INVENTORY

MAGGIE WILLIAMS
BOX 2

1. Mail 1993, 1995
   Gulf War Veterans
   HRC Answered Letters
2. Regretted Invitations to MV
3. Armenian Observer Papers
4. For Video - New World Foundation
5. Child Safety Communication
6. 1993 - New Admin Hires
7. Adoption Info I
8. Adoption II
9. Chicago Children's Conference
10. Children's Conference
11. W. Downes
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HILLARY CLINTON: AN ADVOCATE FOR AMERICA'S FAMILIES AND CHILDREN

Hillary Clinton's life and work bespeaks a strong commitment to families and to the community. For more than 20 years, she has worked -- as a wife, mother, volunteer and lawyer -- to improve education, strengthen families, and promote health care for children. She will continue to be a voice for children and families when Bill Clinton is elected President of the United States.

- Hillary Clinton cares deeply about her own family and America's children. She believes that we must invest in our children's education and health if we want a promising future. As First Lady, Hillary Clinton would continue to talk to people around the country and be a voice for mothers, children and families.

  Improving the Quality of Education: Hillary Clinton is an active parent in the Little Rock School District, working to improve the quality of education. She chaired the Arkansas Education Standards Committee, which recommended changes to strengthen the accreditation standards for the state's public schools and contributed to the success of Governor Clinton's educational reform measures. As a result of these reforms, students are scoring better on tests and graduating from high school and attending college in record numbers. The accreditation standards Hillary Clinton helped develop have become a model for states around the nation.

  Reducing Infant Mortality: Hillary Clinton served on the Southern Governor's Association Task Force on Infant Mortality. In Arkansas, she helped establish the first neo-natal nursery in the state at Arkansas Children's Hospital, and now serves on the Hospital's Board of Trustees.

  Outstanding Mother and Advocate: In 1984, Mrs. Clinton was named the Young Mother of the Year in Arkansas. She has been recognized by the National Law Journal, the University of Arkansas, and the National Women's Economic Alliance for her work to improve the quality of life for families and children in America. She has also been acknowledged for her efforts to protect

children from abuse and neglect.

Promoting Children and Family Interests: In 1977, Hillary Clinton founded Arkansas' Advocates for Children and Families, an organization that promotes responsible parenting, and health and education for Arkansas' children. She also joined the Board of Directors of the Children's Defense Fund (CDF) in 1976, and chaired the Board from 1986 until earlier this year. CDF advocates on behalf of American children and their families. The organization has a special interest in the needs of poor children.

Helping Disadvantaged Parents Prepare their Children for School: Hillary Clinton brought the Home Instruction Program for Pre-school Youth to Arkansas. This program trains disadvantaged parents to teach their pre-school children the skills they will need to succeed in school. It encourages parents to take an active role in the education of their children.

- In her book, *First Teachers*, Barbara Bush praises Hillary Clinton's Home Instruction Program for Pre-School Youth. Mrs. Bush told *USA Today*, August 14, 1992, that she had heard about Hillary Clinton's work on literacy and was so impressed that she invited her to talk about it at a White House tea.

- Hillary Clinton raised the issue of infant mortality with President Bush. He wrote to thank her for making him aware of gravity of the problem -- the dimensions of which he found surprising.

- What Hillary Clinton has stood for over the course of the last 20 years, and what she and Bill Clinton still believe, is common sense: children need to grow up in a strong and loving family. Her work on behalf of children has always rested on the premise that families must flourish for children to thrive.

HILLARY CLINTON'S LAW PRACTICE

Hillary Clinton is a partner at the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock, Arkansas. She specializes in litigation and was named one of "The 100 Most Influential Lawyers in America" in 1988 and 1991 by *The National Law Journal*. She was also appointed to chair an American Bar Association Commission on women in the legal profession and engaged in a myriad of pro-bono activities. As an attorney practicing in the state where her husband serves as Governor, Hillary Clinton has met the highest ethical standards to prevent even the appearance that she, her firm or their clients received any special treatment from the state, or benefited in any way by virtue of her relationship to the Governor.

Hillary Clinton and the Rose Law Firm have exceeded their ethical responsibilities to prevent conflicts of interest.

- Hillary Clinton has never shared in the firm's profits from state agency contracts. She also excludes from her partnership share those fees earned through the firm's work as bond counsel.

- She has never worked on state bond matters or on behalf of state agencies. She also does not represent clients before state regulatory boards.

The Rose Law Firm does minimal work for Arkansas state government compared with other top Arkansas law firms.

- The Rose Law Firm has been hired by a few state agencies over the years and has provided legal services on a number of state bond issues. As an old, respected firm, its state business preceded Hillary Clinton's arrival at the firm and is unrelated to Hillary Clinton.

- Last year, the Rose Law Firm ranked 21st among the top 25 Arkansas law firms doing business with the state. Certainly, the state has not funneled work to the Rose Law Firm.

- From 1983 through 1991, less than one percent of the total fees state agencies have paid to law firms have gone to the Rose Law

Firm. The firm earned 11 percent of all legal fees paid to law firms for bond work during this time; these fees come not from taxpayers, but from bond revenues. Other law firms have earned significantly more.

Hillary Clinton does not represent clients in matters before state agencies and did not endeavor to influence state regulators on behalf of Madison Guaranty.

- Critics have alleged that Hillary Clinton represented the Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan -- a bank owned in part by the Clintons' business partner, James McDougal -- in a proceeding before a newly appointed state security commissioner. This allegation misrepresents the facts.

- The Rose Law Firm represented Madison Guaranty. A partner at the firm, who was a long-time associate of the chairman of Madison Guaranty, met with the state securities commission to discuss the case. Hillary Clinton did not intervene or attempt to influence any state agency or regulator on behalf of Madison Guaranty, and the savings and loan institution did not receive any preferential treatment through its representation by the Rose Law Firm.

Through her work with the American Bar Association's Commission on Women and through other pro-bono activities, Hillary Clinton has helped women in the legal profession and families around the country.

- As Chair of the Commission on Women, Hillary Clinton addressed the problems that women face as lawyers. In addition, she focused on ways to make the workplace more responsive to the needs of families.

- The Commission encouraged the legal profession to remove obstacles to women's advancement in the profession. It also recommended a series of pro-family workplace policies for lawyers,

including parental leave and alternative work schedules.

- Hillary Clinton has contributed her time and effort to improving the quality of life for American children and families in Arkansas and around the country. She has worked on improving standards for Arkansas' public schools; reducing infant mortality; improving early childhood education; solving the problem of illiteracy; and expanding opportunities for the millions of Americans who are not college-bound.

Hillary Clinton is a role model for women who work outside the home as well as for those who are full-time mothers.

- As a professional, a mother and the wife of the Governor of Arkansas, Hillary Clinton has faced her share of challenges. She has helped carve a path for other women who choose a career or who choose to be a full-time mother.

- She has also helped sort out the very tricky issues that arise when a member of the family is a public servant or an elected official.

HILLARY CLINTON'S RECORD OF SERVICE ON BOARDS OF AMERICAN INDUSTRIES

Hillary Clinton is known for her work on behalf of American children and families. She has also served on the boards of a number of leading American businesses. She understands that many difficulties American families face stem directly from the fact that our economy is weak and many of our jobs have left the country. She has also learned how better to prepare American youth -- through education and training -- to live productive lives in the future. Hillary Clinton's work with industry has convinced her that if we are to compete in the international economy we must improve health and education for our children.

Hillary Clinton served on the boards of three major corporations: the LaFarge Corporation, Wal-Mart, and TCBY. She was asked to serve because of her many accomplishments on behalf of families and children and her interest in increasing economic opportunities for all Americans. Hillary Clinton resigned from her board memberships in May 1992 because of the time constraints of the presidential race. During her tenure, she took extraordinary steps to ensure that neither she nor the corporation received any special treatment by virtue of her relationship to the Governor.

<u>The LaFarge Corporation</u>: Hillary Clinton became the first woman to join the Board of the French-owned LaFarge Corporation in 1991. LaFarge is a Virginia based subsidiary of a French company that has 16 cement factories throughout the U.S. and is the fifth largest cement company in the nation. She accepted the invitation to work with the company to learn about basic industries and how best to rebuild America's infrastructure.

- The LaFarge Corp. burns toxic waste in its production of cement. It has waste-burning plants in Florida, Pennsylvania, Texas, California, Michigan and Alabama. LaFarge take hazardous waste materials from companies around the country and uses them as a fuel to produce cement.

- Questions have been raised about LaFarge's practice of using hazardous waste as a fuel in cement kilns. As with any process

of treating hazardous waste materials, environmentalists and residents near LaFarge incineration plants have raised questions about the safety of the burning process. Hillary Clinton made a point to obtain information from the company about the steps it planned to take to ensure safety and protect the environment.

- The LaFarge Company burns hazardous waste under strict controls and converts the waste to non-hazardous materials. Last year, LaFarge safely destroyed 77 million gallons of hazardous waste, reducing the amount of hazardous materials which had to be stored in a waste site. Many studies and experts have concluded that properly operated kilns burning hazardous waste fuels do not threaten the environment or the public health. The company was not cited for violation of state or federal regulations during Hillary Clinton's tenure on the Board.

Wal-Mart: Hillary Clinton joined the board of the Arkansas-based company Wal-Mart in 1986. She had spent years working with the late Sam Walton, Wal-Mart's founder, as well as with other executives on education reform in the state of Arkansas.

- As the late Sam Walton's biographer told the *Wall Street Journal*, "[Hillary Clinton] wasn't on the board just because she was the governor's wife. [Sam Walton] had a lot of respect for her. He really listened to her."

- Wal-Mart is important to the state of Arkansas and to communities across the country. It employs thousands of people across the country and its "Buy America" program saves thousands of jobs from going overseas.

- Wal-Mart provides consumers with high value at low prices. The company is also recognized for its excellent employee policies. The company has training and benefit programs for employees that serve as models throughout the country.

TCBY (The Country's Best Yogurt): In 1989, Hillary Clinton

joined the board of the Arkansas-based national frozen yogurt company TCBY. TCBY is an innovative company that serves the needs of health conscious Americans. It is a relatively new company born from the entrepreneurial spirit that characterizes American business.

The Southern Development Bancorporation: Hillary Clinton has served on the Board of Directors of the Southern Development Bancorporation since its inception. The development bank infuses rural Arkansas with new capital and provides technical assistance to small business and has been successful in promoting rural job development.

FIRST TEACHERS

A family literacy handbook for parents, policy-makers, and literacy providers

The Barbara Bush Foundation For Family Literacy

First Teachers

A Family Literacy Handbook
for Parents, Policy-Makers,
and Literacy Providers

The Barbara Bush Foundation
for Family Literacy

The mission of The Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy is:

- to establish literacy as a value in every family in America by helping parents everywhere understand that the home is the child's first school, the parent is the child's first teacher, and reading is the child's first subject; and
- to break intergenerational cycles of illiteracy by supporting the development of literacy programs that build families of readers.

The Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy
1002 Wisconsin Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20007
(202) 338-2006

ARKANSAS HOME INSTRUCTION PROGRAM FOR PRESCHOOL YOUNGSTERS (HIPPY)

HIPPY—Rae Ann Fields, 1988

"I always knew I could feed and clothe my son, but I never tried to teach him anything because I thought anything I taught him would be wrong."

—HIPPY Parent

Background

The Home Instruction Program was developed in 1969 by a team headed by Dr. Avima D. Lombard at the NCJW Research Institute for Innovation in Education, at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, Israel. Initiated as a research project, it was designed to examine the feasibility and effect of home-based educational intervention involving mothers and their preschool children from educationally disadvantaged sectors of the country. The goal was to prepare immigrant children to enter the highly competitive Israeli education system. In 1975, the project passed from the research phase to the operational phase on a country-wide basis, and today, almost twenty years later, it serves approximately 13,000 families yearly in more than 110 urban and rural communities. It also exists in five other countries and seven American states. While it is funded by the Israeli Ministry of Education and Culture, Hebrew University maintains control over the implementation and coordination of the program.

HIPPY came to America in 1982 virtually unchanged. The following events helped to shape the Arkansas HIPPY experience:

- September 1985: Hillary Rodham Clinton, first lady of Arkansas, read about HIPPY in the *Miami Herald* and decided to investigate the prospects of bringing it to Arkansas.
- February 1986: Following five months of study and exploration, the governor's office, in partnership with two state agencies, sponsored a one-day conference introducing HIPPY to state educators and community leaders.
- June 1986: Four women from Arkansas went to Israel to the HIPPY International Workshop.
- September 1986: The first four pilot programs began in Little Rock, Pulaski County, Russellville, and Pine Bluff.
- April 1987: As the first year drew to a close, another conference

was held to invite interested parties to see how the program was doing. Following this conference, six more Arkansans attended the next HIPPY International Workshop, and as a result, six additional programs began in the state in September 1987.

- June 1988: Four more Arkansans went to Israel as four new programs were developed. Currently, as the 1988–89 school year ends, there are fourteen sites in twenty-three Arkansas counties, with expectations of more programs to begin in September 1989.

The Program

Setting: A unique feature of the HIPPY program is the fact that it is home-based rather than located at a site outside the home. Twice a month a paraprofessional, who must also be a mother or father from the same community, visits the parent and works with him or her on weekly lessons. On alternating weeks the parents gather for group meetings. Currently there are seven programs in public school districts, six that are based in community centers, YWCAs and community action agencies, and one that is run through a state educational cooperative.

Funding

The program is currently funded through the Job Training Partnership Act (Chapters I and II) Planning and Development money from the Department of Vocational Education, Save the Children Federation, and the Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation.

Components

- The instructional program consists of packets of programmed material that concentrate on language, discrimination skills, and problem solving. The degree of difficulty increases throughout the two-year period.
- Language instruction is carried out using storybooks given to the families. Parents learn how to ask questions about details of content, vocabulary, and concepts.
- Daily worksheets track the lessons from the stories. The worksheets serve as guides for sensory-discrimination skills by offering visual, auditory, and tactile exercises. Problem-solving exercises require the child to list, sort, match, and group attributes and ideas.
- Parents are required to work with their children fifteen minutes a

day, five days a week, thirty weeks annually for two years, the second of which is the year the child is in kindergarten.

The parent is trained by a paraprofessional from the same community who also has a four-year-old in HIPPY. The paraprofessional visits the home every other week.

Twice a month the mothers and fathers gather for group meetings with their paraprofessionals to receive the next week's lesson, and also to learn to interact with other parents in the program. They share their experiences, talk about their problems, reinforce their goals, and lend one another support. In-service programs covering subjects such as health, safety, and citizenship are also provided.

Each program has one coordinator for every twelve paraprofessionals. Each paraprofessional works with ten to fifteen families.

Evidence of Success

- Tests administered to both parents and children before and after the program indicate gains. For example, in the fall of 1986, 6 percent of the children in one district entering HIPPY tested average and none tested above average. In the spring of 1988, 74 percent of the children in the second year of the program tested average or above.
- The program has been replicated around the state.
- HIPPY parents are asking for more literacy help, going back to school, and seeking employment. They are registering to vote.
- Parents are more involved in their children's school work and are more apt to provide necessary school supplies, such as paper and books.

Advice to Policy-Makers and Practitioners

"When we first began studying HIPPY in Arkansas, emphasis was on the child. If the child did well, then the mother would enjoy a feeling of success. Now, in Arkansas and throughout the nation where HIPPY is being implemented, the focus appears to be shifting toward the mother's growth. If we are able to give her a program where she can teach her child and make a positive contribution to his or her education, if we can help her realize the possibilities of growth within herself, if we can open doors for her that have never been open for her, then we have helped not only her and her child but the entire family."

—Ann Kamps, Special Assistant
for Early Childhood Programs

FIRST TEACHERS

"Parents are their children's first and most influential teachers. What parents do to help their children learn is more important to academic success than how well-off the family is."

(What Works: Research About Teaching and Learning, U.S. Department of Education, 1987)

The Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy
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Cover photograph by Carol T. Powers/The White House

The Washington Post
August 26, 1992
Syndicated

Bush campaign awash with lies

By George F. Will
The Washington Post

Washington

When George Bush's campaign slithered through Georgia, Rep. Newt Gingrich rose to the challenge of lowering still further the tone of it. Gingrich, whose high rank in the Republican leadership is the only good reason for hoping Democratic control of the House continues, told a Bush rally that Woody Allen is "a perfect model of Bill Clinton Democratic values" and that "Woody Allen having nonincest with a nondaughter to whom he was a nonfather because they were a nonfamily fits the Democratic platform perfectly."

That would cost Gingrich his reputation for seriousness if he still had one, and it illustrates how cynicism at the top of the Republican ticket pervades the entire party. Gingrich did not, in any meaningful sense, mean what he said. He was just emitting the sort of noise that characterizes what Bush calls his campaign about "trust."

Gingrich's synthetic sincerity was further displayed as he hyperventilated about Clinton's joking remark, months ago, that maybe he should have inhaled that marijuana (thereby escaping the ridicule his "I didn't inhale" has evoked). Gingrich calls Clinton's remark "the single most destructive action by a politician in my lifetime." Gingrich's lifetime began in 1943. Make your own list of the evils Gingrich considers less significant.

After Gingrich regaled the crowd with his Woody Allen japes, a Bush aide said, "The president does not want to make Woody Allen an issue." There they go again, dancing the Bush Two-Step. The campaign always dissociates itself from the stream of dishonesty that is steady.

Nothing new here. In 1988, when Bush's Iowa campaign smeared Elizabeth Dole, Robert Dole asked Bush, on the Senate floor, if Bush had authorized it. Said Bush: Maybe I did and maybe I didn't. That is how Bush's various campaigns have talked to the nation: down. Read my curled lip.

Newt Gingrich

On television last Sunday Robert Teeter, Bush campaign co-chair, was asked about the constant attacks on Hillary Clinton at the Republican convention. Teeter, two-stepping, said, "I personally don't think Hillary Clinton is much of — part of an issue of this campaign and I've said that a number of times." And no doubt will have occasions to say it, piously, an additional number of times before November.

Can't Bush's people be honest about anything? Hillary Clinton is an issue and should be. She is an experienced, outspoken advocate about various causes and she probably would influence the tone and direction of a Clinton administration.

The problem is not that the Bush campaign obviously thinks she is an issue, but that the campaign is so mendacious when portraying what she has written. (A bulletin: She does not think 12-year-olds should be able to sue parents if asked to take out the garbage.) Peter Hart, the Democratic consultant, says this is Republican strategy: Instead of running Bush-Quayle against Clinton-Gore, Republicans want to eclipse their least popular and the Democrats' most popular candidate, running George and Barbara against Bill and Hillary.

Hillary Clinton is being "borked." The verb "to bork" means to lie about the writings of a public figure. There is rough justice in what she is undergoing. Lots of her friends participated in the borking of Robert Bork, and she no doubt enjoyed it. Still, Bush campaigners are lying about her record.

Soon Bill Clinton will have to say to Bush what Dole publicly said to Bush in 1988: "Stop lying about my record." Bush says Clinton has raised taxes 128 times. Bush says this even though columnist Michael Kinsley has demonstrated that the list of "tax increases" is a tissue of falsehoods. (Some taxes are counted several times; components of a tax are counted as separate taxes; minor fees, such as the $1 court cost imposed on convicted criminals, are counted as taxes.) By the tendentious criteria used by the Bush campaign, Bush has raised taxes more often in four years than Clinton has in 12.

So, what does Teeter say of the 128 number? "We're not going to quit saying it about Mr. Clinton."

Bush operatives constantly whine about the media but Bush is benefiting from the mock sophistication of journalists who, striking a world-weary stance, say of his campaign dishonesty, "It was ever thus in American politics." Even if that were true, it would be no excuse, and it isn't true. This is extraordinary.

Today honorable conservatives feel the sort of fury felt by honorable conservatives 40 years ago when Joe McCarthy was giving anticommunism a bad name. There is a strong case to be made against Clinton concerning school choice, term limits, protectionism, automobile fuel efficiency standards, his ties to trial lawyers, his running mate's environmental hysteria, and much more. But serious people flinch from being associated with the intellectual slum that is the Bush campaign, with its riffraff of liars and aspiring ayatollahs.

Bush calls his campaign "a crusade to bring back values." His campaign is powerful evidence of the need for such a crusade.

The New York Times, August 24, 1992

Legal Scholars See Distortion In Attacks on Hillary Clinton

By TAMAR LEWIN

Hillary Clinton, whose aggressive campaign style and dedication to children's causes seemed a political asset for Democrats at the beginning of the campaign season, now finds those qualities under full-scale attack as the Republicans try to turn her into a symbol of anti-family values.

The overall strategy appears to be to paint Mrs. Clinton as a radical feminist, in contrast with her Republican counterparts: Barbara Bush, the quintessential grandmother, and Marilyn Quayle who, like Mrs. Clinton, is a lawyer but has put aside her own career to support her husband's. And the focus of the attack is on two passages from Mrs. Clinton's legal writings, in law-review articles from the 1970's.

A typical attack came from Patrick J. Buchanan, who said in his speech to the Republican National Convention on Monday night that Mrs. Clinton believed that "12-year-olds should have a right to sue their parents," and that she had "compared marriage and the family as institutions to slavery and life on an Indian reservation."

Legal scholars familiar with Mrs. Clinton's work say the Republican critics are grossly distorting her positions. When the phrases in question are read in context, these scholars said, Mrs. Clinton's articles raise few eyebrows.

But the attention to the two articles is a striking indication of just how hot a political issue the debate over women's roles has become in this Presidential election.

Politics aside, the dispute reflects a fundamental disagreement between conservatives and liberals over the role of government and the courts in family life, with conservatives generally arguing that parents should have near-total authority over family matters, and liberals arguing that there are extreme circumstances in which either the greater social welfare, or the children's beliefs and preferences, should outweigh parental authority.

Mrs. Clinton has long been identified with causes that conservatives dislike, starting with her work in 1974 for the House Judiciary Committee, which recommended three articles of impeachment against President Richard M. Nixon, and continuing first as a board member and by 1978 as chairman of the Legal Services Corporation, a federally financed independent corporation that provides legal aid to the poor in civil cases, and was anathema to the Reagan Administration.

But for all her public activities, it is the two obscure academic articles from the 1970's that have spawned most of the current furor.

In the first, "Children Under the Law," a Harvard Educational Review article written in 1973, Mrs. Clinton discusses the nascent children's rights movement. Describing the legal status of children, she refers to several classes of people, including wives, slaves and Indians, that have historically been treated as dependents, legally unable to speak for themselves.

Conservatives bridle not only at that comparison, but also at the argument in the article that the legal presumption that children are incompetent should be discarded because there is such a large difference between the capabilities of a newborn and those of a teen-ager.

Mrs. Clinton maintains that, since children mature gradually, it is absurd to assign 17-year-olds the same presumption of incompetence as babies and then, suddenly, the day they attain majority, grant them all the rights of adults. Rather, she said, courts should take a case-by-case view, presuming competence except where there is evidence otherwise.

12-Year-Olds in Court

In the second article, "Children's Rights: A Legal Perspective," Mrs. Clinton wrote in 1979 that while newborns are obviously incompetent to present their own views, "it is more difficult to prove a 12-year-old child totally incompetent, and I think impossible to presume the typical 16-year-old incompetent." Yet the law, she went on, "basically treats all these children, at their dissimilar stages of life, as incompetent and ignores psychological and social realities."

Some conservatives have interpreted that passage to mean that Mrs. Clinton would allow 12-year-olds to drag their parents into court for a judicial ruling on whether they must take out the garbage, although the article never made any such assertion.

In the same article, Mrs. Clinton herself discusses the concern that the courts will become too intrusive on family matters, and says specifically that she favors judicial intervention in only the most extreme cases, in which irreparable harm is threatened.

She goes on to list cases in which that might be true, from decisions about abortion or motherhood, treatment of venereal disease, employment, schooling and cosmetic surgery, a category that some conservatives interpreted to indicate that teen-agers would be able to sue their parents for the right to have a nose job or liposuction.

An Unlikely Interpretation

But that is an unlikely reading, given both the context of the article, which in the previous paragraph discusses a case involving Jehovah's Witnesses who object to medical treatment for their children, and the existing cases in which parents have refused, on religious grounds, to allow plastic surgery for children with cleft palates or other serious conditions.

In recent years, courts have increasingly begun to consult older children about their views and, as Mrs. Clinton suggests, recognize that there are situations in which children's interests diverge from those of their parents. For example, the Supreme Court has upheld the right of minor girls to get an abortion without their parents' permission when a judge authorizes the procedure.

While some conservaties are distressed by such judicial intervention, legal experts say there is nothing radical about Mrs. Clinton's views.

"Her basic position, that discrimination against children requires justification and that courts should have the opportunity to take children's views into account, is more or less taken for granted among people who have thought about children's rights," said

Sanford J. Fox, a professor at Boston College Law School who is chairman of an American Bar Association committee on children's rights. "Her articles were important, not because they were radically new but because they helped formulate something that had been inchoate."

Radical Views Denied

Experts in family law say the views Mrs. Clinton expressed in her articles have never been perceived as radical by lawyers in the field, and are being seriously misstated by her critics.

"Anyone who fairly reads what Hillary Clinton wrote, in the context of her work over the last 20 years on behalf of children, would see how outrageous it is to suggest that she is a kiddie-libber hellbent on destroying the American family, or encouraging crackpot suits by kids against their parents," said Robert Mnookin, a children's law expert at Stanford Law School.

But as the attacks against Mrs. Clinton escalated, George Stephanopoulos, the Clinton campaign's communications director, found himself forced to defend her record on children.

"She's done good work for children and families," he said last Tuesday on the ABC News program "Nightline," citing her efforts to start one of the first neonatal nurseries in Arkansas. He also described her work on an Arkansas program to help parents encourage their children's literacy and school preparedness — a program that not only served as a model for similar programs elsewhere, but also was singled out by the Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy as one of the most valuable in the nation.

Susan Thomases, a longtime Clinton friend who is the campaign's scheduling director, said Mrs. Clinton would not be interviewed about the efforts to portray her as anti-family.

Changing Her Image

Indeed, although Mrs. Clinton was originally seen as a formidable campaigner and hailed as a model new woman, able to balance her family life with a thriving law practice, by early summer she had retreated to the sidelines, appearing publicly only as a quiet presence at her husband's side.

Mrs. Clinton's friends and colleagues say they are appalled by her new image as anti-family, given her 20 years of work on children's issues.

"If being for children being fed and being healthy and being safe and being housed is anti-family, than we're all crazy," said Marian Wright Edelman, the president of the Children's Defense Fund, which Mrs. Clinton served as chairman until recently. "This is a woman with a deep commitment to seeing that children's needs are met. I can't believe someone is picking a fight about that."

Many say they are also baffled by her portrayal as a wild-eyed radical, since most of her professional career has been spent as a corporate litigator at the Rose Law Firm, an old, established corporate law firm in Little Rock, Ark., and she was the firm's first female partner.

Active in Many Causes

Mrs. Clinton, a Wellesley College political science graduate who served as president of the student government, has had dozens of causes and affiliations, from serving on the board of the Children's Television Workshop, the group that produces "Sesame Street," to heading the American Bar Association's Commission on Women in the Profession.

She worked for the Children's Defense Fund, a Washington-based advocacy group that lobbies on behalf of poor children, after her graduation from law school in 1973. She joined the group's board of directors in 1976 and became chairman in 1986.

Many of Mrs. Clinton's admirers say the efforts to portray her as anti-family are a measure of the conservatives' unwillingness to accept working mothers, who make up a majority of mothers in the United States.

"The Republicans seem to be in denial, to be wearing blinders to all families except those middle-class families in which the wives do not have to work," said Dr. T. Berry Brazelton, a pediatrician, author and children's advocate. "It makes my stomach curl. Hillary Clinton has a career and a family, and she is not only making it work for her family, but serving as a good model for others."

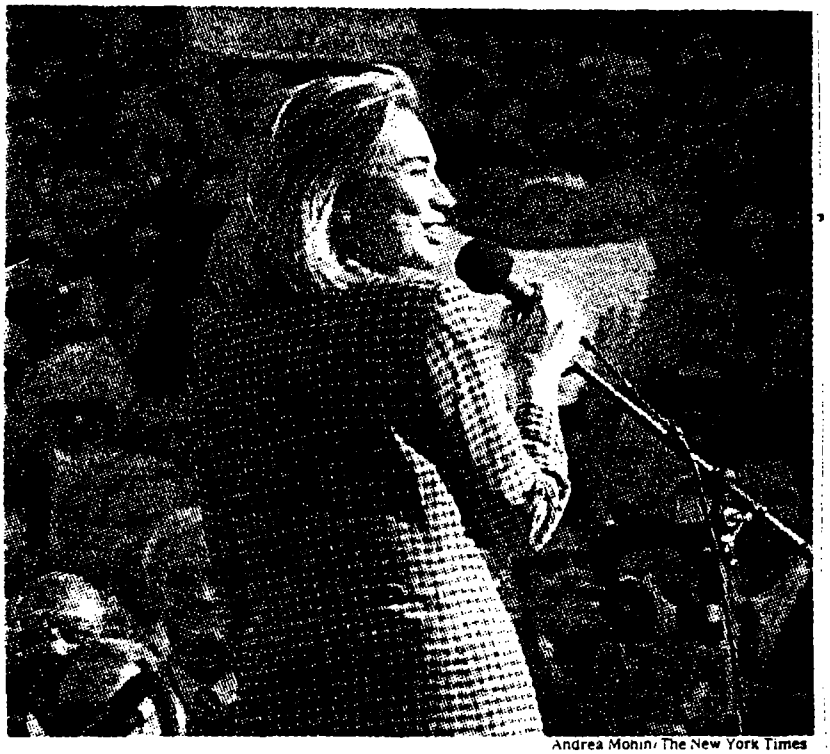
In Her Words

In 1973, Hillary Clinton wrote an article in The Harvard Educational Review describing how the law had historically treated certain classes of people as dependents on others, without the legal right to speak for themselves.

"The rationale for depriving people of rights in a dependency relationship is that certain individuals are incapable or undeserving of the right to take care of themselves and consequently need social institutions specifically designed to safeguard their position. It is presumed that under the circumstances society is doing what is best for the individuals. Along with the family, past and present examples of such arrangements included marriage, slavery and the Indian reservation system."

Her article on children's rights appeared in a 1979 book, "Children's Rights: Contemporary Perspectives."

"Even among persons in the children's rights movement, there is a concern that extending rights to children against their parents is too difficult to control and in all but the most extreme cases such questions should be resolved by the families, not the courts. I prefer that intervention into an ongoing family be limited to decisions that could have long-term and possible irreparable effects if they were not resolved. Decisions about motherhood and abortion, schooling, cosmetic surgery, treatment of venereal disease, or employment and others where the decision or lack of one will significantly affect the child's future should not be made unilaterally by parents."



Andrea Mohin/The New York Times

The Republicans' overall strategy appears to be to paint Hillary Clinton as a radical feminist, attacking two passages from her legal writings from the 1970's. Mrs. Clinton spoke on Friday in Cleveland.

GOP Targets Hillary Clinton's Views on Family, But Some Experts Cite Distortion of Her Position

By CATHY TROST
And JEFFREY H. BIRNBAUM
Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Republican National Chairman Rich Bond has identified a major threat to the American family: Hillary Clinton.

Advising Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton "at every step of the way is that champion of the family, Hillary Clinton, who believes kids should be able to sue their parents rather than helping with the chores that they were asked to do," the party chairman declared yesterday during the preliminaries to the GOP convention in Houston.

CAMPAIGN ★92

Mr. Clinton responded that the Republicans "don't have a record they can run on, don't have a vision for the future, so they're attacking my wife." He termed Mr. Bond's remarks "pitiful."

The Republicans have clearly identified attacks on Mrs. Clinton as a major weapon in their campaign arsenal. President Bush himself, seeking to make "family values" an issue, has charged in a veiled reference to Mrs. Clinton that the Democrats "even encourage kids to hire lawyers and haul their parents into court."

But a number of legal experts who have reviewed Mrs. Clinton's writings say her opponents are seriously distorting her actual position. Far from advocating letting kids sue their parents to demand a bigger allowance, they say, Mrs. Clinton's arguments have focused on issues of parental abuse, medical neglect and the like — issues such as those raised in the recent, widely publicized Florida case in which a judge allowed a 12-year-old who had been abused by his father and abandoned by his mother to be represented by a lawyer in an attempt to terminate his parents' rights and be adopted by his foster family.

"The only place that she was explicitly recognizing that the law ought to recognize independence for children apart from adults was in circumstances where the decision has irreversible consequences," Gary Melton, director of the Center on Children, Families and the Law at the University of Nebraska, says of Mrs. Clinton. "That's fairly close to what the law actually is," he adds.

The accusations against Mrs. Clinton largely stem from articles she has written on children's rights, some of them going back to the early 1970s, as well as her more recent service as chairman of the Children's Defense Fund, a Washington-based advocacy group. Adding to conservative suspicions of her is her previous service on the board of a foundation that has supported numerous left-of-center causes.

The subject that has mostly animated Mrs. Clinton's activities, children's rights, has undergone major changes in the past 25 years, since a 1967 Supreme Court decision that gave due-process rights to juveniles in delinquency proceedings and declared for the first time that a child is a person under the Constitution.

In her writings, Mrs. Clinton acknowledged that the law fundamentally recognizes the important relationship between children and parents and tries to maintain those ties whenever possible, and warned about the problems of state intrusions into the family. But she said children may have separate legal interests from their parents in certain extreme situations.

Those cases involved such issues as the right of responsible minors to have an abortion without parental consent; to have a voice in a decision where parents wanted to keep them from attending high school for religious reasons; to have cosmetic surgery for a disfiguring facial deformity if the parents were opposed for religious reasons, to have a say when a child to complete high school but his parents need him to work on their farm.

"Decisions about motherhood and abortion, schooling, cosmetic surgery, treatment of venereal disease, or employment, and others where the decision or lack of one will significantly affect the child's future should not be made unilaterally by parents," she wrote. "Children should have a right to be permitted to decide their own future if they are [illegible]."

Some critics have seized on Mrs. Clinton's reference to cosmetic surgery, suggesting she would extend legal rights to children to permit them to legally [illegible] nose jobs and other cosmetic [illegible]ments. Actually, there is a body of [illegible] involving serious disputes [illegible] various states have attempted to mandate medical treatment for harelips, cleft palates and other disfiguring and health-threatening conditions.

In most of these cases, which trace back to the 1960s, the disputes are between states and parents who have religious or philosophical opposition to surgery. In 1972, in a pivotal state case in Pennsylvania, the courts decided that a child's [illegible] and wishes should be given heavy [illegible]eration, even when weighed against the parents' religious beliefs.

Still, some conservative legal [illegible] find her work troubling. In her writings, Mrs. Clinton advocated that children be presumed competent until proven otherwise, saying the law treats c[illegible]n of all ages the same when some older [illegible]dren are clearly more responsible than younger ones. She also said c[illegible]n be given all due-process rights in legal proceedings where states or third [illegible] moved against them and serious matters were at stake, though states [illegible] withhold certain rights on a case-by-case basis.

Some worry that presuming all children competent would indeed open the way for courts to intervene in traditional f[illegible] disputes. It's "a very revolutionary idea and one that is very flawed" [illegible] it's so subjective, says Lynn Wardle, a law professor at Brigham Young University. "I just think it's wrong, it's impractical. It would result in a tremendous [illegible] so that every time you wanted to t[illegible] a child's allowance you have to go to a lawyer."

"I don't see that she [illegible] that children should sue their p[illegible] the smallest little thing, but I'm not saying her principle doesn't lead us to that," adds Debra Cruel, director of the Landmark Center for Civil Rights, a conservative public-interest law firm. Ultimately, she warns, "It has the potential of undermining the concept

WALL STREET JOURNAL
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But Robert [illegible], a [illegible] law professor and author of "Child, Family and State," says it's "preposterous" to argue that Mrs. Clinton "believes that lawsuits are the appropriate means for parents and children to resolve their disagreements." Mrs. Clinton herself has argued in her writings that "intervention into an ongoing family be limited to decisions that could have long-term and possibly irreparable effects if they were not resolved."

It isn't only Mrs. Clinton's activities on children's rights that so arouse conservatives. Recently, the American Spectator, a conservative magazine, assailed her ties to the New World Foundation, a New York-based organization that the magazine says has supported a number of left-wing causes. Mrs. Clinton served on the foundation's board from 1983 until 1988, and was chairman from 1987 to 1988. (Another former director of the group is Vernon Jordan, the former Urban League president who is a director of Dow Jones & Co., publisher of this newspaper.)

Among other things, the magazine alleges that the foundation in 1988 gave $20,000 to the Christic Foundation, an organization that in lawsuits and public statements has alleged a wide-ranging conspiracy at the highest levels of the U.S. government. The magazine says support also went to the Center for Constitutional Studies, which was co-founded by left-wing lawyer William Kunstler.

Colin Greer, president of the New World Foundation, describes as "absurd" the magazine's attack on the foundation, which was founded in 1952 by a descendant of Cyrus McCormick, inventor of the reaping machine. He acknowledges, however, that the foundation has been active in a number of what he unabashedly calls "progressive" causes.

The money the magazine says went to the Christic Foundation, he says, actually went to Christic Foundation South, an offshoot that Mr. Greer says was involved entirely with efforts to help minorities benefit from the Voting Rights Act. As for the Center for Constitutional Studies, Mr. Greer says that the money also went to deal with Voting Rights Act issues, and that Mr. Kunstler wasn't any longer associated with the group when the contributions were made.

Not all the foundation's causes were political, however. One of the foundation's goals, insisted on by a McCormick descendant, was supporting "the growth of the spiritual, as distinguished from the material, elements of human life." Board members have understood this to refer to backing efforts to communicate with the afterlife. Though an aide to Mrs. Clinton says she doesn't recall any foundation contributions to any such groups during her stint, another board member says there have been a few.

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In this, the Democratic

In Fairness to the Candidate's Wife

By ALBERT R. HUNT

"If the wife comes through as being too strong and too intelligent, it makes the husband look like a wimp."

—Richard Nixon on Hillary Clinton

NEW YORK—With Hillary Clinton, this year's presidential contest will feature the most controversial wife at least since Eleanor Roosevelt.

Critics, mainly from the political right, paint the 44-year-old wife of the Democratic presidential nominee as a devout left-winger, whose cold, calculating ruthlessness would have a Rasputin-like influence on a President Clinton.

This portrait, according to the most candid assessments from both those who know her best and knowledgeable campaign insiders, is nonsense. But it resonates with the public. In last week's Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll, Mrs. Clinton is viewed positively by only 22% of voters and negatively by 30%; she does just as poorly among women as among men.

The pounding against Mrs. Clinton has been ferocious. Human Events, the provocative weekly paper, has dubbed her the "Evita Peron of American politics." The cover piece of the current issue of the American Spectator is entitled "Boy Clinton's Big Mama." It accuses her of everything from filing her 1991 tax return under her maiden name after supposedly taking her husband's following his gubernatorial defeat in 1980, to seeking to undermine the American family by pitting children against their parents. (Most of these charges concern legitimate issues; by contrast, some of the private stuff being circulated against Hillary Clinton is full of nothing but hate and venom.)

Under scrutiny many of the more substantive charges don't hold up very well. Most are based either on writings that date back to her law school days or on grants made by groups in which she served as one of many board members. For example, she once wrote that under certain circumstances children ought to have greater legal rights to separate from their parents. But she said this should be only in extreme cases. Indeed there are situations ranging from child abuse to abandonment where this hardly seems a radical view.

Hillary Clinton

Within the Clinton campaign, where not everyone is charmed by her style, knowledgeable insiders nevertheless say she is no radical.

"I have never seen her push any kind of ideological agenda," says top political strategist James Carville. "My guess is she's pretty much a mainstream Democrat who feels very strongly about children's issues." That Mr. Carville, a plain-talking Louisiana Cajun who is appealingly anti-establishment, has such positive feelings about Hillary Clinton also undercuts the contention that she relates only to the cultural elite.

Longtime friends are adamant that her personal image is equally inconsistent with the real person. "What I know about Hillary is that she is one of the warmest, most caring and most loving people that I have ever known," says Washington lawyer and civil rights activist Vernon Jordan who has been a friend for almost two decades. "That has not come across to people."

In an episode that strikes at the heart of several Hillary myths, Mr. Jordan tells a story about being with the Clintons shortly after Bill Clinton's crushing defeat for governor in 1980. "Early one morning she was cooking me and Bill grits and I told her she had to start using her husband's name. She understood."

To be sure, Mrs. Clinton has brought on some of her own problems. Her admirable defense of her husband after sleazy charges of infidelity was offset by her tasteless questioning of George Bush's monogamy in a subsequent interview. And angered by some petty charges against her legal ethics, she displayed intellectual arrogance by retorting, "I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas."

There's no doubt that Hillary Clinton has a sensational mind. There's absolutely no doubt that she has used her talents in a diversity of very constructive ways. For six years she was chairperson of the Children's Defense Fund, a highly effective and respected liberal children's rights organization.

She also was a director of Wal-Mart. It's hard to imagine the late Sam Walton putting some radical, out-of-touch leftie on his board. "She wasn't on the board just because she was the governor's wife," says John Huey, who just co-authored Mr. Walton's autobiography. "He had a lot of respect for her. He really listened to her."

She has influenced her husband both during his 12 years as governor and during this campaign; no doubt this influence would persist if he gets to the White House. But the most successful liberal and conservative presidents of this century, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan—had smart, assertive wives.

Finally, conservatives who rail against the influence of a strong spouse ought to look at some of the leading lights of their own camp who are married to exceptionally intelligent, strong-willed women: Irving Kristol, Dick Cheney and the publisher of this newspaper to name just a few. Does Richard Nixon think any of these men are wimps?

In what promises to be a very tough and close contest over the next 100 days, voters will discover some compelling reasons to vote for Bill Clinton and some compelling reasons not to vote for him. But his wife is clearly on the plus side of that ledger.

Mr. Hunt is the Journal's Washington bureau chief.

HILLARY CLINTON'S SERVICE ON THE BOARD OF NEW WORLD FOUNDATION

The New World Foundation is a philanthropic organization "dedicated to revitalizing the institutions of community and public life that have grown increasingly fragile." The foundation seeks to further an America "in which poverty, homelessness and chronic unemployment are only rare experiences," and where "race, gender and class no longer determine the likelihood of these conditions." Hillary Clinton served on its Board of Directors from 1983 to 1988, chairing the Board for her last two years of service. The Bush Campaign's allegation that Hillary Clinton funded the Palestine Liberation Organization and other armed terrorists is absolutely false.

The New World Foundation awards grants to organizations working for equal opportunity, education and youth, and international peace, and on community initiatives.

- During the years Hillary Clinton served on its Board, New World awarded hundreds of grants every year to local community and advocacy groups: the U.S. Committee for UNICEF; the U.S. Catholic Conference of New York; the School of Public Health of Harvard University; the Jewish Fund for Justice; the Children's Defense Fund; the Greater Hartford Chamber of Commerce; the Girls' Club of America; the Children's Museum of Fairfield, Connecticut; the League of Women Voters Education Fund; and the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Foundation.

- As a board member and as the chair, Hillary Clinton supported the foundation's goals of encouraging citizen participation in democratic institutions, improving education and promoting government accountability. In her final report, she wrote, "We have sought to improve the lives of all Americans by expanding access to and participation in public systems such as education and voting, and by advancing the principle that equity and democracy are most securely achieved through an active and well-informed citizenry."

- Hillary Clinton helped secure New World grants for Arkansas programs including the Arkansas Institute for Social Justice, Advocates for Children and Families, and the Arkansas Community

Foundation. These organizations work to improve child health and education, and, in particular, have helped expand the successful Home Instructional Program for Pre-School Youngsters to 100 communities in Arkansas. Hillary Clinton brought the home instruction program to Arkansas to help disadvantaged parents prepare their children for school.

Attacks by the far right distort Hillary Clinton's role as member and chair of the board and misrepresent the nature of the grants made by New World.

- The Bush Campaign is engaged in a desperate attempt to distort Hillary Clinton's views and her work in an effort to distract attention from issues that are important to the American people. The campaign's proposition that as a board member, Hillary Clinton gave money to the Palestine Liberation Organization or any other armed revolutionaries is false. As Stuart Eizenstat, President Carter's Chief Domestic Policy Advisor, commented, "It is inconceivable to me that Hillary Clinton, in light of her long and distinguished record of support for human rights around the world, would ever knowingly fund any organization allegedly tied to the terrorist PLO."

- The New World Foundation is committed to improving the lives of blacks in South Africa. It had divested itself of holdings in South Africa and has focused on funding programs that promote justice in South Africa.

- The New World Foundation has no record of grant making in the Middle East. Grassroots International is a humanitarian organization that received funding from New World for its highly regarded emergency medical assistance program in South Africa. Grassroots International also provides emergency relief to Palestinians living on the West Bank, a practice sanctioned even by the former Likud Government in Israel. It is not now and has never been a member of the PLO.

- Other grants made by New World and criticized by the far right -- grants to the Christic Institute, the Center for Constitutional Rights, and the Capp Street project were made to support minority voting rights, provide emergency medical relief and encourage community education and improvement.

- The President of the Council on Foundations, James A. Joseph, wrote in a letter to the *Wall Street Journal*, "In attacking Mrs. Clinton for having served on the board of the New World Foundation, the *American Spectator* implies that she was personally responsible for channeling money to radical, left-wing causes. This kind of reporting conveys misleading information about foundations and the ways in which they function. . . . As chair of the New World Foundation's board in 1987-88, Mrs. Clinton presided over meetings where a group or directors reached decisions on funding by consensus. She was hardly the sole arbiter of the foundation's grantmaking process."

Hillary Clinton should be honored, not assailed for her philanthropic work with the New World Foundation and with other charitable organizations.

- Hillary Clinton provides a public service through participation on boards of foundations and non-profit organizations. She has also served on the boards of the Children's Television Workshop, the Children's Defense Fund, the "I Have a Dream" Foundation, the Arkansas Children's Hospital, and numerous other non-profit and for-profit organizations.

- Hillary Clinton's commitment to children, families and human rights around the world is beyond reproach. So too is her strong support for Israel's safety and security. The Republican effort to distort what Hillary Clinton stands for is cynical and unpatriotic.

COUNCIL ON FOUNDATIONS
1828 L STREET NW WASHINGTON, DC 20036-5168
(202) 466-6512 FAX (202) 785-3926

August 19, 1992

COPY

Mr. Robert L. Bartley
Editor
The Wall Street Journal
200 Liberty Street
New York, NY 10281

Sir:

Your August 13 article, "GOP Targets Hillary Clinton's Views on Family,..." reports on an item that appeared previously in the American Spectator magazine. In attacking Mrs. Clinton for having served on the board of the New World Foundation, the American Spectator article implies that she was personally responsible for channeling money to radical, left-wing causes. This kind of reporting conveys misleading information about foundations and the ways in which they function. It also perpetuates a dangerous and growing tendency to politicize philanthropy.

As chair of the New World Foundation's board in 1987-88, Mrs. Clinton presided over meetings where a group of directors reached decisions on funding by consensus. She was hardly the sole arbiter of the foundation's grantmaking process. Admittedly the New World Foundation--a well-respected member of the philanthropic community--supports many projects that promote social justice. But programs such as helping minority communities "benefit from the Voting Rights Act" can be considered radical only by those who don't want minorities to vote.

Private foundations in this country are mandated by law to serve the public good. The nature of that good is as various, as diverse, as the individuals and communities that make up our nation. People who volunteer, serve on foundation boards or otherwise take the time and spend the effort to participate in the building of our civil society should be honored, not castigated as being "liberal" or "conservative." Such labeling does nothing to advance the well-being that is the goal of organized philanthropy.

Sincerely,

James A. Joseph
President

DAVID B. HARRISON
ATTORNEY AT LAW
MILLS BUILDING - PENTHOUSE ONE
220 MONTGOMERY STREET
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94104
(415) 391-8404
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CHRISTOPHER WOLCOTT KATZENBACH
OF COUNSEL

August 20, 1992

Via Facsimile and U.S. Mail
THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
200 Liberty Street
New York, NY 10281

Attn: Editor

Dear Editor:

While we appreciate the Wall Street Journal's judicious reporting of the article by The American Spectator concerning Hillary Clinton and the New World Foundation, it is important for your readers to understand that this article was both misleading and dishonest.

The American Spectator article singles out four grants out of the many hundreds approved during Mrs. Clinton's service on our board as purported evidence of her leftist leanings. As Mr. Creer points out, the grants which you mention to the Christic Institute (not Foundation) and Center for Constitutional Rights (not Studies) were in furtherance of their voting rights activities.

The New World Foundation is justifiably proud of its distinguished board members and its role as a philanthropic organization. Mrs. Clinton, like Vernon Jordan whom you mentioned, helped guide us in the pursuit of our goals which were established by the bequest setting up the foundation.

These goals include health, civil rights, education, the avoidance of war and, as you note, the pursuit of the spiritual, as opposed to the material, dimension of human life. It was left to the board of trustees to determine which of these subject areas to emphasize.

Although the emphasis has varied over the years, I am not aware of any grant to an organization promoting the spiritual dimension of human life since the foundation's inception in 1953. There were certainly none while Mrs. Clinton was on the board.

Sincerely,

David B. Harrison
Chair, New World Foundation

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DAVID B. HARRISON
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CHRISTOPHER WOLCOTT KATZENBACH
OF COUNSEL

August 18, 1992

Via Facsimile and U.S. Mail

NEW YORK POST
210 South Street
New York, NY 10002

Attn: Editor

Dear Editor:

Your article about Hillary Clinton and the New World Foundation is misleading and dishonest. The grant to Grassroots International was intended to assist their activities in South Africa, in furtherance of the foundation's longterm interest in combating racial injustice.

We have no record of grantmaking in the Middle East, either then or now. In any event, all of our grants are to tax exempt organizations which have been found by the IRS to be non-partisan.

However, like any board member, Mrs. Clinton agreed with some and disagreed with other grants that the staff recommended; when she was Board Chair, she did not vote on any grant.

David B. Harrison
Chair, New World Foundation

dbh3\nypost.ltr

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(202) 624-7244

August 19, 1992

Editor
New York Post
210 South Street
New York, NY 10002

Letter to the Editor:

As a long-time, staunch supporter of Israel and an opponent of U.S. contacts with the PLO -- including those opened by the Reagan Administration -- I find contemptible your recent smear of Hillary Clinton ("Hillary's PLO Connection", Post editorial, August 12, 1992).

The Post alleges that the "New World Foundation" -- whose board Ms. Clinton chaired in 1987 and 1988 -- awarded grants to a group, "Grassroots International" which, in turn, gave the money to two Palestinian organizations based in the West Bank and alleged by the Post to be PLO "members". The clear implication is that Ms. Clinton somehow supports the PLO because of her tenuous, third-degree tie to these grants. This charge is as offensive as it is wrong.

The Post provides no proof that Ms. Clinton knew this money would end up in the West Bank. To the contrary, the funds apparently were given to Grassroots International for its overseas humanitarian work, with the clear expectation that it would be spent in South Africa. Tim Wise, Executive Director of Grassroots, confirmed this fact in his angry response to the same baseless allegations when they were printed elsewhere. He writes that the author of this other piece, "[M]isrepresented... what the New World Foundation supported with their grant to Grassroots, and what Hillary Clinton supported or knew about as chair of the New World board at that time."

Moreover, the Post provides not a shred of evidence to bolster its contention that Ms. Clinton had any knowledge of a purported PLO connection. Indeed, Mr. Wise calls the allegations about her supposed support for PLO organizations, "[B]oth misleading and factually incorrect," while also denying that he ever called the two groups in question "members" of the PLO. Frankly, it is inconceivable to me that Hillary Clinton, in light of her long and distinguished record of support for human rights around the world, would ever knowingly fund any organization allegedly tied to the terrorist PLO.

The sleazy innuendo practiced by the Post represents a reckless disregard for the truth all too common in recent journalism. But why would the Post want to defame Ms. Clinton in this fashion? Or write disapprovingly that Bill and Hillary Clinton "are engaged in a joint political enterprise?" In light of the Post's consistent support for Israel, this fact should be cause for celebration rather than reason for concern.

After all, the Post certainly knows that the election turns on the views of President Bush and Governor Clinton, not those of their spouses. On that score, Bill Clinton has a proven record of fervent friendship for the Jewish state; inspired the most pro-Israel platform plank in Democratic Party history; and selected Al Gore as his running mate, whose Israel-related record -- as the Post well knows -- is impeccable. Conversely, George Bush has done more damage to the fabric of the U.S.-Israel relationship in the past four years than any modern President. Given this contrast, there is no contest for friends of Israel.

Finally, even if one considers Hillary Clinton's Mideast views, they should give all supporters of Israel, Jewish or otherwise, total trust in the Democratic ticket. Not only has she spoken out frequently, forcefully and eloquently for Israel's safety and security, but she has been cited for her successful efforts to bring to Arkansas a preschool educational program first developed at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, which has become a nationally-known pilot education project in this field.

The British newsmagazine, The Economist, wrote on July 25 that, "Henry 'Scoop' Jackson, the late Democratic Senator from Washington state who hated communism and loved Israel...would be perfectly at home in Mr. Clinton's Democratic Party." That is the fundamental fact upon which to focus in 1992, and not some erroneous, irrelevant and outrageous slander on Hillary Clinton.

By Line: Washington attorney, Lecturer at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, and Chief Domestic Policy Adviser to President Jimmy Carter, 1977-1981.

Very truly yours,

Stuart E. Eizenstat

SEE/pe

The Union Institute

Office for Social Responsibility
Center for Public Policy
Center for Women

August 22, 1992

Editor
The Chronicle of Philanthropy
1225 23rd Street, N.W. (Suite 775)
Washington, D.C. 20037

Dear Editor:

I have long advocated increased accountability in the nonprofit sector. However, recent events demonstrate how easily the self-serving and self-righteous can corrupt even honorable concepts. Conservative news media and Republican party functionaries have launched vicious attacks on Hillary Clinton because of some of the organizations funded by the New World Foundation during her tenure on its board. The absurdity of these assaults makes ignoble notions of nonprofit accountability, grossly distorts the meaning of trusteeship, and attaches an illegitimate cost to voluntarism.

Nonprofit board members are stewards of the public interest. Their role is to assure that a charitable organization operates faithfully and prudently in service to its mission. They ought not be held personally accountable for everything that an organization does. To levy such a task would require board members to involve themselves in every aspect of an organization's operation; clearly this is inappropriate and would be ruinous to the administration and program of nonprofits.

Beyond conservatives' gross distortions of board stewardship is an even more onerous attack on philanthropy itself. Ms. Clinton's abusive critics contend that a grant-making foundation must approve of everything a grantee does, has done or will do, if it is to fund that organization. She is being pilloried for New World Foundation grants to legitimate groups that are politically unacceptable to the right wing. Never mind that the activities found objectionable were not those being funded, and never mind that Ms. Clinton did not even vote to fund other activities that might even be found unobjectionable by the right, she still is declared guilty of an offense.

The Republican functionary/conservative witch hunt has taken Ms. Clinton's public interest work and tried to turn it to their private profit. All of philanthropy and the nonprofit sector should be clear in its scorn for politicising charitable endeavor.

Sincerely,

Mark Rosenman
Vice President, Social Responsibility

1731 Connecticut Avenue, N.W. - Suite 300
Washington, D.C. 20009-1146
202/667-1313 Fax 202/265-0492

GRASSROOTS INTERNATIONAL

a people-to-people partnership
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August 7, 1992

Richard Starr
Insight Magazine
3600 New York Ave. N.E.
Washington, DC 20002

Dear Mr. Starr,

Evan Gahr has, I understand, informed you of my complaints regarding his misquoting me in his piece on Hillary Clinton and the New World Foundation. I feel he both misquoted me and misrepresented what Grassroots International is and does, what the New World Foundation supported with their grant to Grassroots, and what Hillary Clinton supported or knew about as chair of the New World board at that time.

Most important, though, in misquoting me Mr. Gahr obscured a very important distinction. The PLO is a political organization. The organizations we support in the West Bank and Gaza are humanitarian and service organizations. I did not say they were "members" of the PLO; they are not. We support them because they provide badly needed services to Palestinians in the occupied territories and they do so extremely effectively.

It is very important that this matter be corrected on the record. Because you refuse to print a correction to that effect, I enclose a letter to the editor clarifying the issue. Please send me a copy when it is printed. And please try to ensure that your reporters do a more thorough job, at least getting the facts and quotes right, even when they misuse them.

Sincerely,

Tim Wise
Executive Director

48 Grove Street #103, Somerville, MA 02144 USA
Tel: (617) 628-1664 • Fax: (617) 628-4737 • E-Mail via PeaceNet<grassroots> • Telex: 311517 GRI CAM

HILLARY CLINTON'S WORK TO IMPROVE THE FUTURE FOR AMERICA'S YOUTH

Generating Support for Education and Worker Training Initiatives

Hillary Clinton has worked to create opportunity and provide a promising future for America's youth. She believes that Americans must improve education and training if we are going to offer our children the opportunity to lead productive and prosperous lives. Hillary Clinton joined the William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship and the Board of the National Center on Education and the Economy to assist these organizations in their efforts to provide greater educational and economic opportunities to America's youth.

In 1988, The William T. Grant Foundation issued a report, "The Forgotten Half: Pathways to Success for America's Youth and Young Families." The National Center on Education and the Economy also issued a report: "America's Choice: high skills or low wages!" The two reports identify problems facing America's non-college bound youth and recommend realistic solutions to improve education and training, and to put our economy on the road toward growth.

- **Our youth need better family relationships and greater involvement with the community:** The best thing we can do to help American families is to address problems with our economy and in the workplace. Public and private support should be aimed at easing the financial burden of raising children, and businesses should be encouraged to be more responsive to the needs of working parents. In addition, teenagers and young adults should be given the opportunity to serve their community and to benefit from its support and services.

- **Half of America's youth are not college-bound and need new opportunities:** More than half of America's youth -- 20 million 16- to 24-year olds -- are unlikely to attend college. These youth should not be left to flounder. We have to find ways to encourage the non-college bound to study hard and to reward their efforts with better paying jobs. Currently, these youth do not benefit from the special privileges that society confers on the college educated. To the

contrary, they experience extraordinarily high rates of unemployment and are often restricted to low-paying jobs.

- **Students need motivation to succeed:** Today's students see little relationship between their studies -- and how well they do in school -- and the job they will have when they finish their studies. We must revamp our educational system so that it sets high standards and measures achievement in a way that has meaning for students preparing to enter the workforce.

- **We must provide new avenues for education and training for Americans who do not go on to college:** The majority of our workforce is not college educated. Without training, the workforce will be low skilled and low paid. New training programs must be developed if the U.S. is to compete in high-technology and high-wage industries.

- **Hard work must lead to economic success:** Over the last 20 years, average weekly earnings for most American workers have fallen. Now, both parents often have to work just to make ends meet. Worker productivity has also declined. The U.S. must invest resources to create a highly skilled workforce if we are to restore the American dream and reach our highest potential level of productivity.

- **Employers need incentives to invest in their employees and to increase worker productivity:** Employers should be encouraged to train and educate employees, and to improve the productivity of the workforce.

- **Federal and state legislation is needed to implement proposals:** "The Forgotten Half" proposed a program entitled the Youth Opportunities Demonstration Act to further an integrated approach to the education, training and service needs of all youth. "America's Choice" recommendations have also been incorporated into federal legislation and many have been implemented by states.

Hillary Clinton has worked to ensure that the "forgotten half" will be forgotten no more. She has been instrumental in implementing the findings of the two reports and improving opportunities for America's youth.

- ***The New Republic* recognized Hillary Clinton's work to improve education and training:** As Morton Kondracke stated, "Thanks to Bill Clinton -- and, at least equally, to Hillary Clinton -- the U.S. political system is almost certain to do something constructive for a truly 'forgotten' group: the 60-odd percent of high school graduates who either don't go to college or don't finish. These are people whose life prospects are being eroded by the failures of American schools, by increased foreign competition, and by the information age economy's demand for skills." July 27, 1992.

- **Hillary Clinton led efforts to implement report findings:** Hillary Clinton chaired an "America's Choice" task force on implementation of report recommendations at the federal, state and local levels --traveling around the country discussing ways to improve education and training. At her suggestion, the Arkansas Department of Education started an apprenticeship program to train students as health, computer, radio or machine technicians.

advisers. One of Clinton's politicos wanted him to study Garry Wills's new book on Lincoln to try to learn how to become more succinct. Clinton studied it and even spoke with Wills. But his inclination is to explain as much as he can. Being succinct strains his powers, as his nominating speech for Dukakis in 1988 made painfully obvious. Clinton sees the interconnections among the issues and wants to tell you all about them. His flaw is more than the desire to please; it also flows from his cast of mind. In the end, reducing his content to easy themes might have made it harder for him to make his case; for what he needed—and wanted—to defend was substantive politics. He had to present his character whole—pol as wonk, wonk as pol, all of a piece.

Clinton's fall forced him to defeat narrow conceptions of the Democratic Party and to forge a new coalition and political identity for himself. The figure who takes governing seriously is what the country wants but has had trouble seeing in Clinton. Now his nomination testifies to his perseverance, highlighting a morality tale that tells itself. And as the Democrats gather in Madison Square Garden, the very early Clinton, who was there all along, is reemerging. •

Clinton's best idea.

APPRENTICES' SORCERER

By Morton Kondracke

Thanks to Bill Clinton—and, at least equally, to Hillary Clinton—the U.S. political system is almost certain to do something constructive for a truly "forgotten" group: the 60-odd percent of high school graduates who either don't go to college or don't finish. These are people whose life prospects are being eroded by the failures of American schools, by increased foreign competition, and by the information-age economy's demand for skills.

Under the influence of his wife and two old friends and economic advisers, Ira Magaziner and Robert B. Reich, Clinton has made upgrading worker skills a central part of his agenda both as governor of Arkansas and as a presidential candidate. The campaign has advanced such ideas as youth apprenticeships, "lifetime learning," and a European-style tax on corporations for worker training. The press and rival candidates have focused mostly on his proposals for middle-class tax cuts and tax increases for the rich, but his training initiatives are likely to do more to advance future prosperity.

Reich and Magaziner contend that upgrading the skills of workers is the most efficient way to improve American productivity and competitiveness—far superior, Reich says, to giving big tax breaks to individuals or corporations, which can spend the proceeds as easily overseas as in the United States. Reich, Magaziner, and Hillary Clinton knew each other as college student body presidents in 1968 and 1969 (at, respectively, Dartmouth, Brown, and Wellesley). Bill Clinton, Reich, and Magaziner were students at Oxford together. The four comprise a cozy little group and have been talking to each other about economics, industrial policy, politics, and education for twenty-four years.

Clinton's high-profile espousal of worker training has forced the Bush White House to promote kindred "empowerment" ideas. Labor Department officials have been drawing up programs to help the non-college bound for four years, but weren't able to get through to Bush or his domestic advisors until the campaign loomed. Bush proposed a training agenda in January, including apprenticeships and reform of high school vocational and post-secondary career education, but he did not send legislation to Congress until April. Nothing is likely to pass this year because training is caught up in election-year political wars, but the chances are it will pass next year, regardless of who is elected president.

The problem both candidates are addressing is this: the average income of young people who don't attend college is going down. According to one 1990 study, inflation-adjusted earnings for workers under 25 with only a high school diploma are 28 percent lower than they were fifteen years ago. A 1992 Department of Labor report said that the percentage of white high school graduate males 25 and older who do not make enough money to keep a family of four out of poverty has risen from 8.3 to 22.2 since 1969. The proportion for blacks has gone from 20 percent to 41 percent, and for Hispanics, from 16 percent to 36 percent. Ten years ago high school graduates with no college made 74 percent of the wage of a college graduate; in 1991 they made 65 percent.

Hillary Clinton has been addressing this trend for more than five years, and Reich for even longer. In 1987, as a board member of the W. T. Grant Foundation, she helped produce a landmark report, "The Forgotten Half: Non-College Youth in America," that focused not only on the 15 percent of young people who drop out of school before graduating and never return, but also on the 41 percent whose education stops with high school and the 20 percent who start but don't finish college. (Twenty-four percent of all young people now finish college, up from 11 percent in 1960.) Hillary was also on a commission on skills chaired by Magaziner, which in June 1990 produced an even more influential report, "America's Choice: High Skills or Low Wages!" It recommended creating a nationwide system of technical and professional certificates for workers and incentives for employers to train workers and reorganize workplaces to use highly trained labor rather than new machines.

The commission traveled to six countries where corporations participate in "play or pay" training schemes under which they either train their own workers or con-

tribute to a government pool to do so. In Germany corporations are required to spend 2.3 percent of payroll for training; in Sweden and Ireland, 2.5; France, 1.5; and Japan, 1 percent. In the United States employers spend an average of 1 percent on training, but 70 percent of that goes for seminars for executives and marketing employees (often at cushy retreats) rather than production workers. Clinton is recommending a 1.5 percent requirement, which may cost corporations as much as $30 billion a year.

When the "America's Choice" report was completed, Hillary Clinton became chairman of a task force on implementation of its recommendations. In the fall of 1990, she also got the Arkansas Department of Education started on apprenticeship planning, and Bill Clinton pushed the resulting legislation into law in 1991. The state is currently setting up six initial programs to begin this fall. After two years of combined school and training and two more years of training and work, students are supposed to be capable, certified, (and employed) health, computer, radio, or machine technicians.

The Bush administration actually beat Arkansas into the field with six apprenticeship demonstration programs in 1990, created by the Department of Labor's Office of Work Based Learning. Training was nowhere on Bush's own agenda, though, until Lynn Martin became secretary of labor in 1991. She claims that Bush has become an enthusiast on the subject—and, indeed, in some respects his program is bolder than Clinton's.

Bush opposes employer mandates and tax credits. Instead, his "Jobs 2000" legislation places sixty federally funded training programs, including high school vocational education programs and for-profit "proprietary" schools, under supervision of local private industry councils to ensure that programs meet their standards and needs. There's a hitch, however: for-profit trade schools are represented by a powerful lobby in Washington, the Career College Association, which has successfully resisted efforts to link eligibility for receipt of federal student aid checks with placing students in jobs.

Bush should be commended for tackling the proprietary schools, but he's dreaming if he thinks the $55 million he has proposed spending—just over $1 million a state—will spur apprenticeships. The administration plan basically calls for better delivery of job training services that the government currently provides, at a cost of $18 billion. Clinton's apprenticeship scheme, which according to his recent economic plan would cost $1.5 billion in new funds, is bolder as well as more honest about cost.

In any case, the "forgotten half" is no longer as forgotten as it was. Members of Congress have introduced eight other apprenticeship or worker-training packages. Proposals to address the issue will be part of both Republican and Democratic platforms, and Ross Perot presumably will be along with his own ideas. Between Clinton and Bush, however, Clinton is more likely to make non-college Americans a priority. After all, it wasn't until he started hollering about it that Bush admitted there was a problem. •

Jim Pinkerton and Bill Clinton.

PARADIGM'S LOSS

By Mickey Kaus

In 1988, as director of "opposition research" for the Bush-Quayle campaign, James Pinkerton discovered a furloughed killer named Willie Horton in the past of Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis. The rest is history. In late 1991, as a policy planner in the Bush White House, James Pinkerton ventured an opinion about Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton. "I noted with interest Bill Clinton's 'New Covenant' speech," Pinkerton told a Washington symposium. "It seems to me that a Republican could take that speech, change about ten words, and have a pretty good message for the GOP primaries, not to mention the general election."

At the time, Pinkerton had good reason to like Clinton. For more than a year he had been having regular dinners with several Clinton advisers as part of the "New Paradigm Society," a group founded by Pinkerton and Democrat Elaine Kamarck to explore the possibility of a left-right consensus on domestic policy. The New Paradigm envisions a form of government activism that would (in Pinkerton's words) "expand individual choice, empower the poor, and create decentralized, flexible, and adaptable institutions" to replace old-style "centralized bureaucracy." Letting parents choose from among competing schools and letting public housing tenants buy their apartments are the paradigmatic New Paradigm schemes.

Pinkerton wasn't the first to talk about a New Paradigm. Journalist David Osborne coined the term. But the NP is the concept that turned Pinkerton from a gawky political hack into someone *Mademoiselle* actually put on its list of "the greatest lovers of the Western world." I remember going to a Christmas party in 1989 and finding myself in a corner, talking policy with this giraffe-like man who seemed to wear his trousers up around his navel. He was funny and open-minded—at the time he was pushing an idealistic plan to give underclass kids jobs planting trees. Soon I was attending his "paradigm" meetings. The next November budget director Richard Darman sneered at the NP idea in a speech, and Pinkerton sneered back, a brilliant career move. A *Washington Post* "Style" profile quickly followed. In 1990, when I attended the same Christmas party, there was a distinct buzz in the room. "Jim Pinkerton's here!" "Did you see Jim Pinkerton?" "I think Pinkerton's already left." "No he hasn't." People were elbowing Jody Powell out of the way to get to him (just as a decade earlier they

HILLARY CLINTON'S WORK WITH THE LEGAL SERVICES CORPORATION

Hillary Clinton believes that individuals who are indigent and face serious legal difficulties -- including eviction, loss of public benefits, or divorce -- should have legal representation. The Legal Services Corporation provides civil legal assistance to more than 1.4 million disadvantaged Americans and offers the best hope that America has to fulfill its promise of equal justice for all. Hillary Clinton served on the Board of the Legal Services Corporation from 1977 until 1981, chairing the Board from 1978 to 1980. She continues to support public and private efforts to fund legal services programs.

The legal services program is an established American tradition and has broad support across the political spectrum. Nonetheless, the far right has worked to abolish the program since its inception. Congress, however, has insisted on its preservation.

- Thousands of individuals and organizations around the country -- in the religious community, business, and the legal professions as well as civil rights leaders and local government officials -- have all worked in support of legal services programs. As Associate Justice of the Supreme Court Lewis Powell Jr. said in 1964: "Equal justice under the law is not merely a caption on the facade of the Supreme Court building. It is perhaps the most inspiring ideal of our society. It is one of the ends for which our entire legal system exists . . . it is fundamental that justice should be the same, in substance and availability, without regard to economic status."

- Originally, the legal services program was under President Johnson's Office of Equal Opportunity. However, Congress worked with President Nixon to reestablish the program as an independent corporation in 1974 to insulate the program from political influence, abuse or criticism. As President Nixon stated, "Legal assistance for the poor is one of the most constructive ways to help them help themselves . . . justice is served far better and differences settled more rationally within the system than on the streets." He further noted that it was time "to make legal services an integral part of our judicial system."

- Over the years, Senator Warren Rudman and Representative Caldwell Butler, both Republicans, have been among the strongest supporters of a strong and independent Legal Services program. Other supporters include Senator John Warner and former Attorney General Elliot Richardson. Also, an early 1980's New York times-CBS poll found that 83% of Americans opposed cuts in legal services spending.

- Right-wing ideologues have been at war with legal services and have tried unsuccessfully to abolish it for over a decade. President Reagan proposed its elimination. Republicans and Democrats in Congress insisted on keeping the program.

Today, the far right is attacking Hillary Clinton as part of their campaign to end the legal services program and to distract voters from the Republicans' failed record on the economy. The far right has recycled every discredited charge used against legal services since its inception in 1974.

As a member and chair of the Board of Directors, Hillary Clinton fulfilled her responsibilities under the law. During her service, the Legal Services Corporation brought high quality legal assistance to communities around the country. Offices had to be opened, regulations adopted, and monitoring systems put in place as the program was implemented nationwide.

- The Board of Legal Services does not represent clients, provides no legal services and makes no decisions about what programs should be funded or what cases are brought by local programs. The President, not the board, makes all grants and contracts. It meets only four or five times a year. The Board is responsible for the budget, setting up the overall program structure and setting the direction of the program. Local offices provide services to the disadvantaged within the parameters of the law and regulations.

- The Republicans have levelled completely unfounded accusations that, as a member of the board, Hillary Clinton was responsible for authorizing the use of taxpayer dollars to fund a mayoral campaign

and to oppose proposition 9 in California, or for improperly lobbying against President Reagan's cut-backs in legal services funding. To the extent that there have been any improprieties by grantees, there was an established procedure independent of the board to determine appropriate action.

- The only actions that were inconsistent with the intent of the Legal Services Corporation Act were those taken by President Reagan and his appointees to the Board of Directors. These appointees sought to undercut the effectiveness of legal services and made no secret of their contempt for the program.

- Writing in the *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, a former chair of the Legal Services Corporation said that the author of a right-wing attack on Hillary Clinton "may be entitled to speculate on the role of Hillary Clinton as the spouse of a president. He is not entitled to misrepresent her service on the board of the Legal Services Corporation. I can attest that in the 32 months I served with her, she was a hard-working, even handed, intelligent, devoted and effective director of a corporation charged with disbursing upward of $300 million a year."

HILLARIOUS -- ANOTHER BASELESS REPUBLICAN ATTACK ON HILLARY CLINTON

Hillarious, a new book by George Grant, is not "the Wacky Wit, Wisdom & Wonderment" of Hillary Clinton. It is the latest volley in the Republican's far-right campaign to personally attack the Democratic Presidential nominee and his wife, and to divide the American people. This book, which endeavors to prove that Hillary Clinton is outside of the mainstream, confirms only that its author and his Republican party backers are right-wing zealots in the tradition of Pat Robertson and Patrick Buchanan.

There is nothing funny about Hillarious or about George Grant's scorn for American people. His verbal assaults are offensive.

- It is ridiculous to characterize Democrats as "homosexual health-care extortionists." (p.11)

- It is repugnant to suggest that those who support freedom of choice are "child-killing enthusiasts." (p.11)

- It is anti-environmental to mock Americans who celebrate Earth Day. (p.12)

- It is racist to ridicule Whoopie Goldberg for wearing "what I took to be some sort of African tribal costume designed to complement her dreadfully matted dreadlock hairdo," and to suggest that others at a pro-choice march "looked like they had just emerged from a jungle, too -- or at the very least from a zoo." (p.12)

- It is intolerant to suggest that men and women who support choice or who are Democrats are "bolshie-blustering comrades-in-arms". (p.14)

- George Grant has taken Hillary Clinton's words completely out of context in an effort to wrongly portray her as out of the mainstream.

The Republicans should be publicly disclaim this publication. But they have not. Rather, they allowed the book to be distributed at the Republican Convention and its author reports that Republican chiefs have inquired about bulk purchases so that they can distribute the book at campaign rallies. This book tells us nothing about Bill or Hillary Clinton, but it says a lot about President Bush and what he will do to try to get reelected.