

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	From Kelly; RE: Circle of Friends (1 page)	12/19/1994	Personal Misfile
002. list	RE: Circle of Friends (2 pages)	00/00/0000	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Karen Finney (Press Office)
OA/Box Number: 11140

FOLDER TITLE:

Circle of Friends December 1994

2015-0734-S
db3876

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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- Thursday, December 15, 1994

President Clinton: Address to the Nation
Transcript ID: 1141355 (206 lines)

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S ADDRESS TO THE NATION
THE WHITE HOUSE
OVAL OFFICE

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1994
9:00 PM EST

PRESIDENT CLINTON: Good evening. My fellow Americans, ours is a great country with a lot to be proud of. But at this holiday season, everybody knows that all is not well with America, that millions of Americans are hurting, frustrated, disappointed, even angry.

In this time of enormous change, our challenge is both political and personal. It involves government all right, but it goes way beyond government, to the very core of what matters most to us. The question is, what are we going to do about it? Let's start with the economic situation.

I ran for president to restore the American dream and to prepare the American people to compete and win in the new American economy. For too long, too many Americans have worked longer for stagnant wages and less security. For two years we have pursued an economic strategy that has helped to produce over five million new jobs.

But even though the economic statistics are moving up, most of our living standards aren't. It's almost as if some Americans are being punished for their productivity in this new economy. We have got to change that. More jobs aren't enough. We have to raise incomes.

Fifty years ago an American president proposed the GI Bill of Rights to help returning veterans from World War II go to college, buy a home and raise their children. That built this country. Tonight I propose a Middle Class Bill of Rights.

There are four central ideas in this Bill of Rights. First, college tuition should be tax deductible. Just as we make mortgage interest tax deductible because we want people to own their own homes, we should make college tuition deductible because we want people to go to college. Specifically, I propose that all tuition for college, community college, graduate school, professional school, vocational education or worker retraining after high school be fully deductible, phased up to \$10,000 a year for families making up to \$120,000 a year. Education, after all, as a bigger impact on earnings and job security than ever before.

MORE

So let's invest the fruits of today's recovery into tomorrow's opportunity.

Second, bringing up a child is a tough job in this economy, so we should help middle families raise their children. We made a good start last year by passing the family leave law, making college loans

more affordable and by giving 15 million American families with incomes of \$25,000 a year or less an average tax cut of more than \$1,000 a year. Now I want to cut taxes for each child under 13, phased up to \$500 per child. This tax cut would be available to any family whose income is less than \$75,000.

Third, we should help middle-income people save money by allowing every American family earning under \$100,000 to put \$2,000 a year tax free in an IRA, an Individual Retirement Account. But I want you to be able to use the money to live on, not just retire on. You'll be able to withdraw from this fund tax-free money for education, medical expenses, the purchase of a first home, the care of an elderly parent.

Fourth, since every American needs the skills necessary to prosper in the new economy, and most of you will change jobs from time to time, we should take the billions of dollars the government now spends on dozens of different training programs and give it directly to you to pay for training if you lose your job or want a better one.

We can pay for this middle-class bill of rights by continuing to reduce government spending, including subsidies to powerful interests based more on influence than need. We can sell off entire operations the government no longer needs to run and turn dozens of programs over to states and communities that know best how to solve their own problems. My plan will save billion of dollars from the Energy Department, cut down the Transportation Department and shrink 60 programs into four at the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Our Reinventing Government initiative, led by Vice President Gore, already has helped to shrink bureaucracy and free up money to pay down the deficit and invest in our people.

MORE

Already we have passed budgets to reduce the federal government to its smallest size in 30 years, and to cut the deficit by \$700 billion. That's over \$10,000 for every American family.

In the next few days we'll unveil more of our proposals, and I have instructed the Vice President to review every single government department program for further reductions. We've worked hard to get control of this deficit after the government debt increased four times over in the 12 years before I took office. That's a big burden on you. About five percent of your income tax goes to pay for welfare and foreign aid, but 28 percent of it goes to pay for interest on the debt run up between 1981 and the day I was inaugurated president.

I challenge the new Congress to work with me to enact the Middle Class Bill of Rights without adding to the deficit and without any new cuts in Social Security or Medicare. I know some people just want to cut the government blindly, and I know that's popular now, but I won't do it. I want a leaner, not a meaner government, that's back on the side of hard working Americans, a new government for the new economy, creative, flexible, high quality, low cost, service oriented, just like our most innovative private companies.

I will work with the new Republican majority and my fellow Democrats in Congress to build a new American economy and to restore the American dream. It won't be easy. Believe you me, the special interests have not gone into hiding just because there was an election in November. As a matter of fact, they're up here stronger than ever,

and that's why more than ever we need lobby reform, campaign finance reform, and reform to make Congress live by the laws it puts on other people.

Together we can pass welfare reform and health care reform that work. I'll say more about what I'll do to work with the new Congress in the State of the Union address in January, but here is what I won't do.

I won't support ideas that sound good but aren't paid for, ideas that weaken the progress we've made in the previous two years for working families, ideas that hurt poor people who are doing their head-level best to raise their kids and work their way into the middle class, ideas that undermine our fight against crime, or for a clean environment, or for better schools, or for the strength and well-being of our armed forces and foreign policy.

MORE

In other words, we must be straight with the American people about the real consequences of all budgetary decisions.

My test will be does an idea expand middle class incomes and opportunities? Does it promote values like family, work, responsibility and community. Does it contribute to strengthening the new economy? If it does I'll be for it, no matter who proposes it and I hope Congress will treat my ideas the same way. Let's worry about making progress, not taking credit. But our work in Washington won't be enough and that's where you come in.

This all starts with you. Oh, we can cut taxes and expand opportunities but governments can't raise your children, go to school for you, give your employees, who've earned it, a raise or solve problems in your neighborhood that require your personal commitment. In short, government can't exercise your citizenship. It works the other way around.

The problems of this new world are complicated and we've all got a lot to learn. That means citizens have to listen as well as talk. We need less hot rhetoric and more open conversation, less malice and more charity. We need to put aside the politics of personal destruction and demonization that have dominated too much of our debate. Most of us are good people trying to do better and if we all treated each other that way we would do better. We have got to be a community again. Yes, some people do take advantage of the rest of us by breaking the law, abusing the welfare system and flaunting our immigration laws. That's wrong and I'm working to stop it. But the truth is that most people in this country without regard to their race, their religion, their income, their position on divisive issues, most Americans get up every day, go to work, obey the law, pay their taxes and raise their kids the best they can. And most of us share the same real challenges in this new economy. We'll do a lot better job of meeting those challenges if we work together and find unity and strength in our diversity.

MORE

We do have more in common, more uniting us than dividing us, and if we start acting like it, we can face the future with confidence.

I still believe deeply that there's nothing wrong with America that can't be fixed by what's right with America. This is not about politics as usual. As I've said for years, it's not about moving left or right, but moving forward. Not about government being bad or good, but about what kind of government will best enable us to fulfill our God-given potential. And it's not about the next election either. That's in your hands. Meanwhile, I'm going to do what I think is right. My rule for the next two years will be country first and politics as usual dead last. I hope the new Congress will follow the same rule, and I hope you will too.

This country works best when it works together. For decades after World War II, we gave more and more Americans a chance to live out their dreams. I know; I'm blessed to be one of them. I was born to a widowed mother at a time when my state's income was barely half the national average -- the first person in my family to finish college thanks to money my parents couldn't really afford, scholarship, loans and a half a dozen jobs. It breaks my heart to see people with their own dreams for themselves and their children shattered, and I'm going to do all I can to turn it around. But I need your help. We can do it. With all of our problems, this is still the greatest country in the world, standing not in the twilight but at the dawn of our greatest days. We still have a lot to be thankful for. Let's all remember that.

Happy Holidays, and God bless America.

END

The First Lady's Mission Impossible

Washington Post: December 14, 1994, C1

By Joel Achenbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

MIAMI

While the men convened at the old palace of Vizcaya and talked about trade and made important decisions affecting the entire Western Hemisphere, the First Ladies, *las primeras damas*, met across town at the Biltmore hotel, and talked about children.

This was no tea. Hillary Rodham Clinton was in charge. It was called the Symposium on Children of the Americas, something Mrs. Clinton dreamed up for the spouses during the three-day Summit of the Americas. It was unclear precisely what would come of it. But then the entire summit was a little flake, seeming at times like a carefully choreographed show interrupted by random outbursts.

Mrs. Clinton carried papers with her. The other First Ladies, incompletely Rodhamized, had theirs. The women in their power suits were as brightly colorful as Life Savers; the First Lady of the United States wore green, or maybe you'd call it *creme de menthe*. (In other superficial news: her hairstyle was a "very natural, soft, gentle cut, slightly underturned in the lower area," a spokeswoman for the Georgette Klinger salon told the Miami Herald).

The symposium began with a plenary session, followed by breakout sessions, then lunch at a long banquet table. When the food was cleared away, Mrs. Clinton leaned forward, both elbows on the table, arms crossed, and asked for reports from the committee chairwomen.

It was a few minutes later, when the First Lady of Guyana was talking—"Obviously housing is an important aspect of giving our children the care they need. . . . We also discussed the need to reduce infant mortality. . . ."—that the event momentarily seemed a little surreal, like make-believe governance, an exercise in the correct identification of the obvious.

You could imagine all the other women

What's A First Lady To Do?

WASHINGTON, From C1

fantasizing that they were Hillary Rodham Clinton; and she, fantasizing that she was across town at Vizcaya.

But that's speculation. You can't read Hillary Clinton from a distance. Unlike her husband, she's opaque. No stray emotion can poke through her public face. She's more presidential than the president.

Only at the very end of the symposium did she sound like something other than a precision instrument.

"I have to leave now," she said, "because I have to go on to, I don't know where, somewhere else, that's the story of my life, they always tell me I have to be somewhere."

In a shellshocked administration, there is possibly no job more perplexing than the non-job of First Lady. What is she, exactly? What's she supposed to do? She's a rogue figure in the White House, sort of unemployed at the moment, a nuclear missile without a silo.

She's a formidable weapon. Her mental clarity is awesome—without notes she can speak in complete paragraphs, talking and smiling at the same time, eyes scanning her audience, left, right. She bowled over Congress when she first testified on health care. She was completely poised when grilled by reporters on how she turned a thousand bucks into \$100,000 in the futures market. In the White House they call her the Big Girl.

She's still powerful, the one person who can't be fired, can't be ignored, can't be demoted in any technical sense of the word. But she can be made more ceremonial; she can be made wifer. Of course she and her aides deny that such a thing has happened. The counselor to the president, Thomas "Mack" McLarty, yesterday said, "I think Hillary will continue to be someone who is respected and will make a very meaningful contribution to this administration and more importantly to the people of this country."

It's true that she's still out there, with a full public schedule. But she has no real agenda, just a theme: children. That is not exactly controversial. Even Harry and Louise like kids.

Hillary Lite, anyone?

At the Biltmore symposium, Tipper Gore scoffed at the thought that the First Lady has changed in any way: "She's going to be the same person she's always been. She's not going to quote unquote reinvent herself to please anybody. She's a smart and savvy politician in her own right."

A little outrage crept into Gore's voice. "What is she, Madonna? I don't think so. She doesn't have to reinvent herself after every album."

But Madonna's only crime was "The Girlie Tour." She didn't get any of the blame for the Republican takeover of Congress. These are delicate times for the First Lady. Liberals walk on tippy-toes. Her friends are being detonated left and right—indicted, fired, exiled. The right wing thinks Mrs. Clinton is a pinko. And a CBS News poll recently showed that more than half of Americans think it's inappropriate for a First Lady to be involved in policy.

First Ladies are never supposed to be political handicaps. "I cannot say that I agree with my husband on everything, but I will never tell you

what I disagree with him about," she said recently. She can't make mistakes. She can't offend men, can't offend women. One of her problems has been fashion; the Europeans thought her frumpy. Her hair is a famous obsession (A couple of weeks ago she spoke to a group of women lawyers moments after a slide show of her career; "How many of you counted the different hairstyles in the slides? I got to 19 and quit," she said). Her life is like a giant wedding; everything must be *just so*. She smiles into bright lights and tries to step gracefully on the piece of tape on the floor marked "HRC."

Mrs. Clinton says she's not retreating. She points out that she's worked on children's issues for 25 years, since Yale Law School. "I did health care in part because, you know, I've always been focused on children's health," she says.

To advertise her new focus, she met Friday morning with the students of Charles Drew Elementary, a mostly African American school in the heart of Liberty City, a neighborhood where the riots in 1980 left 18 people dead, on a street that in recent years has been one of Dade County's worst drug zones. The students were lined up to greet her in the parking lot; the First Lady's aides shooed away adults who tried to crowd into the line of camera fire. Another photo opportunity came inside, where the student orchestra played "Oye Mi Canto" for the First Lady, and a first-grader serenaded her with the Whitney Houston song "I Will Always Love You." Then she answered questions in the cafeteria. One tiny girl said, "How do you be a queen of the world?" The First Lady laughed, and told her the first thing she'd have to do is get a good education.

Another child asked if she had enough privacy. No, she said. Did she like being married to the president? "I married my husband long before he was president and it's real nice being married to him." She remembered that a little boy had said earlier, in response to a question, that in Europe he had seen many castles. "We get to go see *lots* of castles," said the First Lady.

What does she like about being First Lady? "I like working on children's issues, like health and education and helping stop violence." Are there disadvantages to being First Lady? "The disadvantages are, you don't have any privacy, you can't

walk out the front door, you can't go shopping by yourself. . . . Mostly the good parts are bigger and better than the other parts."

What's her most important job?

"My most important job is taking care of my family and taking care of myself and the people around me."

Then came a question from one of the bigger girls: How did she feel when she heard "rumors" about her and her husband?

"I didn't feel very good. Did you ever have anyone say things about you that weren't true and hurt your feelings? . . . You just try to ignore other stuff that people try to do to you."

At the end the kids gave her a report card, all A's, including A-plus for "effort" on health care. "I wish my father were here, I'd send it to him and say look at this," she said, a sweet thought, and a reminder of another thing she has lost since she arrived at the White House.

Later she toured a pediatric intensive care unit, and saw a miracle baby that survived after being born four months premature. That was closed to the press, but the photographers were allowed to shoot her aboard a mobile pediatric care van, standing next to a cute 5-year-old. The child tried to find her heartbeat with a stethoscope, but couldn't. A few minutes later the First Lady gestured to the reporters and photographers crammed into one end of the van: "Maybe we should take care of all these people, see if they have a heart."

A First Lady is always in a bind; she's the perfect representative of women everywhere. On the first page of her official one-page biography, printed on White House stationery, it says that while First Lady of Arkansas "she worked as a full-time partner of a law firm, chaired an education committee that set public school standards in Arkansas, managed a home, and cared for her husband and child." It also says she has on many occasions spoken about the need "to find the right balance in our lives." You look at her balancing act and realize that she and every other working woman in the '90s is the heir to the Flying Wallendas.

She doesn't complain. She has endurance. The First Lady is a role model's role model, a 24-hour grown-up, always being responsible,

someone you can't imagine engaging in the act of mindless play—unlike that big meatball of a husband. You often hear the word "admire" when people talk of her. It's a word one would use to describe someone at a distance, an icon.

When Tipper Gore heard that a reporter was doing a piece on the First Lady, she said, "Don't genderize it." Meaning, don't do another piece focusing on her status as a woman and wife rather than as a leader. "Don't genderize it. Everybody else does. Don't do it and you'll be a better man for it."

Alas, it's impossible. Her job is weird. She's the First Lady. The conundrum is right there in the title.

The Once and Future Hillary

Belying rumors of self-doubt, the First Lady reappears, unapologetic and as feisty as ever

By JAMES CARNEY WASHINGTON

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON HAS ALWAYS enjoyed walk-in rights to almost any important meeting at the White House. So when her husband sat down with top aides in the Cabinet Room to discuss his embattled presidency, it was a given that the First Lady would have a seat at the table. But instead of offering the brand of crisp analysis and shrewd advice she is known and admired for, the First Lady was quiet, listening while others did most of the talking. Afterward, one participant couldn't remember whether Hillary had said anything at all. As a friend and colleague put it, she was still "coming to grips" with the Democratic washout at the polls.

That was two weeks ago. Rumors swirled that she was in prolonged post-electoral shock, that she didn't understand November's results, that she was in denial, that she was rethinking her role as First Lady. But there was no self-doubt in the Hillary Clinton who charged back onto the political radar screen in a four-day media blitz last week. Though there were subtle signs of an effort to retool her image, she came across as cheerful, confident and as proudly unapologetic about her role as ever. The Republicans? Let her at 'em. She told a sympathetic crowd after accepting an award from the National Women's Law Center, "In many ways, our best days are ahead of us because there's nothing like a good fight for advocates to get energized."

During a speech in New York City, she dismissed as "unbelievable and absurd" a Republican welfare-reform proposal that calls for sending poor children to orphanages if their mothers, after a limited stay on welfare, cannot support them. Whitewater questions did not faze her. The First Lady continued to portray her family as victims of an affair she described as a "sideshow." Later in the week, however, her friend Webster Hubbell, who quit last March as Associate Attorney General, tentatively

agreed to plead guilty to charges brought by the Whitewater special prosecutor that he had committed mail fraud and tax evasion when he worked alongside Mrs. Clinton at the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock.

She remains unrepentantly suspicious of the press. Asked why it was so difficult to get an interview with her, she impatiently told TIME editors at a private lunch that there were more pressing things to do, adding with some exasperation that "some days my role is just to explain my role." To students at George Washington University, she defended her decision to be active in policymaking. "I don't see how I could change who I am because of the position. I'm in. I actually think that in the long run if people have some better idea about you, it may be controversial, but at least they know where you stand."

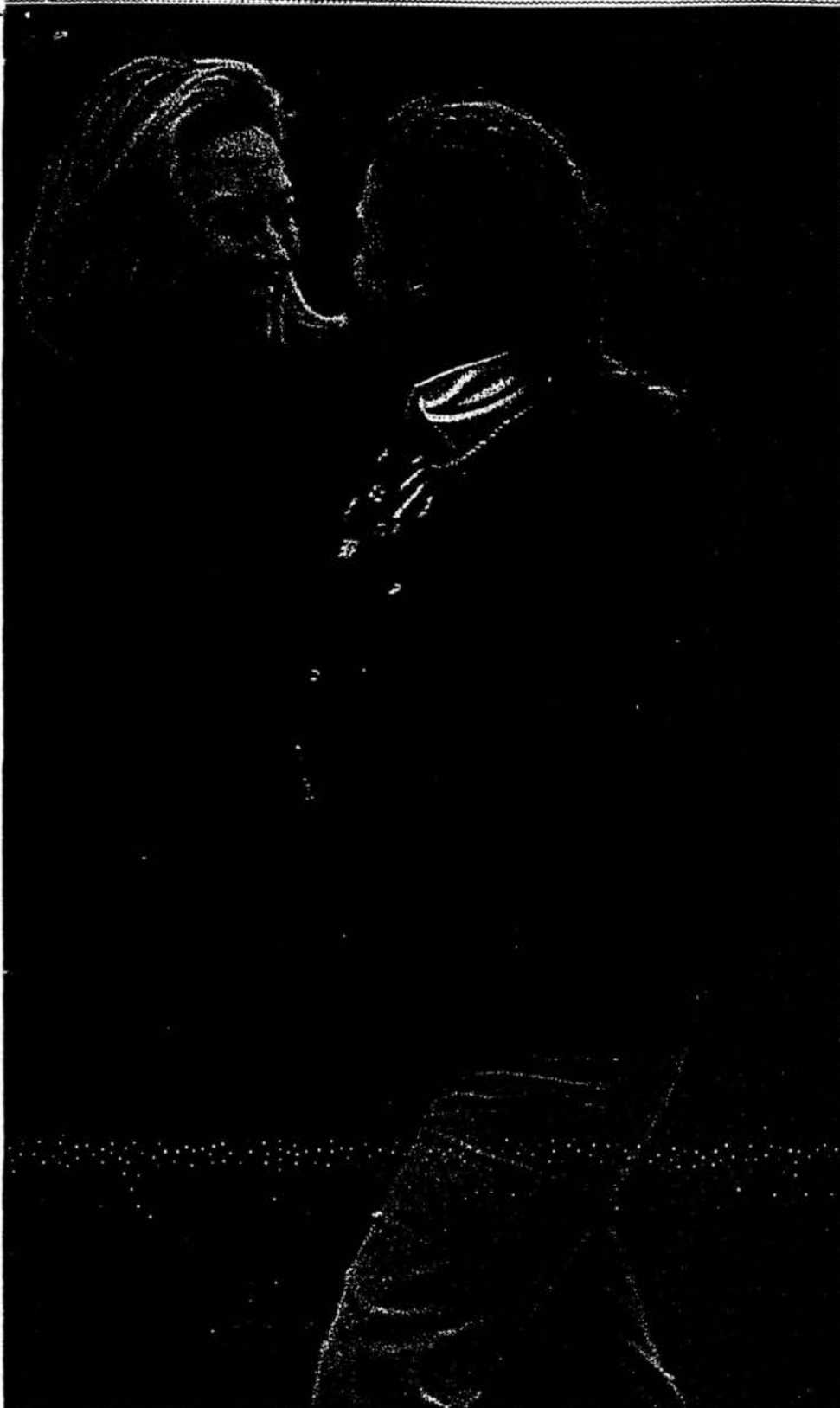
In public and in private, she is fully convinced of the rightness of the Clinton agenda. She made mistakes, yes, but they were largely superficial. Much of the public simply didn't understand the truth about initiatives like health care and the President's original economic plan. "She is really angry," says a high-powered Democrat who has known the Clintons for 25 years. "She's angry at the election results [and] angry at how she's treated in the press. That's the way it is with Hillary. It's everyone else's fault." Putting it more circumspectly, one senior adviser to the President said the First Lady "is not as realistic as some of the rest of us" about voters' unhappiness with Clinton's first two years.

In their postmortems on the elections, many pollsters and analysts tagged the First Lady's health-care plan as a major factor in turning voters against the President and his party. Stanley Greenberg, the White House pollster, found that health care, more than

A lesson: it is not wise to link the First Lady's prestige so directly to controversial policy issues

anything else, drove independent voters away. Just last Thursday a federal judge ruled that the

health-care-reform task force, a sprawling, arcane and often secretive group led by the First Lady, was guilty of "misconduct" for withholding documents from the public. Last week Hillary conceded that "the perception" of the Clinton health plan "was one of Big Government."



FORWARD, MARCH: Hillary and Chelsea Clinton at the White House last week

task: promotion of a children's health bill. Unlike broader health reform, advocating a children's bill "is a no-loser," says a White House official. "It would be pretty hard to attack her for that." Similarly, Mrs. Clinton has said privately that she wants to get involved in juvenile-crime issues.

She will now be the cheerleader—not leader—of the main health-care initiative. In October, Leon Panetta, the White House chief of staff, ordered that control of the reforms be turned over to Robert Rubin and Carol Rasco, the President's top in-house economic and domestic-policy advisers. White House officials, however, insist that the downgrading and reshuffling of the agenda does not reflect badly on Mrs. Clinton. As a senior official explained last week, Panetta's decision "was less about Hillary than Ira," as in Ira Magaziner, the aide who masterminded the Clinton plan and whose manner alienated potential allies on Capitol Hill. Today the First Lady acknowledges that any reform that might emerge from the new Congress must take an "incremental approach"—the kind of change proposed by Republicans as a counter to the Clinton overhaul.

"She's far too pragmatic to be in denial" about the message voters sent Democrats, a supportive White House aide says of the First Lady. "She can be self-righteous, yes, but she is not a person to deny reality." Even Panetta, says a senior official, believes Mrs. Clinton "gets it. She knows what the basic problems were." The chief of staff makes a point of inviting her to strategy sessions because, as this official puts it, her presence "does help."

Indeed, say staff members, the First Lady can understand these times. Far from being the standard-bearer of liberalism in the White House, says an aide, "she's a lot more conservative than she's made out to be in the media." To stress the point, the First Lady reminded an audience last week that she was brought up in a staunch Republican family and was a "Goldwater girl" in 1964.

From the changing hairstyles that have become a source of self-deprecating humor to what little information about her that can be divulged, Hillary Rodham Clinton remains supremely in charge of her self-image. And officials in the White House know to be careful about what they say, even privately. "That's a touchy subject," sighed a top adviser to the President when asked about Mrs. Clinton. Another official joked that it was too risky discussing the First Lady over a White House phone. "You want me to talk about Hillary?" the official asked with mock incredulity. "This is not a secure line." And then he earnestly claimed he had nothing to say.

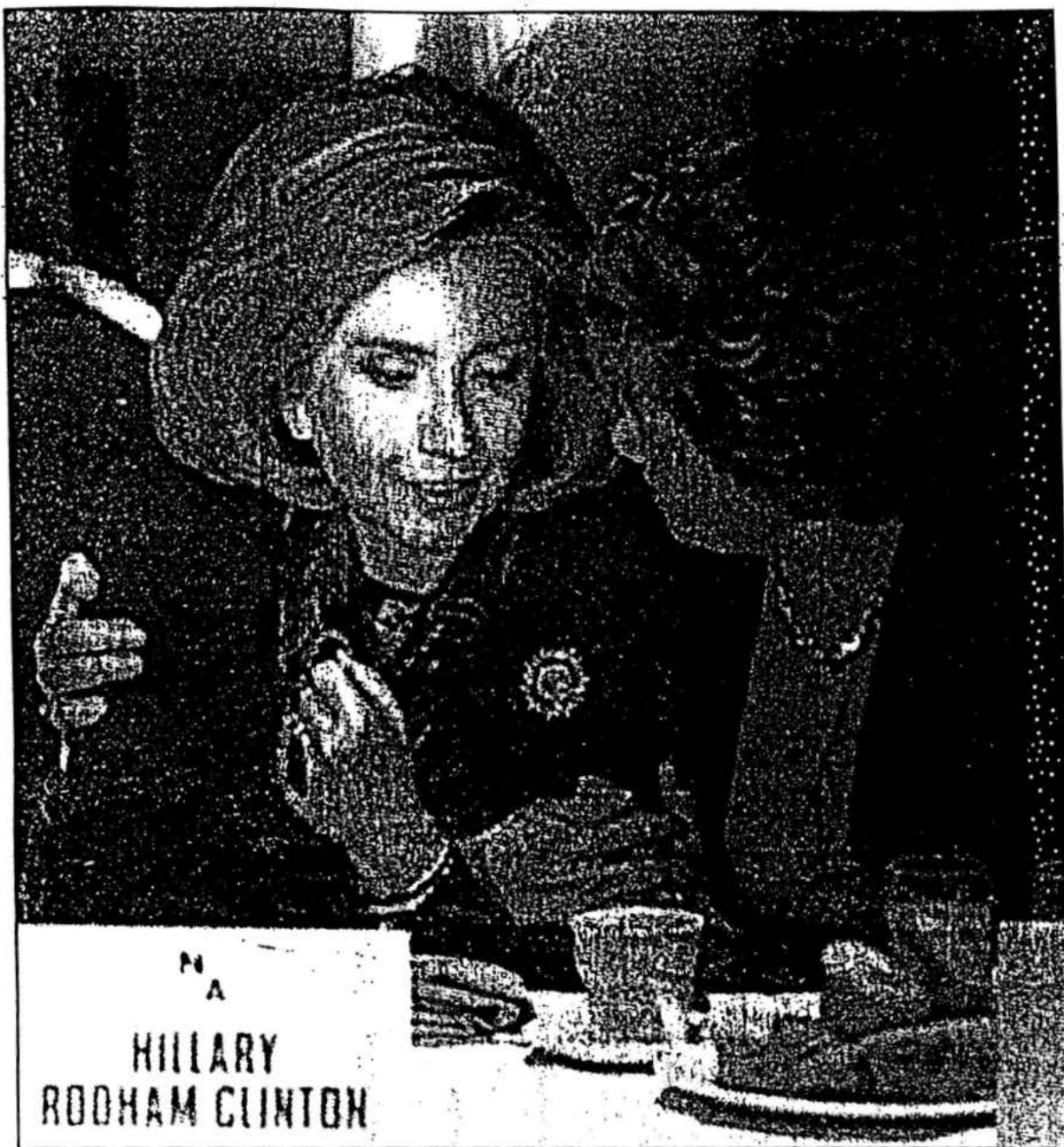
—With reporting by

Ann Blackman/Washington

But Hillary Clinton and the White House are drawing another lesson from the health-care debacle: it is not wise to link the First Lady's prestige so directly to controversial policy issues. It shouldn't happen again. As a senior White House official explains it, the First Lady "will stay engaged and remain an influence, but [her role] will be more informal. She won't be a point person on a given policy." The difference in her role, stresses the official, is one of "ap-

proach" and not intensity. "She's not going to start talking through a veil," says Planned Parenthood's Ann Lewis, a friend of Mrs. Clinton's.

Far from being an imposition, the change suits the First Lady. It will free her from being tied to one project, a fact that has led to "a lot of thought and discussion," says one of her aides, about how the new role will take shape. She is certain to spend more time on children's issues. One likely



HILLARY
RODHAM CLINTON

Hillary Rodham Clinton is embraced yesterday by Matilda Cuomo, wife of the New York governor.

Hillary Clinton stands her ground

Widely criticized, she defends ideals

By John Aloysius Farrell
GLOBE STAFF

WASHINGTON — Of all the individual dramas cast by the national renunciation of Democrats on Election Day, few here have as much symbolic wallop or potential political consequence as the debate over the role of Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Battered in the public opinion polls, accused of saddling her party with a bloated health care plan, and subjected to vicious attacks by partisan journals and radio talk shows, Mrs. Clinton is again under fire.

In a series of public appearances since the election, however, Mrs. Clinton has made one thing clear: She will not be cowed into dropping her longtime ideals. At a time when

other Democrats are wavering, she has defended liberal goals and projects such as universal health care, foreign aid, Head Start and child immunization and nutrition programs.

Yesterday, Mrs. Clinton took a swing at incoming House Speaker Newt Gingrich of Georgia, who has

said private charities and orphanages may have to assume the responsibility of caring for children whose families are purged from government welfare rolls.

Without programs that offer job training, health insurance and child care to welfare recipients, Republican plans for abolishing welfare will leave "literally thousands and thousands of people on our streets" and lead to "the unbelievable and absurd

ea of putting children into orphan-
es," Mrs. Clinton told representa-
es from 54 women's organizations
New York.

Her resolve delights her legions
fans, but also energizes her right-
ing critics, who have found her to
a tempting punching bag.

Mrs. Clinton's outspoken com-
itment alarms some of her hus-
und's allies and advisers, who fear
ie will block their attempts to
idge Clinton in a more centrist di-
ction. They point to a CBS News
ll this week that gave her a favor-
le rating of just 37 percent, and an
favorable rating of 38 percent.

"She is a lightning rod for two
rts of people," said Ann Lewis, a
ngtime Democratic political opera-
re and defender of Mrs. Clinton.
or people who really dislike every-
ing about this administration, she
comes at once the most vulnerable
and the most aggravating ... nat-
al target.

"Secondly, within an internal
wer play ... she is sometimes
ed by people to cover" their lack of
ccess, Lewis said. "It is a well-
own Washington art form, and
tely the new version of that is if-
ly-the-president-listened-to-me-
d-not-to-Hillary."

Because Mrs. Clinton has be-
me a symbol for the changing role
women in US society, the saga of
r own ups and downs may pack
ore emotional clout than her hus-
und's political fortunes.

In a 90-minute appearance Tues-
ay at George Washington Universi-
ty, Mrs. Clinton acknowledged her
le as a kind of national Rorschach
st, an ink blot on which people im-
se their own feelings and precon-
ptions.

"For some people the First Lady



AP PHOTO

Cardinal John O'Connor bids farewell to Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday in Manhattan.

may never cross their minds, so they
don't want anything from her. Bless
those people, wherever they are. I'm
all for them," Mrs. Clinton said.
"There are others who have differ-
ent ideas about the role, have differ-
ent conceptions about womens' roles,
and bring their own personal experi-
ence or beliefs to the interpretation
of the role." She said some tradition-
alists find her independence "scary."

In liberal Democratic circles, and

among young women and profession-
al women, Mrs. Clinton's support is
strong. So, too, is her influence with
the president. For both reasons her
conservative Democratic critics
couch their attacks carefully, and al-
ways anonymously.

As an example of her strong will
and influence, however, Mrs. Clin-
ton's critics point to her comments
on the president's recent trip to the
Philippines and Indonesia. Before

leaving Washington, President Clin-
ton told the nation that he had got-
ten the message sent on Election
Day that "the voters clearly all along
had wanted smaller, more effective,
less intrusive government."

Clinton's statements pleased
moderates who want him to govern
as a "New Democrat." But upon ar-
riving in the Philippines, Mrs. Clin-
ton undermined the administration's
spin by saying that she wasn't sure

what the electorate's message was. In Indonesia, she told reporters that "I think the president has to stand for what he's stood for. He has to stick with his principles and protect the progress that has been made."

Such stands, and Mrs. Clinton's influence, will work to keep Clinton isolated on the political left, her critics say.

There is less reluctance to openly criticize the health care reform plan that Mrs. Clinton's task force drafted. Post-election polls show that the public viewed it as an unpalatable big-government social program.

"We got started too late on health care. We wasted the first year essentially waiting, and we spent too much time on a package which was too much Washington-oriented and not enough marketplace reforms," said Sen. John Breaux, a moderate Democrat from Louisiana. "Instead of debating the welfare system that everyone agrees serves no one very well, we spent our time on a do-it-all-at-once health proposal that many Americans felt was a take-from-me and give-to-them redistribution regime mandated by Washington."

"It is impossible to underestimate the amount of damage the health care bill did in shaping the image of President Clinton as a big government proponent," said Al From, president of the Democratic Leadership Council, a group of moderate Democrats that Clinton once led.

To such complaints, Mrs. Clinton pleads guilty-with-an-explanation. She concedes that her bill was complex and all-encompassing, but says now that it was only meant as a starting point in negotiations with Congress. Her true miscalculation, she said, was to put too much trust in Republicans who were actually scheming to be "conversation stoppers, not conversation starters."

The GOP, in return, says she was arrogant and intransigent.

Gingrich said: "I met with Hillary early on and said, 'Bring in a small bill, pass it by a big majority, have a signing ceremony, come back the next year . . . you will get four bills passed before you get reelected and you will have incrementally passed a lot of change. You try to write a big bill and you will destroy yourself.'"

"She took notes, thanked me and left and promptly wrote a big bill. It was pretty inept," Gingrich said.

Such knocks, said Mrs. Clinton, need to be taken "seriously, but not personally." But it is not yet clear that she will serve again in a formal policymaking role.

"I think there is no reason Hillary can't continue to be the activist first lady she has always been. She can't change. You can't ask one person to be another overnight," said historian Doris Kearns Goodwin on CNN. "She is going to still be outspoken, she is not going to retreat to a ceremonial role."

And though she has reemerged as a confident, happy liberal warrior, there was one moment in Indonesia where her faith appeared shaken. Visiting a classroom of elementary school children, Mrs. Clinton was asked what her dreams were as a child. In a poignant moment, she walked up to the young girl who asked the question and spoke of how "my father and mother told both me and my brothers that both boys and girls could, with a good education, make decisions with their own lives."

"I studied very hard," Mrs. Clinton said, pointedly leaving open the question of whether she still has faith in her dream of fair and equal treatment.

Hillary Clinton, After the Avalanche

First Lady Not Going to Back Off Issues

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

Clearly in the holiday spirit, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton last night came up with an apt Thanksgiving analogy for life in the spotlight—and the turkeys she is forced to deal with.

Quoting a friend who reported that she had just celebrated her best Thanksgiving ever because her mother-in-law had not been around to carp and criticize every aspect of the meal, Clinton said, "I thought to myself, that's sort of like the media. It's like your mother-in-law coming for Thanksgiving dinner." Her comments, which drew loud laughter from the audience, came at a George Washington University class on the role of the First Lady, and Clinton proved herself politically savvy enough to note, a few minutes later, that she herself "had a great mother-in-law."

Following in the footsteps of Rosalynn Carter, Nancy Reagan and Barbara Bush, Clinton settled into a cozy, living-room-like setting of wing chairs and coffee table in the grand ballroom of the Mayflower Hotel to chat for nearly two hours with historian

See CLINTON, C10, Col. 1

CLINTON, From C1

Carl Sferazza Anthony about her life with President Clinton and her experiences on the job.

Dressed in a royal blue suit with large gold buttons, Clinton appeared to be in a surprisingly playful mood just three weeks after an election widely viewed as a repudiation of her husband's first two years in office—and in which her own role as head of the administration's health care task force has come in for a significant part of the blame for the Democrats' losses.

When Anthony asked her to share her reasons for marrying the president, Clinton answered, "It's not going to leave this room, right?" as she looked around at the crowded ballroom and rolling television cameras.

But she launched enthusiastically into a lengthy recital of their first date as Yale Law students, which started with a trip to register for the next semester's classes (Hillary Rodham said she was on her way to do that errand, and Clinton said he needed to register too, only to be embarrassed by the registrar, who saw him and exclaimed, "Bill, why are you here? You registered yesterday.")

It ended up with Bill Clinton managing to get the two of them into the Yale Art Gallery to see a Mark Rothko exhibit by promising the guard that they would help pick up trash around the building, closed because college workers were on strike. "There's more, but I'll keep that to myself," the First Lady said mischievously.

Clinton made little news last night, but did offer what may be her first public comments on a tabloid newspaper's report that she is pregnant with a space alien's child. "If the alien baby comes, we're ready,"

Clinton said. "I've always wanted a sibling for Chelsea."

She said Chelsea, now 14, would not be a fixture on the 1996 campaign trail. "I think she's very well-adjusted and because she's so well-adjusted you won't see very much of her."

Clinton said that she found some news coverage of her painful and wildly inaccurate ("Sometimes I read about myself and I go, ooh, I don't like her at all") but said she had little choice on coming to the White House but to continue the visible public role she has always had. Had she acted differently, she said, "My husband and friends probably would have had me committed. . . . I, for better or worse, have spoken out on public issues for 25 years. Some kind of First Lady amnesia would not have been very credible."

Clinton said she will "absolutely" continue to be a voice for health care reform—but acknowledged that the sort of sweeping reform she proposed last year is an unlikely prospect. "He will continue to work on it, and so will I," she said. "Now we're going to have to look and see what can be accomplished—perhaps a more incremental approach."

Expressing hope for a continued bipartisan commitment to such programs as Head Start, child nutrition and food stamps, Clinton said, "I intend to do all I can to speak out on that and raise those issues."

But she also said that she has "gotten a little frustrated and itchy in the White House because I feel cut off from people," and that she

has been trying for several months to figure out how to "be better integrated in the community" through activities such as last week's visit to serve food at So Others Might Eat.

"I am going to get out more," she vowed. "I want to do it in a way that doesn't cause commotion and upset the institution. I really want to do this as a person."

When a kindly questioner asked what she planned to do after a second term in the White House, Clinton said, "I expect I will have a chance to continue to work on issues that I care about, particularly children's issues . . . that is, after a very long vacation."

INTRODUCTION OF MRS. CLINTON

She refused to talk to the press, said she was only the wife of the President, protected her only child, their daughter, from public exposure. And advised him to drop the atomic bomb. Her name was Bess Truman.

She always used her maiden name, refused to wear a wedding ring, worked full-time, managed the family's investments and declared that a day would come in America when husbands and wives would both work--and there would be no shame in a wife being the breadwinner. Who? Florence Kling Harding.

She believed that women should be provided with as thorough an education as men--were discriminated against by state and federal law--and would eventually organize to demand equality. More partisan than her husband, the *other* political party parodied her as *Mrs. President*. That was 197 years ago. It was Abigail Adams.

She made no apologies for advising her President on Cabinet appointments and dismissals. And when scandal threatened to engulf the Presidency, she worked behind-the-scenes to go public with everything--and move on. Remember Nancy Reagan?

She was appointed by the president to head an official task force, testified before Congress--and it took three long years of constant battles--but Rosalynn Carter saw her Mental Health Systems Act become law. Congress finally passed Ellen Wilson's Alley Dwelling Act--but only on the day she died. Sarah Polk, sought out for her own views by House and Senate leaders kept her office in the President's executive suite. Earning the highest level of education for a First Lady at that time, Lucy Hayes was hailed as a symbol of the new woman.

All of which proves one thing: intelligent and active First Ladies--besides Eleanor Roosevelt--are part of as rich and ancient an American tradition as July 4th. The current First Lady is not Eleanor Roosevelt incarnate or Abigail Adams or anyone else. She is--like all before--a distinct individual. She is Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Today it is swifter and slicker to sell something by labeling people with one characteristic, then forever typecast them in that caricature. If some other facet of who they really are emerges, but doesn't conform to that cliché, it is usually ignored. Everyone of us can be categorized by labels--race, religion, gender, income, education,

age, political affiliation, hair color--but everyone demands the right not to be reduced to a label. It is the unique combination of everyone's list of labels that shapes them as a distinct individual.

Hillary Clinton has many labels: "Midwestern, born after World War II, college-educated, traditional Methodist, wife and mother, lawyer, public interest advocate, hostess and cookie-baker, only daughter, eldest child, blonde." And it takes less effort to reduce her, uncomplicated, by one or another label--but never all of them at the same time. In most cases, the exploitation of her as a symbol--by syncophants and hatemongers alike--not only distorts but obliterates who she is as a full person.

While she's followed precedents set by her predecessors, there truly has never before been a President's Spouse with Mrs. Clinton's background and experiences.

She is the first of First Ladies born in that new generation who did not know Franklin Roosevelt as president. Remember: the gap between her and youngest of her predecessors at the time of the Clinton Inaugural--Jacqueline Onassis--was 17 years.

She was born in Illinois in 1947, daughter of a conservative Republican self-employed businessman, raised in a home where the names Roosevelt and Kennedy were not beloved--as she recalls in this month's *American Heritage*. Her father's influence on her was strong, and in high school in 1964, she was a Goldwater Girl, supporting the conservative presidential candidate who ran against LBJ. Although she did change political parties, it was the beginning of her political activism. (SLIDE #1)

Religion also influenced her. Raised to believe that her social responsibility lay not only within her family circle but the larger family--her community--she was guided by her Methodist youth counselor to help the disadvantaged--from inner-city Chicago children or those of Mexican migrant workers. As part of her youth group she heard Martin Luther King speak. His 1968 assassination, said a friend of Hillary's "more than anything, firmed her resolve to do her utmost to stop injustice." (SLIDE #2)

She excelled not only in school, but was active in student government, coming of age at a time when young women were encouraged to pursue the more available choices to them. She graduated from Wellesley in 1968 as valediction, delivering a speech which landed her in *Life* magazine. At the age of 18 years old, Miss Rodham was a public figure in her own right. (SLIDE #3)

The first First Lady to have also earned a graduate degree, she attended Yale Law School, where she met her future husband. After marrying Bill Clinton and moving to Arkansas she taught law at the state university. As he pursued a political career, she not only played the traditional role of political wife in his campaigns for Attorney-General and later Governor, but pursued her professional career in law. (SLIDE #4) As the Governor's wife, from 1979 to 1981 and then again from 1983 to 1993, she assumed multiple tasks--chair of the Education Standards Committee, a founder of the Arkansas Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters, chair of the Children's Defense Fund, full-time hostess in the traditional role of Arkansas First Lady and--as of 1980, mother to Chelsea Victoria. (SLIDE #5)

Her years as First Lady of Arkansas served her well when she became First Lady of the United States in 1993 and chose to continue playing a variety of public roles. Within three weeks of the Inaugural, President Clinton asked her to head his Health Care Task Force to draft health care reform in the tradition of Rosalynn Carter, Lady Bird Johnson and Eleanor Roosevelt. The First Lady became a familiar sight on Capitol Hill. (SLIDE #6) and while improvement of the situation did n't immediately emerge from Congress, Hillary Clinton inaugurated the first full national dialogue on the complex problem in American history. And she continues-- like Lou Hoover, Edith Wilson, Mary Lincoln, among others--to serve as an informal sounding board to her husband. (SLIDE #7) Hillary Clinton has continued the public traditional role begun by Dolley Madison--from christening ships to cutting ribbons to greeting groups in the White House, to travelling with the President, to planning venues, entertainment and all social events. (SLIDE #8) And--like Edith Roosevelt and Lucretia Garfield--she has fiercely guarded time for her teenage daughter in the White House--and sought to protect her from the media's glare. (SLIDE #9)

Two of the many labels that can be applied to the First Lady are illustrated in tonight's film clips. The first shows her opening Congressional testimony on health care, the second, her press remarks on planning the recent state dinner for Nelson Mandela. (FILM CLIPS)

Advocate, advisor, hostess, mother? She can be described by any label to serve any purpose. Perhaps the wisdom of her predecessor is best remembered. After trying to define herself as a social liberal but fiscal conservative, Barbara Bush finally declared, "Labels are for soupçons., not for people." Permit her to speak for herself. Join me in welcoming First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Echos of Eleanor

ELLEN GOODMAN

What a heady time that was. Exactly a year ago, the headlines declared that Hillary had taken the Hill as if Congress were San Juan or Iwo Jima.

She came, saw and wowed the place, answering every question about the health care plan she had shepherded to the Capitol door. The members were in various stages of awe. The media was in full gush. Under the spotlight, under pressure, she was a pro.

But lately Hillary Clinton's schedule is a list of first lady photo ops. There was the day-care center in Conshohocken, Pa., the christening of a submarine in Groton, Conn., the Children's Hospital in Boston.

On Monday, when health care reform was officially declared dead, she wasn't even asked for a eulogy. On Tuesday, she was busy escorting Mrs. Yeltsin.

These have to be hard times for the president's wife, the woman-in-her-own-right, the confident

lawyer. Through the campaign and the early days of the administration when Hillary Rodham Clinton was the target of as much vitriol as I have ever seen, she took comfort in thinking about Eleanor Roosevelt's strength under fire. Indeed, moments before she went into the congressional hearing room last year, an aide whispered to Hillary, "This is Eleanor Roosevelt time."

Hillary chose Eleanor as her role model, a foremother or forefirst lady, while she was clearing a new path for women in the White House. But who will she look to now, at a moment of defeat, a time when the most secure of us would feel shaken and unsure about where to go next?

How about Eleanor Roosevelt?

I am told that the Clintons have a copy of Doris Kearns Goodwin's new book on their night table. I hope so. "No Ordinary Time" weaves together biography and policy, the private and the public, the Roosevelts' relationships and the course of World War II in a way as complex and layered as life itself.

But it challenges the view that most of us have of Eleanor the Icon who moved from the ugly duckling of her childhood to the strong woman in the White House. In real life, Eleanor Roosevelt faced continual crises and had to reinvent her role no less than three times while she was first lady.

When Franklin Roosevelt was elected in 1932, his wife was terrified that she would be locked into a ceremonial role, condemned to the one thing she couldn't bear: feeling useless. Again in 1940, when the prospects of war drew Franklin to foreign policy, Eleanor's working partnership in the New Deal was threatened, and she faced the same sense of loss.

Finally, when the war broke out, Eleanor - not Hillary, but Eleanor - took the first government job ever held by a first lady, at the Office of Civil Defense. When it blew up in her face, she had to reinvent her own role again.

Eleanor and Hillary are not

joined at the head. The times are different; so are their psyches and their marriages. But Hillary shares with her predecessor the need for a sense of purpose in life.

The Clintons came into office with experience as working partners. They believed that they had the people behind health care reform and all they needed was the policy. In the too-secret, too-expert, too-Beltway process of creating policy, they lost the people.

They can blame it on gridlock, on Republicans, on the media. Fair enough. But it was also bungled. I would be surprised if Hillary didn't share a sense of failure. Where do you go after you've walked into a propeller?

When a wounded Eleanor resigned from OCD, she was at her lowest moment. Gradually she found her work again, and went from being an inside player to an outside agitator. As Goodwin puts it, "She became a voice for people who didn't have access to the system." She brought that voice to FDR when it was welcome and when it wasn't. She helped this country to change.

Today more of us feel voiceless, angry, alienated. If there's a role waiting to be filled, it's hearing and raising that outside voice, bringing it in.

If Hillary Clinton chooses, as hinted, to focus on children, it won't be photo ops for long. The well-being of American children is at the matrix of private anxieties and public policies. She has the power and the voice to make that case.

In this era, women are routinely called upon to rewrite the script of their lives. Hillary Rodham Clinton has done it before. She'll do it again.

When she was feeling low during the campaign, the current first lady would hold imaginary conversations with the former first lady. She would hear Eleanor Roosevelt saying, "Get out and do it and don't make any excuses about it." It's still Eleanor Roosevelt time.

Ellen Goodman is a Globe columnist.

Newsweek

IT'S ABOUT TIME THAT A NATIONAL PUBLICATION recognized Mrs. Clinton for what she is: a decent, God-fearing American woman with a mind and soul dedicated to the common good. Most of all, I'm inspired by Mrs. Clinton's courage in withstanding the viciousness of the religious right; as a former marine, I say she merits a "well done" for discipline and coolness under fire. In keeping with my Catholic heritage and my parents' teaching, I ask God to keep the Clinton family well, and I thank God for the good works the president and Mrs. Clinton are doing for our country.

MARTIN YOUNG
FRESNO, CALIF.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, First Lady of the United States



Chicago native, Mrs. Clinton and her two younger brothers, Hugh and Tony grew up in suburban Park Ridge.



is as a close-knit family. Here, she is pictured with her father Hugh, her mother Dorothy, and brother Hugh, Jr. Throughout her childhood, the foundations of her lasting commitment to family, work and service were established. It is this commitment and the belief that we "all have an obligation to give something of ourselves to our community," that has helped to shape her role as our nation's First Lady.

As a young student, Mrs. Clinton organized food drives, served in student government, and was a member of the National Honor Society. She was a member of the local Methodist youth group, and she was also a Girl Scout. As



First Lady, she currently serves as honorary President of the Girl Scouts of America. Here, Mrs. Clinton is joined by girls from a local Girl Scout chapter as she tapes a public service announcement for the Girl Scouts.

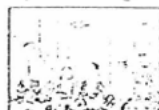
During the twelve years that she served as First Lady of Arkansas, Mrs. Clinton worked as a full-time partner of a law firm, chaired the Arkansas Education Standards Committee, which was an education committee that set public



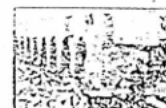
school standards in Arkansas, managed a home, and cared for her husband and daughter Chelsea. She also founded the Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families. She introduced a pioneering program called Arkansas' Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youth, which trains parents to work with their children in school preparedness and literacy. Mrs. Clinton also served on the board of the Arkansas Children's Hospital. In recognition of her professional and personal accomplishments, she was named Arkansas Woman of the Year in 1984.



On taking office, President Clinton made health care reform one of the highest priorities of his Administration. In 1993, he asked the First Lady to chair the Task Force on National Health Care Reform. During the next 19 months, Mrs. Clinton travelled across the country talking to doctors, nurses, health care professionals and people from all



aspects of life about ways to improve the current health care system and how



to ensure that every American has the right to quality, affordable health care. Here, Mrs. Clinton

eaks at a health care rally at the University of Colorado.

hen the Clintons arrived in Washington, D.C., Mrs. Clinton felt that she had not only public responsibilities as First Lady, but also the important private responsibility to make the historic, and formal, White House a true home for her



usband and their daughter Chelsea. For example, because the private living quarters did not have an formal place to gather for meals, she decided to have the serving kitchen on the second floor converted into a family kitchen. There, the three of them could gather around the table just as they had in Arkansas.

ie of Mrs. Clinton's many responsibilities as First Lady is to oversee the White House Special Events. Here, the President and Mrs. Clinton greet a crowd of children and their parents for the annual White House Easter Egg Roll



. Every year, children and their parents are invited to come and enjoy the festivities which include: Easter Egg hunts; Easter Egg rolls; a petting zoo, entertainment and face painting on the South Lawn of the White House and Ellipse Park.

e holiday season is another popular time at the White House. Every year, the Christmas tree in the Blue Room is a favorite attraction for the tour goers. For Christmas 1993, in celebration of the year of the American Craft, artisans from around the country were invited to contribute ornaments for the Blue Room tree, using the theme of angels. The skirt was hand-made by quilters from each of the 50 states and territories, and over 1,000 artists contributed to



Christmas display. Here, Mrs. Clinton shows off the White House Christmas tree in the Blue Room.

Christmas 1994 features the new holiday card, by Thomas McKnight as well as a host of decorating prizes still to come.



e First Lady is also an art lover. As she has said, sculpture happens to be one of her favorite art forms. In fact, her first date with President Clinton was in the sculpture garden at Yale University. As First Lady, Mrs. Clinton worked with the Committee for the Preservation of the White House, and the White House Historical Society to bring an



hibit of 20th century sculpture to the First Ladies' Garden of the White House. The first part of the exhibit, which opened in October, 1994, included twelve pieces that are on loan to the White House from ten Western art collections. Mrs. Clinton and the Committee for the Preservation of the White House hope to continue the exhibit with pieces of sculpture from public art collections from every region of the country. In



blishing this exhibit, Mrs. Clinton wanted to showcase the best of American Sculpture, in America's heart, making it accessible to the many people who visit the White House every day.

uly 1993, the First Lady accompanied the President on his first foreign trip as President to Tokyo, Japan for the



ual G-7 Summit of the industrialized nations. Here, they are greeted by Japanese school children on the streets of Tokyo. In the summer of 1994, they travelled to Naples, Italy, again for the G-7 Summit.

e, Clinton is also a SERIOUS baseball fan! As a child, she attended Cubs games at Wrigley Field in Chicago with her father and brothers. Last year, she was invited to Wrigley Field to throw out the first ball of the Cubs' 1994

ISON



Like her predecessors, Hillary Rodham Clinton brings to the role of First Lady her own special talents, experiences, beliefs, and interests. As she continues her efforts to help others, she remains devoted in her commitment to her family, work, and service.

An Interactive Citizen's Handbook



Twentieth Century American Sculpture at the White House

Twelve works of art selected from American art museums for this special exhibition span over seventy years of the 20th century, and represent a diverse and vital aspect of our cultural heritage. Conceived by Mrs. Clinton and drawn from public collections in the heartland of the nation and installed in the First Ladies' Garden of the White House, the exhibition has been organized under the auspices of the Association of Art Museum Directors.

Over half of the inclusions in this exhibition are by living American artists. Diverse in their ideas, idioms, and chosen medium, they span several artistic generations. Divided almost equally between figuration and abstraction, all evoke references to nature and the human figure. We hope you enjoy the following virtual tour of the exhibit.



"Observer" by Louise Bourgeois.

loan from Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery, University of Nebraska at Lincoln.



"Five Rudders" by Alexander Calder.

loan from the Washington University Gallery of Art, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.



"Eight Falls" by Brian Hunt.

loan from the Akron Art Museum, Akron, Ohio.



"Farmer's Dream" by Richard Hunt.

loan from the Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, Illinois.



"Five VIII" by Ellsworth Kelly.

loan from the Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.



"Sitting Woman" by Gaston Lachaise.

loan from the Milwaukee Art Museum, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.



"Piana" by Paul Manship.
 loan from the Minnesota Museum of American Art, Saint Paul, Minnesota.



"Petacon" by Paul Manship.
 loan from the Minnesota Museum of American Art, Saint Paul, Minnesota.



"Purcellia Number 1" by Manuel Neri.
 loan from the Laumeler Sculpture Park and Museum, Saint Louis, Missouri.



"Tropical Tree III" by Louise Nevelson.
 loan from the Columbus Museum of Art, Columbus, Ohio.



"Talking Man" by George Segal.
 loan from the Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, Minnesota.



"Field" by Judith Shea.
 loan from the Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery, Lincoln, Nebraska.

s. Clinton's special thanks go to the Association of Art Museum Directors, the Iris and B. Gerald Cantor
 ndation, George Neubert, J. Carter Brown, and the lending institutions for their time, energy, and wisdom in
 aking this exhibition possible.

in honor of the artist's work

Close look at the numbers reveals true Clinton record

AUSTIN — Well, now, before the Republican side takes over the ball, let's tote up the score after the first half here.

— The deficit is down by \$691 billion (President Clinton's plan cut \$500 billion, and the rest kicked in from economic growth). This is the first time the deficit has gone down for three years in a row since Harry Truman was president. 11-19-94

— The economy (the gross domestic product) is growing at 3.4 percent. Unemployment is down to 5.8 percent — from 7.7 percent when Clinton took over. And Clinton is the only guy talking about training folks for good-paying jobs.

— Clinton and Vice President Al Gore have cut more than 70,000 federal employees through their "reinventing government" program.

— Alice Rivlin and Leon Panetta get credit for no more smoke and mirrors; the bad habits of 12 years of Republicans are wiped out. The budget numbers are real.

— In what may turn out to be his Most Significant Legacy, the Clinton administration has started chipping away at the civil service regulations that make it so difficult to fire incompetent federal employees.

— Another contender for Most Significant is the earned-income tax credit — the most important part of the first budget package — a tax break for the working poor, 14 million of the most deserving families in America. It rewards those who work and gives them an incentive to stay in low-income jobs rather than go on welfare. Taxes were raised only on the wealthiest 2 percent of Americans.

— Still another potential Most Significant: It took Clinton a long time to get his act in gear (typical Clinton), but when he did, his record for judicial appointments proved to be excellent. The American Bar Association rates 63 percent of Clinton's judicial nominees "well-qualified." That compares with Bush, 52 percent; Reagan, 53 percent; and Carter, 57 percent.

— The Family Leave Act.

— A national youth-service program that is already bigger than the Peace Corps at its peak.

— An improved and expanded college loan program with a much better repayment rate.

— A clean-up of Pentagon procurement practices, the kind that made \$700 toilet seats and \$800 hammers famous. Supply sergeants can now go buy at Target. Reagan and Bush were in office for 12 years and never touched the "waste, fraud and abuse" in the Pentagon.

— NAFTA.

— Democracy on the way to restoration in Haiti.



MOLLY IVINS

Columnist

— The Brady bill.
— The assault weapons ban.

— Motor-voter law makes it easier to register and vote.

The big failure was in health care. Clinton's reform plan had so many special interests out to beat it, you couldn't even count them — and they spent tens of millions to do it. When Newt Gingrich asked pollsters last May what it would take to win the House, Republican pollster Bill McInturff told him "one of the most important predicates for Republican success was not having health care pass."

Here are some dandy new figures from a post-election joint survey by Harvard's School of Public Policy and the Kaiser Family Foundation. Test yourself on this.

The Harvard-Kaiser survey asked folks to list the largest federal expense today. Thirty percent said military spending, 27 percent said foreign aid, 19 percent said welfare and 15 percent said Social Security.

Here are the correct answers: Social Security accounts for 22 percent of total federal spending, the Pentagon for 19 percent, foreign aid well under 2 percent and (brace yourself) welfare is just over 1 percent. How close were you?

As long as we're on this happy track, here are some numbers about that famous 1 percent we spend on Aid to Families with Dependent Children, courtesy of the Center for Law and Public Policy via The New York Times' Bob Herbert: Thirty-eight percent of those on welfare are black, a percentage that has been going down since 1969, when it was 45 percent. About 72 percent of families on welfare have one or two children; families with four or more children are 10 percent of the total, and that number keeps going down. For all the focus on teen-age parents, only 8 percent of AFDC parents are under 20 years old. That's 8 percent.

Do you find that this does not accord with your impression of how costly welfare is in this country or of who is on welfare? Well, maybe you had better take a look at your sources of information. Who all has been blowin' in your ear, and what is their agenda? Maybe they don't want you looking at something else — say, the savings and loan scandal or the percentage of taxes now paid by corporations. Think that could be?

Columnist Molly Ivins writes for the

Holidays At The White House 1994



Welcome to Christmas 1994 at the White House



"White House Christmas" by Thomas McKnight. Greeting card by American Greetings©1994

*Click on the Christmas Tree to view the holiday message from the First Family.
Click anywhere else on the card for the full size image of the outside of the card (~220K).*

Christmas at the White House is a very special time for the Clintons. This year will be their second Christmas in Washington, and the theme they have selected for the decorations will be announced next week.

The decorations are put up on December 2 and 3, and the National Christmas Tree lighting takes place December 7, 1994. The White House will remain decorated for the holidays for one month. It will be open as normal for public tours and viewing of the decorations. The White House is open for tours at the following times:

Tuesday through Saturday, 10:30 a.m. - 12:00 p.m.

The tours are on a first come, first serve basis, with the line starting at the East Visitor's Gate on East Executive Avenue.

Additionally, Candlelight Tours of the White House will be given on December 27, 28 and 29, from 5 p.m. to 7 p.m. on a first come, first serve basis. No tickets will be distributed.

Watch this space for more on Christmas at the White House!



Thomas McKnight

ABOUT THE ARTIST'S VISION FOR THE CHRISTMAS CARD

Work on this year's Christmas card began last year. Thomas McKnight came to the White House last year during Christmas to see the decorations and to get an idea of "Clinton style." Mr. McKnight is a favorite artist of the First Family. One of his prints hangs in the residence.

In the picture of the card, be sure to note:

Three stockings are hanging from the fireplace mantel.

Socks, the First Cat, is sitting by the fire.

There is a saxophone under the Christmas Tree.

The painting above the Red Room door is from McKnight's "Wanderer" series. The painting depicts the artist walking by the river with his wife's dog, Shadow.

The book in the chair is McKnight's sketch book.

The view out the Red Room window, thanks to artistic license, is of the Washington Monument and the Jefferson Memorial.

ABOUT THE ARTIST

Thomas McKnight is an artist somewhat out of sync with his times. Born in Lawrence, Kansas, in 1941, by generation he should have been an early pop artist or a late neo-expressionist. But he came of age artistically during the 1970s, when art had practically done itself in with minimalism and conceptual experimentation. His work, full of color and image, seems to be a reaction to that gray decade.

McKnight discovered art at about thirteen when his mother gave him a set of oil paints, and his first painting--a snowy castle on a hill--was not unlike some of those he still creates. When he was sixteen, McKnight's choice of career was confirmed by the famous designer and art director of Harper's Bazaar, Alexey Brodovitch, who told him that he "had it."

After growing up in various suburbs of Washington, D.C., Montreal, and New York, he attended Wesleyan University, a small liberal arts college in Middletown, Connecticut, where he was one of only five art majors. Perhaps this fostered his independent, even eccentric, approach to the art "isms" of his time. He spent his junior year in Paris where he developed a lifelong love of European civilization. After a year of graduate work in art history at Columbia University, McKnight decided against pursuing a career as an art professor or curator. In 1964 he found a job at Time magazine where he would work for eight years, interrupted by a two-year stint in the army in Korea. McKnight held many jobs at Time, beginning as a file clerk and ending by writing advertising copy.

During a vacation in Greece in 1970, McKnight realized that life in a corporation was not for him. He had been reviewing art for a radio program around that same time, and it became clear to him that the art currently popular was not his cup of tea either. Two years later, with the cushion of his profit-sharing plan, he left Time, summered on the Greek island of Mykonos, and commenced painting in earnest.

His work began to sell, although slowly, in America and Germany. In the early 1980's he discovered a larger audience by creating limited edition serigraph prints. By then he had found that, for his work, the silkscreen technique was a natural choice--its brilliant colors and clean shapes echoed his own visions.

In 1979 in Mykonos, McKnight finally met the muse he had been searching for in Renate, a vacationing Austrian student. The couple married the following year and Renate moved to America.



Throughout the 1980's McKnight's art became increasingly popular, and by the end of the decade he was at the top of his field: four books (including one in Japanese) were devoted to his work, and hundreds of silkscreen editions sold. His art was perhaps even more well-known in Japan, where he he was commissioned to paint a series of views of Kobe for the city's 1993 fair.

Today, McKnight and his wife live in Palm Beach, Florida, in a Mediterranean-style house surrounding a courtyard garden filled with tropical flowers and a fountain. His happiest hours are spent in his tower studio, creating a steady stream of pictures of imaginary and real Arcadias. The search is never ending--there is always another vision to capture that might be better than the last.

Thomas McKnight's biography is reprinted courtesy of the book *Voyage to Paradise: A Visual Odyssey* by the artist with text by Annie Gottlieb.

OTHER WORKS BY THE ARTIST

Four sceens from Thomas McKnight's collection. "Nantucket," include:



An Interactive Citizens' Handbook

