

That was not planned and that was something that – that’s one of those moments when you have to try to dance quickly but there isn’t much you can do. There are some serendipitous things that will happen no matter how much you plan. I recall going to a World Health Organization summit in Switzerland and I checked into my hotel room and the next day I saw hundreds of troops in the parking lot. So I said, “My goodness, I know the First Lady’s important and we usually get some security, but this is a little beyond the pale. So I called down to our folks and they said, “No that’s not for Mrs. Clinton, that’s for President Castro.” I said, “President Castro? Where is he staying?” “He’s staying in this hotel.” So President Castro of Cuba and First Lady of the United States Hillary Clinton were staying at the same intercontinental hotel in Switzerland. Well, my picture duties at that point became making sure there wasn’t one. Making sure there wasn’t some chance confrontation where we had Fidel Castro shaking hands or throwing a bear hug around the shoulders of the First Lady of the United States. And that was not easy because we do not have a diplomatic relationship with the Cubans so I could not go over to the embassy and ask for the schedule, where’s he going to be. So I had to start using my skills as a detective and you know, finding out the times they had requested to hotel elevator to be held so we wouldn’t end up in the lobby at the same time.

And I recall – one of the things I recall vividly, and I think I right about this in my book was the final week of the 1992 presidential election, when Hillary Clinton was doing many events for her husband because he had lost his voice. And she was at wits end; she was doing five or six states a day. And I was in Ohio, at Ohio University in Athens and we put together what at that time was the biggest crowd you’d ever had, it was 20,000 people. And because of this huge crowd that we built, we had to bring the motorcade behind the building, so she didn’t see this large crowd. And she came in and she was just exhausted, she was just not in a good mood. Just saying, “Another event, oh why do we have to...” And so I said to myself, “Oh my God, she’s going to get up there and scold this crowd, we can’t let this happen. So I pulled her aside and I said, “You’re with me now, you’re with us, the Boston boys, nothing bad is going to happen.” And she just went, [*sighs*]. And so now we had to go walk around to the podium and now she’s so relaxed. She’s so- and so I’m going, “Oh my god, now she’s going to fall asleep before they introduce her. So I

say, "Okay, let's go, go." And I start hitting her, and I'm actually hitting her; rocking her. And the Secret Service is going, [*looking around*], "He's hitting her. But that's Pat, but he's hitting her." So she finally got up and they announced her saying, "the next First Lady of the United States, Hillary Rodham Clinton!" And she walked up there, and boom she nailed it. She was about a foot off the ground, the adrenaline kicked in and she was able to do it. But they're human beings. They're human beings and you've got to keep that in mind. And it's on both sides of the scale. Making sure they have every comfort you could possibly provide for them; that they're not sitting in the sun for 2 hours, getting a wicked sunburn, making sure that they have water that they can drink. Making sure they can have a place where they can have a quiet pull-aside to talk with the kids on the cell phone. Those are all important things.

Labor day weekend, which is usually the kickoff of the really intense of the presidential race, Governor Dukakis was scheduled to come to South Dakota for a rally. And so we had the Minneha County fair grounds, which – Minneha County has Sioux Falls, the largest city in South Dakota. And in order to promote this, we wanted to have the largest crowd we could possibly have; we wanted to have a massive crowd. Bust we gave away hot dogs, and we had ponies and we gave pony rides for the kids. And so I was on TV and I had this [*inaudible*] thing to say. You know, "Come on down, get your hot dogs, your free hot dogs, pony rides for the kids." So the rally was supposed to be on a Sunday and Friday afternoon I came back from lunch. And my secretary said, "The attorney general is on the phone for you." So I picked up the phone and the voice says, "This is Roger Tellinghuisen, the attorney general of the State of South Dakota and I think this rally you're holding is illegal. And if you go forward with it, I'm going to arrest you." I said, "For what?" He said, "For voter bribery." I said, "Who is this really?" He said, "This is Roger Tellinghuisen." I said, "Did you go to law school?" "Of course I went to law school, I'm the Attorney General of South Dakota!" I said, "Listen, pal. That's out and out partisan intimidation. I'll have none of it. If you arrest me, I'll sue you; when I'm done suing you, I'll have your house and the state house. You got that?" I hung up the phone. And so I walked outside and I said to one of my political staffers, "Who is this assistant attorney general telling you this?" He said, "No, it isn't the assistant

attorney general, he's the attorney general." I said, "Of the whole state?" He said, "Yeah." I said, "Get my lawyers on the phone and get them in here now."

Yes, I took advantage of it to get people to the rally. I said, "Hey, exit 15 off of route 90, there's plenty of free parking; bring the wife, bring the kids for the free hot dogs and free pony rides." So now, to Attorney General Tellinghuisen, I have this to say to you, "If you arrest me, I'm suing you, when I'm done suing you, I'll have your house and the state house." I said, put the handcuffs on me." There was dead silence in the room. The press corps had their mouths open. They said, "Can we use that?" I said, "Of course you can!" So, off they go. My South Dakota lawyers are all wringing their hands, saying, "Oh my goodness." Well we had a federal judge who was a Democrat. And he agreed that if I were arrested, they'd set the bail at \$10,000 so that I could get out. So we got \$10,000 in cash and I got my friend [inaudible name], the lawyer from Massachusetts, and we're walking around with \$10,000 cash in pockets, because the attorney general was saying, "I'll arrest you." So fast forward to Sunday, Governor Dukakis's plane landed at the airport and as was custom, I went out and met him and brought out the copy of the local newspaper. And so Governor Dukakis came down to the bottom of the steps and the press corps came all around him with their boom microphones and their cameras and I presented him with the newspaper, and it said, "CHARGES OF BRIBERY" in big black letters and there was my picture on it. And so Governor Dukakis said, "What's this?" I said, "Governor, they want to arrest me." Dukakis looked at me and without missing a beat, said, "Well I've often wanted to arrest you, I just didn't think I could get away with it." So everybody laughed and the attorney general backed down; he didn't have me arrested. But what did happen is that some local political columnist picked up the story and they started deeming it "Weenie Wars." And the attorney general was not reelected the next time around and I think, to this day he thinks it might have something to do with Weenie Wars.

There is a tremendous dichotomy between what the press wants to deal with and what people want to deal with. For instance, I also ran South Dakota for Paul Tsongas back in 1992 when he ran for

President, before I worked for the Clintons. And he had just won New Hampshire. And that night he called me personally and asked me if I'd run another state for me. So I said, "Yeah, I'll go up to South Dakota." And he said, "Well, I was thinking more, another state..." Then he said, "Okay, fine." So I went up to South Dakota and I sat at my desk at the Tsongas for President headquarters, and there was a line of reporters who every day came in to ask the question, "What percentage of the vote is Senator Tsongas going to get in South Dakota?" Now that's a horserace question that doesn't mean anything to a farmer or a factory worker or anybody in South Dakota who's going to make a decision about this. That's for the political professionals. So my answer to this would be, "Senator Tsongas is a great supporter of education, he was a [inaudible]," or talk about agriculture. And they would just get furious and keep asking the question.

Jack Germond who was the dean of the press corps at the time and had written a number of books about the presidential races, and he was not going to take my logic that we should really talk about issues. He wanted to talk horserace and that was it. So finally he said, "I'm Jack Germond. And I demand that you answer the question." I said, "Jack, do you really want an answer?" He said, "Yes." I said, "Go fuck yourself." I said, "Do you want me to spell it for you? I want to be sure you got my name. It's H-a-l-l-e-y, two "l"s. Spell it right." So he left. And the next reporter came up and said, "What's Senator Tsongas's position on education?" And that sort of cured that. So Germond ran into a friend of mine, he was flying out of Sioux Falls and he was going through Chicago and he said, "Do you know this guy Pat Halley?" My friend said, "Yeah." "Well he told me to go fuck myself." He said, "Yeah that sounds like Pat." And ultimately he bought me a steak later on and we kissed and made up, but it – you have to work with the press corps and not let them dictate the way the thing is going to go. Because a lot of the stuff they find interesting is not stuff consistent with the message, not consistent with communication with the people who are actually going to be affected by this – how your candidate's position is different from that of the other candidate and how it could affect their lives.

Quite often, people's perception of what goes into policy-making is at odds with what really goes on. So I can't tell you the number of times

I'd be sitting in a room and listening to the actual policy discussion between President Clinton, the First Lady, Vice President Gore, and then you'd see the Sunday talk shows and the analysts would get up and say "Oh they're doing this, they need to do that," and it's so far from the truth. It's like the weather reporters. These guys don't have to be right all the time. And they don't get paid by the right call or the wrong call. They get paid to talk. And so quite often you have to take some of this analysis you see with a grain of salt, and look for actual, documentary, etc. When somebody says someone's position is derived from this, don't look at that. Go actually look at the position paper. Spend the time. Because it really does affect yourself, your country, your family, your neighborhood. And if you're interested in an issue, spend the time, go look at the website, find out what their position is; ask the question. You'd be surprised by how often you can get a response to something when you actually send in a question. Say, "I'd like to – I know your position is this, but what about that?" And quite often, campaigns are responsive to that, and they might even try to engage you. So it's important that you invest time. Now, the best thing that we have in the country is democracy, but a democracy is dependent on an informed electorate. And that is the responsibility of the electorate – you know, clearly, it's up to the candidates to try to communicate effectively but you can only do that to the extent that people are interested and receptive to those messages.