Hazel Gluck Interview (November 11, 2013)

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: It is November 11, 2013. I'm Marie DeNoia Aronsohn here today with Hazel Gluck for Rutgers University's Eagleton Institute of Politics Center on the American Governor. Today we'll be discussing Hazel's role in Christie Todd Whitman's campaign and administration. Hazel, you were interviewed back in 2010 so my colleague, Michael Aron, covered a lot of your early experiences in your time with the Kean administration so we're going to jump right into your time with Christie Todd Whitman's campaign and administration. When did you first meet her?

Hazel Gluck: Well, I met her parents once many, many years ago and I met Christie actually when she picked up the phone and called me when I was at the Department of Transportation and said, "When are you going to send the money to fix this road?", whatever it was, and I laughed and said, "We'll get on it right away" or whatever. And then she-- he appointed her-- Tom appointed her to become the head of the Board of Public Utilities, and as fate would have it my son at that time was in the governor's office and he prepared her to go before the Senate Judiciary Committee; it was kind of circles within circles. And also when she ran against Bill Bradley I had just opened up my business and I-- there was nothing I could do to help her. I could hardly make a living <laughs> and we'd speak on the phone from time to time, and I am so convinced if the Republican Party had just given her a little bit more money she would have been a United States Senator instead of a governor and I don't know that she would have liked that but—

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: History would have been changed rather significantly.

Hazel Gluck: Totally.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: You worked with her but not in any kind of official capacity in the senatorial campaign--

Hazel Gluck: No.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: --just gave her some advice?

Hazel Gluck: Well, tried to encourage her and talked to her about what was going on and how Bill Bradley was behaving and just chitchat. <laughs>
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Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: Commiserating--

Hazel Gluck: Yeah, right. <laughs>

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: What were your earliest impressions of her?

Hazel Gluck: That's interesting. My earliest impressions were-- of her was that she was very patrician, she was warm but she was maybe a little aloof, and I was wrong. <laughs> It was really interesting because while she does look patrician she certainly is extremely warm and very funny and can get down and have a good old time so that was a nice surprise.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: How did you think she did for her part in that first campaign against Bill Bradley? Were you impressed with the way that campaign came out?

Hazel Gluck: Yeah, I thought she did well. I think that Bill Bradley thought he wasn't going to have much of a campaign and I think she did well. She came very close, very-- without money and yeah, I thought she did well; I was happy.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: That election, when she came so close that night did you say, "Okay. Now I know who's going to be running for governor?" Did you kind of see that path happening?

Hazel Gluck: Well, no. In January-- the following January after the November election for the United States Senate, she called me and she said, "Do you want to have lunch?" and I said, "I'd love to" and we went to what used to be the best political stomping grounds, Lorenzo's in Trenton, and we had lunch and she said to me, "You're going to run for governor" and I looked at her and smiled and said, "No," <laughs> "I'm not." I said, "Are you?" and she said, "I think I'd like to." I said, "Well, then you have my support a thousand percent." And that began a very interesting relationship because she formed a group where she raised money, I guess it was a PAC where she raised money to give to candidates the year before she ran, and I was involved with that and I got to know Christie and John very well and they were delightful. But we worked very hard on that PAC. And then she went into the campaign from that, and of course when she made her announcement <laughs> there was a whole article in the newspaper about her having people work for her that were not legal or maybe they were. Well, I'm telling you it's like stepping on your mouth <laughs> when something like that happens. We had it all laid out what she was going to say and what she was going to do and then this came up, and of course Cary Edwards, may he rest in peace, whom I loved, really-- he jumped on the bandwagon and about a month later we
found out he had an illegal. So I mean it was really-- you can look at it now and laugh; then you wanted to kill yourself. <laughs> You said, "Oh, my God, what's going on here?" <laughs> So it kind of got off to a rocky start.

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** You were basically a strategist for the primary.

**Hazel Gluck:** Yes.

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** What made you decide to support her and not Cary Edwards?

**Hazel Gluck:** Well, that's a very good question, Marie, because Cary and I were in the legislature together. He was very gracious to me. We both met a tax we couldn't vote-- we never met a tax we couldn't vote for; we were both liberals in that sense, I mean certainly for the Republican Party. Female, and I'll tell you he accused me of that. He said, "You're supporting her because she's a female." I said, "You know what, Cary? You're right. I hate to tell you this but you're right just like a black person would support Len Coleman if he were running;” Lenny was in the Kean administration. I said, "You're absolutely right and I'm sorry."

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** Why was it important to you to work--

**Hazel Gluck:** Oh, my God, I don't even know how to express it. I mean to have the first female governor during my lifetime in New Jersey was unbelievable. I mean I thought something like that would never happen. There are a lot of good old boys here and I just thought something like that wouldn't happen and I thought it was time to have a change, and I thought she was competent and while she didn't have necessarily the experience that Cary had. Cary knew the answers to everything, whatever you asked him. When I was in the Department of Insurance he taught me how to run insurance; he knew the answer to that <laughs> <inaudible>. He's just that kind of a guy. And I thought it was maybe a little bit refreshing to have someone who didn't know the answers to everything and who could certainly put things together in a different kind of a way. Females are different in their management style and how they think.

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** Was part of it for you that you knew you would have a real sort of ground-floor influence on this particular campaign and perhaps administration?

**Hazel Gluck:** I'm sorry. What--
Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: Your input would really shape her campaign because of the fact that she's a woman; you had this strong feeling about her.

Hazel Gluck: Yeah, I guess so. I mean when I started with Christie she didn't know anybody; I mean she didn't know anybody so I picked up the phone and called a dear friend of mine who's no longer with us by the name of Frank Holman who was the Republican State Chair. I said, "You've got to get into this campaign" and he said, "Why?" We just kibitzed back and forth, we're each from Ocean County, and I said to him, "You got to do this. This woman really has the potential for the governorship and you got to do this, and she needs introductions to a lot—" And he had lots of friends in labor so we dragged her all over the state, Holman, Judy Shaw, me. We just dragged her all over the state. We had—that first year when she was raising money for other people, had to meet people she had never met before. She could talk to them and I think she charmed a lot of them frankly.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: Did you have an official role in that campaign?

Hazel Gluck: You mean in the primary?

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: Both campaigns. What was--

Hazel Gluck: I don't know what I had in the primary. <laughs> I was co-chair of the campaign and maybe I was co-chair of the primary. I don't remember really. Titles didn't matter. For me, I left my business; I absolutely walked out and said to my business partner, "You do this. I'm out of here. I want this woman to win" so I spent 24/7—

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: From the beginning--

Hazel Gluck: From the beginning, from that luncheon in January.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: And that was it.

Hazel Gluck: That was it.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: That's commitment. Talk to us if you would about your role in mobilizing Women for Whitman. It was a very significant organization.
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Hazel Gluck: Well, this was during the campaign and I thought just the-- I mean Christie wouldn't make a big deal out of the fact that she was a woman and I tried to get her to allude to it and every once in a while. I succeeded but not very often, and there were a lot of guys in the campaign and I wanted to do this Women for Whitman and they said, "Ah, that-- it'll never work and blah blah blah." I said, "Well, if it doesn't work, it doesn't work but I think it's going to work" so they patted me on the head and said, "Okay. <laughs> You go try and do this" and we talked to every woman who was the deputy county chair-- whatever she was-- in each county in the state we told them there was going to be Women for Whitman and we brought in a national speaker. We told them that we couldn't afford to get them buses but we would suggest if they could get buses through their county organization to get them. But, lo and behold, the night of this event they came from everywhere across the state. There must have been four or five hundred women there that night and the guys were standing there including Mr. Rollins <laughs> like this. And I just knew because this was just the first woman serious candidate-- at that time she was the candidate. This was the first serious female candidate for the governorship and I knew that women were proud, I just knew.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: And at that event because of the turnout and because of the energy I'm imagining it really just spelled out--

Hazel Gluck: Yeah, it did.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: --justified what you had said, which is that this was going to be--

Hazel Gluck: I don't think you had to be a genius to know that the women were proud. The guys don't know but okay, <laughs> we wouldn't expect them to, but I think the women knew. Whether they were Democrats or Republicans, I think they knew that this was something different. It would almost be like Hillary running for President of the United States. You'd look at a Republican or a Democrat female who would say, "Wow. This is big."

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: Was that a turning point in your mind, that event--

Hazel Gluck: Yeah. I think what it did was all the women there from all over the state it ginned them up. We were crazy we were so excited, and I think it really ginned her up too because she had been in a gun store before that. One of the aides had taken her to a gun store. I mean we had our little moments and I don't think that was handled particularly well. She could certainly go into a gun store. I support the First Amendment but it just wasn't
handled well. I mean you don't have to go around killing people just because you support people's right to have a gun.

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** Right, and that of course became a campaign theme against her with the guns and--

**Hazel Gluck:** Yeah, and we weren't as sophisticated then as we are now about those things.

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** Her first-term victory against Governor Florio was a narrow one. What do you remember about that?

**Hazel Gluck:** Oh, God, I'll never forget that night. I thought I was going to have a heart attack. <laughs> It was very close and finally the phone call came and I was crazy, and we called-- Judy Shaw actually called and said to the State Police, "Send a woman over. We want a woman to go down with her," "Oh, no, no, no," jumping around, we want a woman to go down with-- So they sent over this gal who was just a great lady, and when we were on the elevator going down I turned to her and I said, "Well, it's about time we got a female on this detail." <laughs> And I remember going on the stage with her. I just-- I had tears in my eyes. I could not-- I mean it chokes me up now. I just-- I couldn't believe it; I just couldn't believe that the dream came true.

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** The dream that a woman would be governor, the dream that this woman would be governor.

**Hazel Gluck:** Yes, all of it.

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** All of it.

**Hazel Gluck:** All of it.

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** And it was historic because she unseated an incumbent--

**Hazel Gluck:** Right—

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** --and--
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Hazel Gluck: --But I was used to close elections. Tom Kean's <laughs> first election was by the hair of his chinny-chin-chin too so I mean it was—

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: I guess it must have been crazy in the weeks leading up to that election--

Hazel Gluck: It was.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: --in terms of just getting out there and getting the message--

Hazel Gluck: It was, and Rollins and Christie's brother spent a lot of time yapping together, "Do this. Do that" and I happened to sit in the same area where they were and I didn't always agree but we talked through a lot of stuff. It was fascinating for me. I mean I had never been at that level. I had never been involved-- I wasn't involved in Tom Kean's election per se so I had never ever been involved at that level and common sense makes up for a lot of things in your lifetime that you haven't done or that you're going to do. And common sense-- who was it, Coleridge, who said, "Common sense is what the world calls wisdom"? <laughs> So there's not a lot of it around so—

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: I can imagine this energy going forward in those last couple of weeks. Is there anything that you can recall that really surprised you about the electorate and its reaction to her? Maybe it was resistance to having a woman governor, I guess not strong enough, but did you--

Hazel Gluck: Well, that's-- I think that's possible and I think that-- I mean this was all very new and I think that having a female as the head executive-- and that's something I think will happen in the national election as well if a woman runs. Yeah, it was just insanity that last week. She was up; she was down; she was this; she was that. The pollsters make you nuts too. After all-- I just couldn't stand it; I really couldn't. I was such a wreck.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: And then Ed Rollins--

Hazel Gluck: Yeah.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: Were you involved in any of the damage control after that?
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**Hazel Gluck:** Well, the only thing that I was involved in vis-à-vis damage control was when-- <laughs> this is a funny story-- when Sharpton and--

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** Jesse--

**Hazel Gluck:** --Jackson came to town and parked in the middle of the street on State Street, just parked, left the cars right there, and the police called and we said, "Well, what do you want from us?" <laughs> and came upstairs to speak to Christie because Rollins had intimated that we had bought the black vote, which-- when I heard that I almost collapsed 'cause I knew nothing of anything like that. And when they came to see her she had a conversation with them and they came out and they were thrilled-- <laughs> they were "Okay." The only part that I played was with John Sheridan. At that particular moment we both stood on either side of a lectern where behind us were all the media using foul language, they were like "Get the f--- out of the way, I mean it was really-- And we're standing there, he on one side of the lectern, me on the other, and we looked at each other and said, "This is what we-- this is it for us?" <laughs> "What are we doing here?" <laughs> That was the only part we played. <laughs>

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** It must have been stressful--

**Hazel Gluck:** It was stressful but they calmed down; the media calmed down as soon as the two guys spoke and she spoke and that was the end of it.

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** Did you ever have a doubt as to whether or not that was true?

**Hazel Gluck:** I never thought it was true, never.

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** You played a significant role in the transition. Tell us about that.

**Hazel Gluck:** Well, John Sheridan and I were locked away <laughs> because we were interviewing for cabinet officers and we spent-- I don't know-- probably three or four weeks doing that and we were to get three people for each position, and we did that and then Christie saw them and she did her pick. There were a lot of names that you would know, but one that really stood out-- a guy by the name of Len Fishman who I know very well came in to be interviewed. And he wanted to be Health Commissioner, a lawyer, not a doctor, brilliant, wrote the Continuing Care Retirement Act for New Jersey, and I loved the guy; I just knew he'd be perfect. They didn't need doctors; they had enough doctors running around. It's like having an engineer on the Department of Transportation; you don't need an
engineer. And when I went back to Christie she said, "Well, he can't do it." I said, "Yes, I know. You'd have to change." "I don't want to spend any capital I have on changing the legislation." I said, "Okay, if you feel that way but please meet him." She said, "Okay, I'll meet him for you." Well, of course she fell in love with him. She went back and she changed the legislation and he became the Commissioner of Health, I mean just a funny story. I knew that she would just be crazy about him, the same thing with Ginny Long when Ginny Long was appointed for the judgeship. I love Ginny Long. She's funny, she's got attitude, she's a great lady, and I had spoken with her and she said, "Well, she doesn't know me." I said, "Well, she'll know you. Don't worry about it" and I called up -- it was one of the rare times I called during the administration and I said to her, "Look. I just would like you to meet Ginny Long. I think you'll just think she's terrific." They met and they couldn't stop talking and she nominated her for the Supreme Court and she was a terrific justice; she's a great lady--

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: Back to Len Fishman just for a second. When you said that you didn't need doctors, you didn't need engineers, what did you need? You were looking for somebody more of a visionary, somebody to articulate a vision.

Hazel Gluck: Yeah, absolutely. Tom Kean had a cabinet mostly of generalists. I only have one degree. Okay? I don't have a master's; I was too lazy to go get it. I only have one degree but what does that mean? Everybody in the governor's cabinet has to be a lawyer? I mean that is as far as I'm concerned <laughs> the kiss of death. When we were at the lottery we had these strip places outside of Camden, these little places where you go for peep shows and stuff like that, they wanted the lottery. Now I didn't consult a lawyer, I just said "no," and someone came to me and said, "Well, they'll sue you." I said, "Good. Let them sue." I mean there were just things that you don't need to have a legal mind for. If you've got a brain and you can absorb what your job is supposed to be, within six months you're running some place. We looked for people who could look beyond their nose, beyond the state the way it was. She and Linda Anselmini who was head of personnel at the time and Judy they went out to different states to see how they could change some of the things which needed to be changed that had to do with personnel and had to do with civil service. They almost got it done but she left just before and then when she went it was all blown up. It took a lot of years to get to that point but she wanted to have people that could just do different things, just treat it differently.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: After the Governor was sworn in, what role did you play at that point? Did you serve on a board or a commission within the administration?

Hazel Gluck: No, nothing, nada. I was on the Port Authority and I thought about it and I resigned, which is probably the biggest mistake I ever made.
Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: Why?

Hazel Gluck: Because— I resigned because I thought well, I'm her friend and they're going to say this; they're going to say that. You know why? It wouldn't matter what they said. It was a mistake, I shouldn't have done it, and I was worried about my business but I was always worried about my business. I didn't serve on anything during her administration. I didn't serve on anything and I wasn't involved unless I knew there was some kind of catastrophe waiting somewhere, which really never happened that I knew.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: Were you sort of part of the rapid response team if they needed that?

Hazel Gluck: But you know what? An interesting perception was that because I had worked with her for a couple years that I was able to pick up the phone and call and get whatever I wanted. I have to tell you that in the eight years I never went to her once. Now maybe that's a foolish woman talking but I never went to her once for anything and why? Because you go through the departments of state and you go through the commissioners if you've got an intellectual argument that makes sense. This is a little bit different than lobbying with the legislature. If you've got an intellectual argument that makes sense, you can get from point A to point B. Call the governor? You don't do that. I used to send Judy Shaw who was my business partner— I used to send her every month a list of my clients so that she would not be involved in talking with them so that anybody could say that it was a conflict of interest.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: You had to be very careful with Judy—

Hazel Gluck: I thought so. Now I don't know what a guy would have done but I thought so. I didn't want to hurt Christie, I didn't want to hurt Judy, and I sure as hell didn't want to hurt me. <laughs>

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: That makes sense. Do you think that Governor Whitman made a difference as a woman for women?

Hazel Gluck: Yeah, I do. I mean Barbara Buono ran. I think there will be another woman who will run. I don't know if it'll be in my lifetime; I hope so. I think there'll be another woman that'll run. If Chris Christie runs in the primary, the lieutenant governor who nobody hears from, who happens to be very bright, she'll be right there so if he's successful she'll be running the state, and will she run? Yeah, I think she'll run again. People don't know her but she'd be in a great position and people can learn about her. She's no fool. It's just that the
lieutenant governor's job is like the vice presidency used to be, push it to the side. Yeah, I think she made a difference for women. The system here in New Jersey is a very strange one because the governorship is the most powerful in the country. We don't elect the attorney general, we don't elect the insurance commissioner, thank God. It's just the governorship. Other states they elect other people so that you can have a sort of a farm team, if you will, coming up. There's been a little farm here. It's like "Okay, you want on? Okay, sure. If you can get the money, run." <laughs> It's crazy.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: The county, right, more than anything or not? I don't know.

Hazel Gluck: I think so. But, Christie ran outside of the system. They didn't want her.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: Tell me about that.

Hazel Gluck: She raised her own money from her own group of friends. John has been in finance for years so they knew people on Wall Street; they knew people in the Hills. I mean they knew a lot of comfortable-- or should I say wealthy people. They gave money to the campaign, part of her family. She didn't go the traditional route because the traditional route was blocked for her. Now once she won the primary, the only person that came over immediately was Chuck Haytaian. He was right there, God bless him. That was it; she won; he was there. I can't say the same thing for the Senate but she ran outside the system. The system never would have picked her but it took someone who had wealthy connections and who was wealthy themselves to be able to do that.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: The system wouldn't have picked her even after that very close race with Senator Bradley?

Hazel Gluck: There was a big pushback. I mean once she got elected the front office was known as Menopause Alley. It was disgusting if you <laughs> want my opinion. We could have called them Testosterone-- whatever, but-- and I used to say to Christie, "For God's sake, have a dinner at Drumthwacket and invite their wives." "I don't want to do it." "Christie, please."

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: Why did you think that would be helpful?

Hazel Gluck: Because I think pillow talk's very important and I think that if she had done it she would have probably been on a little better terms with them. They weren't going to make it easy but if she charmed the women and the women went home and said, "I don't
know what you're carrying on about. She's a lovely lady" or something like that it probably would have-- I think it would have helped frankly. I tried to explain to Christie-- I mean she was to the manor born, I'm a kid from Brooklyn, and between my ability to assert myself and her self-effacing self was a middle road and a lot of times I thought she was too self-effacing. She did very little bragging. What came out of that administration as to what was accomplished I thought was bad PR.

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** She had some real attraction in the media.

**Hazel Gluck:** Yes, because she kept promises-- kept her promises about taxes and a lot of other things, but I have to say that Jim McGreevey made mincemeat out of her when he ran. I mean he just made mincemeat out of her, and if you talk to the average person today-- I was at a barbecue a couple of summers ago and we were talking-- I don't know how we got into politics 'cause I don't like to-- "That Christie Whitman, she stole money from the pension fund. She did this. She did that." I said to him, "Time out. You're talking about a friend of mine." "You? I can't believe you're-- she's your—" There are still people out there that think that she was not a good governor, that she didn't do many things, and not too long ago here at Eagleton there was a round table and she was here and one of the gentlemen who served as treasurer explained the whole pension fund thing and it was the first time I heard the explanation. That's what I mean about not being able to translate what they were doing into something that had to do with public relations. She still wears that around her neck, not that the rest of them didn't pay it back. The only one paying it back is Chris Christie, not that the other governors paid it back but that she took it in the first place, and what I found out was that the pension fund was funded 105 percent even after they took what they took.

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** That wasn't communicated is what you're saying--

**Hazel Gluck:** Oh, not at all.

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** Still?

**Hazel Gluck:** Yeah, absolutely.

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** --a contention against her.

**Hazel Gluck:** Absolutely.
Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: At the point when she was a favorite in the national media, they were even talking about her as a vice-presidential candidate, what did you think about that? What was that like for you?

Hazel Gluck: Well, it was wonderful if they were serious but I never met a governor in New Jersey who didn't think they were going to be vice president or something like that. Because of the off-year election, it puts them in a position where they could be considered for a run for something on the national level. I thought it was great but I knew that those things come and go. You're somebody's sweetheart one week and the following week you're not.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: So you weren't getting overwhelmed.

Hazel Gluck: I didn't want her to leave, period, when she left at the end of her second term.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: Did having a woman leader affect who held power during the transition?

Hazel Gluck: Absolutely. She chose the first female Chief of Staff. There were women all over the place and I'm sure that-- well, I know that wasn't the case in other transitions. I know it, and it was a lot of fun. I went up to one transition office-- one Democrat transition office. It was so quiet you could have heard a pin drop, so quiet. In our transitions offices, people were carrying on, laughing, yelling back and forth. I mean there was a lot of joy so yeah, absolutely women had a lot of power or perceived power, whatever that means. I think women have trouble using power, which is another whole topic, because I think they think it has something to do with their femininity.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: Did that hold people back in this administration--

Hazel Gluck: Yeah. Margaret Thatcher didn't have that problem but <laughs> I think a lot of women do. I think they equate it with whether they're being feminine. I think if that's how you feel wear ruffle power and do your job. <laughs>

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: A little frustrating. Considering how much you put of yourself into the campaign and getting a lot of those women where they were, at that point you wanted to probably see them really step into the role.
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**Hazel Gluck:** Yeah, and a lot of them did but I think the tone's always set at the top.

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** I was going back through the interview that you had done earlier with Michael. You mentioned that you felt Tom Kean was very instrumental to the fact that Christie Whitman won. How is that?

**Hazel Gluck:** Well, because he gave her a job in the administration and he encouraged her and the day she was sworn and she signed the piece of paper that cut taxes ten percent, which I thought was wonderfully dramatic, was great. He was standing alone next to those big, heavy curtains in the War Memorial there that always look like they need to be cleaned and I went up to him and I said to him, "You have to be very proud." You know Tom, "So I'm proud." I said, "No, no, no, you don't understand." I said, "You have to be very proud" I said "because it's partially because of you that she is the first female governor." "What do you mean?" I said, "Well, you gave her a chance." I said, "You gave us all a chance," which was true. I mean most of the people that worked for Tom Kean-- most of the women that worked for Tom Kean were-- they were judges, they were this-- whatever it was, federal judge, I mean it just-- lobbyist, <laughs> whatever it was. They went on to wonderful things and he gave them the opportunity. He didn't care. As long as you could do the job, he didn't care. You could be black, white, yellow, pink and orange, you could be gay or straight, you could be-- I mean he didn't care. That was not the point and he was absolutely right; that's not the point. The point is whether you can handle something, whether you've got the smarts.

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** What do you think were some of Governor Whitman's greatest strengths?

**Hazel Gluck:** I think one of her greatest strengths were the things that she believed in and the things that she said she would do because she believed in them she did. They were not vacuous campaign promises so she kept her eye on the ball; she was focused. I think that's a great strength to her credit. I mean a lot of people they get in, they get all turned around with the office and the fuss and the driver and the this and the that. She didn't and that was really a great strength of hers and she had a sense of humor. I mean when we were in the transition office she always wanted to sneak downstairs and go outside 'cause it was claustrophobic. Too much after a while for her, and the State Police don't want her-- so one day I'm walking around and she said, "Psst." I said, "What?" She said, "Come here." She said, "I'm going out." I said, "You are not going out alone. I'll go with you." Now there were cow bells they hung on the door because she was constantly trying to sneak out.

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** Governor?
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Hazel Gluck: Right, exactly. And I had to hold the cow bells so they're wondering. Well, she went down the stairs and then I let go of them, I shut the door, and I went down after her. She said, "Oh, my God." I said, "We're on State Street." "Oh, it's so good to be out in the fresh air." I said, "You're right. It's so stuffy up there," we're yack, yack, yacking away, and coming towards us <laughs> was one of the captains of the State Police so we got caught, not by the guys upstairs but by the guy who was coming back, but she was notorious for that. When she became governor she went out the back door 'cause there's a back door in the chief of staff's office or what was the Chief of Staff's office and Judy went with her and where did she go? She went over and knocked on the window of the Democrat offices.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: She said "Hi"?

Hazel Gluck: Yeah. So they said, "Oh, my God, the Governor, come in" so she went in and met everybody in the office. I mean she had a real sense of humor about it all. The business was serious but I don't think she thought it was that serious, which was really admirable because a lot of people get off on the whole thing and they become insufferable and she didn't have an insufferable bone in her body, doesn't to this day.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: What were her major accomplishments in your point of view?

Hazel Gluck: Oh, my God, I'm not going to remember all of them.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: Just highlight a couple. How did she use that strength, the tax cuts you mentioned? How did it affect power outside of government?

Hazel Gluck: Well, outside of government it affected me personally because my business just boomed. I'd be walking into my office; I had to shove them out. <laughs> I mean the guy who owned Bally's, Arthur-- he died at a young age unfortunately. He walked into my office, we shook hands, I said, "How are you? Blah blah blah." He said, "I want you to represent me." Now come on. I mean all of a sudden? Right? I said, "Really." He said, "Yes." He said, "Look. I'm going to tell you straight up. I'm a Democrat. I don't know anything about Republicans. I need a Republican lobbyist" and we started to talk and we didn't have a contract, we shook hands, okay, and the next thing you know Joel Stern, may he rest in peace, whom I adored, called me and said, "Listen. Trump wants to see you." <laughs> I said, "Really." He said, "Yes. He wants you to represent him." I said, "I can't. I'm representing Arthur." He said, "Well, please." I said, "For you I'll go to lunch" so I went to lunch and of course he walks in-- we're up at the Marriott at the airport-- he walks in and now everybody's passing out with his hair-- that's when he was sane-- and he wanted me to
represent him and I said, "I can't do it." And he said to me, "Well, do you have a contract?"
I said, "No. We shook hands" so he said, "Well, that's foolish." He said, "I'll give you a
contract right away." I said, "Huh uh. My word is my bond. I'm not doing it." He said, "Well, Arthur
won't mind" so I said, "Okay, I'll check with him." I went back; I called Arthur. He
said, "What? Are you kidding me? <laughs> "Are you out of your mind?" <laughs> but what
happened to me and I'm sure happened to Nancy Becker, who was the only other female
and she was the first female lobbyist. They just started coming in the doors to the
Republican thing and we never looked back. So the perception of power and having the
power that they thought that you had or that you would use enhanced a lot of people's well-
being and-- I don't know-- made life a whole lot easier I'll tell you that. <laughs>

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** Changed perspectives.

**Hazel Gluck:** Oh, yeah. I made a living and you're right. <laughs>

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** You mentioned the kitchen cabinet--

**Hazel Gluck:** Oh, yeah. When they first went in they had-- this was Judy's idea-- they had
a kitchen cabinet, it was made up of some really terrific people, Jim Weinstein, John
Sheridan, me, Phil Angarone and-- I don't know-- maybe one or two others and we used to
meet once a month, once every three weeks, and we'd talk about some of the problems
they were having in the administration. What are we going to do? What are they going to do
with this guy or that guy, and <laughs> so give them an appointment and <laughs> I'll be
slaphappy. So that went on for a while and then it sort of petered out. I always thought
that's a good thing for any governor to have. Some governors probably couldn't take it but
it's a good thing for any governor to have because you're on the outside and you see it from
a different perspective. You read about it in the papers. It's a whole different perspective,
and she appointed a lot of people-- a lot of females to a lot of positions. Nancy was
appointed to the Turnpike and Harriet Derman was appointed-- eventually she became Chief
of Staff after Judy and then she went on to the Department of Community Affairs or maybe
it was vice versa, but there were lots of women around. Debbie Poritz became the first
Attorney General. When we had the problem with Rollins, the genius attorneys were
coming-- just walking into the office to see if they could have-- Oh, I finally called Debbie
Poritz. I said, "Get down here. <laughs> Right now get down here."

**Marie DeNoia Aronsohn:** Because you trusted her because you thought it was important
that a woman--
Hazel Gluck: Both. I trusted her plus I worked with her when we were both in the Kean administration. I trusted her implicitly and I thought there should be a woman there. I mean come on. So she came down and she got involved and "bingo," she became Attorney General and then she went to the Supreme Court and became the Chief Justice so there were stories like that. I mean women meant a lot to her. I can't tell you how many boards and commissions there are in the state of New Jersey, thousands. Some of them are just not necessary at all but thousands and there were all kinds of women, CPAs and attorneys and moms and you name it that were appointed to these boards so it changed the flavor of government during those eight years-- seven years. It changed the flavor of government and people got opportunities they never-- women got opportunities they never would have had. You sit on a board or something-- I mean interestingly enough I was appointed to the Port Authority from Tom Kean but you sit on a board like that or any of these authorities and you learn a whole different perspective. Guys get opportunities like that all the time; women don't.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: When looking at it now and at that time as you were observing from the kitchen cabinet what do you think were some of the weaknesses of this governor?

Hazel Gluck: Well, I told you before I think she was too self-effacing. I really don't think they told the story because when McGreevey started on her she was not bulletproof and she should have been bulletproof. Did she make some mistakes? Yeah, she made some mistakes; everybody makes mistakes. I mean one of the biggest mistakes she made probably was the pat-down in Camden. When I saw that in the paper I was pissed. Okay, but as I said everybody makes mistakes but she should have been bulletproof in a lot of ways. I don't think she was because she was too self-effacing. She wouldn't let them go out and say, "These are the list of accomplishments. This is what we're going to do. This is what I have in mind for my second term." I mean she talked about it and then she did it but who knew? I really think that was her upbringing; I really think it's her upbringing as an Anglo-Saxon Protestant--

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: You don't brag.

Hazel Gluck: You don't brag; they're very self-effacing; that's right.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: You said that Jim McGreevey made mincemeat out of her. In what ways did you think his campaign, his opposition stuck, resonated?

Hazel Gluck: Well, she was a two-term governor. Okay?
Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: Yes.

Hazel Gluck: I mean there was not a necessity for him to be as nasty as he was, no necessity at all. I don't care what the topic was or what he was picking on her for, it wasn't necessary. You want to talk about issues, you want to talk about policies, you want to talk about where you disagree but you know what the term "mensch" is-- "mensch" means?

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: Yes.

Hazel Gluck: Yeah, well, he wasn't. He just-- he thought he was in Woodbridge and he just kept at it and it was very distasteful as far as I was concerned, and I think her reputation to this day suffers as a result of that but that's partially their fault-- that administration's fault.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: How would you compare her to other governors you've worked with? I know you worked with Tom Kean.

Hazel Gluck: Well, I mean that's a hard comparison to make. The interesting thing to me is that they both came from money and they both understood a lot of things about middle-class people that you would not have expected that they would understand, Christie maybe more about women and she cared more about programs and welfare mothers. But probably the best politician I ever met in my life is Tom Kean. He just was. I was on the inside. See, I wasn't on the inside of the Whitman administration so it's kind of a hard comparison but he was the best politician-- he is the best politician I've ever met.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: What about her administration as a whole, looking at the seven years? How would you assess it?

Hazel Gluck: I thought it was good; I really do. I thought it was a good administration. I thought she accomplished a lot. I was really sorry to see her go to Washington. EPA is a lousy job from day one. I mean Cheney did her in. Cheney, Cheney, however you pronounce his name, <laughs> but he did her in and I just-- and she left and I have to say that she left with a billion-dollar surplus, no easy trick, okay, and everybody was happy; I mean they had to be. The economy went down, it was like a rainy-day fund that everybody wants to have, and the gentleman who came in after her just threw it all away—

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: You're talking about Governor DiFrancesco?
Hazel Gluck: Yeah, I'm talking about Don DiFrancesco 'cause he thought he was going to run for governor and he could care less about anything else so he just frittered it all away, and with that went her reputation too. She never asked me if I thought that she should go--

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: --advise her.

Hazel Gluck: She never asked me if she should go to EPA 'cause she probably knew what I would say but she never asked me.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: If she had, you would have said--

Hazel Gluck: No—

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: Because of the legacy or--

Hazel Gluck: Yes, because of the legacy, stay here and finish out your term. EPA's-- see, the problem was that Bush would have given her a cabinet post I think but the conservatives were beside themselves 'cause they didn't want a pro choice woman in any one of the cabinet-- They were nuts, not as crazy as they are in 2013 but they were still off the wall then and he just felt I guess he couldn't do it. He could have done it but he just felt he couldn't do it.

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: With your experience as part of her campaign and her administration and the role that you were in, did you feel that it was historic? Do you think you've had a hand in changing New Jersey history?

Hazel Gluck: Yeah, sure I feel proud. I mean to me it was a dream come true and I feel proud I could have been part of it, I was honored to be part of it, and if a woman runs for President of the United States, I might wind up in that campaign. I don't care if I have to answer a phone, especially a competent woman. It is something-- we're 52 percent of the population. We just had an election in Virginia where the Democrat won because of the women so I mean it's time that we got our act together and we started putting women in positions where they belong. I mean when we had the shutdown of government there were 14 people that were trying to put a deal together 6 of whom were women who worked very, very hard. United States senators who worked very, very hard, and if you ask-- they never get on television but if you ask anybody I mean everybody says it's the women who put it together so I mean come on. It's time.
Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: Are you thinking of anyone in particular who would run who you would not-- okay. I had to ask. Nobody, huh?

Hazel Gluck: No. <laughs>

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: Is there anything else about the Whitman administration you'd like to put on the record with us?

Hazel Gluck: I think that the women of the state of New Jersey were proud. I think that anybody-- everybody who met her, heard her speak, she talked to just loved her. She's gracious and charming and she did the job. She broke the glass ceiling in New Jersey without getting her head bashed in too badly. <laughs>

Marie DeNoia Aronsohn: You've had a very interesting and successful career since that administration. Can you tell us a little bit about you and your business?

Hazel Gluck: Well, we did very well and we were able to-- I mean I never expected it. That was not why I went into this. I went into it for personal, ideological reasons and yet the other side of it was a great reward for me, for my children and my grandchildren, <laughs> and-- it's interesting 'cause I'm not involved very much anymore but it's okay because I've learned so much. The shame of it is that you can't translate it to somebody else. I mean you can translate it but you can't-- that goes for anybody, not just me. Anybody who's been in politics and has gone through some of this stuff if you talk to them you learn so much about what you should and shouldn't do. It's too bad, any profession, that we don't have just little places where people could go and talk to people who have been involved and what they can tell them and so forth, but for me it was one of the most exciting times of my life.