

Publishing

First Lady Surprisingly Unscathed In New Book

By David Streitfeld
Washington Post Staff Writer

David Brock's "The Seduction of Hillary Rodham" doesn't officially go on sale until today, but he's already being accused of going too far. It's a familiar charge for the reporter whose critical look at Anita Hill was attacked as "sleaze with footnotes," "overwhelmingly one-sided," "filthy whispers" and just plain "wretched."

Hill was regarded as practically a saint by those who believed she had been sexually harassed by Clarence Thomas before he became a Supreme Court nominee, but Brock called her "a bit nutty, and a bit slutty." The expectation was that the first lady—rarely accused these days of being a saint—would receive similar rough treatment.

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PUBLISHING, From B1

It didn't happen. Instead, Brock is charged with being too forgiving, too understanding, too darn nice.

"On the most controversial questions that swirl around the First Lady, Mr. Brock's conclusions echo her apologists," writes James B. Stewart in next Sunday's New York Times Book Review.

Stewart, author of "Blood Sport," a book highly critical of the Clintons, asserts that Brock "dismisses or rationalizes the sometimes powerful evidence that Hillary Rodham Clinton has lied" about incidents ranging from the travel office firings to her highly lucrative commodities trading.

"This certainly qualifies as irony," Brock admitted in an interview yesterday, noting his new-found "respect" and even "admiration" for the first lady.

He didn't begin "The Seduction of Hillary Rodham" with those particular adjectives uppermost in his mind. "I went into it thinking that the conservative caricature was correct—that she was a malevolent, corrupt, power-mad shrew."

Brock started writing the book in the spring of 1995 with a preface saying just that. Then he started reporting. "The more I looked into a lot of the allegations, the less I thought was really there," he said, adding that the original preface was discarded. "I still think the book is critical, but it's a lot less critical than I thought it would be."

Less critical than others thought, too. "It seems clear to everyone interviewed by Mr. Brock that the book will be an expose' on Mrs. Clinton and, to a lesser extent, her husband," said the New York Observer in June, adding that the presumed hatchet job "will drip sex and drugs and rock 'n' roll."

Those kinds of books certainly sell well—often better than sober, balanced considerations. Nevertheless, Brock is hopeful. "I think people are scandal-fatigued. It might be a relief to read a serious book that doesn't have Hillary in bed with someone."

The Free Press says it has printed

300,000 copies of "The Seduction of Hillary Rodham." Brock's first book, "The Real Anita Hill," was considered an immense success, but sold only about a third of that.

"All we needed to have a bestseller this time was one salacious story wrapped up in 400 pages of blather," said Free Press Publisher Adam Bellows. "Then we'd go out on talk radio and sell 100,000-plus."

And now?

"Now we're going to see how it plays out. . . . People are expecting the book to be a weapon, because of what they think of David Brock based on his record. They want the silver bullet. But that's not what we're selling."

What they're selling is Brock's conclusions that there's little proof to some of the misdeeds widely attributed to the first lady. For instance, he says, "I assumed that she abused her position at the Rose Law Firm for her own financial benefit and the benefit of her clients. But I found the opposite—that Rose's percentage of state business while Hillary was there actually declined."

As for Whitewater? "The facts don't really warrant the kind of criticism she's gotten. Much more of that should be laid at the president's door." A good deal of the book, in fact, depicts the first lady as a fall guy for what the author views as the president's abundant misdeeds.

Brock did not, of course, get an interview with Hillary Clinton, but he did meet her once. Last February, he waited in line several hours at a McLean bookstore, where the first lady was signing copies of her own book, "It Takes a Village."

"I'm David Brock," he said. "When are you going to give me an interview for the book I'm writing about you?"

Mindful, no doubt, of the American Spectator stories Brock had done on "Troopergate," about Bill Clinton's alleged use as governor of his security detail to procure women, the first lady replied: "Probably never."

Booker, Poetry Prizes

This is the season for literary prizes. The Booker is Britain's biggest in terms of the ability to sell books if not actual cash reward (although at \$30,000, it's still a nice piece of change). It even has some transatlantic effect, as proved by the U.S. success of Booker winner Roddy Doyle with his "Paddy Clarke Ha Ha Ha" three years

ago. But last year's winner, Pat Barker, did not come over and hype her novel "The Ghost Road"—proving that, like the National Book Award, these things only make a huge difference when the author takes to the road.

The Booker nominees this year draw, as usual, from Britain and current and former Commonwealth members: Margaret Atwood, author of "Alias Grace," and Rohinton Mistry, author of "A Fine Balance," are Canadians; "Reading in the Dark" is a long-awaited first novel by an Irish critic, Seamus Deane. The other nominees, all Brits, are Graham Swift for "Last Orders," Beryl Bainbridge for "Every Man for Himself" and Shena Mackay for "The Orchard on Fire." The winner will be announced Oct. 29.

Meanwhile, the Library of Congress announced that Kenneth Koch's "One Train" is the winner of the 1996 Rebekah Johnson Bobbitt National Prize for Poetry. This privately funded \$10,000 prize is for the most distinguished book of verse by an American during the preceding two years.

Rebekah Bobbitt was President Johnson's sister; as a graduate student here in the 1930s, she fell in love with a college student named O.P. Bobbitt in the cataloguing department of the Library of Congress. The first Bobbitt prize was given eight years ago.

Koch will receive his prize and give a public reading at the library on Oct. 31. The jury cited "One Train" for its "poignant wit," saying it had a consistent unity and tone that poets seek but don't necessarily achieve.

The long title poem, inspired by a sign at a railroad crossing in Kenya marked "One Train May Hide Another," has been particularly admired. The poem takes the train notion as a launching point, reworking the idea through relationships to reputations to love and other things:

... In love, one reproach may hide
another,
One small complaint may hide a
great one.
One injustice may hide
another—one colonial may
hide another,
One blaring red uniform another,
and another, a whole column.
One bath may hide another
bath
As when, after bathing, one walks
out into the rain.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

THE COOKIE CANDIDATE

He Made a Mint in Chocolate Chips. But Can He Beat-Newt Gingrich?

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1996

By Marc Fisher
Washington Post Staff Writer

MARIETTA, Ga.

The environmental studies professor couldn't make it to Candidates Night at the Marietta Country Club. He's far from home and has been for so much of the campaign that the local paper ran a huge front-page headline asking where he's been lately. That he can afford to be so confident of his support back home may seem odd at first. On paper, he should be at a disadvantage in his bid to represent this highly conservative corner of Georgia: He's admitted to having smoked marijuana, he's been divorced, he's a techno-nerd who's spent his entire career on the public payroll.

His opponent is a man who seems custom-made for Georgia's 6th Congressional District, a practical businessman with a rags-to-riches life story (literally: His father was a rag merchant), a family man who has created thousands of jobs, who lectures on entrepreneurship and the American Dream, who has been so generous to the local college's business school that it was rechristened in his name.

At first glance, the professor should be the Democratic challenger to the Republican incumbent. Except that the professor is the speaker of the House, Newt Gingrich, the high-pitched ideologue with a penchant for theoretical perorations. And the challenger—the Democratic challenger, though he cringes at the very sound of the word—is Michael Coles, founder and CEO of the Great American Cookie Co., long-distance bicycle racer, millionaire, political novice.

Coles—trying to become the second unknown in succession to oust a speaker of the House—must try harder. To persuade voters even to consider him, Coles, who will spend \$2 million of his own cash on the campaign, has offered this opening gambit: He won't accept a congressional pension, he'd serve only three terms and he'd donate his salary to a scholarship fund. Proving that you're not just another pol can be awfully expensive these days.

Suspicion runs so deep in the electorate that the candidate will do almost anything to disavow ties to the political infrastructure. In this heavily GOP district, in a swath of affluent, suburban Atlanta that gave George Bush 56 percent of the vote four years ago, Coles is so determined to downplay his Democratic affiliation that he refuses to tell a reporter for whom he will vote in the presidential race.

At the candidates forum, sponsored by the Cobb

See GEORGIA, B4, Col. 1

GEORGIA, From B1

County Medical Society, a friendly woman asks Coles in a syrupy tone, "Now, are you the Democrat in your race?"

Coles pauses, seemingly flustered by this simple query. "Well," he says at length, "I'm running as the Democrat."

The ploy works. Even hard-core Gingrich supporters have bought the idea of the challenger as man without party. "Why, I've known Michael Coles a long time and he is a Republican in disguise," says Felton Hagood, a surgeon attending the medical society bash who believes "Newt has done an admirable job."

Hagood, a good stiff Scotch in hand along with a plate full of buffet delectables, can tick off Coles's conservative credentials: "He's anti-crime, for a balanced budget, pro-gun. But Newt is well liked here. All that stuff about Newt's ethics has been overplayed. He didn't misuse funds to any great degree, and the college course he taught is a good thing. No, you won't find any professional men against Newt."

Indeed, the fuss in Washington over Gingrich's ethics, the years-long investigation into whether the speaker misused political action committee money for his college course, "Renewing American Civilization," has had no perceptible effect back home. On the campaign trail, hardly anyone talks about it, not even Coles. On the rare occasions when the course comes up at all, it's only to express a choice bit of irony: When Gingrich taught the course at Kennesaw State College, he taught it at the Michael Coles School of Business.

An Empire From Scratch

He's a swarthy little guy with muddy green eyes and urban energy. You can see immediately that he's the kind of in-your-face executive it takes to build a business from an \$8,000 investment to a \$100 million, 400-store cookie empire. He talks with his hands as if he were from New York, which he is. Brooklyn's rough-and-tumble Brownsville section, to be precise. He spent much of his youth in Miami Beach, another place where it paid to be strong, loud and gutsy.

He started work at age 11 and never stopped. He never went to college, but rappelled from one business to another. It was the clothing business that brought him to Georgia in 1967, a Jewish kid from Miami Beach on the make. He zipped up the corporate ladder in menswear, then went off on his own. Before long he was being invited onto the lecture circuit, preaching the gospel of success. The son of an immigrant mother and a ragman father was the star of his own motivational video.

Three years ago, Coles, 52, sold the company he had built up from a single mall outlet. He's still its chief executive, but concedes that "I was getting to the point where I was ready to go on and do other things." He tried traveling, pushed himself to wind down. But sitting still was never Coles's style.

He was increasingly worried about his country: "We could wind up with a society where people of means have to go to private movies, private places to eat and so on," Coles says. "Even though I'm one of the people who could do that, I don't want to have to live like that."

In the past six months, Coles has been to every carnival, every antiques fair, every craft show held in Atlanta's northwestern suburbs. He hits two or three breakfasts a day, a couple of lunches—Kiwanis, Optimists, Rotary—a dinner or two. Most of the time, his wife, Donna, a charming, husky-voiced Mary Travers look-alike, comes along. So do a couple of Coles staffers, one of whom carries the offering, the big carton of cookies that the candidate bestows upon every group he visits. The campaign spends more than \$1,000 a month on

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File Brock Book

<http://www.slate.com/StrangeBedfellow/96-10-04/StrangeBedfellow.asp#Bio>

Hillary, Commie Martyr

A hit man's phony sympathy for his victim.

By Jacob Weisberg

(1,502 words; posted Friday, Oct. 4; to be composted Friday, Oct. 11)

This week my column earns its name--though "strange bedfellow" might be a better title for something by David Brock. Brock, in case you've forgotten, is that young, gay, conservative investigative sex journalist who specializes in the reverse beatification of liberal saints in the gay-baiting *American Spectator*. After making his name with a best seller arguing that Anita Hill had mixed up Clarence Thomas with someone else, Brock became even more notorious by breaking, in the pages of the *Spectator*, the lurid tale that came to be known as "Troopergate." Though many of the "revelations" by Clinton's former bodyguards were clearly baloney (Vince Foster groping Hillary Clinton in public, Bill consuming whole baked potatoes in a single bite), the fantasy was blended with elements of reality in an artful way. One product of the mixture was the Paula Jones lawsuit, which was filed not only against Clinton but also against one of Brock's own trooper witnesses, who alleged that "Paula" did not flee the governor's hotel room as promptly as she recalls.

Given that background, Brock's *The Seduction of Hillary Rodham* has been much awaited, eagerly by the Dole camp, less so by the Democrats. The hype succeeded in getting my hopes up, but not for long. SLATE has gotten its hands on a bootleg copy of the book, marked "confidential," and embargoed for Oct. 8. SLATE is woefully disappointed.

here are only four allegations here that even vaguely resemble news:

- T** 1. While running for Congress in 1974, Bill Clinton contemplated buying black votes in order to steal the election, but ultimately did not.
2. In the early '80s, Hillary hired a private detective to find out about her husband's tomcatting.
3. In 1992, the Clinton campaign hired another private detective to intimidate bimbos. This detective obliquely threatened the life of Gennifer Flowers.
4. On the morning of the inauguration in 1993, the Clintons had a frank exchange of views on the steps of Blair house, trading such endearments as "fucking bitch," and "stupid motherfucker."

These nuggets all have the same problems. First, they are remarkably thinly sourced, to 1) a disgruntled former consultant who was disbarred for bribery; 2) a detective who had his license revoked by the State of Arkansas; 3) Gennifer Flowers' ex-roommate; and 4) Park Police. Second, none of them implicates either the president or first lady in anything that is actually or even nearly illegal. It was the consultant, not the Clintons, who wanted to buy votes. Campaigns hire detectives all the time. Profanity isn't a crime. But worst of all, these bombshells aren't particularly juicy, and to find them, you have to wade through 400 pages of stupefying rehash.

Possibly because he returned from Little Rock without the goods, Brock takes a new authorial tack. He casts himself as a fair-minded, quasi-objective investigator, appalled by the Hillary-hating right. To do this, of course, he must distance himself from himself, and this he does with aplomb. A *Spectator* piece of his about the travel-office firings "was even accompanied by a facetious caricature of Hillary as a witch!" he notes. Fancy that. The new, evenhanded Brock says Hillary is "neither an icon nor a demon."

Actually, he veers drunkenly between these two poles, now mocking Hillary for thick ankles, dowdy outfits, and résumé padding, now excusing her involvement in Travelgate and Whitewater. The troopers see Hillary as "an undesirable, foul-mouthed harridan who had brought the mistreatment and neglect on herself." Not so, Brock assures us, gallantly fending off the rogues. "It seems fairer to conclude that Hillary's flaring temper was an understandable reaction to the humiliation to which she was subjected on a regular basis."



Brock's disingenuousness is monumental, and takes place at several levels. At the first, Brock, under the guise of fairness, slings enough mud to drown a Bangladeshi village. His particular obsession is that Hillary Clinton is, I kid you not, a Red. Carl Ogelsby, whose writings influenced her at Wellesley, was a "Maoist or Marxist." Saul Alinksy, about whom she wrote her senior thesis ("now under lock and key") was the mentor to "the socialist agitator Staughton Lynd, who had gone to Hanoi with Tom Hayden in 1965 to meet with North Vietnamese leaders." At Yale Law School, her revolutionary "uniform" consisted of white socks, sandals, "and the loosefitting, flowing pants favored by the Viet Cong." She studied the First Amendment with "Tommie the Commie" Emerson and was seen around the "influential circle of Robert Borosage," later connected to the Institute for Policy Studies which "promoted pro-Soviet movements in the Third World at the height of the renewed Cold War." She spent a summer working in Berkeley with lawyers Robert Treuhaft and Charles Garry, who were--you guessed it--Communists.

And on it goes. The Legal Services Corp., on whose board Hillary sat, was a hotbed of Marxists and folk singers. She later joined the New World Foundation, on whose senior staff was Adrian W. DeWind, "who during the 1970s was a member of the Committee for Public Justice, founded by Lillian Hellman." Mrs. Clinton's mentor Marian Wright Edelman was "at the height of the 1980s U.S.-Soviet tensions ... a member of the board of SANE/FREEZE, a leading disarmament group, and she has been affiliated with the Washington School, a project of the Institute for Policy Studies." After the election, the first lady responded to a congratulatory note from the National Lawyers' Guild, "which had been founded in the 1930s as an adjunct of the American Communist Party." She thought about appointing as secretary of education Johnetta Cole, a member of a committee "connected to Cuba's intelligence forces and to the World Peace Council." Even the detective hired by the Clinton campaign in 1992 to intimidate bimbos was a "People's Detective"!

Slate

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Robert Truehaft actually was a Communist—long before his association with Hillary; "Tommy the Commie" was a McCarthyite nickname for a Yale professor who never was. In either case, so what? Brock's anachronistic redbaiting resembles the fashionable game "Six Degrees of Kevin Bacon," in which it is shown that the actor can be associated with any other actor in the world in a series of short steps. He then makes a laughingstock out of himself by accusing right-wing "critics" of practicing "smear" tactics and "guilt by association." When it comes to such subjects as lesbianism, drugs, and witchcraft, Brock's technique is slightly different. He retails various "suspensions," then assures us that they are "contemptuous." I think he means "contemptible," but you get the idea.

The second level of falsity is that Brock defends Hillary only to elevate his own, proprietary scandal. As he indicates, he thinks the media focused on Whitewater and Travelgate in 1994 as higher-minded alternatives to Troopergate. His agenda is to convince us that James McDougal doesn't matter, but that Paula Jones does. If he has to grant immunity to Hillary to prosecute her husband, so be it. Deep down, he assures us, Hillary is a good person. Bill is not. Unlike the virtuous Hillary, the president's late mother "slept around," he tells us, without any further elaboration. She even "ministered to call girls," whatever that means. William Blythe, whom Clinton "claims as his natural father," was with a different woman every night. Clinton, to Brock, is an empty vessel, or at least a vessel with his wife at the tiller. He has always been a parasite on her political acumen, her intelligence, and her income.



At the same time, Brock undermines his fainthearted defense by arguing that Hillary is a closet revolutionary cadre, a committed radical who takes as her creed Saul Alinsky's admonition that the struggle to help the poor is a struggle for power in which the ends always justify the means. He even describes her journey to the White House as a Maoist "long march." This theory demands a certain creative use of evidence. When Alinsky offered her a job after college, Hillary turned him down, saying in a letter that she disapproved of his methods and preferred to work inside the system. But to Brock, this only enhances the point. Her chance to foist socialism on America finally came with health-care reform. Never mind that lefties hated her managed-competition plan. Never mind that she didn't even try to stop her husband from repealing the welfare entitlement. She is a "Trojan horse," making tactical concessions in the name of the ultimate radical millennium.

Though Brock's primary theme is Hillary's clandestine pursuit of her own idea of justice, he intersperses it with his own titular one about how a good person was "seduced" by an amoral husband and the seedy realities of Arkansas political life. Unexplained is how one can be a dedicated revolutionary and a sellout to the status quo at the same time. But then, conservatives need to have it both ways about the Clintons. Bob Dole still hasn't decided whether his opponent is a "closet liberal" or a chameleon. You can make either case, but you have to make up your mind.

Jacob Weisberg is SLATE's chief political correspondent. His column, "Strange Bedfellow," appears weekly. He also will be filing dispatches from the campaign trail.

Illustration by Robert Neuhecker

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By David Brock

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Previous Strange Bedfellow columns

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THE SEDUCTION OF HILLARY RODHAM

DAVID BROCK

David Brock, Washington's most feared investigative journalist and the author of the controversial *The Real Anita Hill*, unveils his blockbuster authoritative political biography of First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, a fascinating and complex figure who has evoked strongly contrasting reactions across the political spectrum.

Shrouded in the scandal of Whitewater, pummeled and embarrassed by the stunning defeat of her ambitious health care reform plan, many speculate that Hillary Clinton will be the albatross around the neck of her husband's re-election effort; that her clumsy political skills, naivete, and arrogance will ultimately doom President Clinton's political future. David Brock, the investigative reporter who uncovered the real story of the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill controversy, has turned his unparalleled skills to painting the first accurate portrait of the First Lady, shedding new light on the trying life and political struggles of this most controversial of public figures.

Guaranteed to generate front-page headlines and nationwide reaction, *The Seduction of Hillary Rodham* will command major media coverage the minute it hits the street.

This is the book that insiders of every political stripe have been waiting for, by an author who can rocket a book onto national bestseller lists.



David Brock is a writer for *The American Spectator* and the author of the bestselling *The Real Anita Hill*. He lives in Washington, D.C.

DAVID BROCK

THE SEDUCTION OF
HILLARY RODHAM



Politics

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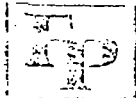
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REVIEW

Final



PREFACE

In mid-January 1996, Hillary Rodham Clinton published her first book, *It Takes a Village*, in which she outlines her prescription for "how we can make our society into the kind of village that enables children to grow into able, caring, resilient adults." The book became a Number One best-seller, and seemed to herald her triumphant return to the public stage after the humiliating defeat of her health care reform initiative and the subsequent Republican takeover of congress in the 1994 mid-term elections.

Within days of her book's publication, however, Hillary was hauled before a federal grand jury in Washington where she was grilled by the Whitewater independent counsel on her legal work for a corrupt Arkansas savings and loan association. Thus was her long-anticipated moment of triumph, like so many others in her life, irretrievably spoiled.

This rapid-fire sequence of positive and negative events was a dramatic reminder of the contradictions in Hillary's own life as well as the growing cognitive dissonance about the first lady in the minds of the public and the press. Hillary's shining reputation for personal integrity and selfless dedication to her causes, reflecting her life's work on behalf of children and families, didn't square with the witchlike image of Hillary clad in a long black cape leaving a Washington courthouse under cover of nightfall, at the center of a criminal investigation.

Yet that contrast also embodies what is so fascinating and, to many, so infuriating about Hillary Rodham Clinton. Long before she faced legal troubles, Hillary had set off a mad scramble to divine her true identity. Who is the real Hillary Clinton? Is she the articulate lawyer and political

1 activist who first emerged in the "two-for-one" Clinton candidacy of the
2 1992 presidential campaign? The cookie-baking Super Mom who soon
3 replaced her? The Lady Macbeth of Little Rock? A latter-day Joan of Arc,
4 bringing health coverage to all? A foul-mouthed lamp-throwing harri-
5 dan? Saint Hillary, exponent of "the politics of meaning"? The Ivan
6 Boesky of cattle-futures trading? Or, finally, a virtual recluse in the White
7 House, comically "channeling" the spirit of Eleanor Roosevelt?

8 More than almost any figure in recent history, Hillary has elicited
9 strongly polarized reactions from Americans across the social spec-
10 trum—impassioned ~~paens~~ from her supporters and vitriolic attacks
11 from her foes. *Newsweek* posed the question on its cover in February 1996:
12 "Saint or Sinner?" Oddly, there seems nothing in between.

13 Recently, however, a cultural consensus has produced a composite
14 portrait—not to say caricature—that is uniformly negative. Toward the
15 end of the first Clinton term, even Hillary's allies had turned on her, and
16 she has been left with few, if any, defenders. Two *New York Times* colum-
17 nists on opposite ends of the ideological spectrum, William Safire and
18 Maureen Dowd, seem to agree on one thing: Hillary's deeply flawed char-
19 acter. Safire famously called her a "congenital liar," and Dowd described
20 her as "Mommie Dearest." Others have compared Hillary to Leona
21 Helmsley, Ma Barker, Eva Braun, and Minister Louis Farrakhan. Newt
22 Gingrich's mother revealed on national television that her son had re-
23 ferred to Hillary as a "bitch." *U.S. News* quoted a Clinton aide referring
24 to Hillary as a "dragon lady" and "the house SOB." And Sally Quinn, the
25 reigning doyenne of Georgetown society, was quoted in the *New Yorker* as
26 saying, "There's just something about her that pisses people off."

27 The prospect of Hillary going to jail has become a stock punchline of
28 talk-show host David Letterman's Top Ten list. Shock-jock Don Imus airs
29 a derisive adaptation of "The Lady Is a Tramp," a double parody in which
30 a Rush Limbaugh character sings: "She goes to State dinners with her
31 lesbian friends/makes big investments with high dividends/Forgets to
32 pay taxes but then makes amends/That's why the first lady is a tramp."

33 Tapping into an almost archetypal demonization of female power,
34 three recently published bestselling books on the Clintons by authors of
35 widely divergent backgrounds and political views have reached roughly
36 the same judgment on Hillary, providing a stereotype to appall all con-
37 stituencies. From the right, FBI agent Gary Aldrich, author of *Unlimited*
38 *Access*, writes of "Queen Hillary," a deranged, power-mad emasculator.

Preface

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From the left, historian Roger Morris portrays a deeply cynical, ruthless shrew at the service of Arkansas corporate oligarchy in *Partners in Power*. Perhaps most surprising is *Blood Sport*, by Pulitzer-Prize winner (and professed Clinton supporter) James B. Stewart, which depicts Hillary as a selfish, money-grubbing cheat. Stewart is a trusted financial journalist and his book, which appeared to give more credence to the word of two now-convicted Whitewater felons than to Hillary, was perhaps the final sign of a decisive turn against her on the part of mainstream liberals.

More ink has been spilled writing about Hillary Rodham Clinton—from her policy pronouncements to her latest hairstyle—than on the activities of any prior presidential spouse. Yet the beliefs, motives, and character of this most divisive and unpopular first lady remain shrouded in confusion, secrecy, and outright misrepresentation. Because she touches so many nerves—as a professional spouse and working mother with an office in the West Wing of the White House; as the bearer of the historical consciousness of the post-Watergate generation; and as the informal head of the liberal wing of the Democratic party—few seem able to view Hillary from a sober analytical stance. Indeed, she now seems to exist almost completely in the realm of cultural mythology as a figure upon whom allies and enemies alike can project their hopes and their fears, their expectations and their disappointments.

In some respects, Hillary has been treated no differently from previous first ladies who became lightning rods for criticism when they appeared to exert too much influence. Yet while she has frequently been compared to former first ladies from Eleanor Roosevelt to Nancy Reagan, Hillary Rodham Clinton, as the first presidential spouse in history to assume a formal government post, exercises her considerable influence not just to help her husband but also to advance the many social and political causes in which she deeply believes and which she has spent a lifetime pursuing. Little is known about these activities, and her precise ideological cast and mode of operation therefore remains obscure. But it is important to understand the breadth of Hillary's importance: despite the impression that she is a spent force in the Clinton administration, as she made plain in her speech to the 1996 Democratic convention, she will undoubtedly return in a second term—to be reckoned with.

Hillary's power derives from her partnership in a unique political marriage, the like of which has never been seen before. This surprisingly

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1 durable pairing has carried the Clintons through over twenty years of
2 tough political tests and trying personal challenges in Arkansas, all
3 the way to the White House. To be sure, the political landscape is lit-
4 tered with power couples—Republican presidential nominee Bob Dole
5 and his wife Elizabeth are perhaps the most prominent current
6 example—but the Clintons are different, in the vigor of Hillary's inde-
7 pendent activist commitments, in the unapologetic exertion of leader-
8 ship in her own right, and most of all in the extraordinary extent to which
9 Bill relies on her to balance his shortcomings and to guide his political
10 career.

11 Through this marriage Hillary has seen not only the heights of polit-
12 ical triumph but also the depths of personal defeat. It was Bill Clinton
13 who brought her into contact with the gritty money-politics system of
14 Arkansas, entangling her in a web of unsavory associations from which
15 she attempted to distance herself—first in Little Rock, then in Wash-
16 ington—but which followed her to the White House and ultimately
17 wreaked havoc on her life and reputation. Because she has been forced
18 to make hard compromises to protect both her marriage and Bill's po-
19 litical future, Hillary's struggle to preserve her dignity and integrity has
20 become the central drama of her life.

21 While Hillary's credibility is in tatters and her reputation and politi-
22 cal effectiveness are all but ruined, Bill, strangely, has gone virtually un-
23 scathed by the scandalous revelations and is generally favored to win
24 re-election. According to poll data, as Hillary's negatives soared to new
25 heights in 1996, with almost half the public saying it believes she is a liar,
26 Bill's positives have risen in almost direct proportion. While Bob Dole
27 and former president George Bush attacked Hillary from the podium at
28 the 1996 Republican convention, a *New York Times* story on the eve of the
29 Democratic convention suggested that White House officials have cyni-
30 cally sought to spin the attacks on Hillary to Bill's political advantage.

31 Hillary's story is that of an intelligent, talented, ambitious, and very
32 determined woman who nevertheless succumbed to powerfully seduc-
33 tive forces—philosophical, political, and personal. These include the
34 easy moral certitudes of the Christian left; the fashionable instrumen-
35 talist legal doctrines disseminated at Yale Law School; the situational
36 ethics and power-based political philosophies of a certain strain of 1960s
37 radicalism; the dangerously tempting belief, insilled by influential men-
38 tors, in the beneficent potential of government as a force for social

Preface

xi

progress; the frictionless ease of manipulating the levers of a power in a corrupt one-party state; and the idealized vision of a new kind of political partnership with her husband that proved impossible to realize. Above all, she has repeatedly succumbed to the seductive attraction of Bill Clinton himself, perhaps the most articulate, beguiling, and empathetic figure ever to emerge on the American political scene. Given Hillary's apparent strength and confidence—and her position as a virtual paradigm of the modern feminist movement—the question is, what made her vulnerable to these seductive forces in the first place?

One bitter cold evening in February 1996, in the midst of a snowstorm, I stood in line for several hours at a bookstore in McLean, Virginia where the first lady was signing copies of *It Takes a Village*. When I finally reached the head of the line, I introduced myself and asked her when I could have an interview for this biography. "Probably never," she answered with a wry edge.

Considering my prior reporting on the Clintons, of course, I could hardly blame the First Lady for turning me down. Given my record, I had fully expected to write the book not as a Clinton insider but as a knowledgeable outsider, and Hillary did not disappoint me. My first professional encounter with the Clintons had come during Christmas week in 1993, when I published in *The American Spectator* the infamous "Troopergate" story, which exposed Bill Clinton's improper use of his Arkansas security detail in his pursuit of sexual partners. The story provoked enormous controversy, setting off a debate about both the relevance of the charges and the credibility of the sources.

As I ventured into the netherworld of petty corruption and intrigue in Arkansas, I considered the troopers' credibility and the newsworthiness of their allegations. Indeed, though I had spoken with them several times over the course of three months, corroborating their stories and testing their consistency, I was still on the fence about publication. Then I learned that Clinton had allegedly called one of the troopers and offered him a federal job, apparently in an effort to contain the story. At that point, I decided the story needed to be told. (The *Los Angeles Times* reached the same judgment, publishing a similar story two days after mine appeared.)

One can only imagine what Hillary Rodham Clinton must have

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thought of me. Not only had I published the outré trooper story but I had also been the first journalist, in the spring of 1994, to place her at the center of the travel-office firings and of the subsequent White House effort to whitewash her role. The piece was even accompanied by a facetious caricature of Hillary as a witch! Hillary's role in that affair eventually placed her squarely in the sights of the Whitewater independent counsel and congressional investigators.

No doubt Hillary would have been surprised to know that, by the time I sought her out in that Virginia bookstore in early 1996, I had come to believe that the Republican effort to make her the arch villain of the Whitewater saga was wrong. While one cannot easily dismiss the allegations swirling around her, efforts to disentangle them and learn the truth should never have become a witch hunt. My suspicions about Republican motives were heightened when one of the Senate Whitewater committee's GOP lawyers told me he intended to "kick Hillary's ass." Later, I was told that Republican Senator Lauch Faircloth of North Carolina had turned to an aide and said of Hillary's confidantes Susan Thomases and Maggie Williams: "You want me to call them lying bitches, I'll call them lying bitches." There was something wrong here, and it wasn't with Hillary.

The danger of such *ad hominem* attacks is that they pave the way for a succession of fallacious charges, from secret trysts at the Marriott Hotel to conspiracy theories promoted by Reverend Jerry Falwell and others about the "murder" of White House deputy counsel Vincent Foster. (The Arkansas troopers, too, had gotten caught up in the hate-mongering, opening up their credibility to question once again this spring with their improbable claim, aired by the Senate Whitewater Committee, that Foster died not in Fort Marcy Park, where his body was found, but in the parking lot of the White House.)

At this late date, the constellation of scandals surrounding the Clintons has been so thoroughly investigated, producing such a voluminous public record, that what is needed now is neither name-calling nor "gotcha" journalism but an effort to understand the partnership at its crux. Therefore, this is not a book about another loan application allegedly filled out fraudulently or supposed secret seances in the White House residence, but rather an effort to interpret the dynamics of this unlikely pair and to reach a considered judgment especially about Hillary's character and actions.

Preface

xiii

Hillary has gotten a bad rap from all sides. Ultimately, one must take a much more mixed and nuanced view of her than the opinion polls suggest. As Hillary herself remarked in response to the *Newsweek* cover story "Saint or Sinner?": "[I'm] not as good as some people say . . . [or] as bad as other people claim . . ." Hillary should be approached as neither an icon nor a demon but as a real person who has had a remarkable life and, it could be argued, has been more important to America than her husband.

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presents the issue as a no-lose situation: "Why don't they understand we just want to share? Equality makes the world better for men as well as women."

But seizing legislative and economic power is not the same as getting help with the dishes. While equal partnership in heterosexual relationships is surely an advantage for both concerned, we are kidding ourselves if we refuse to recognize the gravity of what parity for women really means to men in political and economic terms. *Newsweek* commentator Eleanor Clift wrote that the situation "is as serious as South Africa: men are being asked to share power." She is right to choose so serious an analogy, but she still understates the case; men are not being asked to "share" power, the way, in a good marriage, they are being asked to "share" the housework. They are being forcefully pressed to yield power. The recent recognition of women is being interpreted by women as "respect at last"—a friendly offering. Unused to the weight of power, women are largely overlooking the base note of fear.

Evidence that female power has turned a corner, and that "the opposition" sees the situation far more clearly than do women themselves, is provided in David Brock's 1993 account of the Thomas-Hill hearings, *The Real Anita Hill*, which used trumped-up evidence to try to demolish Hill's reputation. Ironically, the book winds up providing a sharper and more persuasive accounting of women's new political power than a feminist writer could manage.

Brock paints an ominous picture of a "Shadow Senate" of feminists and their sympathizers. He offers a scenario in which Hill was "induced to file a complaint by Senate staffers and interest group partisans who wanted to defeat the nomination regardless of the charge's truth or falsehood, and then 'outed' Hill when the plan did not work." He refers to feminists and to Hill's supporters as "the opposition"; he describes the heads of NARAL and the various other groups that mobilized on Hill's behalf as "deeply hidden operatives." In his view, put forth in various passages, the dark forces of "the feminist groups that demanded a public inquiry on the basis of no evidence" were joined by "the media," which "also helped to whip up the feminist frenzy." Less than two years after backlash theorists were called paranoid, conspiracy-minded, and delusional for describing a war against women's rights, Brock has developed a detailed conspiracy theory in which feminists and their lackeys at the highest levels wage war against men's rights. And he is not all that far from

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the truth for he is describing, though with the shadings of a patriar-
chalist's nightmare, the first time women's political power has
worked with such efficiency.

Why would Brock go to the trouble of amassing enormous
amounts of dodgy evidence—allegations of sexual obsessiveness,
among others—to destroy Hill's credibility? Why would conservative
foundations like the Olin bother to help underwrite the project?
Because these men and organizations understand the conflict and all
that is at stake. The book is not motivated merely by the wish to clear
the name of a potentially wronged man. Brock himself provides the
motivation. He details in consternation, much as I do in celebration,
the broad advances made by women as a result of "the Anita Hill
effect." Those who believed Anita Hill, he writes, "took up the
banner in a broader cultural conflict." A mere two years before, the
right would not have had to go to this trouble to prevent women from
taking up certain banners.

What is producing this new level of defensiveness? What is there
for those who endorse male power to be afraid of? Loss. Right now,
the pro-male affirmative action of sex discrimination means that
white men receive a mighty, unearned power bonus: a fifth to a third
more income than women across the board; four times the represen-
tation in state government; almost total ownership of the Senate; ten
times the representation in the British House of Commons and in the
Australian House of Representatives; five times the representation in
the European Parliament; odds of 93 to 7 in their favor for getting to
the top of business and legal circles; and a 75-25 advantage in the
struggle for recognition in the press—not to mention the option to
cede home responsibilities to women. Truly equal opportunity for
women slashes away at those advantages. Who would willingly em-
brace the loss of a situation such as men enjoy?

Feminists refer to sexist culture as "reflecting men at twice their
natural size," in Virginia Woolf's phrase, and women often see politi-
cal parity as something that should be welcome to men, refocusing
them on a friendly and realistic human scale, closer to that of women.
But when women criticize men's hoarding of power, we rarely con-
cede that, given the same upbringing, any woman would also be
convinced that being reflected at twice her natural size is an appropri-
ate reflection. Any tampering with that reflection would not feel like
an adjustment for clarity, but an unjust diminution of scale.

Much female despair of men comes from seeing male sexism as

'Sainthood' from a Hillary critic

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A1

Brock's new book surprises everyone

File
Brock
Book

David Brock, the author feared by the White House and famous for his book dulling the media aura around Anita Hill, concludes in a new book that first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton is more saint than sinner — and a victim of conservative misrepresentation.

Mr. Brock, who was once an editorial writer for The Washington Times and has been a frequent contributor to American Spectator magazine, has astonished both friends and foes of the Clinton White House.

At the White House, there was relief.

He writes in "The Seduction of Hillary Rodham" that "Hillary has gotten a bad rap from all sides. . . . Hillary should be approached as neither an icon nor a demon but as a real person who has had a remarkable life and, it could be argued, has been more important to

America than her husband."

His 452-page book, long feared by the East Wing, enrages conservatives who accuse the author of "The Real Anita Hill," which angered liberals, of seeking to rehabilitate himself with the dominant media that has so far scorned him. Reviews of the Hill book were generally scathing, and he suffered vicious personal attacks in the New York Times and other liberal publications.

"He is trying to ingratiate himself with the mainstream media,"

see BOOK, page A12

BOOK

From page A1

says competing Hillary biographer Peter T. Flaherty. "David Brock wants to be the center of attention."

Mrs. Clinton's critics — and no less her defenders in the White House — expected Mr. Brock to ventilate evidence of wrongdoing by the first lady for her participation in either the Whitewater or "Travelgate" scandals. One White House official described himself last night as "relieved" that the book arrived "flat."

In an interview, Mr. Brock says Mrs. Clinton "is very strong, confident and assertive. But there's an element in her character that lets her . . . be seduced, especially by Bill Clinton, and that makes her like many voters."

Mr. Brock describes her as insecure as he seeks to answer the question of why the first lady remains married to Mr. Clinton.

"On some level, she also may have been trying to win her father's approval — if not his love, at least his admiration. Bill provided everything that Hugh Rodham did not: approval, admiration, public praise and a feeling of being wanted by a popular and desirable man.

"At the same time, she may have been perversely drawn to the rejection implied by Bill's philandering. But perhaps all that can be said for sure is that Hillary's need to be needed in a thoroughgoing way must have played a part in drawing her to Bill and keeping her by his side."

He sees the first lady as a victim of her husband's actions, not the career-driven manipulator critics have claimed. On page 215 he writes:

"Though she did not appear to

violate any laws or conflict-of-interest rules — except perhaps the appearance-of-impropriety standard — Hillary had become inextricably linked with the least savory aspects of the Arkansas political system through her marriage and political partnership. When one's partner is dirty, there is inevitably guilt by association. But first, the Clintons had to arrive on the national stage. And it soon appeared that the more deeply Hillary fell into the Arkansas muck, the more insistent she became on escaping from it."

For Mr. Brock, who reported on several Clinton scandals, the brewing controversy is ironic.

"It seems silly I'd be considered a Hillary apologist," he says in an interview. "It's not an exoneration, but it's also not a conviction. It's somewhere in the middle."

Mr. Brock says he investigated Mrs. Clinton for 18 months in preparation for writing his biography, and concedes that he expected to paint a different picture than he did.

"I don't apologize for having sympathy for Mrs. Clinton at the end of the book," he said.

He reveals no new scandals, and recycles several first family stories, such as:

- When she first went to Arkansas in 1974, she rifled through Mr. Clinton's desk, seizing and ripping up his phone numbers of girlfriends.

- Friends said she considered divorce after he decided not to run for president in 1988, but remained for the sake of daughter Chelsea.

- Mr. Clinton "left it to Hillary to deflect the rampant speculation about his affairs."

Mr. Brock agrees with some critics who say his book is largely a compilation of previous reporting — in the trade, called "a clip job" for its reliance on old newspaper clippings.

He echoes the White House spin on her involvement in administration scandals, and occasionally embellishes his own reporting achievements, such as claiming, inaccurately, to be the first reporter to place the first lady at the center of the Travelgate scandal in May 1993.

"I write what I find and will live with the criticism," he says.

He asks of his critics on the

right: "What do people want me to do? Do they want me to make things up?"

The long-awaited book, however, is being advertised a blockbuster new biography much like his first book about Miss Hill, whose accusations of sexual harassment, never proved, almost derailed the nomination of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas.

In that book, Mr. Brock concluded that Miss Hill was a liar and wasn't subjected to harassment by Justice Thomas.

Besides providing a compassionate and sympathetic view of the first lady, Mr. Brock suggests that the co-presidency promised by Mr. Clinton and his wife in the 1992 election was improperly defined.

"Rather than two-for-one, the truth is more like two-as-one," he writes. "Over time they came to seem eerily necessary to one another, as though neither can really exist or succeed on their own."

Ready for a broadside, the White House set up an informal rebuttal team that turned out to be not needed. Said an administration official: "We were worried. We couldn't sleep at nights. But the Brock book is flat."

While the book, published by the Free Press of New York, criticizes the first lady's role in the health care debate, Travelgate, and her demand that women and minorities be placed in key jobs, Mr. Brock disputes reports that portray her as sinister or ambitious.

James Stewart, the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of "Blood Sport," an earlier examination of the Clintons and Whitewater, calls Mr. Brock an apologist. "Mr. Brock seems to have found in St. Hillary a means to attempt his own redemption as a journalist," he writes in an upcoming review of the book for the New York Times. "He's trying to ingratiate himself with people to help his own book," said Al Regnery, publisher of retired FBI agent Gary Aldrich's book "Unlimited Access."

"The people he's trying to please all hate him."

Jeff Hollingsworth, executive director of the American Conservative Union, said, "I don't think she's a victim of Clinton. . . . She consciously went into the marriage and hitched her horse to his star."

Nervous Russia watches Afghan war draw closer

Spread of fundamentalist Islam feared

By Marcia Kunstel
and Joseph Albright
COX NEWS SERVICE

AI

RUSSIA

From page A1

MOSCOW—Still pained by devastating losses from the war in Afghanistan and handicapped by the absence of President Boris Yeltsin, Russia is a stunned spectator to a new Afghan conflict threatening its southern flank.

"We must act very carefully, as we are dealing with the Orient," Defense Council Secretary Yuri Baturin told the Interfax news agency this week, underscoring Russia's reluctance to get involved in anything that could deplete its exhausted military or expose its weakened geopolitical position.

Mr. Baturin said he was "alarmed" by the worsening situation in Afghanistan, where Muslim fighters of the fundamentalist Taliban group overran the capital,

Kabul, Sept. 27 and have moved north in an effort to rout the last forces loyal to the overthrown Afghan government.

But leading Russian officials have ignored the one call for decisive action: National Security Adviser Alexander Lebed's immediate response that Russia should supply material aid to the Afghans fighting the Taliban.

Russia's Foreign Ministry supports a proposed arms embargo of Afghanistan and has urged the United Nations to broker a ceasefire.

Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Posuvalyuk denied Monday that Russia was sending arms to the troops under two northern commanders trying to hold out against the Taliban.

At least since January, allegations see RUSSIA, page A15

tions have appeared in Russian and Western media that the tenuous government of Burhanuddin Rabbani was getting weapons and advisers from Moscow to combat the Taliban.

Russia does not share a frontier with Afghanistan, but about 25,000 Russian border troops are stationed in Tajikistan close to the hostilities that are moving farther north by the day.

The Russian troops are helping the Tajik government defend itself against Tajik fundamentalist rebels maintaining bases in Afghanistan.

They also are trying to suppress drug shipments from Afghanistan that are viewed as much as a tool of destabilization as a lucrative illegal trade.

The Central Asian nations, which were part of the Soviet Union, are a buffer between Russia and Afghanistan. They are predominantly Muslim and considered vulnerable targets should the Taliban gain full control and begin to export its fundamentalist credo.

Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin last weekend met with Central Asian heads of state at a summit that agreed to step up defense of Tajikistan's border with Afghanistan. Russia's 201st Infantry Division is part of a joint peacekeeping force.

One other potential ramification of Taliban rule in Afghanistan is the exodus of 10 million Russian speakers reluctant to live under strict Islamic law, said political analyst Sergei Obukhov.

He called that possibility "one more trifle we are being reminded of now that the Taliban have won, and we will probably prove incapable of holding the Tajik-Afghan border."

The Russian-speaking, nonreligious Afghans are a legacy of years of Soviet-backed rule in Afghanistan.

The only voice urging Russian action in Afghanistan is Gen. Lebed, a decorated hero from Soviet battles against Afghan rebels who has become Russia's most popular politician.

"If Taliban, backed by Pakistan, reaches the borders with Uzbekistan and Tajikistan ... they will wipe away Russian border posts and see the road to the north free," Gen. Lebed warned last week.

The Washington Times
WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1996 *

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

File
Brock
Book

Author blames Bill, not Hillary for couple's 'unsavory associations'

Excerpts from reporter David Brock's new book, "The Seduction of Hillary Rodham":

- It was Bill Clinton who brought her into contact with the gritty money-politics system of Arkansas, entangling her in a web of unsavory associations from which she attempted to distance herself — first in Little Rock, then in Washington — but which followed her to the White House and ultimately wreaked havoc on her life and reputation. Because she has been forced to make hard compromises to protect both her marriage and Bill's political future, Hillary's struggle to preserve her dignity and integrity has become the central drama of her life.

- Hillary's story is that of an intelligent, talented, ambitious, and very determined woman who nevertheless succumbed to powerfully seductive forces — philosophical, political, and personal ... Above all, she has repeatedly succumbed to the seductive attraction of Bill Clinton himself, perhaps the most articulate, beguiling, and empathetic figure ever to emerge on the American political scene.

- Bill may have also been drawn to Hillary's genuineness and reliability.

- Though her critics, both in the state and nationally, made political hay of the common perception that Hillary joined the Rose Law firm by virtue of her political connection to Bill, the very opposite appears to be closer to the truth. Hillary wasn't hired because she was married to the newly-elected attorney general, but rather in spite of it.

- Hillary Clinton gradually lost her independence and separate identity as she shifted all of the intelligence, vigor, and commitment she had brought to her various causes to the endless task of keeping her husband politically viable.

- Again parting company with

some segments of the left, when she spoke publicly on teen pregnancy Hillary frequently emphasized a traditional social message of abstinence rather than birth control.

- Certainly Hillary did not lead the life of a greedy yuppie. She was never extravagant, still driving an old Oldsmobile Cut-

Hillary wasn't hired because she was married to the newly-elected attorney general, but rather in spite of it.

lass and shopping at Dillards even when she was making six figures.

- Hillary, then, was far from the center of the action at Rose. The charge that she used her position to bring state business to Rose ... appears to be unfounded. If anything, the firm seems to have lost money from state business because of Hillary's affiliation. ...

- Hillary's relationship with Rose, then, was hardly out of the ordinary. In fact, she was less able than many attorneys to profit from her connections. ... Having devoted herself to Bill's comeback in the early 1980s, when his political interests were at stake, Hillary was now willing to risk the appearance of conflicts of interest in representing clients before the state government. Still, she did not share in any fees such work generated. Really, the arrangement looks more like the opposite of greed: Call it not getting paid for a living.

- If anything, the evidence suggests that Bill, far more than Hillary, was the real insider

when it came to Whitewater and Madison Guaranty. ... Thus Hillary could well have been the outsider in any wink-and-nod understanding between Clinton, McDougal, and Bassett, all of whom were in a better position to have had knowledge about McDougal's dubious banking practices than she.

- While the possibility that Hillary was in on the tawdry details [of Whitewater] can't be completely discounted, nothing in Hillary's past indicates that she would knowingly participate in a sham deal.

- Though Hillary could be a demanding boss, she was also a genuinely warm and caring person.

- Though Hillary was often depicted as a "screamer" ... it was Bill who had an ugly, abusive streak, which he often vented at underlings like George Stephanopoulos.

- The White House had every right to fire the travel office workers without cause. The idea to privatize the operation might have even been a good one, provided that the business was competitively bid.

- Hillary Rodham Clinton is a ... "soft" revolutionary — or "establishment" radical — of the kind that thrives today in the social democracies of Western Europe and Scandinavia, and it is safe to say that if Hillary could have her way, she would establish here exactly the sort of cradle-to-grave nanny state that exists in Denmark and Sweden.

- What Bill has gained from the partnership is painfully obvious. Yet the question remains: Why was an outstanding and to all appearances remarkably independent young woman like Hillary susceptible to Bill Clinton in the first place? Everytime Hillary appeared on the verge of independent accomplishment, Bill seemed to drag her down and ruin everything.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1996 *

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Entourage prepares Kemp for vice presidential faceoff

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla. — GOP vice presidential nominee Jack Kemp spent the past two days in Bal Harbour practicing for tonight's debate with Vice President Al Gore.

Sen. Judd Gregg, New Hampshire Republican, played the role of Mr. Gore, and Kemp campaign manager Wayne L. Berman acted as moderator during two 90-minute practice sessions, a cam-

paign official said.

Mr. Berman, a Commerce Department official in the Reagan administration and now telecommunications lobbyist, was chosen by Paul Manafort, GOP presidential nominee Bob Dole's chief strategist, to organize the vice presidential campaign even before Mr. Kemp was picked.

Also with Mr. Kemp is Edwin J. Feulner Jr., president of the Heritage Foundation, who is a friend and campaign traveling companion.

Two former Kemp associates are scheduled to fly here today from Dole campaign headquarters in Washington.

One is Scott Reed, the Dole-Kemp campaign manager. Mr. Reed was Mr. Kemp's Iowa and New Hampshire campaign coordinator during his 1988 bid for the GOP nomination and was Mr. Kemp's chief of staff at the Department of Housing and Urban Development in the Bush administration.

Mr. Reed became the No. 2

power at the Republican National Committee under Chairman Haley Barbour before being tapped by Mr. Dole to direct his primary- and general-election campaigns. Mr. Reed, at age 36, is one of the youngest GOP presidential campaign managers in recent memory.

Another staffer from Mr. Kemp's failed nomination bid of eight years ago who has also been in Bal Harbour advising the vice presidential hopeful is John Buckley. Mr. Buckley was personally recruited by Mr. Reed to be the Dole

campaign's communications director and is scheduled to fly here today.

Mr. Reed told a reporter earlier this year: "Buckley and I are the ones who are going to win this for Dole." A nephew of William F. Buckley Jr., the host of TV's "Firing Line" and a proponent of legalizing marijuana for recreational use, John Buckley created somewhat of an embarrassment for the Dole-Kemp campaign when it was revealed that he not only smoked pot, but sold it as a college student.

Another Kemp adviser in Florida is Frank Shakespeare, former director of the U.S. Information Agency and ambassador to the Vatican from 1987 to 1989.

John Sears, Ronald Reagan's presidential campaign manager in 1980, is also assisting the Kemp team.

Veteran GOP operative Dave Carney, a New Hampshire native and resident who spends much of his time in Washington, is also helping out.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1996 ★

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December 9, 1996

FROM; MARILYN PROCTOR
TO; BILL SINGER

RE: It Takes A Village To Raise A Child

Dear Bill:

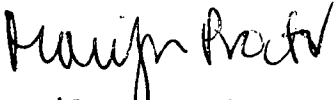
I have a favor to ask of you. I would be so pleased if you could have Mrs. Clinton sign her book for a friend of mine.

My daughter, Jenna, attends St. Michael's High School here in Santa Fe. The school is the oldest school in the state of New Mexico - 135 years old. It has been run by Christian Brothers for all these many years.

Bro. Paul Walsh is the current principal. Since Jenna has been at school at St. Mike's, we receive monthly newsletters from Brother Paul. Brother Paul is 70 years old and very family oriented. His favorite quote, even before Mrs. Clinton's book came out, has been "It takes a village to raise a child". His monthly newsletters often mention this quote. I was hoping that perhaps you could ask Mrs. Clinton to sign a book to this lovely man. I would like to present it to him as a Christmas gift - what do you think. Please let me know.

Thanks for your help. I hope you and Jo Ann have a wonderful holiday this year. I look forward to seeing you again in 1997!!

Best Regards,


Marilyn Proctor

Brother Paul
Walsh

 (Evan Ryan)
(Baker)