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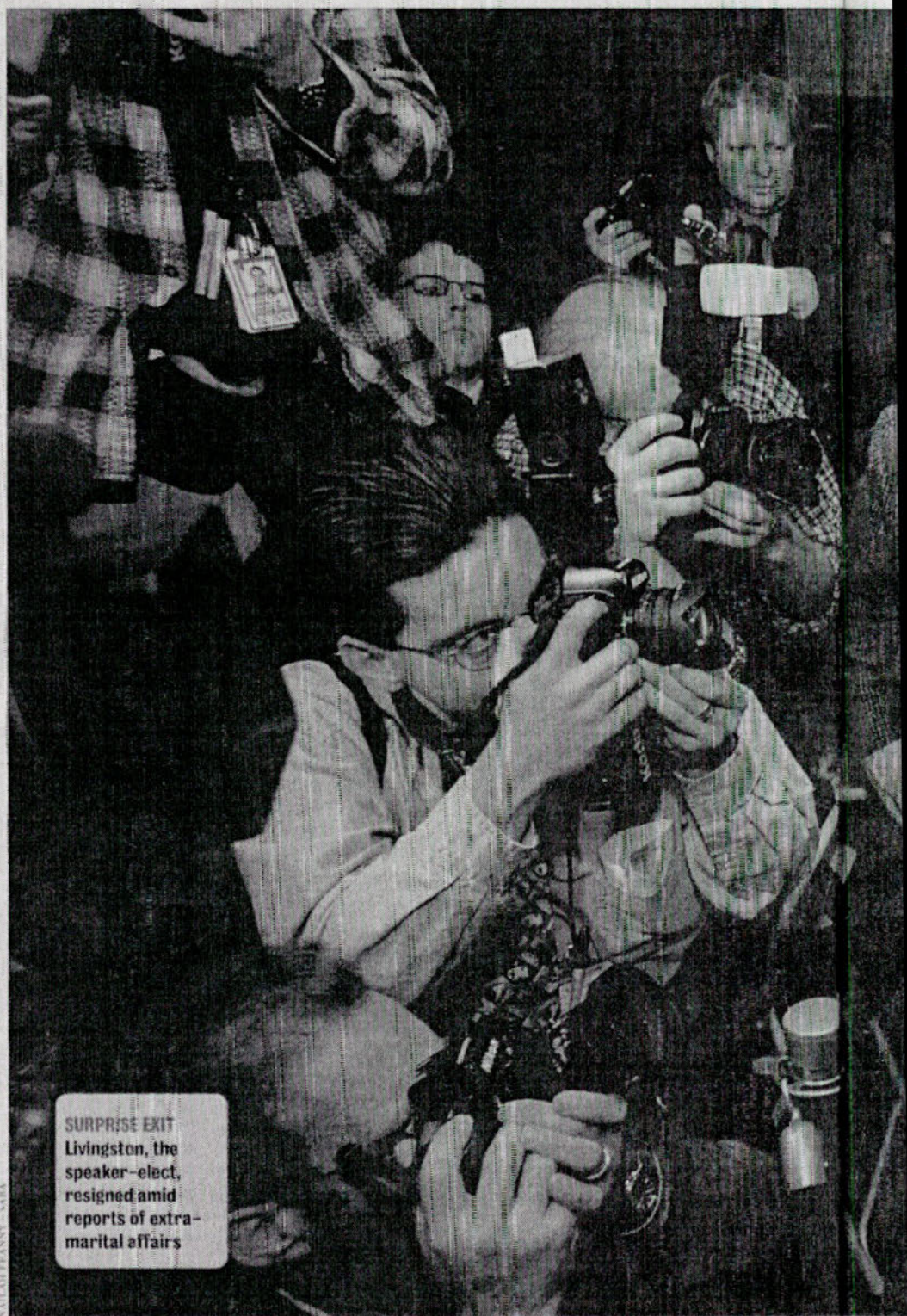


Washington at

WHILE THE HOUSE voted and the bombs fell, the president prayed. A world away, the warplanes he'd ordered into the skies over Iraq rained destruction on military targets. On Capitol Hill, Republicans lined up in the Chamber determined to destroy him. But in the Oval Office there was no TV; political and military aides were elsewhere. Bill Clinton, looking tired and haggard, sat alone on a blustery, steel-gray Saturday afternoon with a friend and spiritual adviser, a Baptist pastor named Tony Campolo. "What will your legacy be?" Campolo likes to ask when he preaches. "How will you be remembered?" As Clinton left the office he learned the answer. As of 1:24 p.m. on Dec. 19, 1998, he would be known by a harsh, rarely used word: "impeached."

After the solemn prayers came the fighting words. With the House vote, Clinton became only the second president—and the first in 130 years—to face a legal trial in the Senate. He now stands formally accused of perjury and obstruction of justice. But the vote margins were razor-thin and sharply partisan. Only five Democrats joined the Republicans in approving the two articles of impeachment. And so afterward, on the lawn near the Rose Garden, the president offered no apologies, and no hint he would resign. His GOP foes, he said coolly, should find a way in the Senate to craft a "reasonable, bipartisan and proportionate" deal to avoid trial. With Hillary Clinton and Al Gore at his side—and 80 House Democrats standing behind him—Clinton vowed to serve "until the last hour of the last day of my term."

Still, it had to be the saddest of moments. Clinton, after all, was impeached exactly one year to the day after Monica Lewinsky received a subpoena to testify in the Paula Jones case—the legal event that triggered the crisis now enveloping him. As he stood beneath a magnolia tree, his jaw jutted, he tightly gripped Hillary's hand and stared off toward the Potomac. He looked puffy-eyed, his eyes welling with tears. As a teenager, 35 long years ago, he had stood near the same spot and touched his future of power and glory. A Boys Nation representative from Arkansas, he'd shaken hands with President John F. Kennedy. The picture was famous.

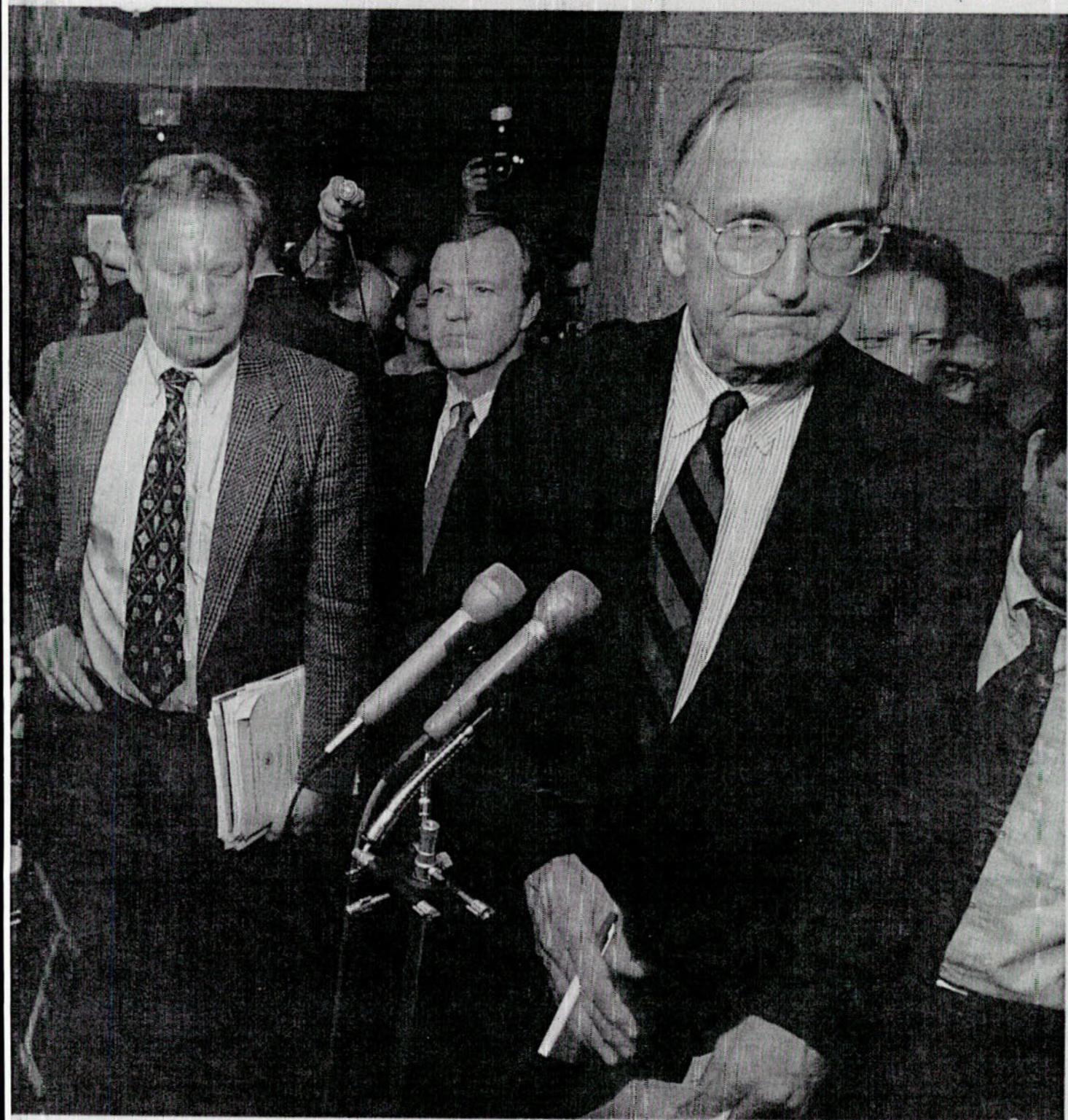


SURPRISE EXIT
Livingston, the speaker-elect, resigned amid reports of extra-marital affairs

War

In a wild finish, the president is impeached,
another speaker falls—and the battle rages on

BY HOWARD FINEMAN AND DEBRA ROSENBERG





but now seemed ironic, even tragic. For the boy has become the man, and his hero is long dead, and a dream fulfilled is a nightmare to be endured.

Clinton once wished aloud that he'd been a wartime president. Now he is one, but—despite the bombs falling on Baghdad—the real war is at home, for his own survival. The next battle is to tamp down talk of resignation. The danger is that an impatient public—angry at the spectacle in Washington—may think the best way to calm the capital is to banish him. Thus the tableau on the lawn, which had one clear message: I'll make a deal, but I'll never quit. The president has some reason to worry. Though his job rating remains high in the NEWSWEEK Poll (62 percent), there are ominous signs: 45 percent say he should resign now that he has been impeached, compared with 49 percent who say he should not.

At the dawn of the last year of the last century of the millennium, America is placid and at peace, but its capital is in chaos. In this self-inflicted Armageddon almost every rule is broken, almost every tradition mocked, almost every act of civility ignored—and almost everyone a casualty. President Clinton is right that Americans are aghast at the sight. In the year of Monica Madness, voters think Washington itself has gone mad. In the NEWSWEEK Poll, by a 3-1 margin, voters agree that the capital has been a bad “example to the world of American democracy in action.” “The politics of smear and slash-and-burn must end,” declared Democratic House leader Dick

Gephardt. His comments brought a rare bipartisan standing ovation at the start of the debate.

And then, of course, the politics of smear and slash-and-burn resumed. It was a measure of the insanity that one of the most feared men in Washington these days is a Beverly Hills pornographer. Two days prior to the impeachment vote, word leaked that Larry Flynt, the combative publisher of *Hustler*, was about to run a story on Rep. Robert Livingston, speaker-elect of the House. It would allege that Livingston had had multiple extramarital affairs within the last decade. When Livingston heard rumors of the story, he confessed he'd “strayed” from his marriage and offered to resign. Republicans backed him and urged him to stay, and he said he would. But the next day Flynt invited reporters to his roccoco offices to claim that Livingston had had “dozens” of affairs. That night GOP members who'd gotten wind of the rumors warned Livingston that he was facing a rank-and-file rebellion. The next morning, only hours before the votes, he announced that he was quitting.

In the old days—in a Washington that is long gone—there would have been a respectful period of mourning. But in these rapacious times, his GOP leadership colleagues rushed off the floor to plot the succession. “The body wasn't even cold,” marveled GOP Rep. Peter King. Majority Leader Dick Army and Whip Tom DeLay—the real organizational power in the

CLOSING RANKS
Gore, Clinton and the First Lady get ready to present a united front against the GOP

House—quickly settled on a candidate: the avuncular Denny Hastert of Illinois. An expert in health-care policy, Hastert is a fresh-faced legislative mechanic. But if he's chosen as the next speaker, he'll face the question of whether he is the real power in the House, or merely DeLay's front man.

Whoever leads the GOP has his work cut out for him: Republicans seem increasingly out of touch with the world outside the Beltway and the standards of fair play that still exist in the country. Though they claimed they were voting for impeachment based on the evidence in the Judiciary Committee report, GOP members also looked elsewhere—to old, unsubstantiated allegations unearthed by Kenneth Starr about Clinton's relations with women besides Lewinsky. At least 40 GOP members, NEWSWEEK has learned, visited a congressional office that came to be known as the “sex vault” to look at the materials.

In the White House, the outcome of the vote was a sadly foregone conclusion. The focus already had turned to how to live with impeachment—and survive it to the end of the term. The first tactical challenge was Livingston's resignation speech. “I hope President Clinton will follow my example,” Livingston had said. Aides pulled Clinton out of a gathering of supporters to seek his response, and quickly put out the word that the president would not resign—and instead would urge Livingston to reconsider. The message: we're both victims of sexual McCarthyism. It didn't turn Livingston around, but may have helped shore up wavering Democrats.

Clinton now is in the environment he understands best: mortal political peril. The next order of business is to prevent any Democrats—in or out of Washington—from calling for his resignation. Two Democratic House members did so, as did one Western state chairman. But Clinton himself called a number of Democratic senators, including Ted Kennedy and Chris Dodd, to ensure that none of the Senate's 45 Democrats strayed into making public comments that might raise questions about his staying power or his ability to win the case.

In the NEWSWEEK Poll, **49%** think it would be better for the country for President Clinton to stand trial in the Senate rather than resign; **45%** say he should quit

61% believe a trial will be at least somewhat disruptive to the country and the economy, and 56% say it's at least somewhat likely that the president will be removed

At the same time, the idea was to stake out a bargaining position for an eventual deal. "They want a deal so bad they can taste it," said a Democratic operative who talks daily to the White House. The president spoke before the vote with Bob Dole about the prospects; Clinton's opponent in 1996 has publicly called for the president to accept censure and a fine in exchange for an end to the case. "I know they talked," said one prominent Republican source. "And I know it won't be their last conversation."

Ironically, the House decision to approve two articles of impeachment may improve the chances for a deal. Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott claimed before the vote that a trial could be completed in days or weeks. But a full trial on both counts could take many months. A simple perjury case would have been relatively easy to try. But

the second count, of obstruction of justice, is both weaker and more complex. It could require a long parade of witnesses and time-consuming testimony. Even the president's most rabid foes may not be interested in a proceeding that drags on and on.

If there is a trial, it is unlikely to begin until at least February. Chief Justice William Rehnquist, NEWSWEEK has learned, was already boning up on rules and precedents. The president, for his part, once again astounded his own aides by his ability to compartmentalize his political life. Even as the House prepared to consign him to a place in history with Andrew Johnson, he met with advisers to crunch the numbers in next year's budget and plan legislative strategy on HMO reform, education and Social Security. "He wasn't just sitting there listening," said economic ad-

viser Gene Sperling. "He was engaged."

There was self-serving spin in such tales, of course, but there was genuine emotion in the East Room in the hours after the House voted to impeach. The atmosphere was eerily giddy, with the death-be-not-proud bravado of an Irish wake. "We will stay with you and fight with you until this madness is over," said Gephardt. Gore told the Democratic House members that "history will judge you as heroes." Then the president stepped forward. "I would give anything," he said, "if you had not been in the position you were in today, and if I had not acted in such a way as to put you there." But he had acted that way, and the war was raging to judge the consequences.

With MATTHEW COOPER, DANIEL KLAIDMAN, MARK HOSEBALL and MATT BAI

'... The Sole Power to Try All Impeachments'

There are still a few diversions that could prevent a Senate trial—the new House might refuse to approve managers; the legality of a lame-duck House's impeaching a president could be challenged; a simple majority Senate vote could adjourn the proceedings and prompt a censure deal. But it is looking ever more likely that a trial will be convened. Based on Senate rules and history, a look at how it might proceed:

① House managers (13 Republicans, if Henry Hyde's choices are approved) are appointed to make the case against President Clinton. Actual questioning of witnesses could be left to a team of hired prosecutors.

② The managers present the articles of impeachment to the Senate.

③ Before the trial begins, witnesses are interviewed and evidence gathered, a process that could take months. During this time the Senate could also renegotiate the existing impeachment-trial rules.

④ A trial is convened in the Senate with Chief Justice William Rehnquist presiding. All proceedings, except the senators' deliberations, would be public—and probably broadcast on TV.

⑤ Each senator takes the following oath: "I solemnly swear [or affirm] that in all things appertaining to the trial of William Jefferson Clinton, now pending, I will do impartial justice according to the Constitution and laws, so help me God."

⑥ The trial proceeds in the manner of an ordinary criminal trial, with the defense and prosecution each allowed to give an opening statement by one person. Both sides present and cross-examine witnesses and may introduce evidence.

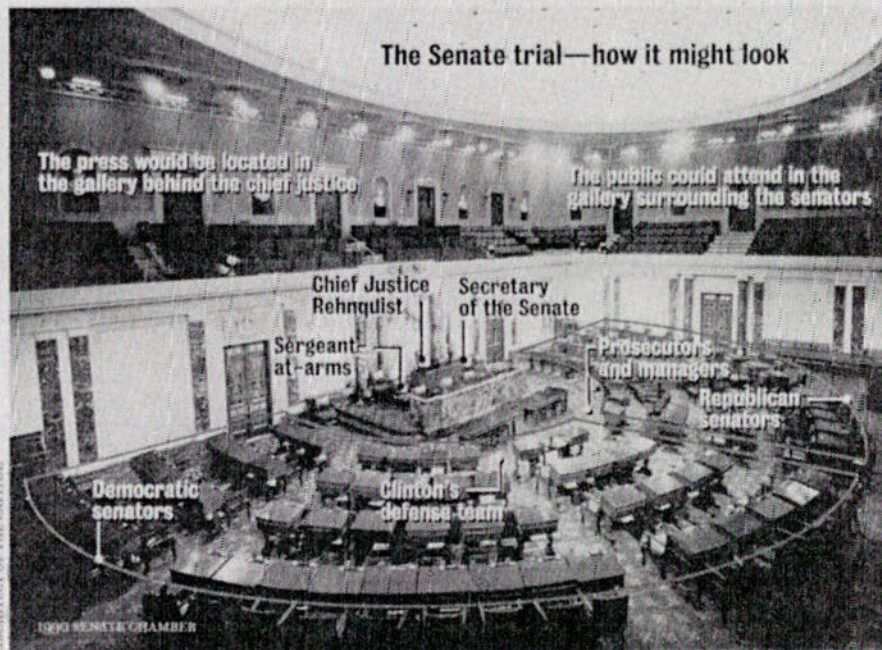
⑦ Senators may submit written questions or motions to the chief justice. Counsel can object to any submission, but a simple majority vote can overturn any of Rehnquist's decisions on matters of evidence, procedure, etc.

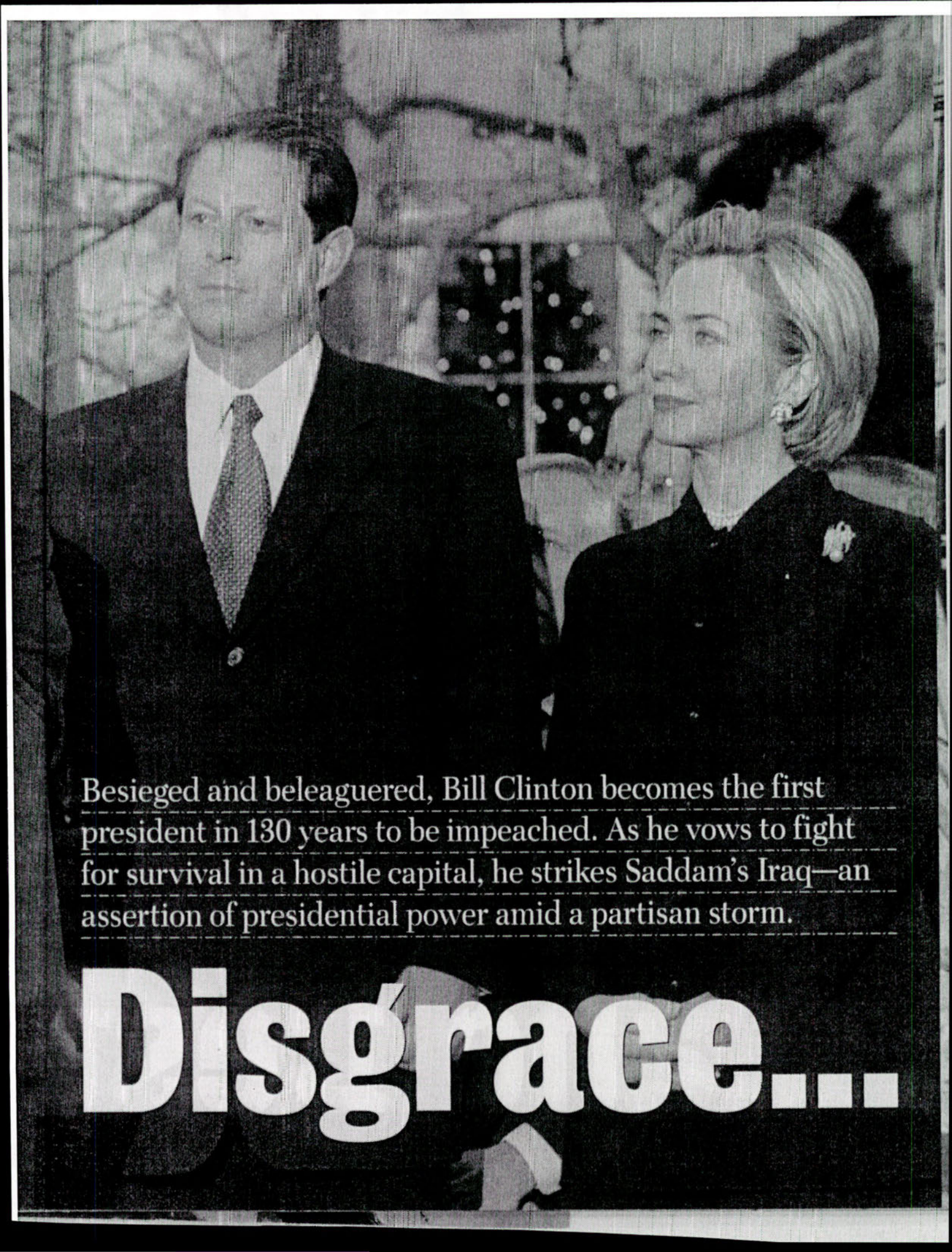
⑧ Closing arguments are made by two people on each side of the case, presumably a combination of counsel and managers.

⑨ The Senate goes into closed session to debate the articles. Each senator has 15 minutes to speak.

⑩ Separate votes are taken on each article. If any passes with a two-thirds majority, Clinton is convicted—and, under Article II, Section 4 of the Constitution, must step down. A further vote can be taken to bar him from future office.

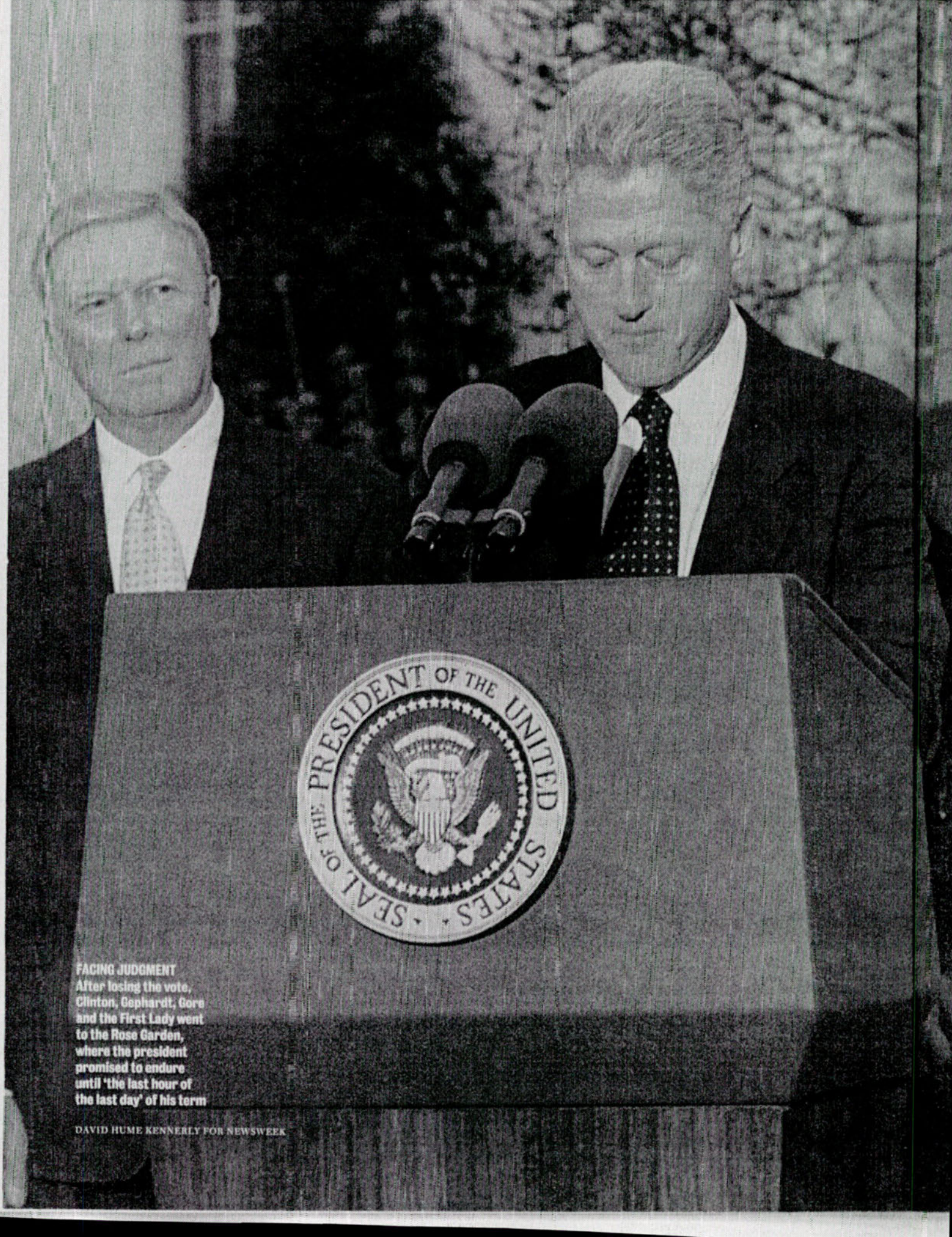
The Senate trial—how it might look





Besieged and beleaguered, Bill Clinton becomes the first president in 130 years to be impeached. As he vows to fight for survival in a hostile capital, he strikes Saddam's Iraq—an assertion of presidential power amid a partisan storm.

Disgrace...



FACING JUDGMENT
After losing the vote, Clinton, Gephardt, Gore and the First Lady went to the Rose Garden, where the president promised to endure until 'the last hour of the last day' of his term

DAVID HUME KENNERLY FOR NEWSWEEK