conversation stretched over four hours. On one occasion, the president came in to try out the statement he would later read on the North Lawn of the White House responding to the Senate's decision to acquit him of charges of perjury and obstruction of justice. "It was out of a Fellini movie," recalls Ickes.

Deciding to run is fundamentally a personal decision, but friends warned Hillary that if she became a candidate, she would have to change her attitude toward the press. Eight years of scandal and scrutiny had left her wary, and she had sought refuge in the protective bubble that aides willingly provided. She would have to choose between the shred of privacy that she had left and her desire to become a political figure in her own right. For better or worse, she was a celebrity now. She could write her own ticket. She could become the head of a foundation, write books, give lectures, and sit on corporate boards. She looked at a lot of options, and reached some conclusions. "I don't want to work for anybody," she told a friend. "I want to be my own boss. I'm not interested in making that much money."

For a woman portrayed as so worried about building a financial nest egg that she cut corners as a lawyer to ensure her family's future, she is tossing away some \$20 million in book advances and lecture fees should she win election to the U.S. Senate. The annual salary of a senator (\$141,000) is a fraction of what Mrs. Clinton could earn in private life. If we know anything about Hillary Rodham, a Yale Law School graduate who could have earned big bucks on Wall Street, she's in public life for the psychic income, not the money.

Now it's her turn to run for office, and his turn to pay the bills.

Clinton will do penance the rest of his life for the humiliation he heaped upon his wife and daughter during the yearlong Lewinsky saga. When the scandal first broke, Hillary's friends were mortified for her, and furious at him. One former aide said, "I wanted to write her a letter to say I'd come over and we'd take all his ties (some of them gifts from Lewinsky), and cut them up and fling them off the Truman Balcony, and send them sailing

across the South Lawn. My husband talked me out of it." Another aide, who had publicly defended the president's version of the story, contemplated quitting after Clinton confessed he had lied about the nature of his relationship with the former intern. In the end, the aide decided to stay. Why? "I didn't want to leave Hillary alone with those SOB's." Which SOB's? The lawyers who helped craft Clinton's hair-splitting answers? The White House aides who wanted Hillary to deliver an all-is-forgiven speech when she was still barely on speaking terms with her husband? "Both," the aide replied.

When the most serious scandal of the Clinton presidency hit in January 1998, the initial reaction from the president and his aides was a curious paralysis. Stunned by the charges that Clinton had an affair with a young intern, the normally efficient Clinton attack machine went suddenly silent. It took Hillary's personal intervention and strategic common sense to pull together the stricken aides and organize the response that could well be credited with saving the Clinton presidency.

For a time in the winter of 1998, the American public got a glimpse of what it might be like to have a competent woman at the helm. Hillary did not know the extent of her husband's lie, and one wonders whether that would have made a difference. Coming to his rescue was not a new role for her. She has done it repeatedly over the years, most memorably during the 1992 campaign when she appeared on "60 Minutes" to defend her husband in the midst of charges that he had had a twelve-year affair. She was "not some little woman standing by my man like Tammy Wynette," she said spiritedly. She had forgiven him, so should the voters.

Hillary Clinton has the same ability her husband has to suspend reality and put on a game face. Why she apparently turns a blind eye to his philandering is a matter for conjecture. Critics and friends alike believe that the answer lies in her dedication to the political goals that she and her husband share. If his presidency collapsed and he resigned, she would no longer be First Lady. She would lose her access to the levers of power. The agenda she painstakingly pursued for herself would come to an abrupt end, from working behind the scenes to draft progressive adoption policies to playing roving ambassador to women around the world. Hillary is the most-traveled First Lady in history, having taken more than fifty foreign trips, half of them on her own, and often accompanied by her daughter, Chelsea.

Given what she had at stake, it is not surprising that she would defend her husband. If the Clintons had left the White House in disgrace, history would remember Hillary as the First Lady who knew her husband had affairs with other women, and who didn't do anything about it. Public

opinion would likely turn on her, especially among women. She would no longer be seen as a strong and loyal wife, but as a victim of her own denial.

By handling herself and the office of First Lady with dignity and grace, she converted the sympathy people instinctively felt for her into a groundswell of support for her as a public figure. "You get gravitas by going through a crisis and holding your head up. Every woman can relate to it," says Andrea Camp, a former aide to Representative Patricia Schroeder (D., Colo.).

Through the Starr report and its humiliating details, a media feeding frenzy and fascination with Monica Lewinsky, Hillary soldiered on, never revealing a hint of what she must have been feeling inside. "Nobody, save perhaps her husband, shrugs off public humiliation as elegantly as Mrs. Clinton," declared the British weekly *The Economist*, crediting Hillary's nineteen-state campaign tour for the unexpected gains that Democrats made in the November 1998 congressional elections. One adviser who visited with the First Lady at the White House on a regular basis during the height of the Lewinsky scandal reported, "It's as though Monica does not exist. I have never heard the word *Monica* uttered in that building." Friends referred to Lewinsky as "the woman whose name we do not speak." Yet on the February afternoon the Senate acquitted Clinton, it was Hillary who carried over a box of Valentine chocolates to the West Wing to thank the aides who had stood by him. "In private, she rips his head off," says a former aide, confirming numerous stories about Hillary's volcanic anger over minor issues as well as her husband's recklessness in jeopardizing so much of what they had worked for. "But she's able to remove herself and treat their personal problems as political problems," says the aide. "If anything happened to her, he'd be one sick puppy. He depends on her for everything. She's his closest political adviser."

Hillary had campaigned hard in 1998 for Democrats, and when in the midst of the impeachment drama her party made significant gains, confounding historical precedent, she rightly got credit, especially in New York, where she had campaigned tirelessly for Schumer in his upset win over Republican Alphonse D'Amato. On the Thursday night after the Tuesday election, unbeknownst to Hillary, Moynihan told the legendary New York newsman Gabe Pressman in a taped interview that he would not run again. The interview would not air until Sunday, but Hillary's phone immediately started ringing with New York Democratic elected officials and activists calling to propose she run for the seat.

"I thought it was an off-the-wall idea, and told them so," said the First Lady, recounting the story in our interview. She assumed that somebody would quickly step forward and shut the door on any notion of her run-

ning. But that didn't happen. "And so everybody kept pushing me and pushing me, and then one day, I think it was in February, I went to church, I came home, and the phone rang, and a friend of mine said, 'Did you see Bob Torricelli on "Meet The Press?"' " " "

Torricelli, the New Jersey senator who heads the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee, was responsible for candidate recruitment. He predicted that Hillary would run for the Senate from New York. When Mrs. Clinton found out, she called Torricelli.

"What are you talking about?" she asked him.

"You're going to do it," he said.

"I'm not going to do it," she replied.

Retelling it months later, she said, "I'm having an argument about my life with Bob Torricelli! But the idea just kept coming back, and people kept coming to see me. And so then, I began to put my toe in the water, and I began to call people in New York. I called county chairs, and local elected officials, and other activists. But I still just wasn't convinced or committed." In the late spring of 1999, New York representative Nita Lowey, who had expressed interest in running, told Hillary she really wanted to make a decision. If she had any prayer of winning, she needed to start raising money and traveling around the state. Hillary said, "Look, if you want to do this, go ahead. I can't make a decision yet because I am not clear at all that this is the thing to do." Lowey found Hillary's ambivalence unsettling but decided against risking her safe Westchester seat in an expensive yearlong marathon against New York mayor Rudy Giuliani and the Republican establishment.

"And so then I took the next step with this listening tour," Hillary says. "But every step along the way, I had to stop and say, 'Am I doing this because Bob Torricelli said I was going to do it? Am I doing it because [New York representative] Charlie Rangel keeps calling me and saying that I'm going to do it, or wants me to do it, or whatever?'"

The seat being vacated by Moynihan had a proud history, one that appealed to Hillary, whose idealism and sense of public service was honed as a child of the sixties. Robert F. Kennedy had won the seat in 1964 in the aftermath of President John Kennedy's assassination, and used it as a platform to launch his bid for the presidency before he was cut down by a gunman's bullet on the night he won the California primary in June 1968. To walk in the footsteps of Kennedy and Moynihan would be a high honor for Hillary, just as a single handshake with President Kennedy became a life-changing experience a generation earlier for the young Bill Clinton.

Early polls added to the allure with numbers that showed her beating Giuliani, the likely Republican candidate. Determined to make a decision

of the head as much as the heart, Hillary diligently did her homework. She filled endless pages of yellow pads with the pros and cons of entering the race, and she consulted local leaders across the state to gauge the receptivity to her candidacy. "She's not down to receivers of tax, but she's going into pretty deep soil doing her spadework," said Tony Bullock, Moynihan's chief of staff in the spring of 1999. "So when and if she announces, and the local reporter goes to the mayor and other town officials for reaction, they will say nice things because they were all touched by her."

Some administration officials worried about the conflicts of interest that a Hillary campaign posed for an administration already seen as ethically challenged. White House lawyers advised creating an exploratory committee, but delaying an official announcement as long as possible. They found themselves in rare agreement with the political side of the White House, which saw no need for a formal declaration of candidacy until February 2000.

On Sunday afternoon, February 6, 2000, Hillary Rodham Clinton walked onto the stage at the State University of New York in Purchase with her husband, daughter, and mother. She had never been more prepared. She had practiced her speech over and over until she got comfortable using the word "I," which as First Lady she had consciously avoided for so long that it had become instinctual. "I realized for me to stand up and say, 'I believe,' not 'We believe' or 'He believes' or 'America believes,' which I've been able to do in the past, it's very different," she confessed. This was so much Hillary's day that commentators afterward noted that she didn't even introduce her husband, the president. Blue posters proclaimed simply "Hillary."

She had a few good lines that were repeated in the morning papers. "I'm new to the neighborhood, but I'm not new to your concerns" confronted the carpetbagger issue head on. "I'm a little older, a little blonder" evoked knowing laughter and had just the right self-deprecating touch. But the speech was too long for a kick-off rally, and too densely packed with positions on issues. It was the kind of speech that only a policy wonk could love. A fifteen-minute video prepared by Hillary's old friends, the Hollywood team of Harry Thomason and Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, tackled the more problematic, personal side of the elusive First Lady. In the film, Hillary's mother, Dorothy Rodham, tells how Hillary as a child held her own with the boys on the block. Various friends and colleagues offer testimonials to Hillary's steadfastness on children and family issues. Bill Clinton's appearance is limited to a cameo while Hillary brags on camera about how she can "toss a mean salad." Focus groups later revealed that women found the boast about her culinary skills "fake," to which Hillary

protests, "That was a joke!" She couldn't believe people thought she was serious when she meant to signal that she's a dunce in the kitchen.

Women voters, expected to be Hillary's natural allies, appeared the most resistant to her campaign. A February poll in *The New York Times* showed Giuliani leading among white women. Yet, Hillary's advisers sounded unconcerned. If there was one group she had a chance to win over, it was women. "Women know they're with her on the issues, and they know they should like her," says a White House aide. "So the more exposure they get to her, the theory is that they will move to her. And if she can turn women, they will turn in droves." Still, feedback from focus groups commissioned specifically to probe the attitudes of women toward Hillary's candidacy was "sobering," says a campaign adviser. Women suspect she is running to advance her own ambitions and not to serve the voters of New York, and they wonder who the real Hillary is. They remember the early Hillary Clinton, the woman who wore headbands, who was outspoken and independent, and they hadn't seen that Hillary yet in her campaign. She's playing it too safe. They wonder whether she's a creation of her husband, and they question whether she would have gotten this far on her own.

Hillary listened intently as we ran down the list of concerns about her. She looked resplendent in a peach-colored suit and radiated the kind of feisty confidence that women once routinely expected from her. "I'm the most unknown known person you can imagine," she said. "Nobody knows what I did for thirty years in both the public and the private sector, and people don't know much about what I did in the White House. . . . I step out and people say, well, what has she done? Who is she? So, what I find is that that's what the beauty of a campaign is. You introduce yourself to people and you can't assume anybody knows anything about what you've ever done or what you care about."

She likes to compare her situation to the one Vice President Gore confronted when he ventured out on his own as a presidential candidate. "He was very well known and nearly totally unknown," she says. "Nobody outside of Tennessee knew he'd been a senator. Their image was that he was the guy behind the president. So, why should you vote for the guy standing behind the president? He had to reintroduce himself to the American people, and I think it was a big surprise to him. It was a big surprise to me when I watched the campaign unfold. I have found exactly the same thing."

She might be right that her standing with women might improve as they learn more about her. A Gore adviser agrees that she and the vice president have the same challenge in that President Clinton overshadows

them, and they've got to build an independent identity. But the adviser points out, "With Hillary, there is resistance to reintroducing her. The cynicism is much higher, and it's harder for her to say, 'This is who I am.' People know things about her they don't know about their next-door neighbor. They know her marital problems. You can't create a new bio for her."

"I think she should run what I call a Popeye campaign: 'I am what I am. I will go to the Senate and shake things up.' Who cares that she can make an omelette. I don't believe it, and if I don't believe it, the people of New York sure won't."

Softening her image will work up to an extent, he argues, but she should play to her strengths. "She is the only woman running that nobody will call weak or vacillating or indecisive—the usual attacks you get against women candidates. So for better or worse, she's pretty strong."

What the political establishment in Washington found most puzzling about Hillary's candidacy is why she wanted to run for the Senate, knowing that if she won, she would have her days decided by Majority Leader Trent Lott and the Republicans who tried to oust her husband from office. "What a comedown, taking orders from Trent Lott and having to sit so far to the back of the room. Even if she were named to the Senate Finance Committee, she wouldn't be on the dais," said Lawrence O'Donnell. A former Moynihan aide who had migrated into the world of television political commentary, O'Donnell couldn't fathom how the First Lady could handle the life of a junior senator, which is not unlike being a plebe at a military academy, the chain of command is so rigid. "She's not accustomed to waiting until who knows all speaks before she gets a turn. She knows all that from her dealings with the Senate on health care," he said. Over and over he asked himself, why would she want to do it? Why would she want a demotion? It finally hit him. "She wants to be president," he concluded. "It's the Bobby Kennedy model."

Hillary's women friends also struggled to understand her motivation. "Nobody's written what will happen to her after she's a senator," said one. "Trent Lott and the Republicans will try to block everything Hillary tries to do. Sure she'll have a platform for speeches and the like, but she'll have a tough time establishing herself legislatively. And it's not just the Republicans who'll resist her. The Democratic women won't want to share the spotlight. Barbara Mikulski especially, who is accustomed to being top dog. She's not going to defer to Hillary as the leader of the pack. The Senate's customs and rituals require freshmen to be seen and not heard. They won't even want Hillary to be seen."

To quiet the qualms of those around her, Hillary called a staff meeting

to declare her intentions and to explain herself. Her White House staff is almost all women, and Hillary was emphatic. She was going to run for the Senate because that was the way to get things done. One of the women remarked later that she was really struck by what a believer Hillary is in government. At a time when confidence in government and voter participation has reached historic lows, Hillary can still get misty-eyed about public service. "She's in awe of Ted Kennedy," says an aide. "She thinks he wields a lot of power."

The Ted Kennedy model is how Hillary envisions a career in the Senate. Kennedy is widely respected by Democrats and Republicans for his legislative prowess. His staff is consistently rated one of the best on Capitol Hill, and there isn't a piece of social legislation over three decades that Kennedy has not sponsored or played a major role in shaping. Yet Kennedy in his early years had no bills or legislative record that he could claim because jealous elders in both parties put obstacles in the path of the young man they viewed as a spoiled son of privilege. Kennedy was only thirty years old when he was elected to the Senate, so he had time to make his mark and to overcome doubts about his abilities as a lawmaker because of the lapses in his personal behavior.

Warnings about the hard life of a junior senator don't impress the First Lady. She retains the naïveté of the Watergate generation that politics can be fixed, and that public service is a high calling if the right people get involved. The notion that being a senator is a comedown makes no sense to her. "A comedown for her is an ex-First Lady with nothing else on her résumé," says an aide.

Campaigning for Democrats in the 1998 elections was Hillary's coming-out party after months of the Monica mess and its strain on public discourse. The change was subtle, but word went out from Hillaryland, the name given to the First Lady's White House universe, that Hillary was no longer under wraps. She had been doing substantive work behind the scenes, and now she was ready to take credit for that work. She didn't trust journalists, and turned to Carl Sferrazza Anthony, a historian who specializes in writing about First Ladies. In an article titled, "Hillary's Powers," which appeared in the November 1999 issue of *George* magazine, Anthony wrote at length about the First Lady's hidden hand in pushing social reforms. Her efforts at overhauling the nation's adoption laws were deemed so popular that the president's aides wanted to steal the issue for his reelection platform in 1996. Hillary resisted out of worry that exposing her involvement would revive concerns voiced during the health care debate that she was usurping power as an unelected official and was secretly staging a takeover of the presidency.

Many months before Hillary or her putative rival, Mayor Giuliani, would officially announce, the race between them was shaping up to be the biggest mobilization and countermobilization of any political race ever. The White House braced for criticism that she was abusing government privileges by traveling on government planes and bringing White House aides with her on what appeared to be purely political trips. The criticism came, and to the surprise of her aides was not very harsh.

The more stinging criticism, certainly for a woman, centered on Hillary's ambition, and whether she was using the Senate seat as a stepping-stone to the presidency. The specter of Hillary picking up where Bill left off did not endear her to voters ready to close the book on the Clinton soap opera. Tim Russert on NBC's "Meet the Press" advanced the theory that if Vice President Gore loses in 2000, then the Democratic challenger in 2004 picks Hillary as his running mate. If Gore wins, she mounts her own campaign in 2008. Conservative columnist George Will, in a column that ran on July 5, 1999, two days before Hillary announced her exploratory committee, asserted that the First Lady wants Gore to lose "so she can fulfill her manifest destiny in 2004." A fund-raising appeal sent to Republicans by the chairman of the Alabama State GOP, envisioned a Hillary presidential campaign in four years. "Scary, isn't it," the letter warned.

The attacks on Hillary reflected the frustration of the Clintons' political enemies that the yearlong Monica scandal ended with the president persevering and his wife running for office. The *Weekly Standard*, a conservative opinion publication, suggested with acid tongue that she skip the Senate and go straight to the presidency. That way, if she and her husband split up, she gets to keep the house. James Pinkerton, a speechwriter in the Bush administration, commented on the Fox News Network that with Hillary's "cool, condescending tone," she would make a good East German border crossing guard. Reminded that Giuliani, a former G-man and a prosecutor, is not exactly warm and cuddly, Pinkerton jokingly conceded off camera that Giuliani would make "a good Mussolini."

As the battle lines formed, Deborah Tannen, a professor of linguistics at Georgetown University who specializes in gender studies, said that Hillary better get used to it. "A woman in the public eye is going to provoke a hatred and anger from men" that is visceral. "I've never heard women rail against men the way men do against women," says Tannen. She was once on a radio show when a man called in and declared, "There can only be one boss, and in my house, it's me." The show's host, a woman, responded by saying marriages should be on an equal footing. The next caller, a man, accused her of being like all women, and wanting to take

over. "Excuse me while I scream," the host responded, and she did just that. For Tannen, it was an enlightening experience. "There is no equal," she concluded in male-female power relationships. "She had said equal, and he had heard dominance."

The buzz that Hillary really wanted to be president, and was interested in the Senate only for selfish careerist reasons, became so pervasive that her advisers went to the First Lady and told her she had to say something to defuse it. "Her reaction was to laugh," says an aide. "We had to say, 'This is real. This is what people are accusing you of.'" On the second day of a campaign "listening tour" of upstate New York, on July 8, 1999, Hillary Clinton pledged to serve a full six-year term if elected to the Senate.

One of the reasons the speculation took hold is that it's not hard to imagine Hillary as a presidential candidate, or as president. Hillary Rodham Clinton is the closest we've come to having a woman president. "Buy one, get one free," Bill Clinton enthused as the couple campaigned together in 1992. Though forced to temper his rhetoric as the campaign progressed, Clinton still turned to Hillary for advice on every major decision. And when she said she wanted to lead the effort to reform the nation's health care system, Hillary's boosters pointed out that with her credentials, she would be on the short list for almost any cabinet post if it weren't for nepotism rules. Clinton unhesitatingly turned over policymaking authority to his wife—and he didn't take a poll to see what voters might think of the idea. If there was a co-president, the chattering classes declared when the Clintons took office in January 1993, it was Hillary, not Al Gore. Poor Al, the joke went, he's a heartbeat from the *vice* presidency.

Like her husband, Hillary has shown extraordinary resiliency. Her travails in office are well known, and the conventional wisdom is that she engineered a comeback by refashioning her role in more traditional terms. She also had to face both publicly and privately the airing in the media, and in an impeachment proceeding, of the evidence of her husband's philandering. Clinton would never have survived politically without her visible support.

Hillary did not invent herself out of whole cloth. First Ladies have been powerful partners before. Eleanor Roosevelt is often cited as a pioneer, and serves as an enduring role model. Betty Ford phoned members of Congress to lobby for the Equal Rights Amendment. Rosalynn Carter sat in on cabinet meetings and represented her husband on a trip to Latin America the first year he was in office. Polls taken at the time showed wary voters demanding "Who elected her?" Nancy Reagan was perhaps the most powerful First Lady in recent times. She controlled her husband's schedule with the help of astrologers, forced the firing of a chief of staff and several

national security advisers, and pressed her husband to set aside his "Evil Empire" rhetoric to meet with Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev. "Everybody wonders when we will have the first female American president, but what will become evident here is that we've already had her," said Neil Meron, producer of an ABC mini-series about Nancy Reagan.

What Hillary Clinton did that was different was to take that power out of the closet, put a title on it, and take an office in the West Wing of the White House, traditionally a male domain. When that experiment failed, in part because of Hillary's penchant for secrecy and her refusal to hold herself as accountable as any other high-level policymaker, and in part because the country wasn't ready, Hillary made herself relevant in other ways.

"There is no ordained role for First Lady," says presidential historian Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. "Hillary Clinton is an expression of the culmination of the women's movement. Eleanor Roosevelt was a more familiar type, a social worker type. She didn't represent the threat to manhood that Hillary Clinton did, who wasn't a social worker or a teacher, but came into a man's world and said, 'Anything you can do I can do better.'" " " " " " "

She learned she could get things done behind the scenes like her predecessors, and she could adopt a more vigorous public role in areas that were acceptable, like foreign travel that focused on the advancement of women around the world. "When the history of Hillary is written, it will say that she was caught in a historical time warp," says Kathleen Hall Jamieson, dean of the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania. "At a time when a majority of American women work outside the home in all professions, she thought she would be accepted. But Americans are still conflicted about the roles women play in public and private life."

Hillary is once again testing the limits. Initial polls showed her leading Giuliani by ten points, but by October 1999 the polls had flipped, with Giuliani ahead by ten points. Republican pollster Frank Luntz found Giuliani leading Clinton by thirty points among men over sixty years of age, while Clinton led Giuliani among women by seventeen points in a June 1999 survey. "You can't find an older man voting for Hillary Clinton even if you searched for it," said Luntz. "You can't find a younger woman voting for Rudy Giuliani if your life depended on it." The historical odds did not favor Hillary's candidacy. New York has never elected a woman to statewide office except as the governor's running mate. Every other state, except West Virginia, has broken that barrier. Less than 20 percent of the state's congressional delegation is female, and New York is in the bottom half of states in the percentage of state legislative seats held by women.

Combine the state's apparent inbred resistance to electing a woman with Hillary's polarizing personality, as evidenced in her high disapproval rating, and it is not surprising that rumors persisted throughout 1999 that she would in the end decline to make the race.

The fact that Governor Christine Todd Whitman pulled out of the Senate race in New Jersey and Elizabeth Dole withdrew from the presidential race before the primaries got under way made Hillary's supporters question whether she would stick it out. "That created a real ripple," the First Lady acknowledges. Both Whitman and Dole cited the difficulty of raising money as the major reason for their decisions. Contributors to Hillary's campaign sought reassurance that she would not back out at the last minute. "In one part of their heads American voters know it's tougher for women," says Hillary. "That doesn't make them more sympathetic. That makes them say, 'Go out there and prove yourself.'"

Hillary's advisers insisted she would remain in the race despite her reluctance to formalize her candidacy. They blamed the pervasive talk of her bailing out on Republicans eager to drive her from the contest because she is a formidable opponent. Tony Blankley, an urbane Brit who once served as Speaker Newt Gingrich's press secretary, dismissed the First Lady's formulation. "We want her in the race," he said, speaking for Republicans. "She's the tar baby." Whoever is right, the First Lady's closest friends and advisers say this race "is in her bones" and that rumors of her quitting got her competitive juices flowing. Their protestations aside, a member of the Clinton cabinet pointed out that if Mrs. Clinton decided the race was unwinnable, or she didn't want to spend her final year as First Lady scrounging for dollars and beating back political attacks, she could always say she's needed back in Washington. She would anger the New York Democratic party, but the country would probably think she had come to her senses. Senator Dianne Feinstein of California, who backed away from her state's governor's race in 1998, put it this way. "Political life and running for office is a life capsule sped up. You see so many things. There are moments of creativity and moments of absolute dejection and despair. It takes people with unusual drive and staying power to go through it."

Hillary set out with pad and pencil on what she called a listening tour of New York. Meeting with groups of voters and diligently recording their concerns, she hoped to become a familiar figure around the state and neutralize charges she is a carpetbagger. A huge contingent of media followed her everywhere, gently mocking her schoolmarmish approach, and soon tiring of her careful answers to questions posed by New Yorkers. One

caller to CSPAN during this period questioned the validity of the First Lady's claim she was listening, "because every time I see her on television, she's always talking." Deborah Tannen saw Hillary's approach as classically female in the way she sat and took notes, together with the issues she raised, which were of particular interest to women—gun control, education, and health care.

On the July day in 1999 that Hillary kicked off her bid for the Senate at the Moynihan farm, President Clinton was on a poverty tour of America, trying to revive his waning powers and recapture his party's liberal base. He visited South Dakota's Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, one of the poorest communities in the country, where three out of four people are unemployed. Clinton attracted far less media coverage than his wife. White House aides confirm that the sidelines are excruciating for Clinton, who draws sustenance from the spotlight much the way living things depend on oxygen. But to have him accompany her accentuates how derivative her power has been, and she looks weak. New York was Clinton's second best state in 1992 (he got 58 percent of the vote), and his third best in 1996 (he won by 1.8 million votes). Yet he must reconcile himself to the backseat. "Our roles are almost completely reversed now, you know," he mused in a CBS interview in November 1999. "All the things that she did for me over more than twenty years—all the encouragement, reminders, helpful suggestions, all the things—we've just kind of reversed roles, and I'm enjoying—I'm trying to do a good job in my new role."

Their political ambition joins them, and now it's Hillary's turn. It's part vindication and part legacy. It's what they do. Yet this is a dramatic change in a marriage where his career has always come first. There are bound to be missteps, perhaps unconscious ones, as Bill Clinton adjusts. For a man who loves the campaign trail, and excels at schmoozing, he diminishes any politician by comparison when it comes to people skills. Just ask Al Gore. Hillary now is not only a wife, or a First Lady; she's a politician. Senator Dianne Feinstein suggests he campaign for his wife "with discretion." Probed for what that means, she says, "It's not my business, but I think he should do the fund-raisers, but let her campaign alone. Because all women basically campaign alone. That's a whole other topic, but you do." Asked if he is more of a liability than an asset, as some polls suggest, Clinton responds with his characteristic aplomb. He thinks the voters want his wife and his vice president to "sell themselves"—and he wouldn't expect anybody to vote for them "just because I say they should do it."

Hillary's delay in formalizing her candidacy rested on the shaky rationale that she could prolong the benefits of incumbency. In 1996, President

Clinton had never officially announced his bid for reelection, and the above-the-battle pose had worked for him. Vice President Gore tried the same approach in the run-up to his 2000 presidential bid, but found that voters don't respond in the same way to a politician staying vice presidential. Faced with a serious primary challenge from former New Jersey senator Bill Bradley, Gore moved up his planned announcement from September to June, and gave up the pretense of maintaining his official duties in order to campaign full-time.

Hillary appears conflicted about what she wants and how she wants to be portrayed. Her distaste for the media argued for sticking with the safety of her role as First Lady. The media are the same people, generally speaking, who hadn't understood her for seven years, from the time she first burst onto the national scene wearing a headband that became the focus of endless commentary. The longer she could avoid becoming a common politician, the longer she could put off the merry-go-round of media availabilities, press conferences, and interviews required of a major political candidate.

The turning point arrived in November 1999, when Hillary traveled to the Middle East against the advice of her political aides, and discovered firsthand just how lethal it was to mix her ceremonial role with her hopes for political office. The First Lady carried with her on the trip extensive rewrites of a book she had contracted to do about White House entertaining. The ghostwritten volume would have to be totally redone now that she was a political candidate. "When you're running for the Senate, you don't want to look like Martha Stewart," said a publishing source.

And maybe you don't want to look like a First Lady either. On a stop in Ramallah, an Arab section of the West Bank, Mrs. Clinton sat impassively as Suha Arafat, the wife of Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat, accused Israel of deliberately poisoning Arab women and children, and causing an increase in cancer cases. Mrs. Arafat apparently meant the use of tear gas by Israeli security forces. It took the First Lady's traveling entourage a dozen hours to muster a response disavowing Mrs. Arafat's remarks, which meant that Mrs. Clinton violated an important campaign rule that missteps should be corrected in the same news cycle. Mrs. Clinton had not taken any campaign aides with her so as to emphasize the official nature of the trip. But they had to be consulted as her statement was drafted along with diplomats worried about the political fallout on the ongoing Middle East peace negotiations. The overall hesitancy in handling the situation sparked a wave of criticism of Mrs. Clinton's political acumen. Giuliani's supporters said that if he had been confronted with Mrs. Arafat's unwarranted accusations, he would have stormed out of the event, or challenged her on the

spot. A picture of the First Lady kissing Suha Arafat made the front pages in New York. *Newsweek's* Conventional Wisdom chart gave Hillary a down arrow, declaring "First Lady kisses up to Mrs. Arafat—and kisses off a lot of New York voters."

To win, a Democratic candidate running statewide in New York needs to carry the Jewish vote by a substantial margin. Polls showed Clinton and Giuliani dividing Jewish voters equally. In a *New York Times* survey, Hillary's negative rating among New York voters had climbed to 38 percent, up from 22 percent in the spring. In the same time period, her favorable rating plummeted from a high of 52 percent to 37 percent. Democrats who once salivated at the prospect of having the First Lady as their candidate had gotten more disillusioned by the day. Former vice presidential contender Geraldine Ferraro, who had run for the Senate in New York the previous year and was now a Fox News Network political analyst, advised the First Lady to "give up her day job" and move to New York after the first of the year. Ferraro spoke from experience. Friends and supporters had urged her give up her job as co-host of CNN's "Crossfire" in order to raise money and campaign. She resisted, a decision that compromised her ability to wage a competitive race, and proved decisive in her defeat.

The crescendo of bad news properly panicked the First Lady and her advisers. In a series of transcontinental conference calls, the campaign cooked up a response that would signal Hillary was running, and would shore up her image as a strong political candidate and not some hothouse flower who would wilt at the first sign of trouble. Barely forty-eight hours after returning from ten days abroad, the First Lady was back in New York, holding forth at an education-related event and braced for a horde of reporters with one thing on their minds: Is she really running? "This is the kind of event where the media is the message," explained a top adviser. By returning to New York so soon after her contentious visit to the Middle East, the First Lady's presence spoke volumes. "In a campaign in which the other side is going to say 'I'm tougher,' this is a test of strength, showing she will be there for people whatever is thrown at her," says the adviser.

Hillary's campaign strategy revolves more around Giuliani self-destructing than on her ability to sell herself. The famously autocratic mayor doesn't work and play well with others, and from a personality standpoint is not suited for the clubby Senate. "He's more suited for Warden," cracks a Republican strategist. The *New Yorker* cover of July 19, 1999 captured the essence of the race from Hillary's standpoint. It pictured an innocent-looking Hillary jogging in Central Park while a sinister-looking Giuliani lurks behind a tree waiting to mug her. "That image will stick," predicted

the late Bob Squier, the noted Democratic media consultant, who believed Hillary had drawn the perfect opponent in Giuliani. "He just bites at everything. He's like a hungry trout."

Giuliani is a left-leaning Republican who favors abortion rights and gay rights, and who wouldn't otherwise energize the GOP's conservative base. His supporters argue that with Hillary in the race, every right-wing male in the country will see it as his patriotic duty to defeat the country's leading liberal feminist. The stakes couldn't be higher for Giuliani. "If he loses to Hillary, it's see ya," says a prominent New York Republican.

The real kingmakers in New York may be the heads of two minor parties, one at each end of the political spectrum. The Conservative and Liberal parties have provided the margin of victory in the past for statewide candidates; conservatives supported former Republican senator Alphonse D'Amato, and Mayor Giuliani had the backing of the Liberal party in his races. Liberal party head Raymond Harding is a confidant of Giuliani's. Two of his sons are employed in city government, and his lobbying business has boomed because of his well-known ties to the mayor. Yet Harding would be hard-pressed to bypass Hillary Clinton with her gold-plated liberal credentials in favor of Giuliani. Besides, Giuliani probably can't win statewide as a Republican without Conservative party backing, and the Conservative party won't endorse anybody the Liberal party favors.

No Republican has won statewide in New York in the last twenty-five years without Conservative party backing, and Giuliani has put that endorsement at risk because of his refusal to support a ban on so-called partial-birth abortions, a procedure used late in a pregnancy. Giuliani's principled stand could cost him from 200,000 to 350,000 votes, enough to make the difference in a tight election.

What to do? There's been some speculation that Harding might run a ringer to drain away votes from Clinton and preserve favor with Giuliani. That strategy is risky too, as it would be transparent and could cost him his credibility with Liberal party members.

There is maneuvering on the Clinton side as well. In the spring of 1999, with presidential contender Bill Bradley gaining traction in New York, Hillary's friend and confidante lawyer Harold Ickes approached some folks in the Moynihan camp about the rumor that senator Moynihan planned to endorse Bradley for the presidency. The message Ickes got back through intermediaries was blunt, and reflected the Moynihans' thinking. "Which race are you worried about? Don't press us on all fronts." If Ickes wanted Moynihan's endorsement for Hillary, he should lay off trying to win an endorsement for Vice President Gore. Moynihan never liked Gore, who he thought too white-shoe, too buttoned-down, and too entitled as the

privileged son of a former senator. "Moynihan likes interesting people," says a former aide. "He doesn't do well with legacies." Better to take out on Gore his long-held animosity against Clinton, a classless fellow in Moynihan's mind, than on the well-meaning if hapless Hillary. As expected, Moynihan endorsed Bradley on September 23, 1999.

Why would Ickes bother to intervene on Gore's behalf? Because Bradley can raise money, and there's not an infinite amount of money. Ickes wants to save it for Hillary. The less mess there is on the Democratic side the better. Once Bradley caught on, a three-way race for money made it harder for Hillary. She set a goal of raising \$25 million, the ticket of admission for a competitive race in an expensive media state like New York. The demands of the money chase sapped her energy, and made her friends wonder all the more why she chose such a difficult path for herself. "I think she's a lunatic for running," said a White House official who has worked closely with the First Lady.

Never having run before is a disadvantage. Though Hillary Clinton thinks she has run before because she worked so closely with her husband in his campaigns, it's not the same. Coaching from the sidelines and second-guessing and thinking she could do better if she had the chance is no substitute for the real thing, as Hillary discovered. She had not been through a real down-to-the-wire race since 1982, when Clinton lost his bid for reelection as governor of Arkansas. Democratic pollster Mark Penn predicted the New York race will be so close that it will be fought within the margin of error in the polls. A *New York Times* poll published in the late fall of 1999 revealed that most of the electorate had made up its mind about the candidates, and only 8 percent of voters were undecided. The candidate who identifies those voters and wins them over without alienating his or her core voters will be the victor, the newspaper concluded. Hillary's campaign strategy relies on turning out a higher than usual minority vote in the city, capturing a substantial majority of the Jewish vote, and winning over Republican-leaning suburban women. Getting there will not be easy. Giuliani has been an effective mayor, and will do better in the city than Republicans historically, plus he is expected to carry upstate and Long Island, areas that favor Republicans.

There was some good news for Hillary in the *Times* poll. She has the issues on her side. New Yorkers want progress on health care and education, and the voters seem to have forgiven her for failing to achieve the reforms in health care that she worked for in her husband's administration. They blame political and economic interests for blocking reform and not Hillary. In October 1999, the Republican-controlled House of Representatives passed a Patients Bill of Rights, including the right to sue an HMO

for denying medical treatment. The provision may not survive, and the bill could be watered down beyond recognition when and if it reaches the president's desk for his signature to become law. Still, Congress' action vindicates a lot of what Hillary was saying in 1993, that the health care industry is out of control and needs regulation. It shows that asking for health care reform isn't ridiculous, and makes her seem less of a pro-government Marxist crazy, which is how Republicans like to portray her on the issue.

A *New York Times*/CBS poll published on February 25, 2000, showed the race still in a dead heat, with 45 percent of New Yorkers supporting Giuliani, 44 percent backing Hillary and 9 percent undecided. The good news for Hillary was that voters overwhelmingly saw her as running a positive, issues-oriented campaign while Giuliani was perceived as spending more time attacking her than saying what he would do in the Senate. The carpetbagger issue had lessened as a problem. As *Washington Post* columnist David Broder noted, a third of those serving in the Senate were not born in the states they represent. Giuliani did slightly better with Jewish voters, a potential problem for Hillary, who needs to carry that community, and the two candidates split women, who are having the most trouble navigating the personal terrain of a Hillary candidacy. "It's like a soap opera where the queen steps off the stage and starts talking to the audience," explained a campaign adviser. "There are a lot of memories, and people have a lot of trouble putting them to rest." The goal is to get beyond "the celebrity phase," said a White House aide. "Once we get to issues, we're golden."

The GOP's playbook against Hillary goes like this: She's a walking advertisement for the Clinton scandals. She's a doctrinaire liberal. She's responsible for the failed Clinton health care bill. She's a carpetbagger. Those are not hard charges to counter, and scandal-fatigued voters will punish Republicans for dwelling on the past. Caricaturing Hillary as a liberal might work in Mississippi, but not in the state that gave rise to Rockefeller Republicans. Voters clamoring for government regulation of HMOs are likely to see Hillary in the Senate as a savior, not as a threat to free enterprise.

It is a powerful lure for a sixties activist like Hillary Rodham to succeed Senator Moynihan, the resident intellectual of the Senate, and to occupy the same seat Robert F. Kennedy held when he campaigned for president. Kennedy was a carpetbagger too, though he had lived in Bronxville, a suburb of Manhattan, as a child. During his 1968 campaign, he attempted to lead a busload of reporters to his childhood home, and was embarrassed when he couldn't find it. Voters didn't seem to mind what the *New York*

Times politely referred to as the "late-breaking residency" of Kennedy and Republican James Buckley, another carpetbagger who held the seat for one term, from 1970 to 1976. "Empire State voters tend to regard anyone famous as an honorary New Yorker," the *Times* opined. Even Giuliani as a college student penned an editorial for the school newspaper praising Bobby Kennedy's candidacy and dismissing the carpetbagger charge as irrelevant. Giuliani, who's a city boy, hasn't spent much time upstate. The way candidates learn is by running, but they've got to be careful. All those upstate hamlets and Long Island townships with Native American names, mispronounce one and you're dead.

Hillary has the intellect and the drive to make it on her own in the political arena. But does she have the political instincts? Republicans seethe over the cavalier way the First Lady, a lifelong Chicago Cubs fan, declared she was also a New York Yankees fan. Picking out a team in another league to root for is something everybody does, she says. No they don't, howl the red-blooded males who call conservative talk-show host Rush Limbaugh daily to rail against Hillary the she-devil. She will never win over those voters, but the doubts about her political skills go deeper than the Yankees cap she donned. When she suggested that the American embassy in Israel be moved to Jerusalem, a position at odds with her husband who favors leaving the status of Jerusalem to the peace settlement talks, a former Moynihan aide observed dryly: "New York politics is a study in the art of subtlety. Hillary is the opposite of subtle."

When reporters asked when her husband would be moving into the home the Clintons bought in suburban New York, Hillary said she hadn't yet talked to him about whether it would be his primary residence. Jaws dropped across America. Was Hillary telling us something? Aides explained that she's a lawyer to the core and is concerned about the tax implications of the family's move to New York, which could be tempered by Clinton claiming residency in Arkansas. "Plus he's trying to raise a boatload of money for a library in Little Rock," said an adviser. Clinton ultimately shifted his residency to New York, and made a show of spending the first night in their new home with his wife. Still, Hillary's language was unfortunate. What's missing from her political instincts is the one where you moderate your response. She tends to react to things strongly, when what's needed is a lighter touch.

She hates to make mistakes—and a Democratic strategist who worked in the White House predicts she will make five huge ones in this campaign, and so will her staff. "It's New York politics," he shrugs. "To be a good politician, you've got to take risks and anger people sometimes." Hillary got a taste of what lies ahead before she (or her likely opponent)

had even formally announced. She was slow to clean up the controversy over the release of imprisoned Puerto Rican nationalists, who were conditionally pardoned by President Clinton despite objections from the FBI. After seeming at first to support her husband's judgment that those released had been given sentences too harsh for the crimes they had committed as members of the ultra-nationalist FALN, the First Lady then said that the release offer should be retracted. By then it was too late, their release was in motion, and her comment was read as an effort to gain distance from the negative political fallout of the president's decision. The public discourse revolved around what Hillary knew and when she knew it, and whether Clinton took the controversial action in a misguided effort to help his wife in New York with the Puerto Rican vote. It took Hillary several days to regain her footing, but she was able to put the episode behind her and regain favor with Puerto Rican leaders, who were mostly mad at her for not consulting them before she went public in the first place.

Hillary Clinton is a polarizing figure. People tend to either love her or hate her. She knows that, and sometimes it paralyzes her. Her instinct then is to play it safe and not offend. But a campaign that is too safe has no momentum. It stalls in the fast-paced media environment. That's part of what happened to Elizabeth Dole, who dropped out of the Republican presidential race before even officially declaring her candidacy.

People have strong feelings about Giuliani too. When this race is over, both candidates could be looking at 30 percent positive ratings. They'll be the two most hated people in America, but one of them will win. That's the great thing about American politics. It's a slugfest. And any woman who doesn't feel that way, who doesn't want to dirty her skirts with the rough and tumble, is going to be terribly disillusioned. Hillary calls the campaign environment in New York "a constant hazing" that each day tests her resilience. "It's daunting, and it's off-putting, I'm sure, for men as well as for women," she says. "But once you get into the rhythm of it, you see what's really going on. They dump on you, and you get back up and keep going. It's like a little check mark. Then they dump on you again. You get up and keep going, and it's like anything, once you do it for a while, you get the sense of how it works, and you're either ready to do it or you're not."

Asked if in the dark of the night she thinks about losing, Hillary replied with an air of defiance that is, well, so Hillary. "I'll have an interesting, full life, no matter what happens in November," she declares, the words tumbling out, as if to dare the listener to feel sorry for her, or question her choice. "I want to do this because I really would like to serve in the Senate, and I'd like to be on the front lines of solving problems that I see in New

York, and that I know exist around the country. I wasn't planning to do this, and I was looking forward to living in New York, and writing and speaking, and maybe working at a foundation, or in some other capacity, doing the work that I've always done on behalf of children and families, and women's issues. And so in one way I would continue that work in the Senate, and if that didn't work out, I would continue that work anyway.

"So for me the losing does not hold any fear at all. I think you get out there every day, you do the best you can, you try to get better so that you convince more people to vote for you, and you try to have fun doing it.

"Now that I've got my footing, and I'm into the rhythm of it, I'm having a good time. I like it. I like meeting people. I like talking about issues. I like the give-and-take now. It's more like what I did before the White House, being a lawyer. I just can't overstate how different it is if you believe that you're here in the White House to further a presidential agenda than if you're either on your own as a lawyer before, or as a candidate now. This has been a lot of fun," she says, sounding like a woman eager to chart her own life and reclaim her independence.

Michael Deaver, who worked in the Reagan White House, is most remembered for the artistry he brought to a photo opportunity, and the way he used pictures to send signals to the country. "If somebody says she's going to be like Hillary Clinton, which Hillary is it going to be?" Deaver asks. "What role would you copy? Activist? Wife? Defender?"

Now Hillary is adding candidate to the list. By stretching the role of First Lady to the breaking point, literally, she shakes up the stereotypes and invites the country to look at her as a whole human being, not a crusader for one or another aspect of womanhood. The carpetbagger issue will fade. What's more disturbing for her campaign is that most people have reached a decision about this complex woman, and her myriad roles as a public figure. Still, she can change minds. That's what a campaign is about. She's not the caricature her critics create, or that her admirers seek to emulate. Win or lose, she's in the arena, and that's the necessary first step to get anywhere in politics.

Clinton Presidential Records Digital Records Marker

This is not a presidential record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

This marker identifies the place of a publication.

Publications have not been scanned in their entirety for the purpose of digitization. To see the full publication please search online or visit the Clinton Presidential Library's Research Room.

November 1, 1999 \$1.70

FamilyCircle®

America's Best-Selling Women's Magazine

Super
Fall Special

Lose Weight Faster 8 Diet Secrets

Great Meals in Minutes

**Best-Ever
Cookie
Cookbook**

Is It Cancer?
Skin Signals That
Can Save Your Life

Boost Energy
Beat Stress
21 Spa Tips

Halloween Magic
Costumes, Decorations, More

50 Ways to Be
a Good Neighbor

Beautiful
Autumn
Bouquets



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Boston Sunday Globe

PARADE



First Lady
Hillary Rodham
Clinton sits
in one of her
favorite
places in the
White House—
the Blue Room.

Welcome

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

By Hillary Rodham

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 hist

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.

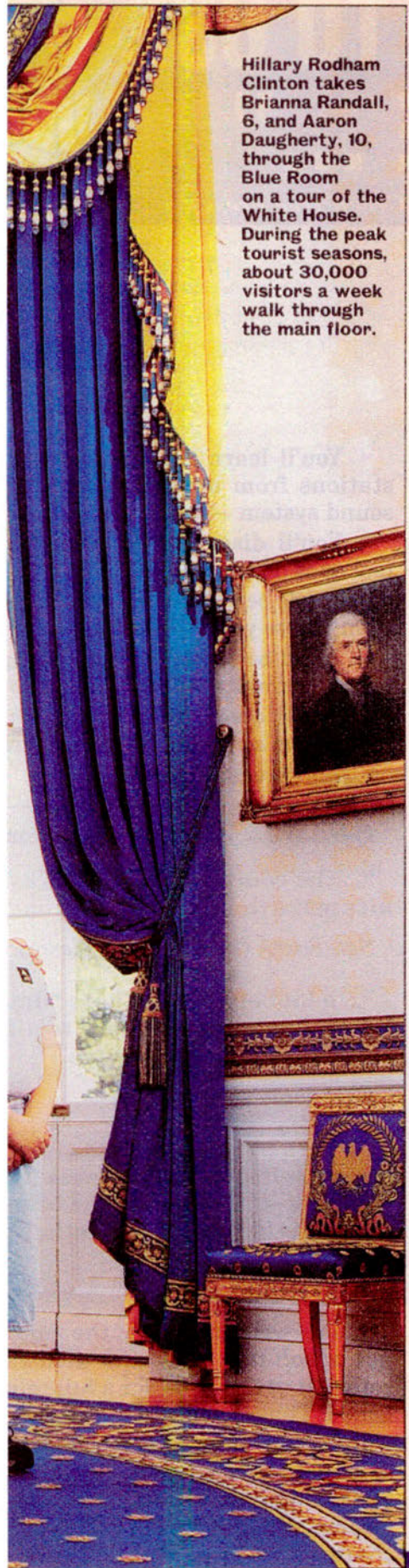
EVEN AS A YOUNG girl, I was fascinated by the White House. I would gaze at photographs of the President and I flew into Washington for a glimpse of the President's family. I was only a few lines as the President's daughter. I was in the Potomac. New York. The new century and a new millennium will celebrate a big birthday in Washington. The anniversary of the federal government of Columbia, the building of the Capitol, and the creation of the Library of Congress. The events celebrating the 200th anniversary of the founding of the United States. It was on Nov. 1, 1800, that John Adams, moved from Philadelphia to what was then the new House in Washington. Since then, the President has lived in the White House in Washington, who oversaw 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 a national treasure. Go back with me to the President's first day as President, and

Anniversary

Hillary Rodham Clinton to participate in the events to help mark the occasion.



who describes her awestruck first days there, how she created a home for and how you can participate in the 200th anniversary of the historic building.



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

PHOTOCOPY PRESERVATION

BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

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.

EVEN 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 state-ly 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.

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

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Come Celebrate With Us

BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

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.

EVEN 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.

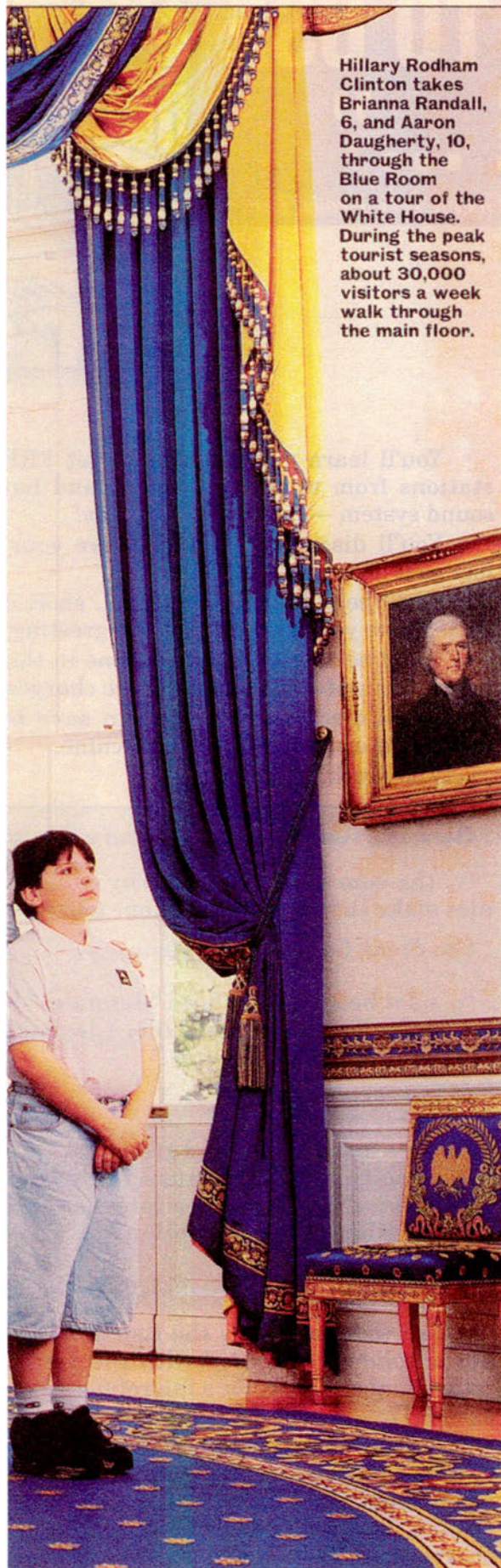
It has been an honor and a privilege to live in the White House and, even more, to be the custodian of such a national treasure. Go back with me to Jan. 20, 1993, my husband's first day as President, and imagine the sense of

Anniversary Events

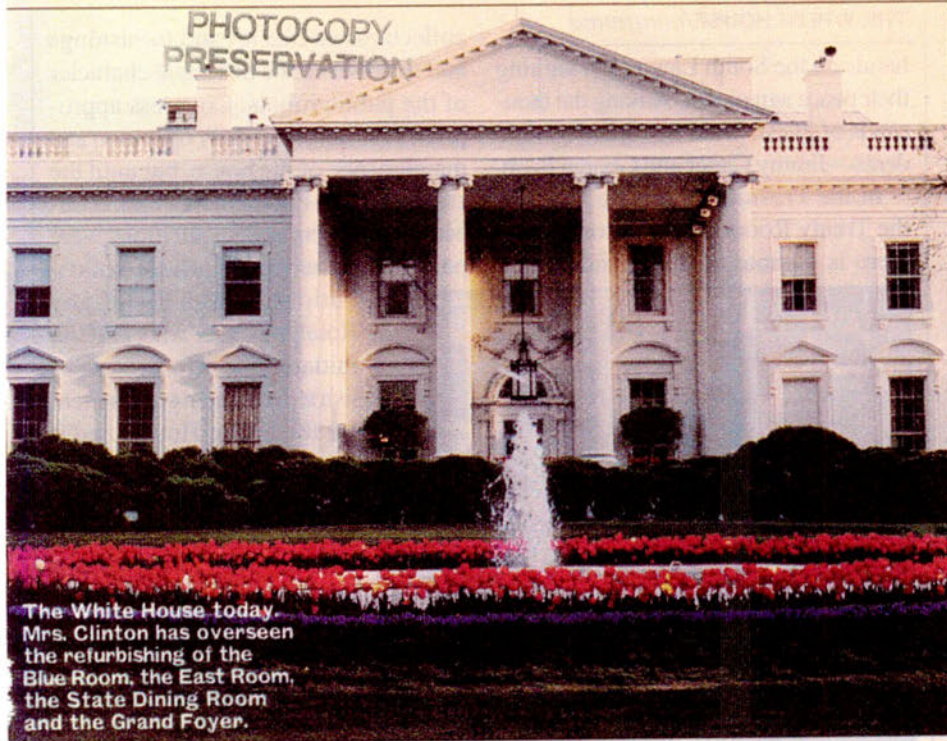
Hillary Rodham Clinton invites you to participate in the following events to help mark the historic occasion.

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



PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



The 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

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

Zachary, w grounds. A cat, Socks, side, chasi I also sta Jacqueline



1989: First Lady Ba House with her dau and granddaughter

American family bel trees on the gnant it w ory of Co and the Ol It is imp

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. A blackened, burned-out shell was all that was left after fires swept

the mansion that hot summer night. Today most vivid reminders of the blaze are scorch marks on the North Wall and the South Portico.

Although almost everyone in Washington fled in anticipation of the British onslaught, First Lady Dolley Madison remained in the house, waiting for her husband to return from Bladensburg, Md., where he had joined the American troops. Friends finally persuaded her to leave, but not before she rescued Gilbert Stuart's portrait of George Washington, which now hangs in the East Room.



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*.

In February 1815, Congress appropriated funds for the restoration of the President's House and hired James Hoban, the original designer and builder, to replicate the house. He worked furiously, sometimes employing as many as 190 men, until October 1817, when President and Mrs. James Monroe moved in. The restored house was opened to the public on New Year's Day in

between the second and third floors.

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

have enjoyed welcoming ceremonies, press conferences, Easter egg rolls and Fourth of July fireworks displays. We have had lots of fun with our young nephews, Tyler and

1993, wh hak Rabi ganizatio

FALL 1999:

On Sept. 29, the White House Historical Association will hold its annual Heritage Lecture on the White House.

SPRING 2000:

The National Building Museum, in cooperation with the White House Historical Association, will display models of the White House.

SUMMER 2000:

The White House Historical Association and Abbeville Press will publish a book about the history of the furnishings in the White House.

FALL 2000:

The White House Historical Association will release a video on the history of music at the White House. The White House Visitor Center will present an inaugural exhibit.

A Th As co fe fr an



Gifford/Gammie-Lutson

hen, as the new
ie White House.
pent the morn-
ie swearing-in
aveled down
our new home.
ugural Parade
d, we proceed-
the spot where,
ars, we would
ld's most distin-
hen we stepped
here we were
le who work so
house not just a
warm and invit-
imily to live.
of business was
family—espe-
only 12 then. I
White House's
hom had served
ions. Together,
House Curator's
fice, we planned
ea and some of
om Arkansas as
ashington. The
was a scavenger
ended 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

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

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 squirrels.

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 Presidential 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 victims.

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. Or 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. 13,

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

continued

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 mansion that hot summer night. Today, the most vivid reminders of the blaze are scorch marks on the North Wall and the South Portico.

Although almost everyone in Washington fled in anticipation of the British onslaught, First Lady Dolley Madison remained in the house, waiting for her husband to return from Bladensburg, Md., where he had joined the American troops. Friends finally persuaded her to leave, but not before she rescued Gilbert Stuart's portrait of George Washington, which now hangs in the East Room.



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*.

In February 1815, Congress appropriated funds for the restoration of the President's House and hired James Hoban, its original designer and builder, to replicate the house. He worked furiously, sometimes employing as many as 190 men, until October 1817, when President and Mrs. James Monroe moved in. The restored house was opened to the public on New Year's Day in 1818.

between the second and third floors.

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

have enjoyed welcoming ceremonies, press conferences, Easter egg rolls and Fourth of July fireworks displays. We have had lots of fun with our young nephews, Tyler and

SPRING 2000:

The National Building Museum, in cooperation with the White House Historical Association, will display models of the White House.

SUMMER 2000:

The White House Historical Association and Abbeville Press will publish a book about the history of the furnishings in the White House.

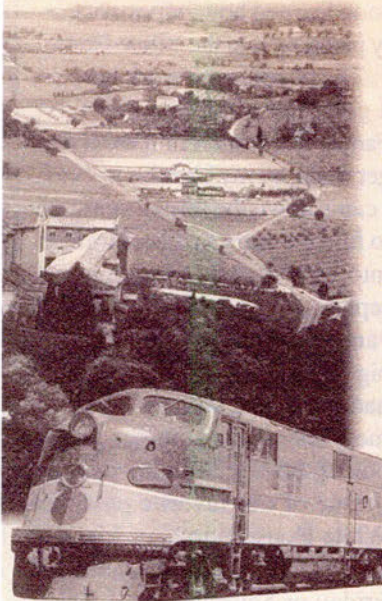
FALL 2000:

The White House Historical Association will release a video on the history of music at the White House. The White House Visitor Center will present an inaugural exhibit.

A CALENDAR FOR 2000:

The White House Historical Association is selling a commemorative calendar featuring paintings by artists from the 13 original states and the District of Columbia.

Iventure TALY



road adventure that spans more
nd holiness, of art and architec-
r 500 miles of seaside splendor
thrill of a train trip through the
to Palermo, Sicily. From moun-
enjoy lovely landscapes and fas-
aboard for one of the world's
S. Color. 50 minutes.

f a Lifetime You'll See:

- uption of Vesuvius in 79 AD, its way
life and its moment of tragedy have
en preserved for eternity.
- apri** Island paradise of
eathtaking grottoes, luxuriant
eenery and panoramic peaks.
- malfi** Once a great naval power
id center of trade, the city claims to
ive introduced paper, coffee and
rpets to the West.
- alerno** Originally an Etruscan
ttlement and later a Roman colony,
the Middle Ages it became the
pital of a Norman dukedom and
eat center of learning.
- alerno** A crossroads of East and
est, a jewel of Baroque splendor, once
insidered the grandest city in Europe.

-562-9578
e Video®, Box 4171,
untington Station, NY 11746

Only \$19.95 plus \$3.00 p&h.
for only \$38.90 plus \$5.00 p&h.
\$ _____ CA and NY residents add sales tax.
MASTERCARD® ☐ DISCOVER® ☐ AMEX® ☐
Exp. Date _____
State _____ Zip _____
eral Offices: 580 South Research Place, Central Islip, NY 11722-4415

hands on the South Lawn after signing
their peace agreement. Among the thou-
sands of guests were two former Presi-
dents—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, Jim-
my 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 ten-
ants, and we feel very strongly the
obligations of our stewardship.

When we arrived, extensive reno-
vations of the exterior of the building
were under way—including the remov-
al of some 40 coats of paint and the re-
pair of the stonework. I have been priv-
ileged 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 mil-
lion each year! The draperies and up-
holstery in the room, last replaced in
1972, were badly worn and sun-dam-
aged. After months of hard work and
anxious moments, we unveiled the fi-
nal product in 1995. I was delighted
and relieved with the positive reaction.

None of this could have been accom-
plished without the White House En-
dowment Fund, a nonprofit charitable
organization created to provide per-
manent support for the White House

collections of fine art and furnishings
and to preserve the historical character
of the public rooms. Congress appro-
priates funds for the daily operation and
maintenance of the house, but until the
creation of the Endowment Fund, refur-
bishing projects and acquisitions were
paid for primarily by private contri-
butions. It was First Lady Rosalynn Carter who, in 1979,
initiated the effort to estab-
lish 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, an-
other First Family will move
in. Before we go, though, I'll
help celebrate the bicenten-
nial 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.
For details about real tours
of the White House, visit
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 on the
Web or call 1-800-336-3768.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION