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Winter 1998

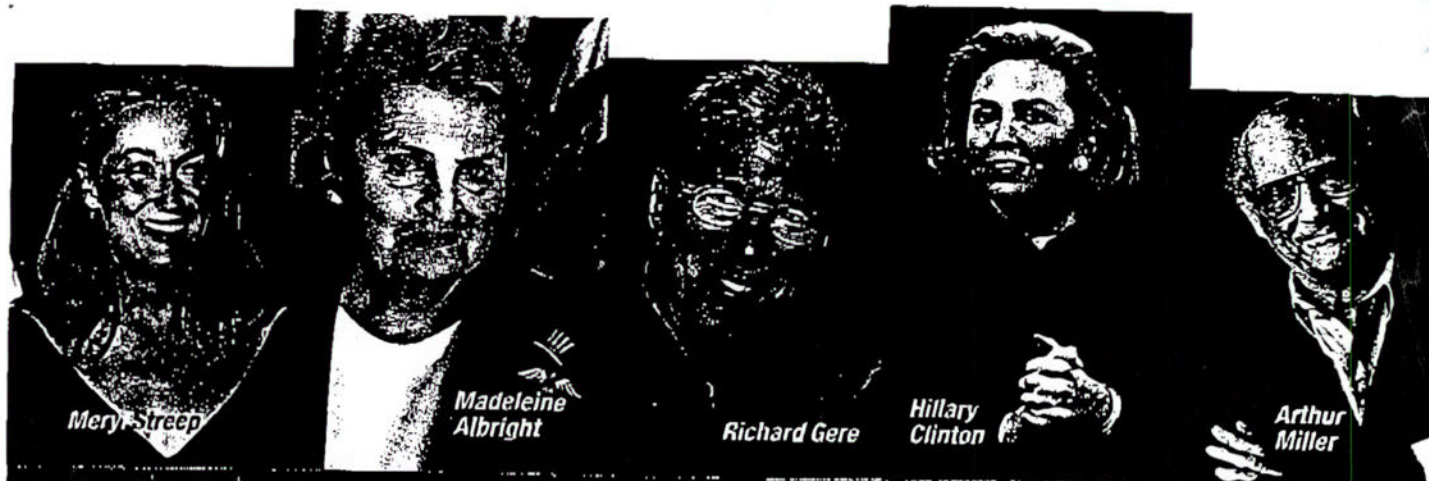
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EXCLUSIVELY: Marie Claire has hired these prominent Americans to share the facts on human rights abuses that you can help them stop.

you can make a

**Rape, genital mutilation,
unjust imprisonment.**

Fifty years after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted, people around the world are still being persecuted every day. Join *Marie Claire's* campaign for change

Hillary Clinton

WORLDWIDE WOMEN'S RIGHTS

First Lady of the United States
Fifty years ago, at the end of the Second World War, we acknowledged a new common standard for human dignity—a code for the people of the world to live by. In the wake of the most violent revelation of the extent to which human beings can dehumanize one another, the world as a whole was ready at last to accept an agreed-upon standard for human rights.

Yet despite half a century of progress in this arena, we have not expanded the circle of human dignity far enough. There are still too many of our fellow men and women who have been excluded >

difference

Let us say this so loudly that the entire world will hear us: **Violence** against women is not simply criminal. The full enfranchisement of women is **unfinished business.** —Hillary Clinton

from the fundamental rights proclaimed in the Declaration; too many against whom we have all hardened our hearts—those whose human suffering we fail fully to see, to hear, to feel.

Today, especially, we still choose not to hear the voices of women. In too many countries, women are blocked from participating in political life.

Too often, we choose not to see the injustice of legal systems around the world that continue to treat women as less than complete citizens. In too many places, female heirs receive less inheritance than male heirs. Inequitable divorce laws compel women to remain in cruel marriages. And courts of law require the testimony of two women to equal that of a man.

Our vision is limited in other areas; we choose not to see that women are discriminated against for bank loans, jobs and promotions. They are denied equal pay—or, sometimes, any pay at all. And they live in disproportionate poverty, making up 70 percent of the world's poor.

In too many places, girls and women never even learn to project their voices. Two thirds of the 130 million children not in school are girls. Two thirds of the 96 million people worldwide who can neither read nor write are women.

In too many places, the suffering of women is defined as trivial; explained away as a "cultural phenomenon."

Perhaps it is for this reason that women do not receive proper health care. Perhaps it is why genital cutting, which in some

When those
in authority
embark on
a witch hunt,
society as
a whole pays
the highest
price.

countries more than 90 percent of women have undergone, is still practiced and why rape and sexual assault continue to be tactics of war. Perhaps it is why domestic and sexual violence remain the most serious, under-reported and widespread human rights violations in the world.

Let us say this so loudly that the entire world will hear us: We do not believe that violence against women is simply a criminal phenomenon. The full enfranchisement of women is unfinished business for all of us in this turbulent century.

We must challenge ourselves to see more sharply, to hear more clearly and to feel more fully. We must rededicate ourselves to completing the circle of human rights once and for all.

Arthur Miller

PROSECUTIONS OF INNOCENT PEOPLE

Pulitzer Prize-winning playwright;

recipient Amnesty International Media Spotlight Award, 1997

Between '94 and '96, 43 people

in Washington State were charged with 29,726 counts of sexual abuse of 60 children. Sordid images of ritual orgies on a church stage, pedophile parents swapping children, and adults lining up to rape children made headlines.

But an investigation of the Wenatchee sex abuse cases, undertaken by Kathryn Lyon, a former public defender, has shown that the most frightening

abuses in the case may have been perpetrated by the police, child protection agents and prosecutors in that state. Lyon's research has raised troubling questions about the methods used by the authorities to prosecute dozens of poor and mentally disabled parents for child rape and molestation: scant medical evidence, appalling breaches of civil rights and interrogation techniques normally associated with police states.

Mistreatment of children is an emotional issue: The reaction to allegations of it is often hysteria. But it is the responsibility of those entrusted to guard the rights of children to ensure that parents' rights are not neglected either. One of our most basic rights is to have and raise our children. Another is freedom from unfair accusations.

The state of Washington wrongly took children away from their parents and subjected them to relentless questioning, though the allegations did not add up. In fact, every single aspect of the cases—from the initial accusations made by foster children living with the chief investigator to the gender of the accused and the results of the medical exams—was in direct contradiction to all known patterns of child sexual abuse. It is the responsibility of a community to protect its children from sexual predators, but the shameful tactics employed by both the Wenatchee police and the Department of Social and Health Services resulted not only in wrongful prosecutions of innocent people, but in the >



likelihood that in the future, people will be less likely to come forward with suspicions that someone may be endangering children's welfare. When those in authority embark on a witch hunt, society as a whole pays the highest price.

Meryl Streep

RAPE AS A WAR CRIME



Actress; Academy-award winner

Rape under any circumstances is a humiliating and horrifying experience, but

what Bosnian women were forced to endure throughout the war is unthinkable. In an attempt to wipe out the entire Muslim and Croatian population, the Bosnian Serb Army used not only murder but rape as an actual weapon of war.

Soldiers were ordered by their superiors to rape defenseless women of all ages, with a specific purpose: to demoralize them so that they would flee their homes and never return. It is hard to imagine that anyone could possibly carry out such a tactic against innocent women, and even more difficult to imagine that the men who committed these crimes could go unpunished.

Women lost everything during the three-year period of the Bosnian war. They lost their husbands, their fathers and their brothers, who are either dead or in detention camps. They lost their innocence and, in many cases, they lost their

virginity, which is held sacred by Muslim women.

The raping of Bosnian women was a political strategy not just aimed at women but designed to completely destroy a nation. And still, today, three years after the Dayton Peace Accord was signed, not one person has been held accountable for these crimes. No one has been arrested or convicted, and many of the criminals remain free in their native cities and towns.

Richard Gere

PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE



Actor; recipient

Amnesty International Media Spotlight Award, 1998

Ngawang Sangdrol, 21, is a

Tibetan Buddhist nun who is undergoing an 18-year prison sentence. Her crime? Exercising the rights enshrined in the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Ngawang was first imprisoned in 1990 for taking part in a demonstration for Tibetan independence. She was detained without charge for several months and also forbidden to rejoin her nunnery.

Ngawang was rearrested in June 1992 for taking part in another demonstration against Chinese misrule in Tibet. Her sentence this time was three years of imprisonment. While in Drapchi Prison in 1993, Ngawang and 13 other imprisoned nuns covertly composed▷

Make your voice count

the member states of the United Nations pledged their commitment to the "promotion of universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms." Fifty years later, the world has moved closer to obtaining those rights and freedoms for everyone, but contempt for human rights continues to result in barbarous acts that offend the conscience of humanity. *Marie Claire* and Amnesty International are inviting readers to make a personal pledge to the principles contained in the Declaration. Your petition will be added to the millions that have been gathered from around the world, and will be presented to the United Nations on December 10, 1998. Fill out your pledge at www.marieclaire.com, and send a message telling those who suffer persecution that they have not been forgotten.

The raping of **Bosnian** women was a political strategy not just aimed at women but designed to completely **destroy a nation.** —Meryl Streep

and recorded pro-independence songs. A tape recorder had been smuggled into the prison and the tape was secretly circulated throughout Tibet. The tape contained songs in praise of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and asked the people of Tibet not to lose hope, because "A day will come soon when the sun will emerge from behind the clouds." This tape was discovered by the Chinese authorities, and Ngawang's sentence was extended to nine years.

In 1996 Ngawang was subjected to torture and beatings and her prison sentence was extended by another nine years, after she protested against China's "re-education campaign" and shouted, "Free Tibet." Her total term of imprisonment is 18 years, making her the longest-serving female political prisoner in Tibet.

Ngawang's case is just one instance of China's consistent denial of basic human rights to the Tibetan people, rights such as "right to freedom of opinion and expression" and "right to freedom of peaceful assembly," which are promised by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Madeleine K. Albright **UNIVERSAL HUMAN RIGHTS**



U.S. Secretary of State

Human rights are universal: They must be enjoyed by everyone, everywhere. When we stand up for them, anywhere in the world, we

are also standing up for ourselves.

It would be impossible to single out the specific human rights issue that I feel most strongly about, because they are all of equal significance. What is more, human rights abuses are usually interconnected. If people are not allowed to worship freely, chances are they are not allowed to speak freely or to pursue peaceful and democratic political change, for in the end all these rights go hand in hand. Moreover, when even one group of citizens lacks equality under the law, there is no guarantee that other groups will not lose their rights as well.

Therefore, whether the issue is expanding women's political participation, providing adequate health care or eliminating violence against women,

the evidence is clear that advancing the status of women is not just the right thing to do, but the smart thing.

When women gain full participation in a country's political life, that translates into a richer democracy and more representative policies for all.

When women gain the education and resources to be full partners in development, we know from experience that the cycle of poverty can be broken, that birth rates stabilize, environmental awareness increases, the spread of sexually transmitted diseases slows and socially constructive values are more likely to be passed along to the young.

When societies recognize a woman's right to be secure from violence and abuse, they move closer to making real the vision of justice and equality for all.

Yet around the world, women still suffer appalling human rights abuses, from domestic violence to dowry murders to mutilation to sexual slavery. Some people say that all of this is cultural, and that there is nothing we can do, or even should do, to change it. But I believe that it is criminal, and that we each have a responsibility to stop it. □

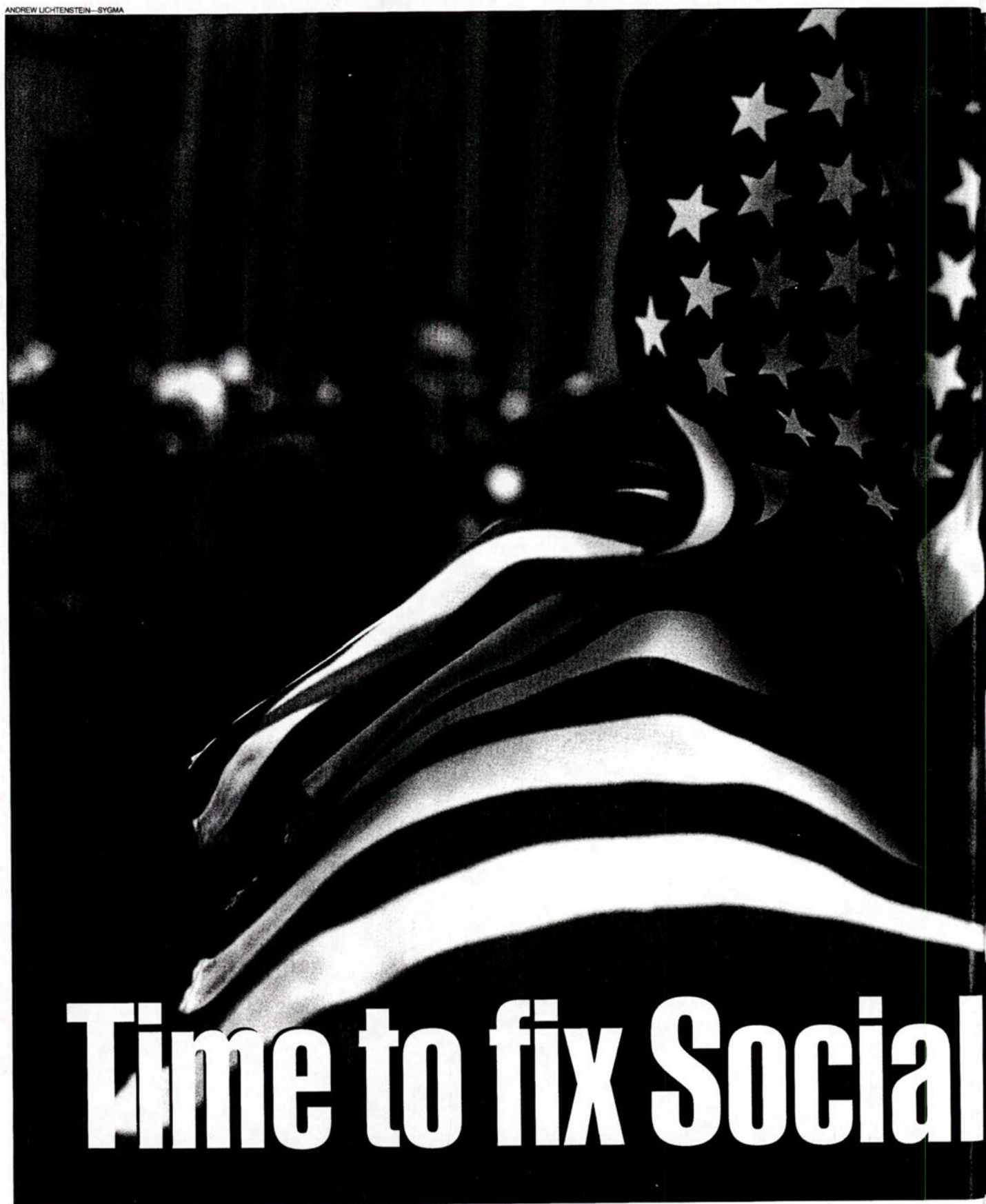
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ANDREW LICHTENSTEIN—SYGMA



Time to fix Social



The moment is ripe, but politics-as-usual may spoil the chance

BY JOSEPH P. SHAPIRO AND BEN WILDAVSKY

Years, and likely even decades, will pass before as auspicious a moment comes along for saving Social Security. Start with general agreement that there's a problem—a baby boomer problem—that needs to be fixed. Add a second-term president—the baby boomers' president—intent on building his political legacy and absorbed by the idea of ensuring that the system doesn't run short of money as his generation swells the ranks of retirees. Add rarities like a muscle-bound economy, a federal budget in the black, and the absence of election-year posturing, and suddenly, surprisingly, the planets seem aligned for reform. But before anyone gets too high on promise, consider some other things: Washington is so consumed by political gamesmanship and mistrust—and the country is so unsure of what it wants—that this opportunity looks likely to fade.

As President Clinton this week convenes a two-day White House summit on Social Security—the finale of his “year of dialogue”—there is still nothing approaching consensus on a reform plan or even how to



LAST CHANCE. Reforming the nation's retirement system may become President Clinton's ultimate test.

start down the road to a deal. And the clock is ticking. Social Security Commissioner Kenneth Apfel estimates that the window of opportunity will start to close “if we're not making any progress by July.”

Tough choices. All eyes remain on Clinton, who insists that he wants a deal. “I believe he really does want to achieve this,” says Bill Archer, chairman of the crucial House Ways and Means Committee. “But he's got to be willing to make tough political choices.”

For the first time last week, there was an indication that Clinton may be ready to move. Administration officials told *U.S. News* that the president is leaning toward a bargaining framework much like the one that resulted in 1997's remarkable balanced-budget

agreement. While the president will not put forth a specific bill, as many Republicans have called for, his advisers say that he will outline "guiding principles" in his State of the Union speech late next month. Then he will invite Republican congressional leaders to join White House negotiators and Hill Democrats in a closed-door Social Security summit to hash out a deal.

Archer is one of the few lawmakers who participated in both Social Security overhauls—in 1977 with President Carter and 1983 with President Reagan—and knows firsthand that only presidents can direct Congress through Social Security's roiling political waters. "The only way we're going

Democrats could rally around and that the public would like, such as rejecting any reform plan that cut benefits for current Social Security recipients. But the goal would be to include an olive branch for conservatives and others, such as by signaling Clinton's willingness to go along with some kind of minimal privatization scheme for future recipients. One option: a hybrid system that "adds on" modest private accounts to a worker's regular Social Security benefits.

Clinton's plan would cut through the who-jumps-first dilemma while isolating the bargainers from hard-liners in both parties. It's clear that any deal is going to

ment, something that has eluded most of his presidency. The answer will depend on whether he can steer everyone through one of the most complex social-policy thickets the nation has faced.

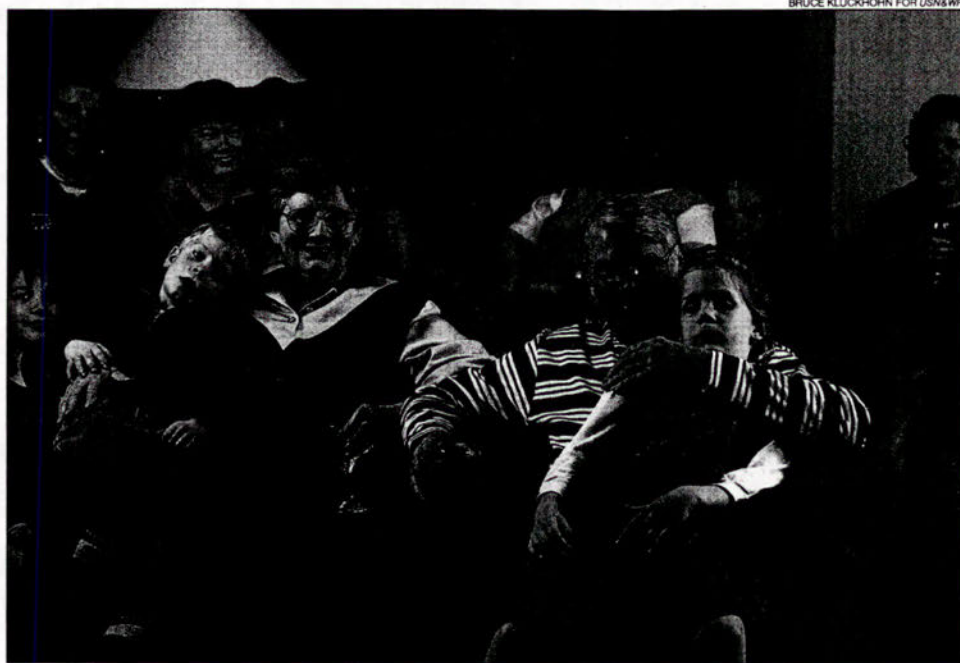
Stated simply, the problem with Social Security is that it starts running out of money around 2032. That's when, with the 76 million baby boomers in retirement and a smaller number of workers contributing taxes into the system, Social Security funds will cover only 75 percent of benefits. How to come up with the rest? Raising the retirement age (set to reach 67 by 2027) would help. So would raising the income cap on Social Security

taxes beyond the current \$68,400. A good deal of pain can be cushioned by applying the large budget surpluses that are projected over the next two decades. As Deputy Treasury Secretary Lawrence Summers puts it: "We've got the money now and a problem later."

At the heart of any reform will be the highly contentious issue of tapping the booming stock market. Should individual workers choose where their Social Security contributions get invested, similar to the way millions of Americans manage their 401(k) plans? Or should government keep the system largely as it is but invest a small amount of Social Security funds in stocks and bonds, instead of in safe but low return Treasury bills as now?

The attraction of such private retirement accounts is the promise of a greater return on stocks, which have averaged 8.2 percent over the past 40 years. Returns on Social Security over the next 35 years are projected at about 1 percent. But individual accounts pose numerous problems. Ups and downs in the stock market mean some workers will do better than others. And Social Security is more than just a retirement system. Some 30 percent of beneficiaries are disabled workers, widows, and the children of deceased workers. Critics claim that most privatization plans include deep cuts in this social-insurance commitment.

Still, just last spring, privatization seemed a sure thing—and the basis for a Social Security deal. At least that was the conventional wisdom in Washington as influential Democrats like Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan signed on. But now opponents are emboldened by the volatile stock market and voters' recent rebuke of Republicans. Last week, a coalition of labor unions, African-Americans, women, and other liberal groups—looking for pay-



FAMILY FEUD. It's not just the politicians who are fighting over how to fix Social Security. Families like the Carrs of Minnesota, gathered for Thanksgiving, can't reach consensus either.

to have an opportunity to bring this to culmination is for the president to submit a plan and defuse the politics," says Archer, whose committee would draft any Social Security reform bill. But even moderate Democrats like Texas's Charles Stenholm are still baiting the Republican side: "Republicans are in the majority. It's incumbent upon them to lead. [The president] only needs to establish a framework."

Elusive compromise. Clinton administration officials insist they won't let themselves be pushed into putting forth a bill. "We don't want our ideas to be DOA as soon as we propose them," says one senior adviser. A detailed blueprint would only become a target for attack, as Clinton learned from his 1992 health care proposal. The administration's hope is that Clinton would present ideas that

leave unhappy people on both sides of the aisle. Many Democrats worry that Clinton will become an undertaker to the most enduring legacy of Franklin Roosevelt and the Democratic Party. They fear that Clinton, eager for consensus, will go too far toward privatization. It doesn't help that Clinton already has expressed "open minded" interest in the idea and that he and his aides are currently studying variations of it. But conservative Republicans are set on getting substantial privatization and folding a big tax cut into the mix.

Assuming both sides are sincere about making a deal—as they were about balancing the budget—a summit may be the only hope. But that just gets people into the room. Then the question becomes whether Clinton's tactical mastery can translate into a significant legislative accomplish-

back after helping Democrats to their surprising election results—announced the formation of the New Century Alliance for Social Security. Members denounced privatization as something that would destroy Social Security's guarantee of a minimum retirement income and warned politicians against negotiating with privatization supporters. "We don't ask arsonists to help us fight fires," said civil rights leader Jesse Jackson. Nebraska Sen. Robert Kerrey, a proponent of privatization, shot back at the "doomsayers" who "do not trust the intelligence, ingenuity or fighting spirit of the American people" to come out better by making their own investments.

Generational surprise. Such heated public rhetoric may only reflect a similar, if quieter, private debate taking place across America's dinner tables. That was clear in Edina, Minn., at the Thanksgiving table of Irv and Katherine Carr. More than 50 family members showed up for the meal

that featured three turkeys, a ham, eight pumpkin pies, and three cheesecakes. The Carrs, like most Americans, value Social Security and want to see it survive, but most have not paid close enough attention to propose how to do so.

The exceptions are 75-year-old Irv, who retired from his insurance management job last year, and his 24-year-old granddaughter Liz Kramer. It's Irv—who has a standing offer with each of his grandchildren that he will take any \$1,000 they earn and use his market savvy to invest it for them—who believes privatization will ensure the retirement security of his eight children and 25 grandchildren. ("If Social Security was a private company and ran their employee pension fund the way Social Security is run, they would be tossed in jail," he says.) And it's Liz, working for a Washington-based group that is fighting privatization, who worries that precipitous change will particularly hurt

generations ahead of her. ("I believe in the concept of Social Security as a building block for retirement," she says. "So it's very important to me that it stay as low risk as possible and be guaranteed for as long as someone should live.")

Social Security reform gets portrayed as a war between generations—with baby boomers and the young fearing there will be no retirement savings for them and the elderly seeing change as a threat to their livelihood. But the role reversal in the Carr family shows that American attitudes on such a complex issue are not always so predictable. That underscores why there is no politically safe reform. And given that Social Security's "crisis" lies far in the future, chances are slim for fixing the problem during Washington's brief moment of opportunity. ■

With Kenneth T. Walsh, Major Garrett, and Franklin Foer

THE PLAYERS

A Social Security deal rests in many hands

■ **Bill Clinton.** Only he can lead the way. But while he hankers for a legacy (beyond Monica), even he is not sure what he means by "saving Social Security": privatization or other less drastic reforms? While aides battle for his heart and mind, liberals on the outside fret that he will "end Social Security as we know it." According to White House sources, there will be a plan to open bargaining by January's State of the Union address.

■ **Lawrence Summers.** Even more than presidential economic adviser Gene Sperling, he may be a key indicator of the administration's mood. Conventional wisdom holds that Treasury's No. 2 is the biggest fan of privatization. But recently, he has cooled. Could it be that this Gore guy is protecting the vee's 2000 prospects? As in: Can Gore afford to tick off liberals with a Social Security overhaul?

■ **John Sweeney.** Wall Street and right-wingers, the AFL-CIO boss says, dreamed up the Social Security "crisis" as a pretext for trashing the current system. To preserve the status quo, the union pledges to launch "the most aggressive grass-roots campaign" in its history. Which Democrats will be first to throw themselves in the union's way?

■ **Hillary Clinton.** Once maligned as the Democratic Party's most knee-jerk liberal, she's now among its best hopes for unity. Because of her stunning performance on the campaign stump, the first lady may be the only person in the White House capable of rallying the Democrats' left and center wings around a single reform.

■ **Bob Livingston.** The soon-to-be

speaker says it's his No. 1 priority, alongside tax cuts. And he's just the seasoned closed-door deal maker to work it out with the White House. But if Clinton's got problems on the left, Livingston has them on the right. He has to contend with a plethora of Republican plans and egos. The key issue may be whether he and Ways and Means

Committee Chair Bill Archer can get on the same page. ■ **Trent Lott.** The majority leader has yet to stake out a clear position. This leaves him plenty of wiggle room for a back-room compromise, as he did with the balanced budget. But after the election debacle, Lott seems in no mood to dole out concessions—or trust the White House.

■ **Steve Forbes.** Will it be a deal or a

campaign issue? Keep an eye on presidential contenders like Mr. Free Market himself. As with many libertarians, the millionaire-cum-presidential candidate will tolerate nothing short of total privatization.

■ **Alan Greenspan.** Even the most mild kvetching from his economic bully pulpit could sink any reform proposal. Already, the Federal Reserve's high priest has said that he is keen on the idea of private accounts. But what

else does he think? ■ **John Rother.** So far, there's only deafening silence from the top lobbyist for the American Association of Retired Persons, the group that turned Social Security into the "third rail" of politics. Have its 37 million members decided it just really is not their problem anymore? ■ **The bull market.** An ill-timed dive in the Dow Jones industrial average could put a sock in all this talk of sticking retirement dollars in the stock market until the deal-making window closes. —F.F.



Summers



Clinton



Archer

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THE FIGHT OF THEIR LIVES

Behind the
Impeachment
Showdown



A Crisis at Home

The Clintons are in the fight of their lives—to save his troubled presidency, their shared legacy and their own self-respect. BY HOWARD FINEMAN

THEY STOOD SIDE BY SIDE, smiles affixed, man and wife atop the wedding cake of public life. It was Christmas season in the White House—all aglow with gingerbread houses and twinkling trees—and downstairs in the Map Room Bill and Hillary Clinton were doing what comes naturally: working a receiving line. With the stamina and grace acquired in a quarter century of politics together, they stood for hours in holiday finery as hundreds of visitors floated by for a quick chat and a souvenir photo. A social secretary called out names, but the Clintons rarely needed reminding. They were gifted—the best and the brightest of the baby boom—and one of their gifts was a knack for instant, serial intimacy. When Congressman Tim Roemer of Indiana approached, he was astonished to find that Hillary remembered her visit last year to his hometown. She recalled the children they'd met in South Bend, the early-education program she'd visited, even the precise number of Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtle Popsicles they'd brought for the kids: 30.

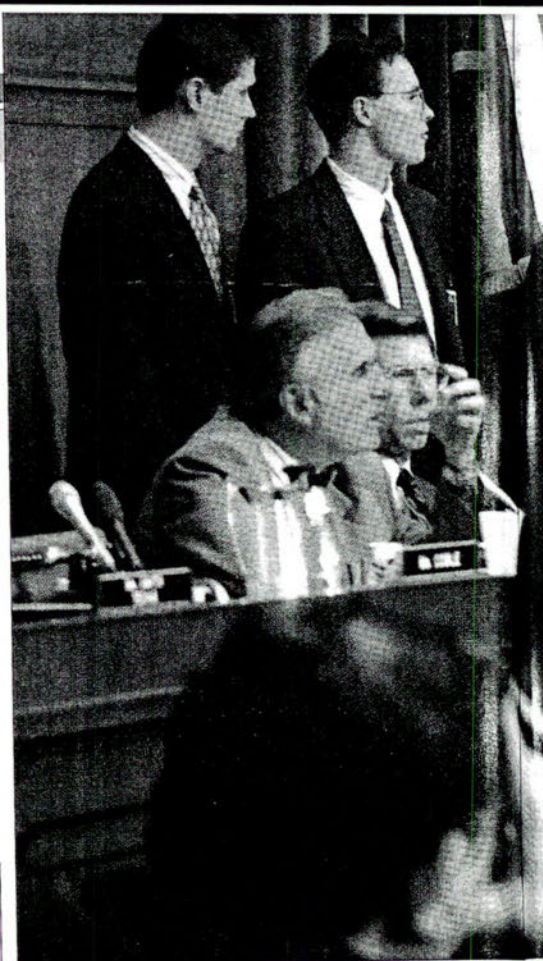
The scene was out of Currier and Ives, if they had been alive to depict photo ops: happy, relaxed and unremarkable. But of course

it wasn't any of those things. The White House last week was caught in an undertow of tension, sadness—and the dangerously surreal. In this season of peace, Bill and Hillary Rodham Clinton are in the fight of their lives. It's a fight not just to save their presidency from implacable Republicans in Congress, or to save their personal reputations and precarious family finances, but to find their own, individual destinies and spiritual purpose after a life of shared ambition. "They'll never split up," says a friend who's known them since Yale Law School in the early '70s. "But they may be having what we used to call an 'identity crisis'."

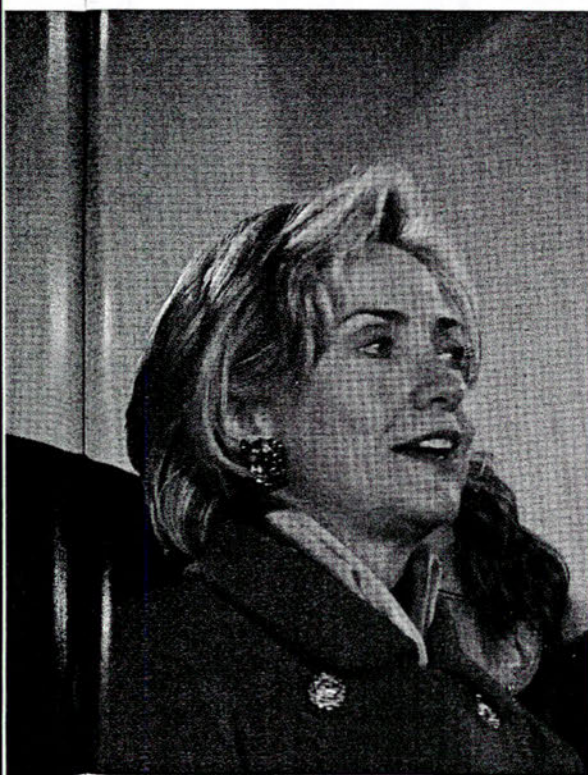
Only in America would we have such a story: soap-opera impeachment. But the marriage of Bill and Hill has long since become an emblem of our times, and of the generation they have long sought to lead: a maddening saga of idealism and self-regard. These are not the dramas of global crusades to rescue democracy, or the searing pain of wounds of war. These are the self-inflicted crises of lawyers who can't speak plainly and spin doctors who have no medicine to heal themselves. Now there's even the prospect of dramatic political death—impeachment and removal—to give the next episode urgency if not ratings. The president seems headed for

The Judiciary Committee voted each of the four articles of impeachment, beginning with Article One below, along strict party lines. The lone defector: S.C. Republican Lindsey Graham.

1 Alleges that, on Aug. 17, 1998, William Jefferson "false and misleading testimony" before Independent



PHOTOS BY DAVID HUME KENNERLY FOR NEWSWEEK



While the House Judiciary Committee battled in marathon impeachment sessions, the president and First Lady caroled at the national Christmas tree lighting ceremony

congressional reprimand, or worse; his wife for political beatification, at least.

The Clintons these days are together and alone at the same time. She is waging an independent fight for her own place in history and her own role in public life after the White House. And for the first time in their shared careers, her husband must wage a political battle without her. Even if she wanted to be more involved in his defense—and she does not—she wouldn't. The very name "Monica Lewinsky" is a personal reproach, and Hillary's feminist supporters wouldn't stand for too much standing by her man. Upstairs, in the private quarters, the atmosphere is chilly. Longtime friends who dined with them this fall were struck by the unease in the air. It's not like the old days of open, affectionate Clinton-to-Clinton combat. "It's very different," one friend told NEWSWEEK.

Ironically, the First Couple greeted guests last week in the same room where

the president's most serious legal troubles began. It was in the Map Room, after all, where he lied in his federal grand-jury testimony about his long relationship with Lewinsky. He's been trying to dig himself out—legally and politically—ever since, with a series of incremental semi-confessions.

He tried again late last week. The president stepped into the Rose Garden to make yet another apology for not having told the full story under oath. He expressed "profound remorse" and, for the first time, said he would be willing to accept "rebuks and censure" from the Congress to avoid impeachment in the House followed by a trial in the Senate. It was his most expansive apology to date.

But it wasn't nearly enough—perhaps nothing would be for Republicans bent on punishing him. Only minutes after he finished speaking, the GOP-led Judiciary Committee began voting out impeachment articles. With the Clintons having flown off on a four-day diplomatic mission to Israel last Saturday, it was left to one of their oldest friends from Yale Law School days to protest angrily after the votes were cast. Impeachment, declared White House

on Clinton "willfully provided perjurious,
at Counsel Kenneth Starr's grand jury

REPUBLICANS Yea: 21

DEMOCRATS Nay: 16

In this NEWSWEEK Poll, 60% of Americans say they do not think the House should impeach President Clinton and make him stand trial in the Senate

lawyer Gregory Craig, would recklessly "divide the country, gridlock the government and defy the will of the people."

But Craig couldn't roll back what the committee had done. The panel approved four articles of impeachment accusing the president of perjury, obstruction of justice and abuse of power. The committee refused to vote out a censure motion, blocking precisely what the Democrats and Clinton most want: a pre-emptive deal on the House floor. If the full House approves any of the articles—the one that accuses him of lying to the grand jury has a good chance—Clinton would become the first president since Andrew Johnson 130 years ago to face a trial in the Senate.

And where was Hillary when her husband was in the Rose Garden? She was in San Francisco, announcing a grant to restore a landmark flower conservatory. She'd had no input in her husband's latest apology, sources told NEWSWEEK, and evidently hadn't even known one was coming. She jetted back to Washington to join the president and Chelsea on Air Force One for the mission to the Middle East, but maintained the silence she has imposed on herself since she learned the details of the Lewinsky affair last August. "She hasn't been hands-on in any of this," says one friend.

In earlier times of public marital crises, Hillary was Tammy Wynette in a St. John's suit. Since last summer she has done nothing directly to pick her husband up, dust him off with public praise and send him back into the fray. She campaigned aggressively—and effectively—for party candidates this fall. But since then she has focused on her own schedule and agenda, on issues such as education, child care, women's health care, Third World economics and historic preservation. "The most important legacy of the Clinton years," says Democratic activist Mary Louise Oates, "will be Hillary Rodham Clinton."

The First Lady at times seems tired of the political stage—who could blame her?—and wistfully yearns for the quotidian pleasures of private life. "She talks a lot about how she wants to drive a car again," her former chief of staff, Maggie Williams, told NEWSWEEK. "She really misses it." And yet Hillary has added a touch of glam to the earnest uplift, hobnobbing in recent weeks

with Rosie O'Donnell and Gwyneth Paltrow and Hollywood moguls.

The public, as a whole, seems eager to avert its eyes from the entire impeachment spectacle. In the new NEWSWEEK Poll, only 35 percent think the House should impeach the president and send the matter to the Senate for trial. Only 17 percent think a Senate trial is necessary to unearth more facts, compared with 76 percent who think the nation already knows enough—if not too

much. By a 61-31 percent margin, voters think that the remorseless House Judiciary Committee didn't pay "enough attention" to public sentiment, and a majority thinks that the GOP majority was "too partisan." Clinton's own job-approval rating remains a solid 60 percent.

And yet there is lingering resentment toward Clinton, and a notable sense that he should be punished in some way. The country is evenly split—48-48—on the question

Holdouts and Fence Sitters

When the House convenes to vote on impeachment this week, all eyes will be on a handful of wavering Republicans—and defectors from both parties. A sampling:



Brian Bilbray
(R-Calif., 49th dist.) The San Diegan is a raging moderate, and his fickle district doesn't

hesitate to throw out incumbents. Anti-impeachment forces think his vote is gettable.



Jim Leach (R-Iowa, 1st dist.)

The House Banking Committee chair is a key player, and his example could sway other fence sitters. Insiders doubt he'll decide until a day before the vote.



Ralph Hall (D-Texas, 4th dist.)

Easily the most conservative Democrat in Congress, former judge Hall doesn't take perjury lightly and is a solid vote for impeachment.



Chris John
(D-La., 7th dist.)

Pro-impeachment forces hope to sway this conservative, Blue

Dog Democrat. But he says his Cajun country district opposes impeachment 2 to 1.

2 Alleges that the president "willfully provided perjurious, sworn, written answers and videotaped testimony in Paula

If Clinton is impeached but not removed from office by the Senate, **47%** say that would be punishment enough; but **37%** think he should still be censured

of whether giving "misleading testimony" to Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr's grand jury is enough to warrant the president's removal from office. And they are split on the question of whether action, or inaction, would be worse: 39 percent think a Senate trial would do more harm than letting Clinton go without official punishment; 41 percent think the opposite.

How did this most savvy of First Couples end up in this place, so painful in both politi-

cal and human terms? There's the president's own mendacity, of course, for which he apologized again last week without admitting that it amounted to a legal lie. Hillary's concern for the financial bottom line is another factor. She has steadfastly (and privately) opposed a deal that would include a monetary fine. "Why should she have to pay for her husband's misdeeds?" asks one ally. Nor does she favor a deal that doesn't shield the president from indict-

ment after he leaves office. Another case to defend could add millions to legal bills that already total at least \$4 million. And just because you're paranoid doesn't mean they aren't out to get you: the Clintons' right-wing foes surely are, with a thirst for vengeance that no amount of contrition could satisfy.

But there were also plenty of legal and political miscalculations. Having so long demonized the GOP right, the Clinton White

House never bothered to truly understand the relentless mentality of its conservative foes. "They're never satisfied," says one senior White House staffer. But if the Clintonites knew that, they should have set off alarms, in the country and in the Congress, about the likelihood of impeachment. They didn't until last week—very late.

Clintonites, who navigate their every move and gesture with the guidance of polls, can't comprehend an enemy who seems unafraid of political self-immolation. "If they impeach Bill Clinton, it's going to be the death knell of the Republican Party," declared Democratic polltaker Brad Bannon. He may be right, but the bulk of GOP members in the House either are blinded to their own best interests by their hatred of Clinton—or they think the rule of law would be ruined by letting him go.

Most important, at an even deeper level, the Clintons are paying for the traits that helped them survive until now: their annoying lawyerliness, fierce partisanship and unwillingness to court the Washington establishment. Now they need the boring old moderates—the wise men they ridiculed. But the clubmen aren't very interested. Elders such as Bob Dole and Howard Baker have been approached recently by White House intermediaries, Republican sources tell NEWSWEEK, so far with no results. There is



Fred Upton
(R-Mich., 6th dist.) A dyed-in-the-wool moderate, Upton has a reputation for

bipartisanship. Neither side will guess which way the tight-lipped rep will vote.



Nancy Johnson
(R-Conn., 6th dist.) Though she's backed Clinton on gun control and choice, leaders

of both parties are beginning to think the chairwoman of the ethics committee will vote yea.



Rick Lazio (R-N.Y., 2d dist.)

He was prime for lobbying while accompanying Clinton to Israel. But

Lazio may run for Moynihan's Senate seat and knows he'll need conservative backing.



Amo Houghton
(R-N.Y., 31st dist.) He broke ranks with the GOP to condemn impeachment and urge

"forgiveness." "If we didn't get Houghton, we would have been toast," said one Hill Democrat.



W. J. (Billy) Tauzin (R-La., 3d dist.) This former Democrat is now one of speaker-elect

Livingston's best friends. But he has an independent streak—and a district that went for Clinton in '96.



Gene Taylor
(D-Miss., 5th dist.) Representing the shrimp shacks and casinos along the Gulf

Coast, this conservative is known for bucking his party. True to form, he'll be voting to impeach.



Connie Morella (R-Md., 8th dist.)

Her solidly Democratic district is ground zero for Federal employees. Even though she'd pay if she voted to impeach, GOP leaders think she may back her party.

... false and misleading testimony" in Jones's civil rights lawsuit

REPUBLICANS Year: 20 Nay: 1
DEMOCRATS Year: 0 Nay: 16

even a wild hope among some Democrats that former president George Bush would step in to call a ceasefire. But there is no love lost between the two presidents, and Bush is an unlikely enlistee in any event. His eldest son may soon run for president himself, and can't afford to alienate the GOP right wing.

So a sense of urgency, even panic, finally hit the White House last Thursday night. After the regular staff meeting in the residence, a rump parliament of lawyers and spinners also met with the president.

Clinton approached Craig and counsel Charles F. C. Ruff, the public leaders of his legal team, and congratulated them for having made his best case before the panel (and on TV). Then Clinton disappeared to help his daughter, Chelsea, with a college paper she was writing about the Jesuits. Some aides thought the time had come for another on-camera apology. After he left someone leaked a draft to MSNBC. In the script, the president would say that he had "crossed the line" and committed a "terri-

ble wrong." Clinton had never seen it, and was furious when he did. But the ploy worked. By Friday afternoon he was in the Rose Garden.

Which way lies political salvation? The emerging strategy was to beat the drums for a censure vote. Democrats had already drafted a toughly worded resolution they hoped would draw enough GOP support. House Democratic leader Dick Gephardt called on the incoming GOP speaker, Bob Livingston, to allow a censure vote. Late Saturday, Livingston flatly turned him down. The perjury



DAVID HUME KENNERLY FOR NEWSWEEK

The Guessing Game

A seasoned operator handicaps the vote—and the punishment. BY GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

IN AUGUST 1993, I SAT BE-side President Clinton as we worked the phones on the president's first big test in Congress, a massive budget-cutting bill. We were eight votes behind with just a few hours to go before the House members cast their votes. One congressman wanted a helium plant kept open in his district. Another wanted to play golf with the president. Another wanted stronger language about deficit reduction in the future. With promises and persuasion, we made it over the top—but it was very close, and we didn't get the last vote until the time was almost up.

That was business as usual on Capitol Hill. Impeachment

is totally different. Vote counting this time is nothing more than a guessing game. It's not like you can buy off an impeachment vote with the usual pork-barrel promises. On a matter this grave, most members of Congress would be insulted by talk of trade-offs.

In the end, of course, most members will vote along party lines. The key for party leaders is to zero in those who might not—the 40 or so potential crossover votes who could push the decision one way or another. This group includes a handful of conservative Democrats who are in favor of impeachment, and an equal number of moderate Republicans who are against it—but who

are afraid to tell their leaders. The others are still truly undecided. They will wait until the last minute, hoping for some kind of political cover—an excuse to vote no. GOP Whip Tom DeLay seems determined to deny them the most convenient out, a vote to censure the president. If he refuses to let a censure motion come to the floor, moderates will face a very hard choice. My own guess is that at the end, the waverers will peer into the abyss—a seamy Senate trial that will drag on for months—and decide to vote against impeachment.

What can the president do to help his own cause? The old Bill Clinton might have tried to

Judiciary Committee sessions were somber—and partisan

bluff his way through—to risk it all on an up-and-down impeachment vote, knowing that if it failed, he would finally be home free. But a newly contrite president signaled last week that he would be willing to accept censure. The real question is whether he will have to do more. He may have to indicate his willingness to pay a big fine. So far, the White House has balked at the suggestion of any figure over \$300,000 (the amount Newt Gingrich paid when he was reprimanded after an ethics probe). The Republicans want \$4.5 million—the cost of Starr's investigation of the Lewinsky matter. My guess is that Clinton will agree to pay whatever it takes. He'll hate it, and so will Hillary, but they'll do it if they have to. Clinton may also have to go beyond expressing his personal shame and contrition and admit he brought dishonor on the office of the presidency. The one thing I predict he won't do is admit that he lied. His lawyers—fearing a possible perjury trial—won't let him. And he doesn't want to admit that he lied because he has convinced himself he didn't. His advisers are torn. They're afraid that such an admission will give some an excuse to vote no to impeachment—but others the perfect pretext to vote for it.

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

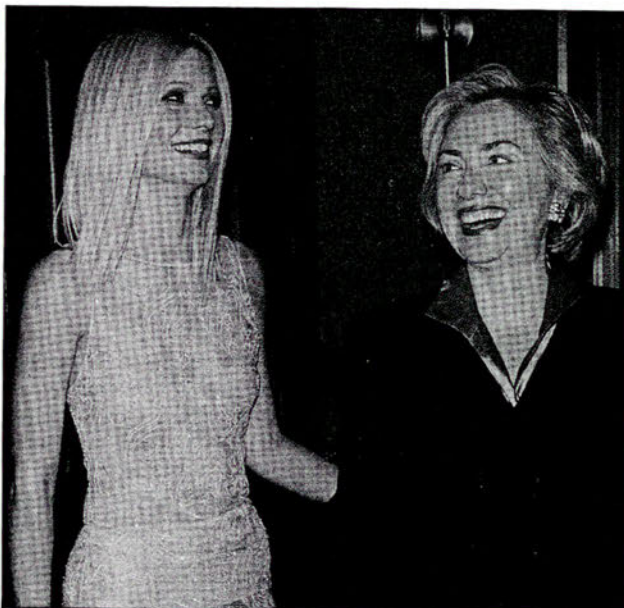
61% believe that in its impeachment deliberations, the House Judiciary Committee did not pay enough attention to what the American people think

votes—expected to be very close—are the crucial test.

The search continued for anyone who could help or broker a deal or sway wavering GOP moderates. The White House geared up a lobbying campaign, but it's an awkward exercise. The basic strategy: to enlist business allies to convince Republicans that impeachment would wreck the economy. Chief of staff John Podesta is the man in charge, but most calls have been left to people outside the White House—indeed, outside the cabinet. "I'm not going to call these business guys," said one cabinet member. "You think I want Ken Starr on my case?" Still, every other avenue was open. Word on K Street was that the White House had examined its 1996 campaign-spending reports, calling any Republican fat cats it could find. Lobbyists allied with both parties, including former members, were calling Hill allies—with God knows what expectations of White House paybacks if the president survives.

Hillary, her friends and allies say, remains aloof from her husband's fight. Publicly stoic, she rebuffed earlier attempts by the "boys" in the West Wing for an all-is-forgiven interview. "She's got no interest in sharing her hurt with the world," says a close friend. Instead, she chose last fall to walk a separate path, as the ultimate good soldier in the campaign. She breakfasted with precinct captains in Chicago, worked the boroughs of New York with Chuck Schumer and hustled California votes for Sen. Barbara Boxer.

Now Hillary works in the limelight on her own time and terms. Building on a four-year relationship with star photographer Annie Leibovitz (who photographed her in 1994 and traveled with her to Africa), Hillary sat for a radiant *Vogue* cover shoot and spread. In New York recently, she lunched with Whoopi Goldberg, popped up at a Miramax movie premiere and taped a Rosie O'Donnell show. "Hillary is my favorite Clinton,"



Hillary hobnobbing with Gwyneth Paltrow (top), Rosie O'Donnell

O'Donnell gushed to *NEWSWEEK*. To some observers, the roadshow was nauseatingly self-aggrandizing, and annoyingly hypocritical for a woman who claims to cherish the role and sanctity of the family—including, presumably, her own. "She came in as Eleanor Roosevelt," wrote *New York Times* columnist Maureen Dowd, "and left as Madonna." To her defenders, it was just the opposite: Hillary was carrying the Democratic torch for her enfeebled husband, and demonstrating strength in the process. "The

last thing she wants is to be a victim," says a close friend.

Hillary and her husband are on another journey, a spiritual one. But they can't walk that one together, either, at least not now. Hillary herself is a devout Methodist who increasingly turns to prayer in times of crisis. She seeks guidance from Ed Matthews, her pastor in Little Rock, and Don Jones, a childhood pastor from Chicago who now teaches in New Jersey. When Clinton reached out publicly to three Protestant ministers for spiritual counseling, they wanted to know if Hillary approved of the idea (she did, wholeheartedly), but they didn't ask her to participate.

The president is serious about his own spiritual quest, according to the First Family's Washington pastor, the Rev. J. Philip Wogaman of the Foundry United Methodist Church. When Clinton couldn't attend services one Sunday in September, Wogaman writes in his new book, Clinton called to receive a personal, over-the-phone version of the sermon he confessed that he would miss.

Perhaps there is an unintentional spiritual meaning in the Clintons' trip to the Holy Land. The Bible evidently was much on the president's mind earlier last week, as he flew back from Al Gore Sr.'s funeral in Tennessee. As Clinton rode to Washington on Air Force One, he talked at length about the history depicted in Scripture. "He was deeply into it," said Howard Baker, the GOP elder statesman from Tennessee. "He talked about it nonstop. Maybe he didn't want to bring up a certain other topic." It wasn't clear to Clinton's companions precisely which Bible stories he found most compelling, those of vengeance or mercy. In any case, his wife wasn't listening. She was sitting far away from the politicians, in another part of the plane.

With DEBRA ROSENBERG in Jerusalem and MATTHEW COOPER, MARK HOSENBALL and DANIEL KLAIDMAN in Washington

3 Alleges that the president "prevented, obstructed, and impeded" justice

REPUBLICANS Year: 21

DEMOCRATS Nay: 16

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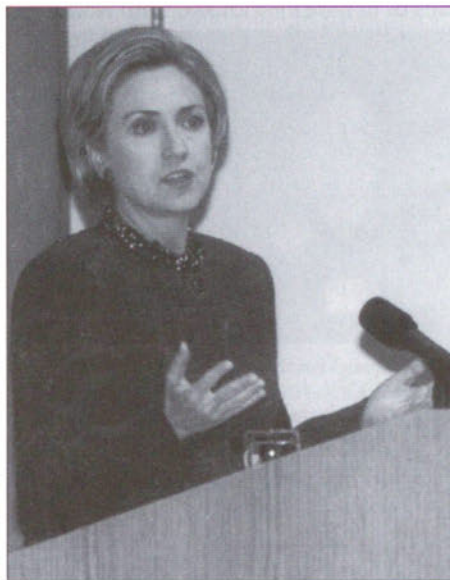
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Campaign Update

WINTER 1999

First Lady Praises Efforts of National Campaign and Media Leaders



First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton addresses the issue of teen pregnancy at a luncheon for the National Campaign.

Calling teen pregnancy “a one-way ticket, not just to a dream deferred, but to the ending of a dream,” First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton applauded the efforts of the National Campaign and called on media and business leaders to become more involved in preventing teen pregnancies.

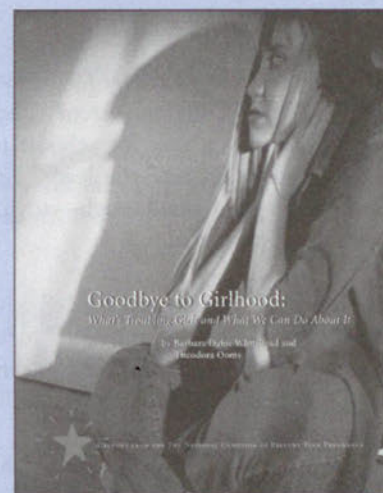
At a New York luncheon hosted for the National Campaign by Ann Moore, President of the *People* Division of Time Warner, and Pat Fili-Krushel, President of the ABC Television Network, Mrs. Clinton noted that the country is at a “turning point in the struggle against teen pregnancy,” but cautioned against complacency. While noting the decline in teen pregnancies and births—particularly among African-Americans—the First Lady sounded a warning about the rates among Hispanic teens. “For the first time in history, Hispanic youngsters have the highest teenage birth rate in the nation,” said Mrs. Clinton.

Mrs. Clinton praised the National Campaign as a “partnership model” that

attempts to bring together the public and private sectors as well as those with profound and differing views on how best to prevent teen pregnancy. The First Lady also applauded the efforts of *People* and *Teen People* magazines for continuing editorial coverage of the issue, ABC television for its ongoing teen pregnancy storyline in the daytime drama *One Life to Live* and its attendant public services announcements, and Black Entertainment Television for its *Teen Summit* programs on teen sexuality. “Imagine what we could do if more of the media did these types of things on a regular basis,” said Mrs. Clinton. “The more the media can portray the gritty reality” of teen pregnancy, the more likely we are to prevent teens from becoming pregnant, she added.

The December 1 luncheon was attended by media celebrities, media executives, business leaders, and others concerned with preventing teen pregnancy. Among those representing the media were

Continued on page 8



Now Available from the National Campaign.
Goodbye to Girlhood: What's Troubling Girls and What We Can Do About It, by Barbara Dafoe Whitehead and Theodora Ooms. See Page 11 for details

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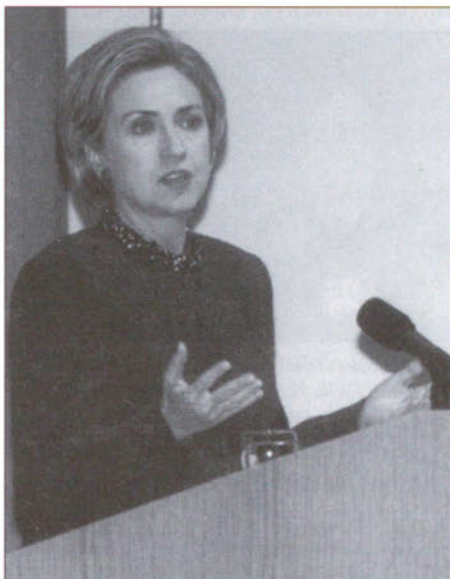
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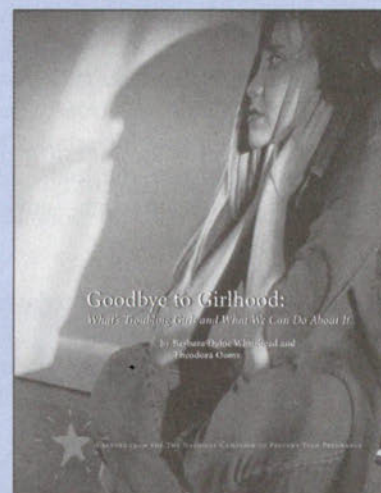
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