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Background on former First Ladies

George Washington University Health Care Task Force meeting

Health Security Act

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FIRST LADIES

I.

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The Houston Chronicle

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SECTION: A; Pg. 30

HEADLINE: Champion tree grower sends Christmas fir to White House

BYLINE: LOUISE DURMAN; Knoxville News-Sentinel

BODY:

ROAN VALLEY, N.C. -- It was a wild, scraggly little tree from the side of Roan Mountain when Wayne Ayers transplanted the Fraser fir to another of his fields 19 years ago.

"I almost bush hogged them down," he says of the wild trees he moved.

Like an ugly duckling, the fir saved from destruction has grown into a majestic, nearly perfect, 20-foot tree and will grace the Blue Room at the White House in December.

"This is the World Series of Christmas tree growing," says Ayers, who with his wife, Joan, owns three tree farms and leases others. The family lives in Johnson City, Tenn.

Their sons, Steve and John, work at his side in the business that has 250,000 Fraser firs, "the aristocrat of trees," says Wayne Ayers.

Ayers' tree goes to the White House because he won blue ribbons with one of his Fraser firs in the National Christmas Tree Association contest at a convention in Spokane, Wash., two years ago.

Only grand champion tree growers have the honor of providing the White House tree. Members of the National Christmas Tree Association from all over the country have given fresh Christmas trees to the White House since 1966.

Actually, two trees from his farm will go -- the 20-footer and a 14-foot tree that will go into the president's private quarters in the White House.

Two representatives from the White House -- head usher Gary Walters and Nancy Mitchell, assistant to the head usher, who is from Gray Station, Tenn., visited Ayers' farm to select the tree.

Ayers took them into the hills, to a field at an elevation of 4,800 feet, where Mount Mitchell is visible on one side, Roan High

Knob on the other. Thousands of Fraser firs of all sizes can be seen.

"I told them, 'Help yourself.'"

After the White House tree was chosen, Gary Walters tagged it with a blue ribbon.

Wayne Ayers will do the honors, cutting the tree on Nov. 29.

He will then pick and cut the 14-footer. The North Carolina Christmas Tree Association will transport the two trees to Washington.

Ayers, his wife, sons, both sets of parents and a few other family friends also will make the trip to Washington -- at their own expense.

On Dec. 1, the tree is delivered to the White House. The acceptance of the tree by the First Family is a tradition.

The tree-growing family goes to the gate on the South Lawn, where a horse-drawn wagon meets them. The trees are placed on the wagon. Any children who go along can ride in the wagon, too. The family will follow the wagon in a car to the White House door where Hillary Rodham Clinton is scheduled to accept the tree and welcome them.

They will then get to tour the White House and attend a reception. But it's a busy season on Roan Mountain, so they won't stay to see the tree complete in its finery. Since it's a 20-foot tree and only an 18-foot tree will fit in the Blue Room, it will have to be cut from the bottom.

Ayers believes Frasers are the best because they retain their needles better than other trees and because their needles are soft, a beautiful shade of green and have a wonderful aroma.

He ships his trees all across the country, as far as California. He annually supplies another 20-footer for the R.J. Reynolds' visitors center in Winston-Salem. It's already tagged with a red ribbon and is growing next to the White House tree.

Ayers says since he knew he was going to Washington, he offered Vice President Al Gore a tree, too -- he's met Gore on previous occasions. Gore turned him down. The environmentally aware Gores want a balled tree, not a cut tree, and Ayers doesn't deal in those.

Trees are cut with a chain saw. And in some remote areas of the farm, Ayers uses a helicopter to carry the trees out of the fields to the stockpile shed.

He will harvest 34,000 trees this year. Most popular are 6- to 8-footers. At retail, he says, they would sell for \$ 40 to \$ 45.

The 20-foot White House tree would sell for \$ 2,000, but the Ayers donate it.

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The Plain Dealer

May 2, 1993 Sunday, FINAL / ALL

BYLINE: By DIANA E. LUNDIN; LOS ANGELES DAILY NEWS

DATELINE: LOS ANGELES

BODY: Fair or not, a new presidential administration is judged on its first 100 days.

Bill Clinton is no different, as the press, pollsters, pundits and public all take the opportunity to reflect on and assess his performance. And Hillary Rodham Clinton's high profile as first lady earns her the same kind of scrutiny.

In this time frame, which ended last week, the only significant surprise to Judith Warner, Clinton's biographer, is how little criticism has been aimed at the powerful role the first lady is assuming, especially as head of a task force to recommend ways to overhaul the nation's health care system.

"There's the predictable outcry from the right, but the public at large has basically accepted what she's doing and her approval ratings are quite high," said Warner, who wrote the paperback best seller "Hillary Clinton: The Inside Story" (Signet, \$4.99).

Lewis Gould, who teaches a course on first ladies at the University of Texas at Austin and is considered an expert on presidents' wives, is also taken aback by how easily Mrs. Clinton, 45, is expanding the traditional role.

"There's quite a lot of resentment and opposition to that, but there seems to be an equal amount of acceptance," he said.

A Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll published in March found that 74% of those surveyed said she was a good role model.

Clinton's performance so far earns her an A, maybe an A-minus, Gould said. Opinions on the first lady are mostly positive, though some say they are reserving judgment until her work on health-care reform is in and evaluated.

To be sure, other first ladies had strong roles as well, especially Edith Wilson, who literally ran the country as unofficial president when her husband became ill in 1919.

Eleanor Roosevelt was a powerful first lady, who was the target of equal accolades and criticism in her day. She was the first wife of a president to testify before a congressional committee.

Lady Bird Johnson lobbied Congress for passage of the Highway Beautification Act while Rosalynn Carter worked behind the scenes for passage of the Age Discrimination Act and the Older Americans Act, among others.

However, their aides were sent to the Capitol in their stead. Clinton is the first to be a "legislative emissary on her own," Gould said. "This is new stuff."

But even as she makes frequent public forays, she remains - to many - a mystery.

"It's interesting with Hillary Clinton," said Frank Marafiotte, publisher of the Hillary Clinton Quarterly, a 4,000-circulation newsletter that Marafiotte created shortly after the election. "The more we see of her, the more enigmatic she is."

But to friends like Little Rock lawyer Mark Grobmyer, who met the Clintons in the early 1970s when he was at the University of Arkansas law school, not much has changed since the move to 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. in January.

Grobmyer said Clinton still possesses a keen sense of humor, still is compassionate about others, still has a wide range of knowledge that makes her an interesting conversationalist, and still can cut a rug with the best of them.

"She can relax and play a game of hearts or watch a movie and do what normal people do, and then take on a major responsibility or a major task that normal people can't do," said Grobmyer, one of the president's golf partners. "She's able to live in a lot of different roles."

Grobmyer believes she could be president.

But Mary Hinds, who researched Hillary Clinton for President Bush's re-election campaign, said the new first lady lacks proper accountability.

"In some respects, Hillary Clinton is the Oliver North of this administration," Hinds said. "She's been running the health-care policymaking group in almost total secrecy. Here we have an unelected official who has no responsibility to anyone, who can make public policy in secret. That's my big concern."

Gordon Hoxie, founder of the Center for the Study of the Presidency in New York, is concerned about the private hearings as well.

"I was sure she was going to get in trouble having her hearings in private rather than in public. And sure enough, she had to open the hearings," he said. "Other than that, she's held herself very well."

The task force will present its plan to the president in May. And that's when Hillary Clinton will be more closely scrutinized, Gould predicted.

Where Grobmyer finds Clinton full of personality, Hillary Clinton Quarterly publisher Marafiotte finds her austere, stern and a little too businesslike.

"The public persona has not been terribly appealing," he said. "It's difficult for me to say that because I think highly of Mrs. Clinton."

Her friends often speak of her sense of fun.

"In public, she doesn't exhibit much of this jocular side," Marafiotte said, then conceded: "I think we could all grant her the benefit of the doubt, given the seriousness of what she's doing."

But such critiques of her are to be expected now that she has essentially shattered the perception of the traditional role of the first lady.

Some say her politics are left of her husband's, but Warner said she found her quite moderate.

"She's been packaged as some kind of leftist liberal," Warner said. "She's certainly a Democrat, but her views are moderate. She's not a leftist. She's really not a liberal's liberal."

Clinton was first branded a left-leaning liberal by the Republicans, then the right wing, Warner said. "The image was picked up by the press," she said. "It's really not interesting to read about a moderate."

But Hinds disagrees with Warner, pointing to Clinton's involvement in such organizations as the Legal Services Corp., the New World Foundation and the Children's Defense Fund as examples of her liberalism.

"(The Children's Defense Fund) is a wonderful organization. It takes, however, a very liberal point of view on solutions relating to children," Hinds said. "She does have a very liberal point."

But, Warner said, Clinton "is quite conservative in the way she lives her life. She screens the movies (that daughter) Chelsea can see. Again, she's not any kind of radical. She's always kind of taking the middle road on things."

"(But) the most interesting thing to me is the reaction, the problems people still have with working women, powerful women and intelligent women, and marriages based on partnership rather than a hierarchical power structure," Warner said.

All the existing resentment against women is projected onto Clinton, she said.

"That's an enduring problem and one that predates Hillary Clinton and will last beyond her," Warner said.

Gould said Clinton is pushing the envelope of what a first lady can do.

"Men have always advised men informally, yet when women have an advisory role, the storm flags come up," he said. "She reminds us how masculine-oriented a society we still live in."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO by AP;; Hillary Rodham Clinton has been anything but a ceremonial first lady, here meeting with children at a school in New York City as part of her many projects and interests.

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SECTION: THE CLINTON ERA; SPECIAL REPORT; COVER STORY; Vol. 114,,
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LENGTH: 1777 words

HEADLINE: Now the first chief advocate

BYLINE: By Kenneth T. Walsh; Thomas Toch

HIGHLIGHT: How Hillary Clinton plans a bold recasting of the job description for a president's spouse

BODY: Ever the diligent scholar, Hillary Clinton has immersed herself in a crash course on being first lady. In the last two months, advisers say, she surveyed a host of opinion leaders, conferred with scores of friends and read the biographies of every one of her 43 predecessors. Typically, Mrs. Clinton wanted to know exactly what made past first ladies successful, where they might have gone wrong and how she could put her imprimatur on the job and the country. Her meticulous research even included reading a collection of mystery novels written by Franklin D. Roosevelt's son Elliott, in which Eleanor Roosevelt appears as an amateur sleuth.

This week, Hillary Clinton will begin putting her ideas into action. And while the details are evolving, friends and advisers say she will carve out an unprecedented role as the administration's advocate-in-chief: primary counselor to her husband in private and, over time, a public advocate on a wide variety of issues. "She wants to get deeply involved in policy making," says a key adviser, "and I wouldn't limit it to children's issues or women's issues. I wouldn't limit it to anything."

Bill Clinton is an enthusiastic supporter of her break with tradition. "I think she can easily do what she's supposed to do as first lady and still have time and energy to be involved in some of these specific areas that I think she's so good at," the president-elect told U.S. News. "She knows a lot about education and training and how that relates to the business community, because she's had a lot of major corporate experience. She knows a lot about children's issues and health care issues, and I expect she'll be very active there. I would be derelict in my duty to the United States if I did not use her."

To that end, advisers say, she will make regular speeches on substantive policy issues, as she has done for years. She will participate in cabinet meetings. But friends say she will also take bolder steps, including testifying before Congress, first on education, health care and children's issues, then on wider concerns. Such a public role for a first lady is rare, but not unprecedented. Rosalynn Carter urged Congress to spend more on mental-health programs in 1979, and Eleanor Roosevelt, Mrs. Clinton's role model, testified in 1940 and 1942 about the migration patterns of U.S. workers.

For a while, Bill and Hillary Clinton considered having her serve as the unpaid chairman of a government commission studying children's issues. But Mrs. Clinton concluded that no more studies are needed. Instead, she is leaning toward serving as the unpaid chairman of a White House task force on education or the family, Democratic insiders say. That would give her a direct role in both developing and implementing policy.

Already, her influence over the transition is unprecedented. She has been seeding the administration with allies -- often lawyers with more-liberal views than her husband's. Aided by Susan Thomases, Bill Clinton's scheduler and Hillary's classmate at Yale Law School, Mrs. Clinton made sure women such as chief White House domestic adviser Carol Rasco and Energy Secretary-designate Hazel O'Leary were appointed to key jobs. Some disgruntled staffers claim that Hillary Clinton and Thomases are running a "diversity jihad" in which white, male advisers have been unfairly shunted aside. More important, Clinton's centrist allies worry that his wife will work with her liberal cronies to skew administration policy toward the left.

Network anchor. The Hillary network is pervasive -- and growing. Perhaps the most striking feature is that it is not a loose assortment of friends from differing backgrounds but an infrastructure of policy wonks. Past first ladies have relied on confidants mostly to provide a respite from public life. Hillary Clinton's network, however, is the exact opposite: a cadre of policy experts that rivals her husband's and intertwines friendship with policy making.

Outside the administration, it ranges from Marian Wright Edelman, founder of the Children's Defense Fund, to Diane Blair, a political scientist at the University of Arkansas. Inside government, the network is anchored by Donna Shalala, a liberal educator who worked with Mrs. Clinton at the Children's Defense Fund and is secretary-designate of health and human services. Confidant Bruce Lindsey will be a senior White House adviser. Bernard Nussbaum, a New York lawyer who worked with her on the House Judiciary Committee during the Watergate investigation, will be White House counsel. Vince Foster, her law partner, will be deputy White House counsel. Ira Magaziner, a business consultant who has worked with her on many issues, will be a presidential adviser.

No one is suggesting that Hillary Clinton's friends are not qualified for their jobs or that they will be disloyal to the president. The question is how the first lady will use her personal network once it is assembled, and how much power she will exert in her own

right. Friends predict she will move carefully, because she understands that other first ladies, especially Nancy Reagan, got into trouble when they seemed to secretly manipulate the president and the people officially advising him. That's one reason why Mrs. Clinton has decided that she must be a public as well as a private advocate for her favorite causes. "She won't go around the chain of command or usurp the prerogatives of cabinet members," says Derek Shearer, an economics adviser to the Clinton campaign. "But since most of these people are friends of hers, she can talk to them informally. She can have lunch with [Commerce Secretary-designate] Ron Brown or [Environmental Protection Agency Administrator-designate] Carol Browner or [Agriculture Secretary-designate] Mike Espy and not be threatening." Shearer envisions her traveling with cabinet members to draw attention to key programs.

Still, her critics are uneasy about the extent of Hillary Clinton's power. Congressional Republicans think she could become a domestic prime minister accountable to no one but her husband, and many Americans share those concerns. The U.S. News poll shows that while 63 percent of respondents have a favorable impression of Hillary, 59 percent don't want her to be a major adviser to her husband on policy and personnel, and 70 percent prefer that she serve as a "traditional" first lady.

It's evolutionary. Yet Hillary Clinton is convinced she can change America's mind about what a first lady should be. Aides point out that she faced similar skepticism as the activist first lady of Arkansas, but overcame the doubts. "This is all about evolving," says Maggie Williams, Mrs. Clinton's chief of staff. "She will contribute to the traditional role of first lady -- there will always be state dinners and other constants. On the other hand, she is her husband's adviser. She is smart, savvy and she deeply cares what happens to people. It's a matter of assessing what's possible."

Her activities on behalf of the nonprofit National Center on Education and the Economy provide an insight into both her perseverance and her networking skills. Between the summer of 1990 and the fall of 1991, she was paid by the center to persuade states and the federal government to adopt the group's recommendations for upgrading the job skills of younger workers. Not only did those goals emerge as a centerpiece of the Clinton campaign, but she persuaded many governors and members of Congress of both parties to endorse the agenda. Robert Reich, the new labor secretary, has adopted a similar youth-training program as a top priority.

Regardless of her role as advocate-in-chief, the first lady's first priority will be raising the Clintons' 12-year-old daughter, Chelsea. Her challenge will be maintaining a "normal" lifestyle in the White House, aides say, and the Clintons are particularly eager to shield Chelsea from the media. One axiom developed by the family is that Chelsea should be included in her parents' activities, although she is never forced to participate. When the Clintons planned to attend a surprise birthday dinner recently for Hollywood producer and old pal Harry Thomason in Pasadena, they worried that Chelsea would be bored. So Hillary Clinton arranged for Chelsea to bring a couple of Arkansas friends on the trip. They passed up the dinner and attended the Cirque du Soleil, a Canadian circus. "She includes Chelsea in their political and social life to the extent Chelsea wants

to be included," says a friend. "If Chelsea wants to go to a diplomatic dinner, she can go with friends, or she can stay in her room to study or watch videos."

So far, none of this daunts the incoming first lady. Earlier this month, she was skimming through a stack of newspapers in her kitchen at the Arkansas Governor's Mansion as she chatted with friend Diane Blair. After reading still another article on how she should conduct herself, she shrugged and dismissed the punditry as "Beltway stuff," of interest only to Washington insiders. "She knows how to put things in perspective," says Blair. That may be her most valuable skill of all.

BEGTAB%.

Percentage of Americans whose opinions of Hillary Clinton are:

Favorable 63 pct.

Unfavorable 23 pct.

If Hillary Clinton plays a major role in advising her husband about appointments and policies, will it help or hurt his presidency?

Help 47 pct.

Hurt 40 pct. Do your favor or oppose these roles for Hillary Clinton?

	Favor	Oppose
Sitting in on cabinet meetings	37 pct.	58 pct.
Being a traditional first lady	70 pct.	21 pct.
Being an advocate for policies and programs to benefit children	90 pct.	7 pct.
Being a major advisor on appointments and policy	34 pct.	59 pct.
Testifying before Congress on issues that concern her	71 pct.	22 pct.
Americans' opinions of Hillary Clinton's influence on her husband's decisions:		
Too much	19 pct.	
Too little	6 pct.	
Right amount	53 pct.	
What kind of a job do you think Hillary Clinton will do as first lady?		

	NOW	APR '92
Excellent	30 pct.	10 pct.
Good	42 pct.	36 pct.
Only fair	18 pct.	24 pct.
Poor	5 pct.	9 pct.

GRAPHIC: Picture, Unprecedented role. She might chair White House task forces, go to cabinet sessions and testify before Congress. (Thomas Muscionico -- Contact); Picture, The inner circle: Thomases (Charlie Archambault -- USN&WR); Picture, The inner circle: Lindsey (Linda L. Creighton -- USN&WR); Picture, The inner circle. Shalala (Charlie Archambault -- USN&WR); Picture, The inner circle. Mgaziner (Rick Friedman -- Black Star); Picture, The inner circle. Edelman (Chick Harrity- -- USN&WR); Picture, Family rules. The Clintons want Chelsea to be included in their activities if she's interested. (Bob McNeely -- JB Pictures)

LEVEL 1 - 1 OF 11 STORIES

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February 5, 1993, Friday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 1; Column 3; National Desk

LENGTH: 1218 words

HEADLINE: Hillary Clinton Visits Capitol In Vivid Display of Her Clout

BYLINE: By MICHAEL KELLY, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Feb. 4

BODY:

Demonstrating in unmistakable terms her intent to serve as the Administration's chief lobbyist and negotiator on health care, Hillary Rodham Clinton went to Capitol Hill today for closed-door policy discussions with leaders from both parties.

Mrs. Clinton's lobbying trip, extraordinary for a First Lady, was the latest manifestation of her influence. An unpaid volunteer with no official Government job, Mrs. Clinton has nevertheless emerged as the most important White House adviser on domestic issues.

The First Lady met on the second floor of the Capitol with the Senate majority leader, George J. Mitchell of Maine; with 28 more Democratic senators, and with two influential Republican Senators, Bob Dole of Kansas, the minority leader, and John H. Chafee of Rhode Island.

The meetings, by all accounts, broke no new ground on health care. But on a symbolic level they underscored the importance both of health care legislation to the Administration and of Mrs. Clinton within the power structure of Washington.

Behind Velvet Ropes

The clout of Mrs. Clinton was vividly captured in an image that was at once traditional and novel. As the journalists and the cameras waited in their usual fashion behind red velvet ropes and brass stanchions, the door to the Lyndon Johnson Room opened and Senator Mitchell came out, walking up, in the usual fashion, to stand before the battery of microphones and say a few words.

But the person walking at the Senator's side, and joining him at the microphones, and answering reporters' questions as the Administration's leading voice on a leading issue, was the President's wife, not a Cabinet Secretary -- and that is not part of the usual fashion at all.

Her expedition was only part of a daylong blitz of Congress by the Clinton Administration, as officials bustled about the halls and caucus rooms in a sort of traveling policy bazaar, seeking to sell ideas and buy support for the many intricately difficult causes President Clinton has embraced.

The New York Times, February 5, 1993

The First Lady's husband became the first chief executive in history to appear at the regular weekly meeting of Congressional Democratic whips, the three-dozen party officials responsible for lining up votes -- an event described by Representative Nita M. Lowey of Westchester County as "a real love-in." Mr. Clinton received a five-minute standing ovation from the 50 or 60 Democrats in attendance. "Euphoria doesn't go on forever," said Senator John Glenn of Ohio. "But it's the first time in 12 years Democrats have been in the White House, and the President needs a little time."

Gore on a Mission

Vice President Al Gore appeared on a separate mission to support the introduction today of a bill sponsored by Senator Carl M. Levin, Democrat of Michigan, to toughen disclosure requirements for lobbyists and to hold a news conference pushing the Administration's proposals to change campaign finance laws. Orbiting the stars along their own paths were such other luminaries as Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen; Leon E. Panetta, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, and Donna E. Shalala, the Secretary of Health and Human Services.

All these appearances, though, were, unexceptional. Presidents, Vice Presidents and Cabinet Secretaries go regularly to Capitol Hill, on missions of either pomp or circumstance. First Ladies are far more seldom seen.

Eleanor Roosevelt was the first First Lady to appear before Congress, ✓ testifying before the House District of Columbia Committee on the wretched conditions of nursing homes in the nation's capital. Lady Bird Johnson lobbied Congress behind the scenes for passage of the Highway Beautification Act. And Rosalynn Carter openly lobbied for passage of the Age Discrimination Act, the Older American's Act, the Rural Clinics Act and for the Administration's proposal to contain hospital costs.

Yet, Mrs. Clinton's visit today was of far more import than all of these.

Senator Is Delighted

Ever since she was named by the President to head the group charged with putting together a health care program, Mrs. Clinton has been lobbying members of Congress behind the scenes. A White House aide, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the First Lady had spoken on the telephone with at least a dozen senators.

One of them, Howard M. Metzenbaum of Ohio, pronounced himself delighted with Mrs. Clinton after a telephone conversation on Tuesday and the meeting today. "She's sharp, she's on the ball and I can't tell you what a real pleasure it is to be able to sit there with the wife of the President and have an open, warm conversation -- to be able to sit there and talk about your concerns with her, and call her Hillary."

By her high-profile appearance, placed on the public schedule and advertised by press aides for maximum attention, Mrs. Clinton signaled in a way official Washington cannot miss that she will be not only the person who shapes the Administration's most important issue of domestic policy, but also the one who will attempt the politically complex matter of guiding it through Congress.

The New York Times, February 5, 1993

Speaking and Listening

In the meeting with the Democratic senators, Mrs. Clinton sat at the head a large horseshoe-shaped table, flanked by Senator Mitchell and Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts. She spoke for about five minutes, said Senate and White House aides present, in general terms about the Administration's broad legislative goals, and about its willingness to work closely with Congressional leadership to achieve those goals. For the rest of the meeting, which lasted less than an hour, she mostly listened, as senators made their points.

In her remarks afterward, she stressed her intention to continue in the roll as the Administration's ambassador to Congress on this issue, praising the Democratic senators and saying that "on behalf of the President," she was "looking forward to working with them to come up with a piece of legislation that will respond to the very real needs that Americans have to make sure they're secure in the health care that is given to them and that the quality and choice available to them is what they expect."

She exhibited a touch for salesmanship in describing the health care issues in terms designed to make the case that overhauling the system would benefit people in a way they could clearly understand.

"I think that people know there's a problem," she said. "I mean, people who have been denied health insurance because of a pre-existing condition, who cannot change jobs because if they do, they lose the insurance for their spouse or their child, people who are laid off and lose their benefits, people who are the 100,000 Americans a month who lose their health insurance, people who have to wait in long lines to immunize their children -- I think Americans know we have a problem."

Speaking to reporters later, White House aides left no doubt that Congress, and the public, will see more of the same in the coming weeks and months. "She has already taken the lead in speaking to members of Congress, and she will continue to take an active role in this process," said one aide. "It's all well and good to work with the committee to fashion a health care plan, but if Congress won't pass it, that won't do much good."

GRAPHIC: Photos: Hillary Rodham Clinton talking to reporters yesterday after a meeting with Senator George J. Mitchell, next to her, and other Democratic leaders about health care. Later, she met with Senate Republican leaders. (pg. A1); Hillary Rodham Clinton speaking yesterday with Senator Bob Dole during individual meetings with leaders from both parties on health care. (Paul Hosefros/The New York Times) (pg. A14)

SUBJECT: UNITED STATES POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT; LAW AND LEGISLATION; MEDICINE AND HEALTH; HEALTH INSURANCE; LOBBYING AND LOBBYISTS; DISCLOSURE OF INFORMATION; ETHICS

ORGANIZATION: ;DEMOCRATIC PARTY

NAME: CLINTON, HILLARY RODHAM; CLINTON, BILL (PRES); GORE, AL (VICE PRES) ; KELLY, MICHAEL

GEOGRAPHIC: UNITED STATES

THE NEW COVENANT

By Fred Barnes

*Our strategy has
clearly paid off.
Even Barnes has
good things to say.*

Bill Clinton's speech at Notre Dame University on September 11 wasn't likely to generate much national press attention, yet Clinton and his aides took enormous care in preparing it. They consulted dozens of people, including New York Governor Mario Cuomo, Senator Harris Wofford of Pennsylvania, President Timothy Healy of Georgetown University, and old college friends of Clinton's. Former Representative Toby Moffett of Connecticut, whose daughter Julia works for the Clinton campaign, submitted a long memo. David Kusnet, the speechwriter in charge of the Notre Dame address, scavenged material for Clinton to read: Senator Daniel P. Moynihan's speech at Notre Dame in May, Cuomo's published diaries, Cuomo speeches, etc. The speech Clinton finally delivered took weeks to draft. And Clinton was actively involved in the drafting.

This extraordinary effort produced one of Clinton's most substantive speeches of the campaign. It was not only his major address to Catholics. It dealt with the broader issue of religious faith and its role in American life. Clinton's chief strategist, James Carville, described it as a "defining speech," revealing Clinton as an unabashed Christian ("my faith is a source of pride to me") and a man of strong religious sensibility. "If elected," Clinton added, "I will be the first president to graduate from a Catholic college, Georgetown University." He got a standing ovation.

Religion is the stealth issue of the presidential race. It will probably have more influence on the outcome than any issue except the economy. Clinton and his handlers have understood this from the beginning. They also know it's not a plus with most voters if a presidential candidate is perceived, as Michael Dukakis was in 1988, as indifferent or hostile to religious faith. Thus Clinton and his vice presidential running mate, Al Gore, have taken the next step, affirming the value of religion and touting their own faith. Though both are Southern Baptists, they've deftly avoided sectarian splits and embraced what sociologist Nancy Ammerman calls "a generic American faith." Their message is non-threatening: I'm religious, but not to the point of imposing my faith on anyone or deciding any issue on religious grounds.

The political results are impressive. Clinton has made remarkable inroads among evangelical Protestants and

Catholics, two groups who trended Republican in the 1980s. These are large voting blocs, especially significant in the South and industrial Midwest. Evangelicals make up 23 percent (43 million people) of the voting age population, and Catholics about the same. In 1992 Bush got 77 percent of the evangelical vote, leaving paltry 23 percent for Dukakis. This year "Clinton should be able to get at least 30 percent of the evangelical vote and could reasonably aspire to 40 percent," says John Green of the Bliss Institute of Applied Politics at the University of Akron, which surveys evangelical voters. "Anything over 40 percent would generate a landslide for the Democrats."

Pre-Clinton, Republicans thought the religious issue was theirs alone to exploit, and it was. This year the issue has backfired on them. Bush's lame acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention in Houston was overshadowed by the speeches of Patrick Buchanan, who spoke of a "religious war," and Pat Robertson, the Protestant evangelist who said traditional values for most Republicans "start with faith in Almighty God." Two days after the convention, Bush complained in a Dallas speech that Democrats had le "G-O-D" out of their platform. "That bombed," says Ralph Reed, executive director of Robertson's Christian Coalition. "And Bush got whipsawed." Bush and his allies in the religious right came off as narrow, rigid and sectarian, exactly the sort of believers most Americans don't want their political leaders to be.

For Clinton, religion offers the way out of a problem. Millions of evangelicals and Catholics are turned off by his support for abortion and gay rights and by his past. Even those who like Clinton's economic pitch are uncomfortable with Democratic social values. But these are offset by his public embrace of religion. Moreover, Clinton talks about his faith in a seemingly genuine way. He's been going to Baptist churches, white and black and Pentecostal gatherings for years. And Reed was amazed when Gore, during the vice presidential debate on October 13, began a thought with the words, "I'm taught in my religious tradition..." Reed says he forgot what Gore said after that. "I thought, wow, you can go to South Georgia and speak to a Baptist association and begin any sentence with that phrase and get away with it. What you've done is rhetorically dropped their psy-

chological barrier. Can you imagine Mondale saying that?"

Clinton's emphasis on religion began at the Democratic convention in July. The thirteen-minute film about Clinton produced by Linda Bloodworth-Thomason included an interview with his half-brother, Roger. "Religion was really important," Roger said of their upbringing. "Church-going was really important to the two of us... Even to this day, it's an extremely significant part of his life." Then, in his acceptance speech, Clinton twice quoted from the Bible. He tinkered with a passage from 1 Corinthians: "Our eyes have not yet seen, nor our ears heard, nor our minds imagined what we can build." The actual passage refers to what God can build.

Pat Robertson jumped on this in a report to members of his 700 Club. "He twisted the words of the apostle Paul from being God-centered to being completely man-centered," Robertson wrote. True, and other Christians were mad as well. "Some of my fundamentalist friends were offended by that," says Green. "But regular evangelicals were impressed that he would even try to quote from the Bible. They had thought of the Democratic Party as a secular party."

Four days after the convention, Clinton made an hour-long appearance on VISN, an ecumenical Christian cable network. Sitting in front of the altar of a Presbyterian church in Wheeling, West Virginia, he delivered a remarkable testimony. "If I didn't believe in God, if I weren't, in my view, a Christian, if I didn't believe ultimately in the perfection of life after death, my life would have been much more difficult for me," he said. "I had a tough childhood, a not all that easy adulthood at times. My faith has enabled me to keep living and keep going and keep doing things." Questioned by Judy Woodruff of the "MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour," Clinton elaborated. "Like other people, I have had crises in my life, personal crises, personal failures, the sense that I had let myself and others down, the sense that maybe I'd never be the person God wanted me to be."

Clinton has walked a fine line between identifying with believers and scaring non-believers. "The fact that I have a deep faith in God and a sense of trying to do the right thing every day should be reassuring to people," he said on VISN. "It will make me more humble in office.... It will make me a stronger person." VISN rebroadcast the Clinton interview over and over again.

Hillary Clinton's image has also been softened by a public declaration of faith. She is a Methodist. In early September she, her friends, and several Methodist ministers were interviewed for an article by the United Methodist News Service. The writer, Jean Caffey Lyles, concluded: "A Clinton White House would inherit a thoughtful theologian-in-residence with an active prayer life and a strong social conscience." Hillary said she likes the Methodist Church's "emphasis on personal salvation combined with active, applied Christianity." It is

"a practical method of trying to live as a Christian in a difficult, challenging world." She and her husband "think the most important thing is your personal relationship with God." The Methodist article, showing Hillary in a new light, proved irresistible. It was picked up by the secular media. In October *Christianity Today*, an evangelical magazine, came to Hillary's defense. "Many evangelical women ... have more in common with Hillary Clinton than with the other candidates' wives," wrote LaVonne Neff, a senior editor at Tyndale House Publishers.

Bill Clinton's strongest appeal is to moderate Southern Baptists, the minority faction in that denomination. Its publication, *Associated Baptist Press*, has ballyhooed Clinton and Gore as "the first all-Baptist ticket for the nation's two highest offices." The Clintons and the Gores "are as engaged in religion as any four people we've ever had running for office," says James Dunn of the Baptist Joint Committee in Washington. "They're not superficial churchies." The fundamentalists who control the Southern Baptist Convention are less enthusiastic. The Sunday school lesson they've put out for November 1, the Sunday before Election Day, is devoted to the subject of leadership. It lists great leaders, among them Gandhi, Churchill, and George Bush. Clinton isn't mentioned.

At Notre Dame, Clinton recalled John F. Kennedy's talk to Baptist ministers in Houston in 1960. But Clinton, a Baptist addressing Catholics, wasn't trying to be the mirror-image of JFK. Kennedy sought to combat intolerance of his Catholicism. Clinton aimed to dissolve doubts about his character and seriousness. "These doubts had very little to do with his being a Baptist," says a Clinton adviser. "He didn't have to say, 'It's O.K. to have a Baptist in the White House.'" What Clinton did say was that his values have religious underpinnings. He talked about Catholic social philosophy, community, stewardship, and "a spiritual crisis" in the country. "America does not need a religious war," Clinton said. "It needs a reaffirmation of the values that for most of us are rooted in our religious faith."

Notre Dame, though not a lion's den, wasn't friendly turf for Clinton either. The school is conservative, its students predominantly Republican. A plane pulling a banner saying, "No Draft Dodgers for President," circled the campus during his speech. Clinton was heckled by anti-abortion protesters sprinkled strategically through the audience and by Bush backers. He persevered. The national press took little notice, but Wolford, a convert to Catholicism and former Notre Dame law professor who joined Clinton on stage, insisted the speech has had a "ripple effect." Attitudes, even among conservative Catholics, toward Clinton have changed. George Weigel, a Catholic intellectual who supports Bush, says Clinton "does not give off that aura of cold, rational secularism that Dukakis did. He's not religiously tone deaf." That's one big reason he's headed for the White House. •

FIRST LADIES OF ARKANSAS



Hillary Rodham Clinton. (Photo courtesy of the Arkansas Gazette)

Wife of Bill Clinton, Fortieth and Forty-second Governor

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

1979-1981, 1983-1991

OUR PRESENT FIRST Lady is typical of her time. Like many young women of today she has a full-time job outside the home, even though home is the Governor's Mansion. Several First Ladies have made a career of volunteer work, but Hillary Clinton is a practicing attorney associated with the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock.

Since her career demands most of her daytime hours, she has totally institutionalized the running of the mansion. She has a mansion administrator who runs the house, keeps the books, interviews people who wish to use the mansion, and is hostess when Hillary cannot be on hand. At the time of this writing, Anne McCoy is the attractive and efficient person who fills this job. Hillary is on hand at the mansion during the day by appointment and on special occasions. She attends some civic meetings during the day, and often her evenings are spent attending meetings or banquets of an official nature.

Liza Ashley is still chief cook at the mansion, and there are an upstairs maid and a laundress who pinch-hit in the kitchen when needed—as does everyone on the staff when there is a large function in the works. Two trustees take care of the cleaning and serving. The seven acres of lawn is cared for by a permanent crew supervised by a regular gardener.

Mrs. Clinton hires a companion for her daughter, Chelsea. By carefully planning her time, this busy woman handles her career and her roles as wife, mother, and First Lady.

Hillary is the daughter of Dorothy Emma Howell and Hugh Ellworth Rodham. She was born in Chicago, Illinois, on October 26, 1947. In 1969 she graduated with honors from Wellesley College in Massachusetts, and in 1973 she graduated from Yale Law School. At Yale she was a director of the Bar-

risters' Union and a member of the board of editors of the *Yale Law Journal*. It was at Yale that she first became aware of Bill Clinton. Walking through the student lounge of the law school one day, she heard a voice say, "... and not only that, we grow the largest watermelons in the world." She asked her companion, "Who is that?" and was told, "That's Bill Clinton, and all he ever does is talk about Arkansas."

One of her main interests is children's programs, and after graduation Hillary worked as an attorney for the Children's Defense Fund in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and as a legal consultant for the Carnegie Council on Children in New Haven, Connecticut.

Following this she was employed in Washington, D.C., on the House Judiciary Committee's Special Staff during the inquiry of the possible impeachment of former President Nixon. This job ended in August 1974 when Nixon resigned.

She then accepted a position as assistant professor at the University of Arkansas Law School, where in addition to teaching she opened a private law practice in Fayetteville. She organized the state's first legal aid clinic which trained law students in indigent legal work, and joined in creating Northwest Arkansas Legal Services, a legal aid bureau serving six counties.

Bill Clinton, her classmate from Yale, was also a law school professor at the University of Arkansas. Hillary and Bill were married October 11, 1975, at his home in Fayetteville. Hillary's two brothers, Hugh and Tony Rodham, who were students at the university, were among the guests.

In 1977 when Clinton became attorney general, they moved to Little Rock, and Hillary secured a position with the prestigious



Hillary Rodham Clinton in her first inaugural ball gown, worn January 9, 1979. (Photo by Gene Prescott; courtesy of the Arkansas Gazette)

Rose Law Firm. She is now a partner in this firm.

In 1978 Bill Clinton was elected governor of the State of Arkansas and took office on January 9, 1979. At the age of thirty-two, he was the youngest governor in the United States and the second youngest in the history of this state. (John Seldon Roane was thirty-two in January prior to becoming governor in a special election on March 14, 1849). The inaugural festivities lasted three days, beginning on Sunday with a dedication service at Immanuel Baptist Church, followed by a reception at the Territorial Restoration. Monday night there was a "Diamonds and Denim" gala at Robinson Auditorium featuring all Arkansas talent.

The Oath of Office was given Tuesday morning by Chief Justice Carlton Harris. Bill Clinton was sworn in before a packed house, but only 250 people chose to leave the warm Capitol on the bitterly cold day to hear his outdoor inaugural address. Two former governors, two United States representatives, the state General Assembly, President Carter's son Chip, and the families of both Hillary and Bill Clinton were among those in the crowded House Chamber. Hillary held the Bible on which the governor-elect placed his left hand, and his mother, Virginia Dwire, and half-brother, Roger Clinton, stood beside him.

That afternoon there was a concert by the Arkansas Symphony Orchestra in the Capitol rotunda. Then there was a reception in the Governor's Conference Room at the Capitol, and that night an inaugural ball followed at Rick's Armory. Hillary commissioned Connie Fails, a Little Rock designer, to create a gown for this special occasion. The gown was made of dusty rose panne velvet, with a fitted bodice, tiered skirt, and set-in sash. It was trimmed in antique black lace, jet beads, rose and jet sequins, and silk embroidery. All the trim were antiques and were taken from gowns of the 1870s that had belonged to Mary B. Schrader's family and were donated for use on this special dress.

As First Lady Hillary was active in a number of volunteer efforts with special interest in public education, health care, children's needs, and the arts. She served on the Board of Directors of the Children's Defense Fund and as president of Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families.

She had quite a successful career as Hillary Rodham, attorney, and continued to use this name after marriage—a common practice with career women. However, it didn't go over too well with the electorate of Arkansas. President Carter didn't seem to mind, for he appointed Hillary Rodham to the Board of Directors of the Legal Services Corporation in Washington, D.C., and she was elected chairman of that board in 1979. She was also a member of the Concilium on International and Area Studies at Yale and on the board of Winrock International Livestock Research and Training Center.

Bill Clinton was not successful in his bid for a second term, losing to Republican Frank White. He ran again in 1982 and was reelected. On January 11, 1983, after a prayer breakfast at Immanuel Baptist Church, Clinton was inaugurated in a traditional ceremony in the House Chamber. The oath was administered by Chief Justice Richard B. Adkisson. Governor Clinton gave his inaugural address from the Capitol steps. Music was provided by the Arkansas National Guard Band and choirs from the University of Arkansas and Philander Smith College. Governor and Mrs. Clinton hosted a reception that afternoon in the Governor's Reception Room. The Arkansas Symphony String quartet played during the reception, and Jimmy Driftwood and other groups performed at different times throughout the Capitol.

The inaugural ball took place in the Excelsior Ball Room and the Statehouse Convention Center ballroom adjoining the Excelsior Hotel. Betty Fowler's orchestra performed in the Statehouse Center and Art Porter in the Excelsior Ball Room. It was estimated the crowd at this black tie affair numbered around six thousand. Following the ball the



Oklahoma Governor George Nigh and his wife, Donna, joining the Clintons at an outdoor reception, September 27, 1984. (Photo by Art Meripol; courtesy of the Arkansas Gazette)

Democratic party hosted a champagne breakfast in the Great Hall of the Camelot Hotel.

For the ball Hillary chose an elegant gown designed by Rina di Montell, of jeweled taupe silk chantilly lace over champagne silk charmeuse. She was privileged to wear the 4.25-carat canary yellow Kahn diamond, a rare gem mined from the Arkansas Crater of Diamonds State Park. The stone is valued at \$20,000 and was loaned to Mrs. Clinton by the Mid-America Museum. It was made into a ring in a contemporary setting for this occasion. When Hillary wore it for the inauguration in 1979 it was set as a Victorian necklace to complement her antique-style gown.

Governor Clinton's third inaugural ball was



The First Lady showing a report on progress made in lowering infant mortality, March 13, 1985. (Photo by Art Meripol; courtesy of the Arkansas Gazette)



The governor opening headquarters for the 1986 campaign, March 22, 1986. (Photo by Art Meripol; courtesy of the Arkansas Gazette)



The Clintons and Donald Duck, 1984. (Photo by Walt Disney Productions, courtesy of the Arkansas Gazette)

held on January 14, 1985, at the Statehouse Convention Center. About two thousand people came to dine, dance, and celebrate. The Clintons entered the ballroom around 10:05 and walked the length of the hall on a red carpet to the platform which held a blue lighted ice sculpture of the Capitol. For this occasion Hillary chose a three-piece gold lamé ankle length ensemble that shimmered in the spotlights. Whispers of "gorgeous," "beautiful," and "stunning" came from over the audience. After a few brief remarks, the Clintons walked to the dance floor and opened the dancing to Jim Johnson's band from Memphis. The Jazz Ensemble from the University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff and the



One of the varied duties of the governor's wife—making the opening pitch at a TCS Orthopedic Clinic softball game, May 19, 1986. (Photo by Kelly Quinn; courtesy of the Arkansas Gazette)

Jimmy Church Revue had entertained earlier.

Hillary's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Hugh Rodham, the governor's mother and her husband, Dick Kelley, daughter Chelsea, and brother Roger Clinton attended the inauguration in the House Chamber. There had been a dedication service earlier at Immanuel Baptist Church. A reception for the public was held in the Governor's Reception Room that afternoon.

Governor Clinton was inaugurated on January 13, 1987, for his fourth term as governor and the first four-year term for an Arkansas governor since Reconstruction days.

For the daytime activities Hillary Clinton chose a smart robin's egg-blue cashmere suit, and for the ball she wore a turquoise blue cracked-ice-on-jersey gown designed and



At a "roast" for Hillary Rodham Clinton—Mary Steenburgen, Mary Ann Campbell, and Father George Tribou burning the First Lady's ears, May 5, 1987. (Photo by Art Meripol; courtesy of the Arkansas Gazette)

made for her by Martha Dixon of Arkadelphia. She shared the spotlight with six-year-old Chelsea, who was allowed to stay up late and attend the ball. Chelsea wore a long gown of blue taffeta made especially for her by Pat Qualls of the Public Service Commission. The daytime festivities followed the usual pattern of a dedication service at Immanuel Baptist Church, the midmorning swearing-in ceremony in the House Chamber, the noontime inaugural address on the Capitol steps, and an afternoon reception in the Governor's Reception Room. The ball was held at the Statehouse Convention Center, which was decorated with green, gold, and white balloons and twinkle lights in live trees. Music was provided by the Little Rock Jazz Machine.

Hillary Clinton has taken an active part in her husband's campaigns, making speeches on his behalf and attending political rallies. He named her head of a 44-member state Rural Health Advisory Committee and honorary chairman for the International Year of



Hillary Rodham Clinton in the cashmere suit she wore to the daytime inaugural events on January 13, 1987. (Photo by Art Meripol; courtesy of the Arkansas Gazette)

the Child activities in Arkansas, which had children's health as its main focus. Probably her appointment by him as chairman of the Educational Standards Committee has been her most influential role.

Each year the Clintons hold a reception at the mansion honoring all the high school valedictorians and salutatorians and their parents. In September 1986 there was a



The First Family at the inaugural ball, January 13, 1987. (Photo by Art Meripol; courtesy of the Arkansas Gazette)



Hillary Rodham Clinton speaking while the governor listens, July 15, 1987. (Photo by Jeff Mitchell; courtesy of the Arkansas Gazette)



The First Lady with Donna McLarty at a press conference, October 12, 1988. (Photo by W.L. [Pat] Patterson; courtesy of the Arkansas Gazette)

reception for the Older American Volunteer Program attended by two thousand people. They were served the largest cake in Arkansas, baked at Rogers, Arkansas. The Clintons have made the mansion available to the public for receptions and entertainment more often than any other governor.

In addition to her many other accomplishments Hillary has organized a Governor's Mansion Association for the purpose of raising funds to preserve and enhance the mansion and grounds. This was a much-needed action, as the mansion has never been completely furnished and the constant and

heavy use of the house makes repairs imperative.

This attractive and talented young woman is a tremendous asset to her husband and to this state. As the current resident of the Governor's Mansion, she lives on the former site of the home of Matilda Fulton, wife of the last territorial governor of Arkansas. These two women are as different as the times in which they have lived. As with their sister First Ladies, their lives reflect transitions in the activities of women in our society and in the contributions they make to the welfare of the state.

Now, the first chief advocate

How Hillary Clinton plans a bold recasting of the job description for a president's spouse

Ever the diligent scholar, Hillary Clinton has immersed herself in a crash course on being first lady. In the last two months, advisers say, she surveyed a host of opinion leaders, conferred with scores of friends and read the biographies of every one of her 43 predecessors. Typically, Mrs. Clinton wanted to know exactly what made past first ladies successful, where they might have gone wrong and how she could put her imprimatur on the job and the country. Her meticulous research even included reading a collection of mystery novels written by Franklin D. Roosevelt's son Elliott, in which Eleanor Roosevelt appears as an amateur sleuth.

This week, Hillary Clinton will begin putting her ideas into action. And while the details are evolving, friends and advisers say she will carve out an unprecedented role as the administration's advocate-in-chief: primary counselor to her husband in private and, over time, a public advocate on a wide variety of issues. "She wants to get deeply involved in policy making," says a key adviser, "and I wouldn't limit it to children's issues or women's issues. I wouldn't limit it to anything."

Bill Clinton is an enthusiastic supporter of her break with tradition. "I think she can easily do what she's supposed to do as first lady and still have time and energy to be involved in some of these specific areas that I think she's so good at," the president-elect told *U.S. News*. "She knows a lot about education and training and how that relates to the business community, because she's had a lot of major corporate expe-

rience. She knows a lot about children's issues and health care issues, and I expect she'll be very active there. I would be derelict in my duty to the United States if I did not use her."

To that end, advisers say, she will make regular speeches on substantive policy issues, as she has done for years. She will participate in cabinet meetings. But friends say she will also take bolder steps, including testifying before Congress, first on education, health care and children's

issues, then on wider concerns. Such a public role for a first lady is rare, but not unprecedented. Rosalynn Carter urged Congress to spend more on mental-health programs in 1979, and Eleanor Roosevelt, Mrs. Clinton's role model, testified in 1940 and 1942 about the migration patterns of U.S. workers.

For a while, Bill and Hillary Clinton considered having her serve as the unpaid chairman of a government commission studying children's issues. But Mrs.

Clinton concluded that no more studies are needed. Instead, she is leaning toward serving as the unpaid chairman of a White House task force on education or the family, Democratic insiders say. That would give her a direct role in both developing and implementing policy.

Already, her influence over the transition is unprecedented. She has been seeding the administration with allies—often lawyers with more-liberal views than her husband's. Aided by Susan Thomases, Bill Clinton's scheduler and Hillary's classmate at Yale Law School, Mrs. Clinton made sure women such as chief White House domestic adviser Carol Rasco and Energy Secretary-designate Hazel O'Leary were appointed to key

PERCENTAGE OF AMERICANS WHOSE OPINIONS OF HILLARY CLINTON ARE:

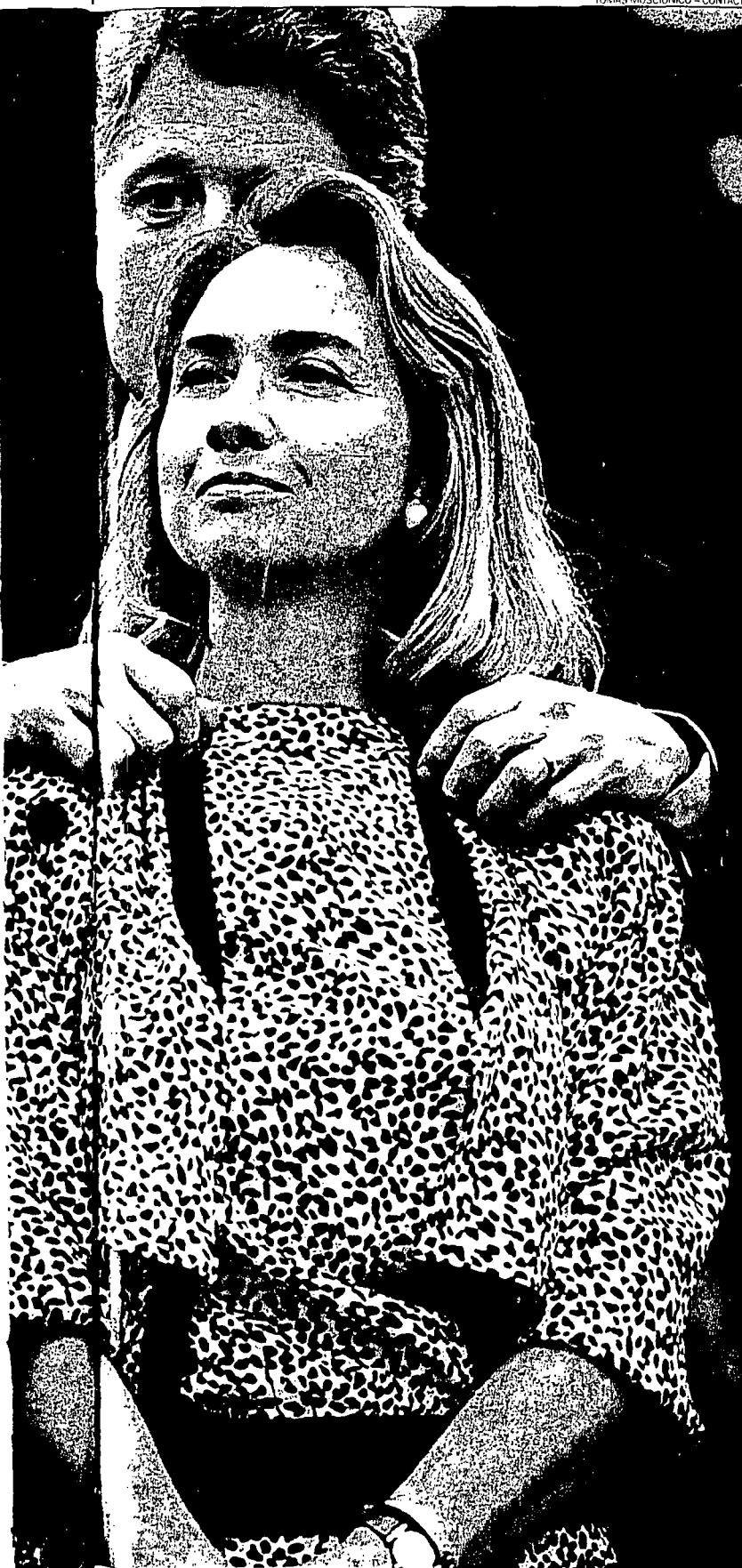
FAVORABLE	63%
UNFAVORABLE	23%

IF HILLARY CLINTON PLAYS A MAJOR ROLE IN ADVISING HER HUSBAND ABOUT APPOINTMENTS AND POLICIES, WILL IT HELP OR HURT HIS PRESIDENCY?

HELP	47%
HURT	40%



Unprecedented role. She might chair Wh



jobs. Some disgruntled staffers claim that Hillary Clinton and Thomases are running a "diversity jihad" in which white, male advisers have been unfairly shunted aside. More important, Clinton's centrist allies worry that his wife will work with her liberal cronies to skew administration policy toward the left.

Network anchor. The Hillary network is pervasive — and growing. Perhaps the most striking feature is that it is not a loose assortment of friends from differing backgrounds but an infrastructure of policy wonks. Past first ladies have relied on confidants mostly to provide a respite from public life. Hillary Clinton's network, however, is the exact opposite: a cadre of policy experts that rivals her husband's and intertwines friendship with policy making.

Outside the administration, it ranges from Marian Wright Edelman, founder of the Children's Defense Fund, to Diane Blair, a political scientist at the University of Arkansas. Inside government, the network is anchored by Donna Shalala, a liberal educator who worked with Mrs. Clinton at the Children's Defense Fund and is secretary-designate of health and human services. Confidant Bruce Lindsey will be a senior White House adviser. Bernard Nussbaum, a New York lawyer who worked with her on the House Judiciary Committee during the Watergate investigation, will be White House counsel. Vince Foster, her law partner, will be deputy White House counsel. Ira Magaziner, a business consultant who has worked with her on many issues, will be a presidential adviser.

No one is suggesting that Hillary Clinton's friends are not qualified for their jobs or that they will be disloyal to the president. The question is how the first lady will use her personal network once it is assembled, and how much power she will exert in her own right. Friends predict she will move carefully, because she understands that other first ladies, especially Nancy Reagan, got into trouble when they seemed to secretly manipulate the president and the people officially advising him. That's one reason why Mrs. Clinton has decided that she must be a public as well as a private advocate for her favorite causes. "She won't go around the chain of command or usurp the prerogatives of cabinet members," says Derek Shearer, an economics adviser to the Clinton campaign. "But since most of these people are friends of hers, she can talk to them informally. She can have lunch with [Commerce Secretary-designate] Ron Brown or [Environmental Protection Agency

THE INNER CIRCLE

CHARLIE ARCHAMBAULT — USN&WR



THOMASES

LINDA L. CREIGHTON — USN&WR



LINDSEY

CHARLIE ARCHAMBAULT — USN&WR



SHALALA

RICK FRIEDMAN — BLACK STAR



MAGAZINER

CHICK HARRITY — USN&WR



EDELMAN

House task forces, go to cabinet sessions and testify before Congress.

Administrator-designate] Carol Browner or [Agriculture Secretary-designate] Mike Espy and not be threatening." Shearer envisions her traveling with cabinet members to draw attention to key programs.

Still, her critics are uneasy about the extent of Hillary Clinton's power. Congressional Republicans think she could become a domestic prime minister accountable to no one but her husband, and many Americans share those concerns. The *U.S. News* poll shows that while 63 percent of respondents have a favorable impression of Hillary, 59 percent don't want her to be a major adviser to her husband on policy and personnel, and 70 percent prefer that she serve as a "traditional" first lady.

It's evolutionary. Yet Hillary Clinton is convinced she can change America's mind about what a first lady should be. Aides point out that she faced similar skepticism as the activist first lady of Arkansas, but overcame the doubts. "This is all about evolving," says Maggie Williams, Mrs. Clinton's chief of staff. "She will contribute to the traditional role of first lady—there will always be state dinners and other constants. On the other hand, she is her husband's adviser. She is smart, savvy and she deeply cares what happens to people. It's a matter of assessing what's possible."

Her activities on behalf of the non-profit National Center on Education and the Economy provide an insight into both her perseverance and her networking skills. Between the summer of 1990 and the fall of 1991, she was paid by the center to persuade states and the federal government to adopt the group's recommendations for upgrading the job skills



Family rules. The Clintons want Chelsea to be included in their activities if she's interested.

of younger workers. Not only did those goals emerge as a centerpiece of the Clinton campaign, but she persuaded many governors and members of Congress of both parties to endorse the agenda. Robert Reich, the new labor secretary, has adopted a similar youth-training program as a top priority.

Regardless of her role as advocate-in-chief, the first lady's first priority will be raising the Clintons' 12-year-old daughter, Chelsea. Her challenge will be maintaining a "normal" lifestyle in the White House, aides say, and the Clintons are particularly eager to shield Chelsea from the media. One axiom developed by the family is that Chelsea should be included in her parents' activities, although she is never forced to participate. When the Clintons planned to attend a surprise birthday dinner recently for Hollywood producer and old pal Harry Thomason in Pasadena, they worried that Chelsea would be bored. So Hillary Clinton arranged for Chelsea to bring a couple of

Arkansas friends on the trip. They passed up the dinner and attended the Cirque du Soleil, a Canadian circus. "She includes Chelsea in their political and social life to the extent Chelsea wants to be included," says a friend. "If Chelsea wants to go to a diplomatic dinner, she can go with friends, or she can stay in her room to study or watch videos."

So far, none of this daunts the incoming first lady. Earlier this month, she was skimming through a stack of newspapers in her kitchen at the Arkansas Governor's Mansion as she chatted with friend Diane Blair. After reading still another article on how she should conduct herself, she shrugged and dismissed the punditry as "Beltway stuff," of interest only to Washington insiders. "She knows how to put things in perspective," says Blair. That may be her most valuable skill of all. ■

BY KENNETH T. WALSH
WITH THOMAS TOCH

DO YOU FAVOR OR OPPOSE THESE ROLES FOR HILLARY CLINTON?

	FAVOR	OPPOSE
SITTING IN ON CABINET MEETINGS	37%	58%
BEING A TRADITIONAL FIRST LADY	70%	21%
BEING AN ADVOCATE FOR POLICIES AND PROGRAMS TO BENEFIT CHILDREN	90%	7%
BEING A MAJOR ADVISOR ON APPOINTMENTS AND POLICY	34%	59%
TESTIFYING BEFORE CONGRESS ON ISSUES THAT CONCERN HER	71%	22%

AMERICANS' OPINIONS OF HILLARY CLINTON'S INFLUENCE ON HER HUSBAND'S DECISIONS:

TOO MUCH	19%
TOO LITTLE	6%
RIGHT AMOUNT	53%

WHAT KIND OF A JOB DO YOU THINK HILLARY CLINTON WILL DO AS FIRST LADY?

	NOW	APR '92
EXCELLENT	30%	10%
GOOD	42%	36%
ONLY FAIR	18%	24%
POOR	5%	9%

National

First Lady first After five months in the White House, Hillary Rodham Clinton is enormously popular among U.S. women, according to a telephone survey of 500 women by EDK Associates for Redbook magazine. Of the last three first ladies, 42 percent of those surveyed identified with Clinton, 39 percent with Barbara Bush and 8 percent with Nancy Reagan. "I'm not surprised with Nancy Reagan, but I was surprised that Hillary



Clinton

outpolled Barbara Bush so quickly," said Ellen Levine, Redbook editor. "This tells me that women are ready to accept a woman who is intelligent and that they're ready to see the role of first lady as broader than ceremonial."

International abduction The American Academy of Matrimonial Lawyers is working with two members of Congress, Sen. Donald W. Riegle Jr. (D-Mich.) and Rep. Frank Wolf (R-Va.), to prepare legislation to prevent American children from being abducted illegally from one parent and transported to another country. The State Department received nearly 600 complaints in 1992 of children being taken to other countries.

Local

Solid start Catholic Charities' Forever Free Wholistic Recovery Home for alcohol- and drug-addicted mothers and their children has had a successful first year, says founder and administrator Betty McDaniel. The 30-bed facility at 45th and Wells Streets provides low-cost housing, meals and support programs while women are in recovery.

Business network The Chicago chapter of the National Association of Women Business Owners has a pilot program to open channels between Chicago's nearly 100,000 women-owned businesses and public and private agencies looking for their services. Dubbed NAWBO NET, the program is an electronic referral network that will be available for a fee, says association spokesman Alex Lubertozzi.

Association awards The Juvenile Protection Association gave its first Children's Guardian Award to Josephine Baskin Minow and Shirley Welsh Ryan for their work on child welfare. "Each woman in her own way has really been involved in helping children grow into healthy adults," says Richard Calica, executive director of the 91-year-old association. Ryan founded and serves as president of Pathways Center for Children, and Minow is a past president of the Juvenile Protection Association.



Onyx photo

Chicago
Trib
7/11/93

Hemingway her way

Mariel Hemingway has managed an acting career while feverishly avoiding the family curse of alcoholism. "I've worked really hard all my life to maintain my sense of self and not to abuse or rely on my name. I love acting. But my first love is my family." In High Profile

A workplace program for breast-feeding

By Kate Griffin

Most people wouldn't dream of preparing their lunches in the office bathroom, but that's what many nursing mothers find themselves doing for their babies' meals when they return to work.

Hiding in a bathroom stall with a battery-operated breast pump or running an extension cord into the restroom to use an electrical pump are two prospects that cause some working moms to give up trying to offer their infants breast milk.

"Many women hide what they're doing," says Rona Cohen, manager of the Sanvita Corporate Lactation Program, begun in 1992 by Medela Inc., a breast-pump manufacturer in McHenry, Ill.

The program is designed to "make nursing OK in a corporate environment," Cohen says. A client company offers the program as a benefit to employees and contracts with Medela's Sanvita Program to provide the service. Cohen says the program includes prenatal breast-feeding classes, private facilities to pump breast milk and a lactation consultant either on-site or available by telephone to answer questions.

The cities of Scottsdale, Ariz., and Burbank, Calif., are among the eight to 10 employers offering the program to their workers, with hundreds of other companies expressing interest, Cohen says.

"Breast-feeding is a learned art, and the corporate environment is not ideal for breast-feeding," says Gotthilf Weniger, president of Medela. ■

her profile in a

By Carol Jouzaitis
Chicago Tribune

TOKYO—It was her husband's shining moment on the world stage, and accompanying him on his first presidential trip overseas, Hillary Rodham Clinton was determined not to upstage him.

She toured a Tokyo museum and sipped tea with the other world leaders' spouses, beaming and waving regally at the crowds who waited in long lines and even jumped off a commuter train just for a glimpse of her.

She posed for photographs with tots, graciously accepting their flowers and other gifts.

She thrilled city officials by accepting an invitation to tour Tokyo's new garbage incinerator, listening to a detailed explanation of its super-high-tech inner workings.

She went sightseeing at a museum with her mother, Dorothy Rodham, keeping reports at arm's length for the duration of the seven-hour trip outside Tokyo.

She was seen all over town. But in very un-Hillarylike fashion, she was seldom heard.

A symbol of liberation to young Japanese women frustrated by oppressive societal constraints, Hillary Rodham Clinton, American Superwoman, suddenly became Mrs. Clinton, dutiful spouse.

Some Tokyo residents even wondered aloud: What happened to the opinionated, non-traditional first lady we've heard so much about?

While the president debated global problems with other heads of state, the otherwise trailblazing first lady stuck to a traditional agenda arranged by Japan's Foreign Ministry.

Mrs. Clinton's press secretary, Lisa Caputo, denied that she was purposely staying out of the spotlight.

"She's answering reporters' questions everyday," Caputo maintained as Mrs. Clinton posed for photographs in front of a 44-foot-tall Buddha.

And the answer, each time, was the same. "I'm having a wonderful time," Mrs. Clinton said over and over, virtually the only sentence uttered for public consumption during her stay in Tokyo.

At one point, a press aide instructed journalists not to pose any queries to Mrs. Clinton when she approached them to have her picture snapped with a Buddhist priest. "She'll walk away," he warned.

What have you enjoyed most about your trip? a reporter asked Mrs. Clinton anyway.

"I've enjoyed everything we've done," Mrs. Clinton said, in slight variation of her stock response. She ignored further questions.

Privately, administration officials conceded that Mrs. Clinton and White House image strategists had agreed that the first lady shouldn't do anything to overshadow the president during his first trip overseas. They wanted to keep public attention on Clinton, whose programs stood to get a boost from favorable publicity at the economic summit.

Asked about his wife's low-profile behavior, Clinton said that she had not been muzzled.

"She thought about it quite a lot," he told reporters Friday evening. "She did what she wanted to do."

The subdued Mrs. Clinton was reminiscent of last fall's campaign, when feeling burned by the furor over her infamous tea-and-cookies remark in Chicago, she assiduously avoided the press and let her husband create the headlines instead.

In Tokyo, the strategy worked for the most part, except when a female university student, after listening to Clinton's speech on U.S.-Asia relations, shot up her hand to ask a question.

"What do you think of [Mrs. Clinton] as a political partner?" she wanted to know.

That night, Japanese new shows broadcast the question, along with Clinton's reaction as he rolled his eyes and threw up his hands in mock amusement and frustration.

Most puzzling to Japanese is his willingness to openly vest so much power in Mrs. Clinton.

"They are curious to know how powerful she really is," said Haruo Shimada, a professor at Tokyo's Keio University.

Wherever Mrs. Clinton went, crowds gathered to see her, applauding and sometimes shrieking as if she were a movie star.

"It's hard for Japanese women to become a politician," said Mari Tochiya, 23, a student. "Hillary gave us a good impression, [that] we can be a politician or a first lady like her. She gave us hope."

In contrast, she said, "I don't know the face of Prime Minister Miyazawa's first lady."

In Japan, most women remain second-class citizens with limited options in the work force.

Japanese men and older women tended to be less enthusiastic in their opinions of Mrs. Clinton's role.

"I'm sorry, but I don't like her," said Enyo Mitsusada, 20, a male political science student at Waseda. "She's not elected. I don't know why she says [speaks] about politics."

One gray-haired woman, who declined to give her name, offered only one comment on the first lady: "The important thing is that she is beautiful."

Not that all her pursuits were fluff. In private conversations with visiting diplomats and prominent Japanese, Mrs. Clinton was said to have shown intense interest in Japan's political ferment and other issues.

And when Naina Yeltsin told her of an effort to improve dental care in Russia, Mrs. Clinton agreed to help send surplus medical supplies.

Japan's male-dominated power structure, however indifferent to women's rights, clearly recognized Mrs. Clinton's influence.

At a reception for the Clintons, a group of Japanese powerhouses showered as much attention on the first lady as they did on the president.

One by one, the guests—ranging from heads of Japan's largest corporations to political leaders—engaged her in animated discussion.

In general terms, at least, the Japanese understand how difficult it will be for Mrs. Clinton to solve the problems of America's health-care system, professor Shimada said.

"They wonder if she is really good enough to handle the issue," he said.

"If she is, that might mean she is the most capable person in the world."

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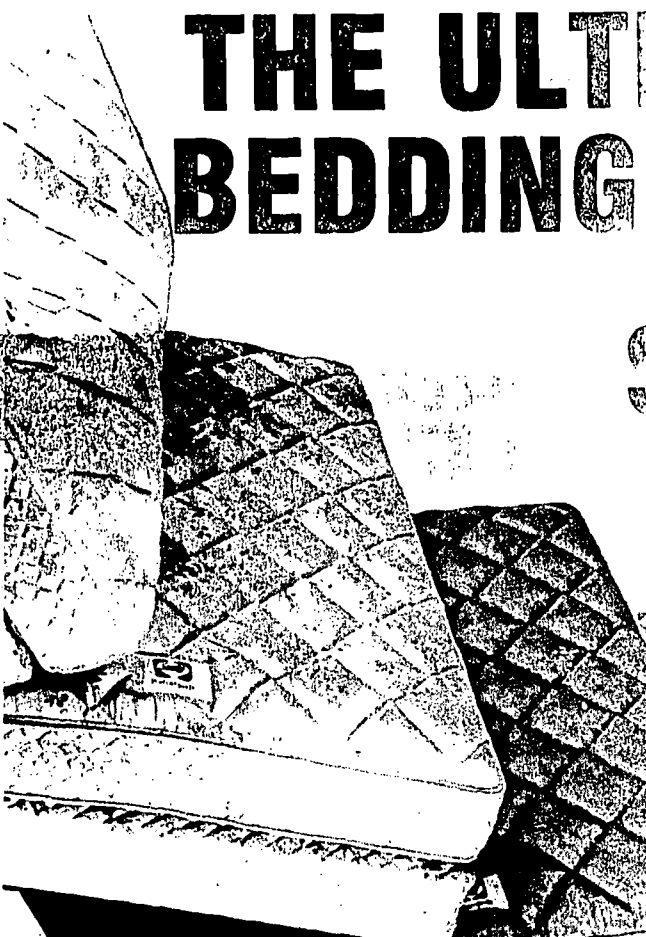
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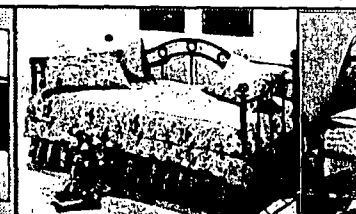
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Clinton

Bringing up BABY

Clintons try
to maintain
normal life

By Robert Kerr
The Commercial Appeal

All the campaigns, all the legislative battles, all the directorships and task forces and reform efforts were a cinch — relatively speaking. Even becoming one of most powerful lawyers in the country has not compared to the challenge of raising a daughter, says Hillary Rodham Clinton.

"It's hard. It's the hardest job there is. Being a governor or being a lawyer isn't anything compared to being a parent."

Mrs. Clinton's daughter, Chelsea, has spent eight of her 10 years in the Arkansas Governor's Mansion in Little Rock. Raising a child in such a visible public office was something Mrs. Clinton and her husband, Gov. Bill Clinton, had no preparation for, she says.

"Neither of us were raised in any kind of public life or with any of the kinds of trappings that go along with being a governor's child. So just trying to figure out how to replicate a normal life, similar to the one we remembered from our own childhoods, that took a lot of thought."

(Obviously, growing up in the governor's mansion has its advantages, she notes, as long as they are kept in perspective.)

"It's a wonderful opportunity for anyone, child or adult. You are exposed to so many different people. You have so many opportunities to do things. You really have a very broad experience that might not otherwise be available," says Mrs. Clinton, 43.

"The flip side of that is you have to keep reminding yourself and your child that it is an atypical experience and it is not something that most people are privileged to have. So you have to be constantly balancing the positive aspects of the experience against the potential downside of it."

"When our daughter was small, we really wanted to make sure that she did not get any sense of herself as being set apart from other children because of her father's position. And we have just tried to live as normal a life as we could, with structure and chores and homework and all those things that go along with it."

That is, as normal as life can be around a couple of over-achievers like Chelsea's parents.

Clinton was elected governor at age 32. Today he is a leading Democratic political figure, frequently mentioned as a potential presidential candidate.

Mrs. Clinton, like her husband a graduate of Yale Law School, has been ranked by the National Law Journal as one of the nation's 100 most powerful lawyers — the only Arkansan to make the list. She is a major player in children's and poverty issues, in education and legal reform, and on the boards of several private and public corporations.

Nevertheless, she says, parenthood tops both Clintons' priorities. Indeed, when Clinton decided not to enter the 1988 campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination, he said his desire to spend time with Chelsea while she was young was a major factor.

"He just really tries to avoid letting his public responsibilities interfere with his parenting responsibilities, which both he and I think are more important than your public responsibilities."

Mrs. Clinton says the governor takes Chelsea (now a sixth-grader) to school most mornings, sits in the bleachers for her softball games and juggles his schedule to attend her dance recitals and school programs. Mrs. Clinton does volunteer work with the public schools Chelsea attends



Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton gets an assist in the voting booth from daughter Chelsea, then 6, in the Democratic primary of 1988. The Clintons have had to cope with raising a child in the public eye.

in Little Rock.

"I try to stay as involved as I can with both her school activities and her extracurricular activities. And she and I spend a lot of just informal time, not doing anything planned or structured."

The Clintons do not maintain their crowded lifestyle without making tradeoffs, however.

"For me, one of the things that I have just basically given up is any kind of private, social time. I just basically have eliminated social life. And that's fine with me for the time being, because I would rather spend time with my daughter. But it is hard because you don't get to see your friends," Mrs. Clinton says.

When Chelsea was born near the end of Clinton's first term (he was defeated in 1980 and re-elected in '82, '84 and '86, to a four-year term), Mrs. Clinton was caught off guard by media interest.

"One thing I knew from the very beginning, though, is that I did not want to turn her into some kind of curiosity object. And I got criticized from the press when Chelsea was first born because I really didn't want to have that rush of attention ... until I had a chance to

think through how we were going to handle all that."

"I've had lots of conversations with the spouses of governors, many of whom regretted exposing their children early on to doing all kinds of things. It's just such an artificial way for a child to grow up. So we really were pretty strict about the kinds of public things we did. As she has gotten older, I have given her more and more choice in what she would do and not do."

"She makes decisions about how much time she wants to spend campaigning for her father. She likes doing that. But she also really likes spending time with her friends just being an ordinary kid."

If Clinton is re-elected next month, as the polls favor him to be, Chelsea will live in the gov-

ernor's mansion until she is at least 14. The Clintons have tried to prepare her for the slings and arrows of political life.

"When she was 6 and my husband was running for re-election in 1986, I started for the first time explaining how in politics people criticize each other. We tell her that people are likely to say mean things about her father or even about me. In fact, one of the things we did was to pretend to have debates with her, and we would say, 'OK, you pretend to be this person who is running against your dad; now what mean things would you say?'" Mrs. Clinton says.

"So we gave her a sense of what a campaign is, so that she wouldn't be surprised or shocked when some kid at school said something mean, or she turned on the TV station and

saw somebody saying something mean. But that's part, for better or worse, of what happens in political campaigns."

At 10, however, Chelsea has decided she'll grow up to be something else.

"She says very adamantly that she would never go into politics. She wants to be a scientist. She thinks her father and I have to work too hard, and that it's too difficult a job to have because you can never make all the people happy," Mrs. Clinton says.

"So I don't think she wants to follow in our footsteps."

French child care system offers a model for U.S.

Ten years after the United States started talking about "family values," many wonder why we are still unable to provide decent education, health care and opportunity for all of our children.



Hillary Clinton

The House and Senate are about to confer on child care legislation and review a range of options. At this pivotal moment, much can be learned by comparing America's child care system to France's. Of course, given the differ-

ences in political philosophies and tax structures between our nations we should not duplicate the French system here — wholesale.

Recently, I joined a study team of child care professionals who spent two weeks in France, under the auspices of the French-American Foundation, which promotes various ties between the two nations.

Our group — including a pediatrician, a Senate aide, a state government official, academics, day care administrators and representatives from organized labor and business — visited schools and spoke with ministry officials, elected office-holders, educators, health professionals, business and labor representatives.

What we saw was a coordinated, comprehensive system, supported across the political spectrum, that links day care, early education and health care — and is accessible to virtually every child.

Much more significant, though, are the pervasive beliefs in France that children are a precious national resource for which society has collective responsibility, and that one goal of a child care system is to help children develop and thrive.

We found sharp contrasts between the French and U.S. child care systems.

In France, mandated paid parental leave for childbirth and adoption acknowledges society's obligation to nurture strong parent-child ties.

In the United States, where only a few states require employers to grant parental leave for childbirth or adoption — usually without pay — the cost and disruption of childbearing is viewed as a private choice and responsibility.

France, where preventive health services are integrated with child care programs,

ranks fourth lowest in infant mortality among industrial nations. The United States, where child care and health care are largely separate, ranks 19th lowest.

French pre-school and elementary school teachers earn comparable salaries and receive subsidized training. As a result, pre-school teacher turnover is low.

In the United States, where salaries and training levels are low, annual day care staff turnover is 40 percent or higher.

In France, virtually all home-based day care providers are licensed, receive benefits including social security, paid sick leave and vacations, and are visited periodically by specially trained pediatric nurses.

American parents use home-based day care twice as much as center care but have difficulty finding such arrangements. An estimated 90 percent of home-based day care operations in the United States are neither licensed nor monitored, and the turnover rate for care givers is 60 percent.

France's system has taken years to evolve, as has its emphasis on the needs and perspectives of children.

Today, the system goes far beyond our own in providing children with basic intellectual and social skills they'll need to succeed in grade school, high school and adult life.

Throughout the 1980's, debate over child care in the United States always seemed to focus on "family values." This assumes that parents alone can always determine and then provide — personally or through the marketplace — what's best for their children and, hence, society.

But this view has allowed our government and, to a much larger extent, business to ignore the needs of America's children and their parents. It also discounts the extent to which economic realities determine access to quality child care.

Child care is not just a family matter. To do our children and our country justice, we need to develop a nationwide consensus on how to best nurture our children, and, through that nurturing, prevent the personal and social costs we all pay when children's needs are not met.

Before we lock ourselves into a makeshift, inadequate child care policy, we ought to consider valuing children, French-style.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, the first lady of Arkansas, is chairman of the board of the Children's Defense Fund in Washington. This first appeared in The New York Times.

AP 12-10-91 06:02 PET
Hillary Clinton To Hit Campaign Trail Harder
By RON FOURNIER
Associated Press Writer

LITTLE ROCK (AP) Hillary Clinton, Gov. Bill Clinton's wife, will begin to take a more visible role in her husband's Democratic presidential campaign with visits to Mississippi, New Hampshire and Florida this week.

The 44-year-old lawyer will hit seven states in the next 10 days.

"This is really the first time we've got her stepping out," said Richard Mintz, a Clinton aide who is organizing Mrs. Clinton's trips. "It won't be the last by any means."

He said she will be a key in Clinton's effort to win southern-state primaries on Super Tuesday and the Illinois primary March 17. Mrs. Clinton grew up in the Chicago suburb of Park Ridge, Ill.

Mintz said Mrs. Clinton will campaign four or five days a week after Jan. 1.

Mrs. Clinton, a partner in a prominent Little Rock law firm, said it has taken a while to clear her legal schedule, but now she is ready to devote more time to the campaign.

"I think the campaign has been very well received and I'm pleased that the kind of issues I care about are taking front and center in the campaign," she said Tuesday in a telephone interview from Washington, D.C., where she was honored by the National Women's Economic Alliance Foundation.

Mrs. Clinton will be in Greenwood, Miss., on Wednesday as the keynote speaker for the Greenwood Voters League, a predominately black group.

She then travels for two days in New Hampshire, the site of the nation's first primary, before spending the weekend in Florida, where the state's Democratic Party will hold a straw poll.

Mrs. Clinton will help Clinton's troops rally support for the poll and she may give one of the nomination speeches for her husband, Mintz said.

She also will travel to Columbus, Ohio, Boston, Atlanta and Tennessee before returning to Little Rock Dec. 21, according to a schedule released by Mintz.

Mrs. Clinton has always played an active role in Clinton's political career.

She chaired the committee that designed the 1983 landmark education standards in Arkansas, and has consistently voiced support for children's issues.

A news conference conducted by a Democratic challenger to Clinton in 1990 was interrupted by Mrs. Clinton, who said the man had his facts wrong. This summer, she tried to dispel rumors about her husband's sex life by saying the gossip was irrelevant and diversionary.

"We've always said we got an advantage that other candidates don't," Mintz said. "Our advantage is Hillary Clinton. She is a forceful and energetic spokesperson for the campaign."

The wives of former Sen. Paul Tsongas and Sen. Tom Harkin are also lawyers and plan to help their husbands run against Clinton. Mintz said Mrs. Clinton has taken on more responsibility as Arkansas' first lady than have the senators' wives in their husbands' careers.

Role changing for coun

Editor's note: From Abigail Adams to Nancy Reagan, first ladies who have exercised too much power have stirred fierce controversies. This year — with traditionalist Barbara Bush facing off against baby boomer Hillary Clinton — the question again arises: Just how much clout should a first lady have? Richard Nixon recently said a wife who is "too strong and intelligent" makes her husband "look like a wimp." But first ladies have been influential in their own special ways. Jacqueline Kennedy changed how millions of American women dressed. Betty Ford's honesty won her kudos from the public. In this excerpt from the September issue of McCall's, Joan Mower, a Washington, D.C.-based political reporter, writes of the changing role of the first lady.

BY JOAN MOWER
FROM McCALL'S

The year 1992 may well be remembered as the "Year of the Woman" in politics — at least 189 women candidates entered Senate, House and gubernatorial primary races.

Paradoxically, though, this intensified political activity seems to have heightened, rather than diminished, the confusion and controversy surrounding what is still the country's most powerful (if non-elective) female political position: first lady.

As a result, notes Democratic Party activist Ann Lewis, 1992 may be "a great year for women in politics, but a difficult year for political wives."

And it would be hard to find two women who more clearly exemplify the debate over the "proper" role of the first lady than Barbara Bush and Hillary Clinton.

Nothing in American life has changed as dramatically over the past two decades as the status of women. About 60 percent of American families now include two wage earners. Women have moved into top jobs in law, medicine and business.

But Americans are still deeply ambivalent about a first lady with too much clout.

"The presidency is an 'I'; Americans do not expect to elect a couple to run the government," says Paul Costello, a former



HILLARY CLINTON — 'I think I'll just have to be more ... careful.'

liberal and conservative; it is between a woman who seeks a powerful, activist role for herself and one who envisions herself primarily as her husband's supportive helpmate.

First ladies with wildly di-

fellow conservatives.

New York Times columnist (and Ronald Reagan supporter) William Safire charged in 1987 that the president was "being made to appear wimpish and helpless by the political interference of his wife" and accused the first lady of "extraordinary vindictiveness."

Marilyn Quayle — who might be considered a first lady-in-waiting — has also been criticized for being too outspoken, too driven, too domineering. And she knows the pitfalls of being perceived as too smart.

The brainy 43-year-old lawyer and mother of three long ago abandoned a promising legal practice in favor of supporting (some would say masterminding) her husband's political career.



...as Richard Nixon put it more succinctly to *The New York Times* last February (referring to Hillary Clinton): "If the wife comes through as being too strong and too intelligent it makes the husband look like a wimp."

Almost as if sent by central casting, Bush and Clinton epitomize sharply different generational values and contrasting lifestyles.

Bush, 67, is a full-time homemaker and Smith College dropout who has never worked outside the home. Despite her reportedly tart tongue, Bush has never publicly appeared to be at odds with the president, especially on controversial topics (although *Newsweek* reported that the president's advisers said the first lady is privately pro-choice).

"I don't fool around in the U.S. government," Bush said after her husband's first 100 days in office. "I leave that to other people."

With her white hair, size-14

'I find it fascinating that grown men are hiding behind their women,' Perot charged, adding, 'If they have anything to say, why don't they step out front and say it themselves?'

...dresses and gaggle of grandchildren she is every American's favorite grandmother, the equivalent of England's beloved Queen Mother.

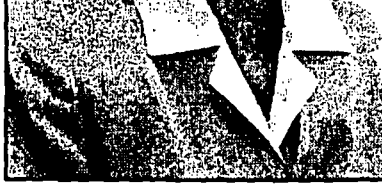
Clinton, on the other hand, is a 44-year-old Yale-educated lawyer with a distinguished career who earns roughly four times her husband's salary.

She's a working mom and has been an active partner in her husband's political career. An expert on legal issues affecting children, Clinton is familiar with nitty-gritty details about day-care costs and education reform.

"If you vote for him you get me too," she has said.

But while Bush and Clinton may come from different ends of the political spectrum, it is not their political views per se that have set them apart.

The divide is not one between



Rosalynn Carter

...vergent views on issues have found themselves in hot water for having too much power and influence.

Two hundred years ago Abigail Adams, wife of the nation's second president, was mockingly referred to as "Mrs. President" because of her influence. She wrote newspaper articles, reviewed federal troops and recommended federal appointees.

More than a century later, in 1919, Edith Wilson shielded her husband Woodrow from the public when he was incapacitated by a stroke. She studied every paper and screened every visitor, prompting one senator to complain, "We have (a) petticoat government!"

Similarly, Eleanor Roosevelt's travels and her championing of the impoverished angered her husband's foes — and even some of his friends. Franklin D. Roosevelt's Interior Secretary Harold Ickes, for one, urged her to "stick to her knitting."

More recently, Rosalynn Carter, dubbed "the Steel Magnolia," created a furor when it was revealed that she attended Cabinet meetings.

Even Nancy Reagan — despite her famous "adoring stare" — was pilloried for meddling too much in White House affairs.

"What people resented in Nancy was that her influence was shown to have an effect," says Edith Mayo, curator of "First Ladies: Political Role and Public Image," an exhibit at the Smithsonian Institution.

"Large segments of the American public are still deeply ambivalent about, and sometimes hostile to, power in the hands of women."

Clinton has recently tried to dispel notions that she'd wield too much power as first lady, saying that the "we" she often uses does not refer to the Clintons as a couple but rather to the "hundreds of thousands of people who have tried very hard to change conditions."

Perhaps curiously, Reagan was excoriated most harshly by

...spend a large chunk of his personal fortune on his independent presidential campaign, he quickly exploited the widespread perception that Marilyn is the tougher of the two Quayles.

"I find it fascinating that grown men are hiding behind their women," Perot charged, adding, "If they have anything to say, why don't they step out front and say it themselves?"

The first lady's job, which is full-time, unpaid and, in the

...spoke he knew the limit. Successful first lady, Betty Ford was another herself brilliantly. Says Mayo, "She's packaged sible to criticize. pet cause — literacy — is impossible but down-home and her strong but not too assertive, dig- tity with Bush. She appears ground, American women identify with her wealthy back- ed person." mankind, she's a well-integrated. "She's the mother of all ington Post. mer society editor of *The Wash-* lady," says Hope Miller, a for- Barbara Bush is an ideal first Eleanor Roosevelt and I think I've known them all since band's. popularity far exceeds her hus-

...show that the current first lady's these great expectations. Polls successful as Bush in fulfilling Few have been as wildly suc- unusual. emplary — but not elitist or too low. She is expected to be ex- set an example for others to fol- (mother) should behave and to ideas about how a wife (and both to reflect contemporary the first lady has been required In the popular imagination ly, sassy but not snobby. views, down-to-earth and world- and a woman of independent "wife of" must be both a consort The country's best-known tradictory expectations of it. cause Americans have such con- peached," may be so difficult be- er can neither be fired nor im- eral office from which the hold- words of Safire, "the only fed-

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words of Safire, "the only federal office from which the holder can neither be fired nor impeached," may be so difficult because Americans have such contradictory expectations of it.

The country's best-known "wife of" must be both a consort and a woman of independent views, down-to-earth and worldly, sassy but not snobby.

In the popular imagination the first lady has been required both to reflect contemporary ideas about how a wife (and mother) should behave and to set an example for others to follow. She is expected to be exemplary — but not elitist or too unusual.

Few have been as wildly successful as Bush in fulfilling these great expectations. Polls show that the current first lady's popularity far exceeds her husband's.

"I've known them all since Eleanor Roosevelt and I think Barbara Bush is an ideal first lady," says Hope Miller, a former society editor of *The Washington Post*.

"She's the mother of all mankind, she's a well-integrated person."

Despite her wealthy background, American women identify with Bush. She appears strong but not too assertive, dignified but down-home and her pet cause — literacy — is impossible to criticize.

Says Mayo, "She's packaged herself brilliantly."

Betty Ford was another successful first lady. "Mrs. Ford knew the limits of the role but spoke her mind," says Ruth Mandel, director of the Center for Women in Politics at Rutgers University.

Americans liked her streak of independence and she earned praise for her openness about her breast cancer and, later, her drug dependency. And Ford didn't hesitate to air her political views, openly supporting abortion rights and the Equal Rights Amendment.

But many Americans are still leery of an outspoken first lady — as Hillary Clinton has learned the hard way. Her decisiveness on the campaign trail has been viewed admiringly by some voters, prompting the question, "Why isn't she running for president?"



BARBARA BUSH — 'I don't fool around in the U.S. government.'

like Marilyn Quayle before her, has recently embarked on a campaign to play down her independent nature.

"I think I'll just have to be

pains to compare Clinton with Bush in their mutual commitment to families, children and volunteerism. But Clinton's challenge, Mintz admits, is walking the "fine line between being perceived as an ombudsman and as a policy-maker."

Political insiders are divided over whether Clinton is an asset to her husband's campaign. Republican National Committee chairman Richard Bond has branded her "too aggressive" and some Republicans would surely love to campaign against her on "values" issues.

But GOP consultant Roger Stone admits that she appeals to a "definite socioeconomic group. To some younger, professional and working women she



But she offended homemakers with her remark, "I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas"; she irritated country-music lovers by declaring herself dissimilar to the stand-by-your-man woman Tammy Wynette sang about; and she astounded TV viewers by grabbing the microphone and launching into a political speech at her husband's Illinois-primary victory party.

In fact, she has become such a lightning rod that Safire has written about what he calls "the Hillary Problem."

Perhaps in response Clinton,



Betty Ford

more ... careful in the way I express my feelings so I don't inadvertently hurt anybody," she told writer Gail Sheehy after the cookies-and-teas controversy.

Democratic campaign spokesman Richard Mintz takes

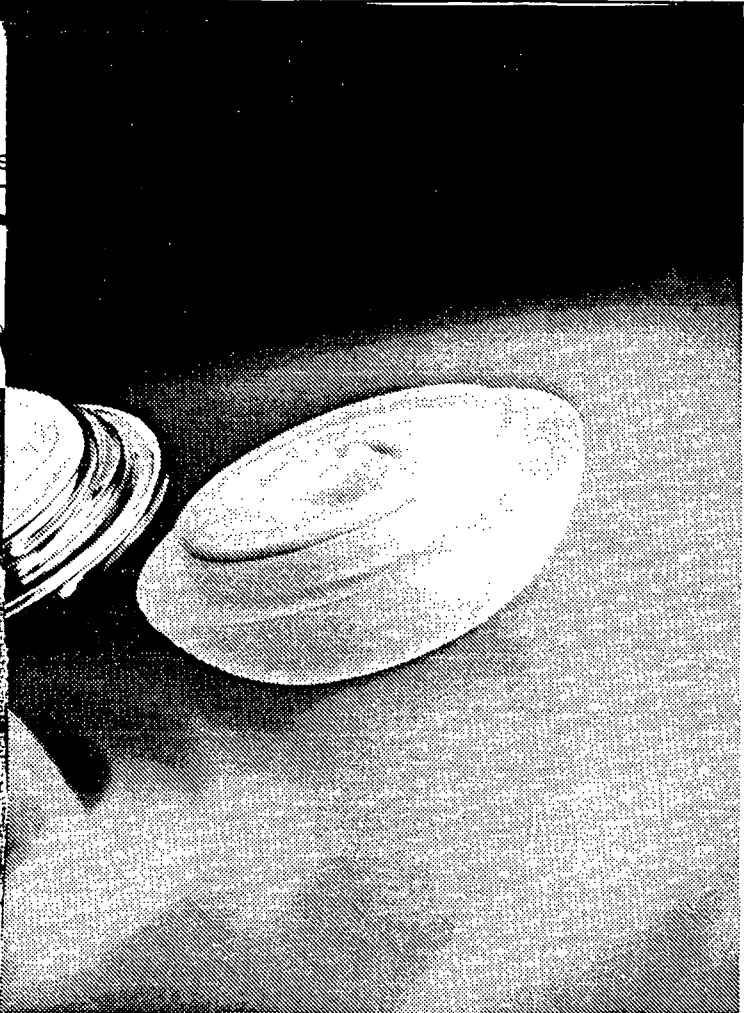
is a heroine.

Sooner or later, in all probability, Americans will elect a two-career, baby-boomer couple — whether liberal or conservative. Perhaps they will work together as a political team (shades of Jack Kennedy and his brothers?). Perhaps the spouse will continue to work in his or her own profession.

But either way, Bush — who views her role primarily as being an extension of her husband — may be the last of a vanishing breed, popular though she may be.

fellow conservatives.
New York Times columnist
(and Ronald Reagan supporter)
William Safire charged in 1987

st have to be more ... careful!



for country

up
also
fund

By ROGER MYERS
The Capital-Journal

The woman w
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—Chris Ochsner/The Capital-Journal

An overflow crowd watched Hillary Clinton through a window in the old Supreme Court chamber at the Statehouse on Friday.

Clinton defends herself, husband

By ROGER MYERS
The Capital-Journal

Hillary Clinton spent much of her time at the Kansas Statehouse on Friday defending herself and her husband against the non-stop barrage of charges that have dogged Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton's campaign for the Democratic presidential nomination.

She told a friendly questioner among the estimated 500 people who turned out for her appearance in the old Supreme Court chamber of the Capitol that she hadn't meant to demean full-time homemakers when she said earlier in the race she wasn't cut out to stay at home and bake cookies.

She said the comment had been taken out of context.

She told another questioner that national stories Friday were flat inaccurate when they accused her husband of deleting provisions from an ethics bill in Arkansas that protected him from making certain disclosures.

Later, during an impromptu news conference in Gov. Joan Finney's outer office, she said the seemingly endless allegations of marital infidelity, draft dodging during the Vietnam War, shunting of state business to her law firm and other alleged acts of wrongdoing don't seem to be hurting her husband's drive for the party's presidential nomination.

"All I can say is he has continued to win elections and get delegates, and that's what counts," she said of her husband, the clear front-runner in the Democratic race.

"It doesn't matter how many untrue or unfounded accusations are hurled your way as long as the people can see through that, and that is what has happened over the past two months."

Clinton campaigned for her husband in Kansas City and Topeka on Friday. She began the day with a breakfast speech and news conference in the Kansas City area, then came to the state capital to speak at Topeka High School,

address the House Democratic caucus, meet with Finney and attend a fund-raising luncheon.

She had a 25-minute private meeting with Finney in the governor's Statehouse office, but emerged without Finney's endorsement of her husband.

"We are very interested in getting the governor's advice on a range of issues," Clinton said. "That's what our conversation was about. We didn't even talk about that (endorsement)."

Finney said she would look at all the issues and concerns and the different geographic needs of the country, then decide whom to endorse.

In her speech to the House Democrats, Clinton hit on all the main themes of her husband's campaign, urging reform of the nation's education system, calling for tax fairness and pledging an administration that would unify all segments of American society.

She also hammered President Bush for his purported lack of vision, his alleged favoritism of the rich in Ameri-

ca and campaigns that appear to pit race against race and class against class.

She didn't criticize former California Gov. Jerry Brown, who is the only major Democratic rival left in the field against her husband.

She said the country needs an education policy that enhances its economic policy, and said if her husband is elected president, he would press for apprenticeship programs for Americans who don't go to college and for creation of a National Service Trust Fund to help college students with financial aid.

Before going to the Statehouse, Clinton talked to about 300 students at Topeka High School.

She told them the 1992 presidential campaign is a test of who can provide leadership needed to unite the country and make it economically sound again.

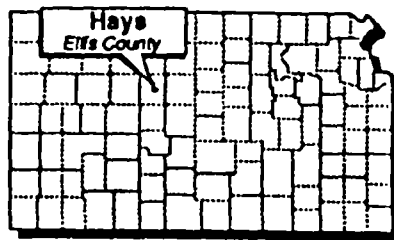
She said her husband can be a unifying force and provide leadership for economic progress and education revitalization.

Hays showers water regulations on residents

low consumption
finances will restrict
e, impose high fines
abuser

The commissioners had been wrestling for months about the most fair way to ration water while awaiting new sources to begin producing more water.

"Hopefully by midsummer, probably by late summer, we'll have water from the Dakota (Aquifer)," said Commissioner Joe Glassman. "There is a



within their allotment.

The penalty will be \$10 on first offense for every hundred cubic feet more than the limit, \$20 on second offense and \$30 on third offense. It will be added to the regular bill.

Residents may appeal their allotment, but only after they demonstrate they have installed water-sav-

or gutters will bring a warning and lecture on first conviction, a fine up to \$25 on second conviction and fine of \$25 to \$100 on third conviction.

And those penalties will be added to any surcharge for exceeding the water allotment.

The ordinances also specify addi-



The Denver Post / Shaun Stanley

HOWDY: Hillary Clinton at opening of Pueblo Clinton for President headquarters.

Hillary gets thumbs-up in Junction

CLINTON from Page 1B

The Arkansas governor, considered by many to be the Democratic front-runner, has been plagued by allegations he had a 12-year affair with Gennifer Flowers. A supermarket tabloid paid Flowers for her story. Bill Clinton has denied her allegations, calling them "cash-for-trash" journalism.

During Hillary Clinton's campaign stops in Grand Junction and Pueblo yesterday, residents seemed to rally around her. Some joked that her husband was campaigning for the president's job, not the pope's.

She quipped: "The more they push, the more I want to fight back. The public needs to see Bill and me fighting back. There are a lot of people saying they are sick of this."

In a visit to the Mesa County Partners, a non-profit program working with troubled youths and others looking for role models, Clinton made some pointed observations on the campaign: "Running for president isn't easy. You feel like you're standing in the middle of a firing range and sometimes they come close to hitting you in the head."

But she added, "I hope we can somehow

use this campaign — while we're dodging bullets — to raise some of the issues."

One of them is education. Clinton has proposed a "domestic GI bill" that would set up a national trust fund allowing any citizen to borrow money to go to college. Graduates either would pay back the money as a loan or volunteer for two years in a community service job, such as a police officer, teacher or child-care worker.

Money for the program, she said, would come from savings in defense spending, and by revising the existing student loan program. Tighter controls would be placed on collecting loan payments. "We've got to do away with all this cheating," she added.

Clinton also supports allocating more money for Head Start programs, and setting up an apprenticeship program for students who do not want to go to college.

Clinton said the U.S. also needs to offer more training to adult workers. "Japan spends 10 percent of its payroll on training. Why are we so stubborn?" When she left the Western Slope, most were impressed by her knowledge of issues. "We're voting for Hillary Clinton," said Deirdre Casey.

Clinton: 'Nobody who is working should be poor'

■ Wife of Arkansas governor hits higher taxes, dips in pay.

By Sarah C. Campbell
Clarion-Ledger Staff Writer

12/12/91

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton will target middle- and working-class Americans in his presidential campaign, Clinton's wife Hillary said Wednesday in Jackson.

"The greatest increase in poverty in the last 10 years has been among working people," Clinton said. "They have seen their wages go down while their taxes have gone up, they have paid more for health care, education and housing, and they know that there have to be some changes."

"Nobody who is working should be poor in this country."

Clinton stopped in Jackson on her way to Greenwood to speak at the Greenwood Voters League annual banquet.

The field of Democrats Clinton now faces includes U.S. Sens. Tom Harkin of Iowa and Bob Kerrey of Nebraska, former U.S. Sen. Paul

Taongas of Massachusetts, Virginia Gov. Douglas Wilder and former California Gov. Jerry Brown.

"The problem is that we have not taken the steps necessary to make our people as competitive as they need to be so they can keep their wages up in the global economy," Clinton said.

Clinton said her husband, who has been governor of Arkansas for 10 of the last 12 years, has specific plans to reinvigorate the U.S. economy.

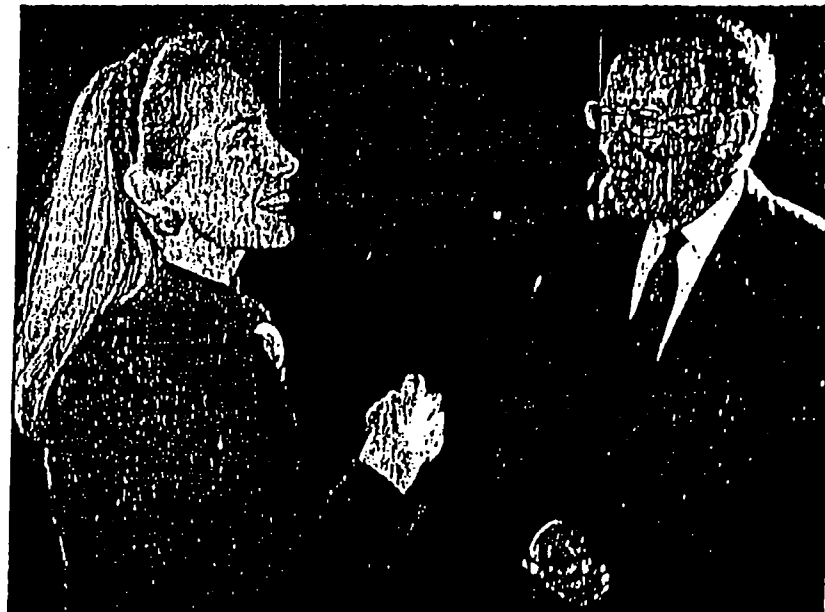
To ensure U.S. workers have a competitive advantage in the labor market, Clinton said her husband believes the federal government must:

■ Implement aggressive training and employment policies for workers at all levels of the wage scale.

■ Change how Americans pay for health care to relieve employers and workers of the heavy burden of health-care costs.

■ Reduce the United States' reliance on foreign oil.

Jackson resident Donald Beard said he liked Clinton's ideas for the



Tom Roster/The Clarion-Ledger

Hillary Clinton, left, wife of presidential candidate and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, talks with former Mississippi Gov. William Winter just after her airplane landed Wednesday at Hawkins Field in Jackson.

economy.

"The present administration in Washington is not delivering. Most people in this country are in need. They're not only in need of money, but jobs and homes, too," said Beard, an operations management analyst for the Department of Public Safety.

Former Gov. William Winter said

Clinton will appeal to Mississippi voters because he comes from a state with similar problems and strengths.

"(Clinton) understands the needs of this country," Winter said. "In addition to that, he is able to articulate some solutions and develop the kind of consensus that will result in some action."

Candidate Clinton's wife stumps

By KARLENE K. HALE
Staff Writer

AUGUSTA — Hillary Rodham Clinton still remembers the first time she ever heard Bill Clinton's voice.

"I was at Yale Law School and I was walking through the student lounge to get a Coke or something, and I heard this voice saying, '... and not only that, we grow the biggest watermelons in the world.'"

He was talking to a group of friends, bragging about Arkansas. Hillary Rodham didn't form much of an impression one way or the other until the two had a class together and became acquainted.

"I found him an attractive, funny, interesting person. Good sense of humor. Great company. We had a lot of fun together," Clinton said Friday.

She was in Maine on a campaign swing for her husband, who is running for president from a pack of five Democratic hopefuls.

During a stop in Augusta, she talked about herself, her marriage, family and the campaign.

"It's not so much stressful as it is tiring," said Clinton, 44. "But the energy comes back to you, through the people you meet. No one has said to me, 'Get out of here. We don't want to meet you.'"

After graduation from law school, Bill Clinton went back to Arkansas to teach, while she went to work for the Children's Defense Fund in Washington, D.C.

In the summer of 1974, Hillary was asked to work on the impeachment team of then-President Richard Nixon.

Bill Clinton was asked to join the team too, but turned the offer down because he was running for Congress.

"It was an unbelievable experience," she said of being on the impeachment staff for a prominent Washington law firm. "I got to hear all the tapes, all the other evidence."

When Nixon resigned, Hillary called the dean of the law school in Arkansas and reminded him that he had once invited her to come teach at his school in Fayetteville. The offer was still open.

She and Bill Clinton were married in 1975.

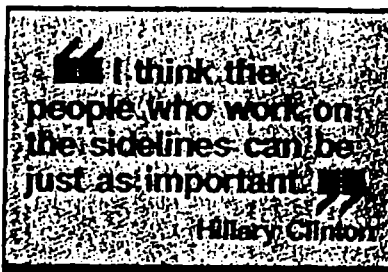
"Once I got there, I loved the area," she said of her adopted state. "I made friends, I quickly became very comfortable."

It was somewhat different from her growing up years in Ridge Park, a suburb of Chicago, where her father ran a small business and her mother was a housewife.

"It was a very different time

then," she said of growing up in the 1950s. "There was a lot of security, a lot of stability, a lot of opportunities."

She went to Wellesley College in Massachusetts, a school she had never heard of until her senior year in high school. One of her teachers encouraged Hillary to look outside the Midwest for school.



Wellesley was challenging, both academically and personally, she said.

"I had never seen the campus before I got there. It was in another part of the country. But I just loved that place. I'm glad I went there."

She graduated with high honors and a degree in political science.

Despite her interest in politics, Clinton has never aspired to public office herself, she said.

"I had concern with politics and public policy. I think the people who work on the sidelines can be just as

important," she said.

These days she helps shape her husband's strategies and policies while being recognized as a highly competent lawyer in her own right.

She has worked for the Rose Law Firm since 1977, and was founding president of Arkansas Advocates for Children.

In 1983, she chaired the Arkansas committee that developed student and school performance standards for that state.

Daughter Chelsea was born in 1980, and is taken care of by grandparents and friends while her mother and father campaign.

"She is missing us. That's the hard part, we've never been gone so long from each other," Clinton said of the effect on family life.

Motherhood, the campaign, the job all add up to a delicate balancing act that requires choices and decisions about what's important, she said.

"It's tough," said Clinton, who arose at 6 a.m. Friday to travel from New Hampshire to Portland, then to Augusta, Waterville and Bangor before taking a plane from Boston Friday night back to Arkansas.

"This is a faster pace than I've ever had before," she said. "And the pace is going to increase."

Yet she would change nothing about the way her life has gone. "I've been real lucky."

in Augusta

By Adele Mapple

Clinton's wife says he'll aim at issues

By Patil Patterson
The Commercial Appeal

Hillary Rodham Clinton brought her husband's presidential campaign to Memphis Monday, saying Bill Clinton would respond to problems in education, health care and housing.

As governor of Arkansas, Democratic candidate Bill Clinton has seen the need for nationwide solutions to "the kinds of things we get up every morning and worry about," she said.

Clinton said her husband, one of five Democratic candidates, supports tax reform to shift taxes from the middle class to those with annual incomes of more than \$200,000. She also outlined his ideas for improving education, creating a national health insurance plan and increasing the supply of low-cost housing.

Clinton targeted black voters as a key for Memphis visit that

Please see CLINTON, Page B2



Hillary Clinton, in Memphis to boost her husband's presidential campaign, sits at Rosa Parks figure in National Civil Rights Museum.



Hillary Clinton, wife of Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton, talks with Yvonne Madlock after a Memphis luncheon.

From Page B1

Clinton

included a luncheon and reception at The Peabody, a tour of the National Civil Rights Museum at the Lorraine Motel and private visits with local officials.

Speaking during a luncheon of Black Professional Women, Clinton drew applause when she discussed her husband's education proposals.

"Bill Clinton would like to be a real education president, not just somebody who shows up to have his picture taken with children," she said, taking a shot at Bush who ran in 1988 as "the education president."

Clinton's education proposals include:

- Expansion of Head Start.
- Implementation of National Education Goals established by Clinton and members of a bipartisan committee.
- Increased opportunities for

students who don't attend college with job training and national apprenticeship programs.

■ Reversal of Reagan-Bush policies that he says have made it difficult for middle-class families to send their children to college. Clinton wants to increase loan programs and allow graduates to repay in accordance with their incomes or through two or three years of community work in teaching, law enforcement or other community service.

"This kind of connection between education and community service is one that will pay great dividends," she said.

At The Peabody, she was featured at a reception that drew a mixed crowd of about 100, including Rep. Harold Ford of Memphis. Del Gill, a 1988 Democratic convention delegate for Jesse Jackson, was also at the reception and said he was an early Clinton supporter this time.

from page 1A

own never married; former Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas, Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin and Bill Clinton all married to lawyers.

On the Republican side, conservative pundit Patrick Buchanan's wife,

Shelley, is the only one to take a traditional Pat Nixon-type role — "Her job is to stand beside her husband," said Don Miller, a press spokesman for the Buchanan campaign.

Ms. Clinton, Ruth Harkin and Niki Tsongas don't know what kind of first

ladies they would make, but they expect to face decisions no other first lady has.

The first ladyship always has been a nebulous role, bent to the personality of the holder. Genteel or energetic, political or social hostess, unelected yet exposed to public scrutiny and disapproval, it's a balancing act.

Of the three would-be first ladies on the Democratic side, Ms. Clinton, 44, seems most intense and political, most likely to be deeply involved in governing from a first lady's seat, even if she were to give up her law practice at the Rose law firm in Little Rock. In an interview en route to a New Hampshire campaign stop, she

spoke forcefully, almost urgently. "This is something much bigger than my husband's candidacy, not going to stand by and not participate," said Ms. Clinton, who is campaigning for her husband nonstop but also preparing for two trials and keeping in touch with daughter, 11, back in Little Rock.

Candidates' wives want separate lives

by Ellen Creager

Light Rudder Newspapers

LANCHESTER, N.H.

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton is running for president. Hillary Rodham Clinton, his wife, is just plain running.

Yesterday, Little Rock. Today, New Hampshire. Tomorrow, perhaps, the world.

"If you become first lady, will you give up your career?" a reporter asked her at a private reception in Portsmouth, N.H.

"I honestly don't know,"

said Ms. Clinton, who has main-

tened a partner in a Little Rock law firm. "I haven't even thought about it."

Or so she says.

When Barbara Bush moves out of the White House, be it next year or five years from now, her successor likely will have to answer a question no other president's wife ever has had to ask herself: What happens to my career?

One look at the field of challengers to President Bush shows a new snapshot of American families: Nebraska Sen. Bob Kerrey is divorced; former California Gov. Jerry



Hillary Clinton on campaign: "This is something much bigger to me than my husband's candidacy. I'm not going to stand by and not participate."



CAROLYN SUSMAN
POLITICS

I have to award points to Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, a Democratic presidential candidate, for sending his wife, Hillary, on campaign trips around the country. Mrs. Clinton, who visited the home of Paul Prosperi of Palm Beach for breakfast Thursday, is a Yale Law School graduate who still knows how to turn a jury in her favor.

She was well-versed on her husband's positions, and neatly turned a criticism of his middle-class tax cut proposal into a statement of its benefits. She stressed the theme of unity, even while appearing to agree with a businessman who said his colleagues are fed up with affirmative action.

Nice footwork.

Carolyn Susman is the political writer for The Palm Beach Post.

Committed To The Cause

Hillary Clinton: 'Bill And I See Things The Same Way'



Nardi Reeder Campion
Everyday Matters

I have found my candidate for president of the United States: a successful lawyer and experienced administrator, age 44, who is highly educated, articulate, dedicated to helping the underdog, and has a sense of humor. Her name is Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Hillary grew up in Park Ridge, a suburb of Chicago. Her father owned a small drapery company; she says she never knew any professionals. He had worked his way through Penn State; her mother never went to college. But they gave Hillary, their firstborn — she has two younger brothers — a feeling that the sky was the limit.

An energetic Girl Scout, she organized circuses and sports events to raise money for migrant workers. In high school, a social studies teacher told her about Wellesley College and persuaded her to apply. Her father said he would do whatever was necessary to send her to college, but if she wanted graduate school, she'd have to do that on her own, which she did.

"Hillary came to college a conservative; she was the leading Goldwaterite on campus," Alan H. Schecter, Wellesley professor of government, says of his former student. "But she was disturbed by social inequities. The conflicts of the '60s excited her — the war on poverty, the struggle over women's issues and black rights — yet she was never radicalized or turned off. Hillary was committed to making the existing system work and as president of student government in a rocky era, she did."

About 20 percent of Wellesley's students now go into law, but in 1970, Hillary Rodham was a path-breaker. "She's a classic example of why

many women became lawyers," Schecter said. "She wanted to channel her energy into social activism and make a difference. When the Supreme Court declared, in *Reed vs. Reed*, that gender-based laws were unconstitutional, the barriers fell and hard-chargers like Hillary surged ahead.

"She was one of the few students I've taught who had the ability to go to either Harvard or Yale Law School. She chose Yale because of its more liberal philosophical commitment. She followed through, too. Her first job was as a lawyer for the Children's Defense Fund. Now she's a corporate lawyer who sits on many boards, but she's still dedicated to righting social inequities."

At Yale Law School, Hillary met a tall Rhodes Scholar who drawled, "I'm Bill Clinton from Arkansas. We have the biggest watermelons in the world."

"We just started talking," she recalls, "and we've been talking ever since." Bill told her he didn't want to make money. He planned to go back to Arkansas and become a public servant like his hero William Fulbright.

They started dating when they were working for Sen. McGovern's campaign. Later Hillary was counsel to the House Judiciary Committee in Washington, compiling information for the possible impeachment of President Nixon, while Bill was in Arkansas running for Congress. They spent a lot of money on phone calls before Nixon resigned and Hillary "followed her heart" to Arkansas.

Both of them taught at the University of Arkansas Law School and they got married in 1975. Four years later, Bill, age 32, became the youngest governor in the country. Two years later, he was the youngest ex-governor. "When Bill lost, we learned things on all levels," Hillary says. "We learned that what people believe about a candidate can be changed by a 30-second ad. We learned how to take criticism seriously, but not personally. Bill was re-elected in 1982 and he's won every election since then."

I ask Hillary during a recent stop in Hanover

I ask, "Is it true that you are to Bill Clinton as Marilyn is to Dan Quayle?" Hillary laughs and says the vice president isn't a Rhodes Scholar.

how they handle the competitive feelings that arise when a husband and wife are both talented and ambitious. "We've worked hard on that," she says. "It's not easy. I've had to deal with a sense of competition and I think Bill has, too. We've grown increasingly honest because we have the same priorities. Our daughter and our relationship come first."

Dogged by rumors of her husband's alleged womanizing (is a woman ever accused of manizing?) Hillary takes a firm stand. "Our marriage is solid, full of love and friendship. Bill and I know everything about each other. Anybody who has been married 16 years has had ups and downs. We're committed to our future together and I think the voters of New Hampshire have more important things on their minds than rumors and lies."

I ask, "Is it true that you are to Bill Clinton as Marilyn is to Dan Quayle?" Hillary laughs and says the vice president isn't a Rhodes Scholar. Then she adds, "Bill Clinton does his own thinking. He doesn't tell me how to run my law cases and I don't tell him how to run the governorship. He cares deeply about advice from a wide range of people and I'm one of his advisers. There's nothing behind-the-scenes about what I do. I chair committees for him. I speak on behalf of issues important to both of us. He's not afraid of strong women — his mother is an anesthesiologist — but he's the one who makes the decisions."

"Bill and I see things the same way and we think America is in a spiritual crisis. We believe that unless you're committed to making changes that will improve people's lives, it's not worth being in public life."

Clinton's wife deft in defense of candidate

By Thaddeus Herrick

Rocky Mountain News Political Writer

CAMPAIGN '92

NOTEBOOK



Outside Denver's Boilermakers union hall, a pack of hungry reporters holding notepads and cameras crowds Hillary Clinton. "Two questions,"

says a brassy television newswoman. "Gennifer Flowers. Tammy Wynette."

In fact, the questions are not questions at all. But everybody knows the reporter is talking about allegations that Clinton's presidential candidate husband and Flowers had a 12-year affair.

As for the second query, Hillary Clinton apparently offended the country singer when she said on national television that she was not simply "sitting here like some little woman, standing by my man like Tammy Wynette."

Indeed, Hillary Clinton may be her husband's most vigorous defender. And during her campaign swing through Colorado Tuesday and Wednesday, she proved she might be his most effective one.

A little more than a week after Flowers came forth with her allegations, the Arkansas governor is again on top in the New Hampshire polls. And the nation's first presidential primary in that state is less than three weeks away.

True, Flowers has proved a dubious accuser, taking money for her story. But political analysts say Hillary Clinton has played a key role not just in the campaign's damage control effort but in the campaign itself.

A graduate of Wellesley College and Yale Law School, Hillary Clinton is considered a national expert on education and children's issues. She was recently named one of the nation's top 100 lawyers by the *National Law Journal*.

Her impressive resume and her strong political convictions make Clinton more a partner than a wife.



Associated Press

Hillary Clinton embraces Democratic Party chairman Ron Brown during a roast in his honor Thursday night in Washington, D.C.

And that seems to have given Clinton an advantage.

"I've always been involved in Bill's campaigns and in the policy debates on issues in Arkansas," Hillary Clinton said in an interview with the *News*. "I thought that would be my role in supporting a presidential campaign."

Her support lends credibility to Clinton's denial of an affair with Flowers. It also makes more convincing the couple's argument that the details of their private life should remain private.

Bill Clinton has by no means laid the character issue to rest. Voters care about issues such as infidelity — despite Hillary Clinton's con-

tention that people are sick of the Flowers story and only the press is keeping it alive.

But Clinton helped see her husband through what was probably the toughest week in his political career — with resolve.

In front of the union hall Clinton was asked by the same newswoman why she was subjecting herself to such media hell. "You misunderstand," she said. "I've been out on the campaign trail for four months talking to thousands and thousands of people."

And, sounding not at all unconvincing, she said, "I'd be in Colorado no matter who was paid to say what."

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WORLD & NATION

Hillary

Law, politics and Chelsea produce rare partnership

By Joan I. Duffy
The Commercial Appeal
Little Rock Bureau

LITTLE ROCK — When Bill Clinton and Hillary Rodham blew into Texas in 1972 from Yale Law School to work in George McGovern's presidential campaign, Texas political operative Betsey Wright thought she was looking at a future president of the United States.

Wright saw a bright future for the young, blond woman with a sharp mind, aggressive manner and natural leadership abilities.

"I had images in my mind that she could be the first woman president. I was disappointed when they married," said Wright, who later became the manager of most of Clinton's campaigns for governor. "I'm certainly not crying over spilled milk. Her relationship with Bill Clinton has yielded a rare partnership. What did she give up to marry him? You can't ever see what would have happened."

Is Hillary Rodham Clinton, 44, overqualified to be a first lady?

"If you were in Pam Harriman's dining room discussing world events... you would be impressed by him, but you

would be wowed by her," a one-time political associate said of the Clintons.

Hillary Clinton's mother, Dorothy Rodham, said she always thought her daughter would be the first woman to serve on the Supreme Court.

"I was kind of sorry when Sandra Day O'Connor became the first," Rodham said.

By most accounts Hillary Clinton, a partner in a prestigious old-line Little Rock law firm and judged by the National Law Journal as one of the 100 most powerful lawyers in America, is Bill Clinton's biggest asset in his race for the Democratic presidential nomination.

"She has been absolutely critical to Bill Clinton's success," said Wright. "They have probably the strongest partnership I have known in marriage that encompasses all fronts — professionally, personally, politically and in parenting. He truly values her opinion; she is his sounding board and she is better to anticipate ripples than Bill."

That relationship was tested by the allegations by Gennifer Flowers that she and the governor had a 12-year illicit affair. Clinton, 45, has denied the affair but has said he has caused "pain in my marriage." Mrs. Clinton says there is nothing more to say on the subject.

Until the supermarket tabloid the Star paid Flowers an undisclosed sum for her story, Mrs. Clinton had tried to draw a sharp line between her private and public lives.

She sketched out the couple's response to rumors of his womanizing by establishing her right to a "zone of privacy" despite her family's public existence.

Please see HILLARY, Page C3



Lighting equipment fell near the Clintons during taping for the *Minutes* interview, but they were not hurt.



Chelsea Clinton, a seventh-grader, joins her parents following her father's Nov. 3 announcement for president. Chelsea, 12 on Feb. 27, faxes her algebra homework for her father to check during

prove the S&L's plan to issue stock, and Hillary Clinton was listed as one of two lawyers to contact. She received a letter of approval from the commissioner, who recently had been appointed by her husband.

Campaign officials denied that Clinton sought the Madison Guaranty business, saying she had "no substantive involvement" in the case.

Officials at the Rose Law Firm have acknowledged that Clinton did some work for Madison Guaranty but insist that it was minor.

Clinton's law firm is one of a few powerful Little Rock firms that represent the state's powerful businesses, including Wal-Mart and Tyson Foods Inc., the country's largest poultry producer.

Hillary Clinton's supporters say it would be impossible for her to pursue a high-powered legal career in Arkansas without encountering the state's biggest industrial players.

A different model

Stories on Hillary Clinton's potential conflicts are especially galling to Wright and other campaign officials because they imply that the Clintons were pursuing deals out of personal greed. "If there were any kind of conflict of interest here that was self-serving, the Clintons would have more to show for it," Wright said.

The Humphrey Institute's Light contends that Hillary Clinton should be criticized only if any other lawyer would be subject to similar criticism. "People are trying to apply a model of spouse behavior to Hillary that ... [is] not a model that applies for most spouses in the Clinton generation."

Amital Etzioni, an ethics expert and editor of The Responsive Community journal, said the press scrutiny, whether of the Clintons or the Bush family, has gotten out of hand.

"We have tightened the standards to such a point that the only person who could run for office is Mother Teresa, and I'm not sure she would qualify," Etzioni said.

William Beecher

is on vacation

"Bill and I have tried to lead dignified lives. I've never put Bill on a pedestal and said he's perfect," she said last summer after a particularly scurrilous handbill appeared on Little Rock windshields.

"Rumors are a dime a dozen. I could stand out here and start 10 of my own. They are titillating, but the fact that they get into the mainstream media just amazes me," she said at the time.

Clinton had his wife at his side at a Washington breakfast last year when he said their marriage was strong, but not perfect, and reiterated the family's right to a zone of privacy.

Controversy is nothing new to Hillary Clinton. She refused as a newlywed and first-time first lady to take her husband's name, and she took some of the blame for his 1980 loss to Republican Frank White, when Clinton failed to gain a second term as governor.

Clinton was returned to office two years later; Ms. Rodham became Mrs. Clinton, and the governor appointed her to a critical task force that developed state standards for schools and a teacher testing program in 1983.

Born in 1947 as the eldest child and only daughter of a Chicago textile manufacturer, Hillary Clinton grew up with two brothers and 30 to 40 fellow Baby Boomers on her street in affluent Park Ridge, Ill.

Her mother credits the town's excellent school system and the neighborhood full of children for fostering her daughter's intellect and leadership abilities.

"She was in that class of Baby Boomers, right after the Sputnik wars. There was a whole surge of competitiveness and her class just excelled in scholastic achievement," Dorothy Rodham said. "It was the right time and the right place for intellectual stimulation."

Young Hillary became legendary for organizing the neighborhood kids in projects and activities. As a teenager, she dated, but her mother said she was more interested in school and extracurricular activities.

Summers were spent on Lake Winona, near Scranton, Pa., playing pinochle and talking politics with a grandfather and uncles who were involved in local politics.

She went east for college, winning election as student president and graduating with honors from Wellesley in the Boston suburbs.

She met her husband at Yale

She introduced herself in a line registering for classes and their friendship blossomed when they were paired as moot court partners. They lost their case.

"He came home with her one Christmas," Rodham said. "I don't think her father was too impressed. We didn't know much about Arkansas. We always had this picture of the barefoot, hillbilly types."

Rodham said her confidence in her daughter's good sense kept them from panicking when their daughter decided to forgo a high-powered, East Coast law career to follow this young man to Arkansas.

"It touched me that with all the things he could do and the money he could have made he was going back to Arkansas. I thought this is a good man and what more could you ask for your daughter," Rodham said.

Rodham and her husband, Hugh Rodham, since have sold the house in Illinois and moved to Little Rock.

Hillary Clinton, whose first jobs out of school were on the legal staff of the Children's Defense Fund and the House Judiciary Committee during the Watergate investigation of President Richard Nixon, joined Clinton on the staff of the University of Arkansas Law School. Shortly after he was elected state attorney general in 1976, she joined the Rose Law Firm.

Bill has lost only two elections in his nearly 18 years in politics: his 1974 race for Congress before Hillary moved to Arkansas and the 1980 gubernatorial race, when Hillary was sidelined by the Feb. 27, 1980, birth of the couple's only child, Chelsea.

Chelsea, who has her father check her algebra homework by fax on the campaign trail, turns

net Elementary School in Little Rock and is a seventh-grader at Mann Arts and Science Magnet Junior High.

A college-age woman stays with Chelsea in the mansion, ferrying her to and from school activities and staying with her on nights when both father and mother are out campaigning. Rodham said she has been spending more time at the mansion, as has Chelsea's other grandmother, Virginia Kelley.

The Clintons are regulars at softball games, soccer matches and ballet recitals, and mother and daughter spend time together shopping.

In her early years in Arkansas, Hillary Clinton drew clucks of disapproval from Little Rock society for paying little attention to her appearance. She wore a peasant-style dress and thick eyeglasses, her hair blowing in the wind, at Clinton's first inaugural.

She since has adopted contact lenses and simple, elegant suits.

If she had a reputation of being a bit dowdy, she destroyed it on Oct. 3 when she appeared with Clinton to announce his presidential bid. She was in dramatic makeup, her blonder-than-before hair was in a face-flattering French twist, and she wore a tunic-style red suit with off-center gold buttons.

"Hillary just decided it was time to start wearing makeup and get her hair fixed right," said her mother. "It's that old thing of getting lighted up with."

THE COMMERCIAL APPEAL
2/4/92 P.3

2-6-92

By Susan Baer
Sun Staff Correspondent

A Manchester, N.H. as the snow piles up on this frosty February night in the heart of town, passersby pile up outside a small Thai restaurant to see what all the fuss is about inside.

Every inch of the place, from bar to grill, is packed and crawling with media — lights and cameras everywhere, an independent film crew making a movie, network producers on cellular phones back where chicken and vegetables are being stir-fried.

Not so unusual for the Granite State's pre-primary frenzy when presidential hopefuls routinely stop by restaurants to chat. But this time around, it's Hillary Rodham Clinton, the wife of a presidential hopeful, commanding and charming the crowds.

Almost two weeks after she and her husband, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, went on their prime time counterattack — pitting their now-solid marriage against charges that the governor had carried on a 12-year affair with a sometime nightclub singer — the outspoken and high-powered lawyer continues to be not only her husband's fiercest defender but also one of the biggest draws on

STEALING THE LIVELIGHT

*On campaign trail,
Hillary Clinton causes
as much stir as Bill,
the actual candidate*

the campaign circuit.

From the very start of the campaign, Mrs. Clinton, a partner with Arkansas' largest law firm who sits on 17 boards including the Children's Defense Fund, which she chairs, has been out in front. She has her own staff, her own rigorous agenda, her own chartered jets and her own ideas about social and economic reform in this country.

"It would be impossible for me not to continue talking about what I care about," says Mrs. Clinton, 44, a Yale Law School graduate twice named one of the 100 most influential lawyers in the country by the National Law Journal. "And before I got all this coverage in the last week I was saying the same thing, although to much smaller crowds."

These days, the Clinton campaign is trying to bring down the profile a notch or two.

"The objective always was for her to have a major role, but in terms of visibility and profile, we had not expected it to expand as it had into the national consciousness," says Mrs. Clinton's press secretary Richard Mintz. Campaign managers have drastically cut back on her interview schedule, set ground rules for what she will and will not discuss in the interviews she does grant and shelved a campaign ad recently produced

See HILLARY, 5E, Col. 1

Savvy Hillary Clinton seems equal to task of campaign trail

HILLARY, from 1E

here featuring Mrs. Clinton, in it, the political wife responds to a question about marital infidelity.

"We didn't see a need to raise the issue again," says Mr. Mintz.

As for the ground rules, he adds: "The campaign is finished discussing the intimate details of the Clintons' marriage. We won't answer any more questions about it."

But even Chicago-born Mrs. Clinton, who's attacked the Republicans for what she calls "tabloid terrorism," knows the questions are still there, more tenacious than her folksy Arkansas accent that seems to drop off like the temperature when in the Northeast.

"I think character is a very big and important issue that encompasses many questions about people," she says, when asked about the relevance to voters of a candidate's character. "And it's an issue that voters develop their own feeling and opinion about and have done a good job in making those judgments in the past. And I believe they will again."

While political analysts continue to debate the damage done to the Clinton campaign by the scandal, Mrs. Clinton says she and her family have come through unscathed.

The Clintons had warned their 11-year-old daughter Chelsea — who's been staying with her grandparents during much of the campaign — about what she might be reading on the cover of a supermarket tabloid about her father.

"We've talked to our daughter for years about what happens in politics and prepared her to know that in political campaigns people do things that maybe they should be ashamed of," says Mrs. Clinton, "that they make up stories and say things that aren't true."

"As long as we stand up to whatever they say and don't back off from confronting it, we believe it will turn out all right."

In fact, Mrs. Clinton's mother, Dorothy Rodham, who moved to Little Rock, Ark., with her husband, Hugh, five years ago, says her daughter has lived by a similar sentiment since she was a small child growing up in the middle-class, conservative Republican town of Park Ridge outside Chicago.

In an incident she calls "a metaphor for our family," Mrs. Rodham recalls that a neighborhood girl persisted in beating up on 3-year-old Hillary just after the family had moved from an apartment in the city to their new suburban home.

"I said, 'You can stay in the house and not go out and play in the new yard or you can go out and the next time that girl does anything to you, you do it back to her,'" the mother recalls.

Hillary ventured out and Mrs. Rodham, a housewife who's husband owned a fabric business, hid behind the dining room drapes and watched as the young bully came at her daughter on cue, punching, kicking and pushing her down.

"Hillary stood up and went after her and gave her as good as she got," says the still-proud mother. "It's just

an idea we can always refer to — when somebody is beating on us we go out and take care of things."

In later years, Hillary Rodham would continue to take care of things — but without her fists. At Wellesley College outside Boston, the self-described "Goldwater girl"-turned-Democrat, presided over the student government, graduated with honors in 1969 and became the college's first student speaker at a commencement exercise.

"Everyone knew her," says Diane Canning, of Acton, Mass., a Wellesley classmate. "She was quite active politically — even then — and very much a spokesperson for change."

She went on to Yale Law School where she met Bill Clinton, and then, after serving as staff attorney for the Children's Defense Fund, joined the U.S. House Judiciary Committee panel during the impeachment proceedings of President Richard M. Nixon.

She moved to Little Rock in 1974, taking a teaching position at the University of Arkansas Law School and a year later, marrying Bill Clinton — but keeping her maiden name. It wasn't until her husband lost his re-election bid for governor in 1980 that she added his name, believing, as many told her, that voters were uncomfortable with "that feminist in the governor's mansion."

Although earning a six-figure salary as a corporate litigator with the prestigious Rose Law Firm, she's said to have been the governor's top adviser, and helped shape the state's policies in the areas of her expertise — issues regarding children, women and education. Her husband, in fact, appointed her chairwoman of the state's Education Standards Committee, an education reform panel where her work earned so much praise that at least one state legislator remarked that the wrong Clinton may have been elected.

"She's very much a partner with him on the political scene," says longtime friend Joan Campbell.

Mrs. Clinton, in fact, speaks about the reasons "my husband and I are running." And she's such a deft and dynamic speaker — thanks in part to her courtroom experience, friends say — that even members of her staff seem to sometimes forget that her name won't be on the ballot.

"It's not as if she's embraced a cause to run on. She's running because she wants to advance her cause," says Mr. Mintz. "She wants to have an impact, she wants to make change."

Although she's thought a lot about her role as a running mate, she says she won't think as far as the White House, and how a professional woman with a lucrative, high-powered career would fit into the role of first lady.

"I'm not going to think about anything that specific," she says, on her way to the plane that would jet her back home for a few days, out of the snow and into a place where panicle bloom in February.

"For me, that's kind of presumptuous — and feels like I'm talking about a no-hill game."

First lady Hillary Clinton not content with playing second fiddle

BY JANE FULLERTON
AND TERRY LEMONS
Democrat-Gazette Staff Writers

When Gov. Bill Clinton appointed his wife to head a state education commission in 1983, skeptics questioned his political wisdom.

But Hillary Clinton's performance with the Arkansas Education Standards Committee won rave reviews.

Arkansas' first lady so enamored state leaders that Rep. Lloyd George observed, "I think we elected the wrong Clinton."

Now that her husband is seeking the Democratic presidential nomination, others are making a similar discovery. People at Clinton campaign rallies have been wondering whether the wrong Clinton is running.

The governor recently pointed out for a New Hampshire audience that a vote for him is a vote for her. As he characterized it, "Buy one, get one free."

The woman that voters in New Hampshire are discovering is a 44-year-old lawyer ranked as one of the nation's 100 most influential by *The National Law Journal*. She is a nationally recognized expert on issues involving children and education. She also is her husband's chief adviser.

After more than a decade of practice, Hillary Rodham Clinton has transcended the role of first lady. She has created a position that allows her to combine the traditional elements of wife and mother with the professional aspects of a working woman.

Hillary Clinton can dish out political rhetoric on the campaign trail as easily as she can serve up hors d'oeuvres at the Governor's Mansion.

Hillary Rodham was born Oct. 26, 1947, the oldest child and only daughter of Hugh and Dorothy Rodham.

After graduating from high school in Park Ridge, Ill., in 1965, Hillary Rodham headed to Wellesley College near Boston.

awakening. In 1965, she arrived on campus as a self-proclaimed "Goldwater girl."

By 1969, when she graduated, the Goldwater girl was gone. With race riots exploding in America and war raging in Vietnam, Hillary Rodham's politics had changed.

Earlier this month, she returned to speak at her alma mater. She repeatedly faced one question from the students: "Why aren't you running?"

She assured the audience that Bill and Hillary Clinton work as a team.

Hillary Rodham met Bill Clinton when both were law students at Yale University in New Haven, Conn. He was the first person she ever met from Arkansas — a Southern fellow describing the size of the watermelons back home with obvious pride.

Soon they were dating — and forging a political as well as a personal partnership.

After college, they went separate ways.

Bill Clinton returned to Arkansas. Hillary Rodham still harbored ambitions of a "big-city" law practice.

After law school, she spent about six months working with the Children's Defense Fund in Cambridge, Mass. Years later, in 1986, she became chairman of the Children's Defense Fund's board of directors. It is one of 17 civic and corporate boards on which she serves.

In 1974, 26-year-old Hillary Rodham joined a handful of lawyers working on the Watergate investigation. She worked for the U.S. House Judiciary Committee during impeachment proceedings against President Nixon.

It was after that experience that Hillary Rodham decided to follow her heart and her future husband to Arkansas.

In August 1974, she moved to Fayetteville and began teaching at the UA law school. That move

Name change

Part of Clinton's 1980 gubernatorial loss was blamed on wife's last name. In a conservative Southern state, voters apparently were not ready for first lady who chose to retain her own name and cultivate own identity.

So Hillary Rodham changed her name to Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Her name was not the only change Hillary Clinton made. During her years in the Governor's Mansion, her evolving appearance has drawn as much comment as her professional activities.

Her wavy brown hair given way to a sleeker, blond look. Her thick glasses have been replaced by contact lenses. Her suits are crisp and stylish, accented with well-coordinated accessories.

Despite such concessions made to better fit the public image of a political wife, Bill and Hillary Clinton engender-based criticism. She's the one who "wears pants" in the family.

USH WITH DANGER: As a virus, Michelangelo was overrated/A6

The Knoxville News-Sentinel

SATURDAY MORNING, MARCH 7, 1992

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Spouse touts Clinton's plan



Hillary Clinton, wife of Democratic presidential hopeful Bill Clinton, signs autographs Friday afternoon during a campaign stop in Knoxville at Callahan's on the River. Later, she toured the Interfaith Health Clinic, 315 Gill Ave.

National health
care a key feature

By Pam Park
Knoxville Staff Writer

Hillary Clinton, wife of Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton, previewed the attention of more than 300 area Democrats Friday, and she did not let it go until she had outlined her husband's ideas.

Clinton, who said she had campaigned for her husband in 12 cities in Texas in the last week, spoke at Callahan's on the River before touring the Interfaith Health Clinic, a Gill Avenue volunteer-staff clinic for the working poor and the homeless.

In obvious America needs a different kind of leadership, Clinton told the crowd at Callahan's.

"In 1945, this country, we had the highest wages in the world," she said. "By 1950, we were 10th and falling. In 1980, we were the eighth nation in the world. By 1990, none of the big-est banks were American, and we owed more money than any nation on earth."



"During the 1980s, we watched as middle-income people were losing their jobs because their incomes declined — whereas the richest Americans continued to have unprecedented prosperity."

Bill Clinton, two-term governor of Arkansas, stressed the people-based economic and economic, he wife said.

She said her husband would cut taxes for middle-income wage-earners and increase the burden on those who make \$200,000 or more annually. He would make sure American workers get the training and re-training they need to stay competitive.

He would offer a health care

Photo and CLINTON, page A11

Sister of candidate stumps for Knox votes

Thaleia Tsongas
targets economy

By Mike Wilkman
Knoxville Staff Writer

Former Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas wants to give President Bush a new personality on the campaign. Tsongas' twin sister said Friday during a brief campaign stop in Knoxville.

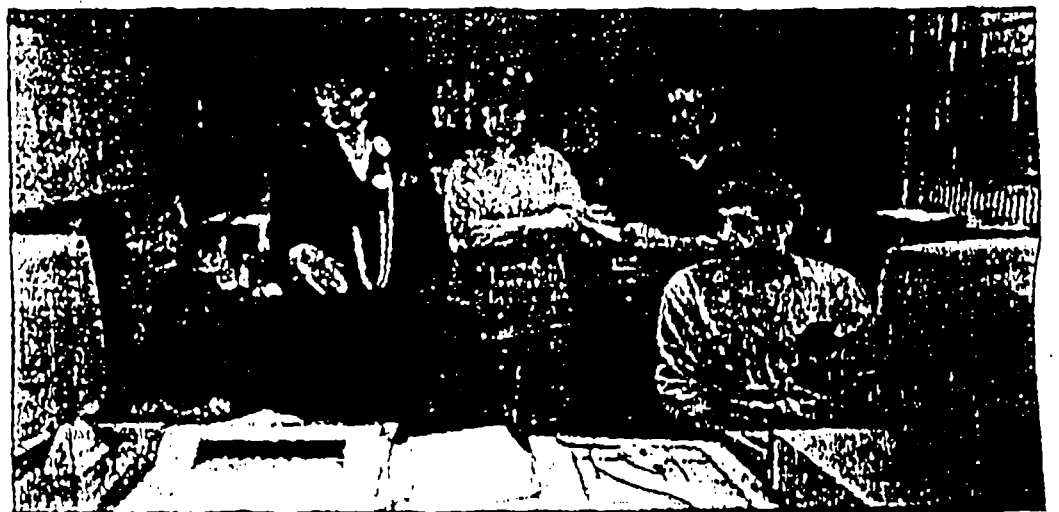
Thaleia Tsongas said her younger — by 18 minutes — brother will win the Democratic nomination and defeat Bush in November by focusing on job creation.

"We're going to introduce George Bush to a new philosophy — the unemployment line," Tsongas said. "I think he's heard it exists somewhere out there. We're going to bring it home to him."

Tsongas addressed about two dozen supporters during a short speech at the Moore Center in the Mechanicsville area. The school now houses a job training program.

Tsongas, owner of a public affairs firm in Boston, said her brother's economic program starts with freeing up capital to foster investment and job creation.

After jobs are created and the economy is moving, Tsongas said, her brother will address the deficit. Money does not mean Democrats'.



Thaleia Tsongas, twin sister of Democratic presidential candidate Paul Tsongas, tours the federal job training site at the Moore Center on Carrick Street Friday. Students Linda Blakely, left, and Keith Kobayson at the computers, listen to Tsongas with instructor Donna Tabor and student Denzil Haynes.

"We have got to take America back and create jobs," she said. "If we don't have dollars, it's all rhetoric."

When first looking at political options, Tsongas said her brother would run for Massachusetts governor. He decided, she said, to run instead for president because that's where the most change can

come from.

Tsongas said she hopes her brother can garner 20 percent of the vote in Tennessee. This indicates the candidate is currently second in the state to Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton.

"What I'm hearing in Tennessee and in other states in the South is they like the message," Thaleia Tsongas said.

Tsongas' listeners included Robert Lilly, a former staffer with TVA who was laid off by the agency in 1988. He is now going through computer-aided design classes at the Center. The depend on federal funds.

Lilly said this election is important because of its impact on the economy.

"As far as the economy is concerned, it's very crucial," Lilly said.

Lilly said he is uncommitted to any candidate and has both for the campaign and the economy among the Democrats' concerns. He said both Clinton and Tsongas "sounded good" during a debate late

U.S.
chief
curse
Jews

hair was long and distinctly brown.

"She didn't make any concessions to the trappings of the office of governor," Brummett said. "She looked hippie-ish."

The career woman also didn't act like any First Lady that Arkansas had ever seen.

Brummett remembers one scene vividly, which he says demonstrates Hillary Clinton's early lack of understanding about the importance of a politician's image.

It was a football game at the University of Arkansas, a *de rigueur* event for the state's governor, a seen-and-be-seen occasion. Bill was there, right on the 50-yard line.

Hillary was there, too. It was the only time she went. While the crowd roared for the Razorbacks, Hillary sat next to her husband.

And read a book.

But no controversy illuminates Clinton's early struggle with public life as much as the one about retaining her name. It became a thorny reminder to many Southerners that a feisty Yankee was living in the governor's mansion on Center Street in downtown Little Rock.

She was Hillary Rodham back then. Like many feminists, Hillary did not take her husband's surname when she married.

But Ms. Rodham did not please the conservative voters of Arkansas.

When the Clintons had their daughter, Chelsea, now 12, newspaper stories exacerbated the situation. "Governor Clinton and Hillary Rodham have a daughter," headlines proclaimed. So awkward did it become during the campaign of 1980, that she tried to avoid names altogether, introducing herself as "Hillary, Gov. Clinton's wife."

Clinton lost to Republican Frank White in 1980, in part because of Hillary's "name problem."

"It almost became a symbol of how Bill and Hillary were different than us," said Betsy Wright, who was Bill Clinton's chief of staff from 1983 to 1990. "Bill went off to that fancy college, married a girl from Illinois who wouldn't take his name."

In 1982, Clinton staged a comeback, winning the first of four consecutive terms as governor.

By his side was Hillary Clinton, who legally changed her name that year.

"There's the first-term Hillary and the comeback Hillary," notes columnist Brummett. "It's a fairly stark difference between the two."

She started attending more social functions, balancing them with her growing law practice as a commercial litigator. She also gave interviews about the governor's mansion, her favorite foods (cocoanut meringue pie from Sue's Pie Shop in downtown Little Rock) and how much she spent on flowers each year for official state occasions (\$2,853 in 1990).

All this from a woman who says she refuses "to be defined by what other people say."

In the stock answer she gives on the campaign trail, Clinton said she changed her name because "it meant more to them than it did to me."

"In retrospect, what I didn't appreciate was how personally people viewed those things," Clinton said in a magazine interview in 1989.

Dr. Alan Schechter, Clinton's former professor of political science at Wellesley College in Massachusetts, said that Clinton's changing style reflects the pragmatism he saw at Wellesley. While many students vigorously protested the Vietnam War, she walked a fine line, making her objections known but not angering the establishment too much.

"Hillary was never radical," Schechter said.

Long-distance dating

Clinton wasn't a radical either. When they met in Yale Law School in 1970, Hillary and Bill had developed simi-



Times photo — BRIAN BAER

HILLARY CLINTON: "I have always tried to listen to that voice deep inside of you . . . that tells you right from wrong. It's so easy to find yourself editing feelings and beliefs based on what people may think. You only have one life to live."

lar styles. They were high achievers committed to Democratic politics and social change — but they were never radical.

Borrowing an old 1960s line, they worked within the system.

Hillary went to Wellesley. She was the first student to address the school at graduation ceremonies. Bill attended Georgetown University in Washington and went on to be a Rhodes Scholar.

They chose Yale law school, because it had a reputation for social activism. Both opposed the war in Vietnam, but neither took dramatic stands. (Clinton said in a 1969 letter he did not want to be a draft resister because it would hurt his political chances. Instead, he got his draft deferred by joining, but not serving in ROTC.)

At Yale, they worked together in a moot court competition and on George McGovern's campaign in Texas, losing both times.

Their personal philosophy helped bind two people from distinctly different backgrounds.

She came from a stable Republican family in Park Ridge, Ill., a middle-class suburb of Chicago. Father Hugh owned a textile business. Mother Dorothy was a homemaker.

Bill grew up in Hot Springs, Ark., with his mother and stepfather, whom Clinton has since said had a drinking problem and battered his wife.

After graduating from Yale in 1973 the two went their ways.

Bill wanted Arkansas. Hillary wanted

the big city.

Bill went home to teach law at the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville and plot his first assault on public office (He ran for Congress and lost.)

Hillary went to work as an in-house lawyer at the Children's Defense Fund, a lobbying group for children's rights in Washington, D.C. From there she was hired as a staff lawyer by the House Judiciary Committee, transcribing information from Nixon's famous tapes.

They continued to date long-distance. In August, Nixon resigned and Hillary found herself at a crossroads.

Friends and family thought the choice was clear for the Yale-educated liberal lawyer. Stay in the big city and work for an established law firm or the government. Hillary thought differently. She moved to Arkansas and married Bill.

It was a defining moment in Clinton's life, a time she learned the value of keeping her own counsel.

"I have always tried to listen to that voice deep inside of you . . . that tells you right from wrong," Hillary Clinton says now, reflecting on that summer of 1974. "It's so easy to find yourself editing feelings and beliefs based on what people may think. You only have one life to live."

"I knew my relationship with Bill was very important to me," Clinton continues. "So I said, 'Why not?'"

Clinton taught at the law school with Bill and defended indigent clients. They married in 1975.

At times, the culture shock at working in

one of the country's poorest and most rural states was great.

One story stands out.

When she took her first case, she arrived at the courthouse in a small town to find a large group of people waiting. At first, she thought they were relatives of the defendants or waiting for other cases.

When she went to the restroom, she learned the truth.

"They had come to see the lady lawyer," Hillary Clinton says now.

Nixon weighs in

In Arkansas, the lady lawyer cut a wide swath. Her critics may note her brisk, no-nonsense style, but they admit she got things done.

Part of her job is familiar to political spouses everywhere. She attended functions, made speeches and worked on behalf of her husband. Like Barbara Bush, Clinton was an impressive surrogate, an important asset to his career.

But unlike traditional first ladies, Clinton joins a growing number of political wives who have strong careers of their own. Like Clinton, many are lawyers — such as Marilyn Quayle, Niki Tsongas and Ruth Harkin.

But Hillary Clinton is the only one who has held a key role in her husband's administration.

In 1983, Bill Clinton named his wife chairwoman of the Arkansas Educational Standards Committee over the objections of friends, critics and even his wife, who worried her appointment would be seen as favoritism.

Two of her programs were especially unpopular, but successful. Teen-agers who drop out of school can't receive their driver's license, and all teachers are required to take assessment tests.

"Hillary Clinton doesn't have derivative power from her husband," said Ethel Klein, a political scientist in New York City who studies women in politics.

"They share the same power networks and combine their abilities to get things done."

If Bill Clinton is elected, many expect the Clintons to form a strong working partnership in the White House.

"Half the people in the country think I should appoint Hillary to the cabinet," Bill Clinton joked during a debate last week. But he has not said definitively what role his wife would play — whether it would be an appointed post or an informal top adviser on education or children's rights.

Even Richard Nixon acknowledges Hillary Clinton is a powerful force. Recently, he said Bill Clinton should tone down his wife's image.

"If the wife comes on looking too strong and intelligent, it makes the husband look like a wimp," Nixon told the *New York Times* last month.

Hillary Clinton, the woman who once worked for his impeachment, just laughs at that. "He has a long memory," she says.

"She will never gaze adoringly at her husband," said Brummett, the *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette* columnist. "She has a toughness, a mental toughness, that Clinton doesn't have. There is a willingness there to do battle."

A marriage tested

Both Clintons showed a determination to do battle when cabaret singer Gennifer Flowers revealed in the tabloids and on national television that she had an alleged 12-year affair with the governor. It was the latest in a long line of rumors of marital infidelity, which became particularly pronounced during his re-election campaign of 1990.

The couple has admitted their relationship has been stormy at times, and Bill Clinton said he has "caused pain" to the marriage, which analysts took as a code word for infidelity. Both strongly deny the liaison with Flowers, who sold her story to the *Star* tabloid for an undisclosed sum.

"I've always known what the truth was," Hillary Clinton said recently. "People make up all sorts of things . . . but I don't take that personally. That's not

me. It's not my husband. We will just keep working on the issues we think are impor-

"She said she believed [and loves] her husband."

"And you know, if that's not enough for people, then, heck, don't vote for him."

Of course, Clinton wants people to vote for her husband. To that end, she campaigns almost full-time for him.

During a recent three-day barnstorming session, she made appearances in seven cities across the country, from Denver to San Diego to Orlando.

"It's like being in a trial 24 hours a day. You're cross-examining a witness and people are yelling questions at you while you do it," Clinton says of campaigning. "Something is happening all the time."

Although her critics in Arkansas have called her aloof and cold, Hillary Clinton seems relaxed and friendly when she makes campaign appearances. She stops to chat often, listening to people with laser-beam intensity.

"I've had a great time," she said with fervor.

In a mud-splattered campaign, she serves another important function: character witness.

"He may have been unfaithful in the past, but he better not again," said Florida Lt. Gov. Buddy MacKay, Clinton's state chairman. "He owes her a great deal."

Despite a busy schedule, Clinton still makes time for daughter Chelsea. Two weeks ago, Clinton raced from her speech in Orlando to a Washington, D.C., dinner and fund-raiser. Then she boarded yet another plane so she could be in Arkansas when her daughter woke up.

It was Chelsea's 12th birthday. And Mom made sure the child got just what she wanted: Birkenstock footprint sandals.

"Big ol' chunky shoes. Chelsea loves 'em," says Clinton, who admits with her distinctive laugh that she wore the 1970s version — clogs.

If her husband is elected, Clinton vows to be active in his administration, although she is vague about specific jobs. She knows she wants to be an advocate for children and education.

"I will be able to make sure my daughter has what she needs," Clinton said. "But there are mothers in this country who cannot do that for their children. I will be there."

Some folks wish she would be there as the president. Professor Schechter said Clinton's strong personality and ability make her entrancing to voters. But he notes Clinton has one major advantage over every candidate, including her husband.

"She has no baggage," Schechter said. "She has never had to make those real enemies because she has never had to make those hard choices a politician has to make."

Clinton wonders why people are making such a fuss.

"Why don't you ask [Secretary of State] Jim Baker that question? Ask men who are in important policy positions why haven't they run for office," Clinton said, when asked again why she wasn't running. "There are other ways of serving the public, and each individual has to do what is right for him or her."

Bill Clinton, the official candidate, has an answer, too.

"If she would run, I would gladly withdraw," Bill Clinton joked at a September press conference in Washington, D.C.

Let the record show that Hillary Clinton smiled and said nothing.

— *Times* researcher Barbara Mikh, continued to this story.

Hillary Clinton makes a potent partner

As a prominent lawyer and powerful speaker, she gives the candidate an extra weapon in his arsenal.

By Ellen Creager
Orion Free Press

AMHERST, N.H. — The Greenhouse Cafe is one minute away, just enough time for Hillary Rodham Clinton to memorize the names of the loyal Democrats she is about to meet.

"Pull up in front," she tells the driver. A TV camera is waiting. She gives a quick interview, then strides with her entourage into the cafe. Inside, volunteer advance workers for Clinton have done a good job. The people are seated in rows of 20 at long tables. She shakes hands and greets the honchos by name. Lunch is about to be served. First, Hillary Clinton will say a few words. The moderator introduces her as "no Nancy Reagan."

"When we were thinking of running, I told my husband, we might only get two votes, yours and mine, but we are going out there and tell people what we believe," Clinton tells the crowd.

Secret weapon

Confides one smitten campaigner, Matt Wyatt, 20, up from University of Kentucky, "She's as good a public speaker as he is. She's just as well-known as her husband and almost as smart."

Welcome to the well-financed, go-for-broke campaign to make Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton the next president of the United States.

The secret weapon? Hillary Clinton, a Yale-educated attorney whose interest and ambition in politics reflect her husband's. Her job is to soften up the Southwest, woo the Yankees, persuade her home state of Illinois, solidify the South. Traveling independently of her husband, the Chicago native campaigns in a low, strong voice spiced with folksy touches from nearly two decades in Arkansas — livin', conin', walkin'. "I'll try to talk real fast," she tells the group, then goes on to leave them in the dust with an intellectual explanation of national debt reduction.

Quite a resume

Hillary Clinton, 44, has been first lady of Arkansas for 10 of the last 12 years, but her resume goes on for pages. She is a senior partner at the Rose law firm in Little Rock, specializing in business law. Last year, the National Law Journal named her as one of the 100 most influential lawyers in America. She also is chairman of the board of the Children's Defense Fund, a lobbying group in Washington, D.C., and sits on boards of the Children's Tele-Workshop, Wal-Mart Stores, TCBY Enterprises and other companies.

More pertinent, though, is her role in her husband's administration. In 1983, he appointed her head



Hillary Clinton has seen her marriage put in the spotlight, but she knows how to take a stand on the issue

of a state committee that pushed through dramatic changes in Arkansas' woeful public-education system. She is nationally known for her work in education and children's issues.

Also noticed in her home state is her transformation from a girl with frizzy hair and horn-rim glasses to a sophisticated, quite beautiful woman.

"She should run," says Joanna Eckstrom, a substitute teacher from Wilton, N.H., who is undecided as to which candidate to support but likes what she has heard. "She was very impressive."

Clinton has no time to eat at the Greenhouse Cafe, so they pack her a sandwich, and she's back in the van. Over to the Manchester air-

port, then fly to Portsmouth in a bumpy eight-seater plane. Staff members later complain they felt sick because of the turbulence, but Clinton's stomach knows better than to complain.

"I've been blessed with a good constitution," Clinton says. "I just came from Phoenix. It is physically demanding, but it is exhilarating. So far, it's been energizing."

Down in Arkansas, there has been talk of Clinton's running for office herself. She has charisma, oratorical skills, drive. But she says, "I never thought of going into electoral politics myself. I have a long history of public involvement that goes back before my husband was an elected official. I enjoy being involved in public policy development

and public advocacy."

Says Mara Leveritt, writer for the Arkansas Times magazine in Little Rock, who has followed Clinton's career: "Bill Clinton is right when he says that people like Hillary best. He's completely on the money. She's widely regarded as the smarter of the two, the more aggressive of the two. She's probably got a strong Machiavellian streak. She was involved in the ouster of one of the partners of her law firm. If you're going to tangle with someone, she'd be the one you'd try to avoid. But she moves easily through crowds. People seem to like her."

Down in Arkansas, too, she has been criticized. In 1990, she once went to a news conference held by

a political opponent of her husband's, then stood and verbally ripped the man's record and prompting some to wonder when her husband couldn't fight his own battles.

In 1982, she decided to stop using her maiden name and changing her name to Clinton because voters objected.

But she knows how to take a stand. When rumors arose about her husband's alleged past indiscretions, she said the gossip was "irrelevant and diversionary."

When a New Hampshire reporter tried to ask her about a recent past separation, she cut her. "There was no separation." End story.

Wellesley and Yale

Clinton was raised in Ford Ridge, Ill., the oldest daughter of Hugh and Dorothy Rodham. She graduated from Wellesley College and Yale. In 1974, just out of law school, she was hired as a member of the House Judiciary Committee impeachment inquiry staff, investigating President Nixon. In 1974, she moved to Arkansas to join Bill Clinton, whom she had met at Yale. They were married in 1975.

They have a daughter, Chelsea, who is 11.

"Being away from her is the hardest piece of this that is hardest to accept," Hillary Clinton said.

As the afternoon wears on, Clinton finds herself in Hampton, N.H., at Odyssey House, home to disabled teens who ask her several hard questions about abortion as a foster care. Both Clintons are in a choice.

Then it's back to Portsmouth and a reception at the spacious home of attorney Paul McEucher, who ran for governor of New Hampshire twice and lost.

Hillary Clinton sneaks a few minutes to call home; Chelsea has sinus infection and is taking antibiotics, but doesn't sound too bad.

Then a dinner at Yokum's restaurant and a reception for Portsmouth Democrats.

"It feels so good to sit down," she says, finally, drinking a Coke while all around her pour drink wine. "I got a lot of advice about campaigning, except they forgot to tell me the three most important things: sleep when you can, when you can, and never pass a room."

Should she become first lady? Clinton believes she and her husband would be a powerful team if good.

"There's no point in being public life if you don't believe making a difference in people lives," she says. "The spouse of an person in public life has to fight very hard to be true to herself. In my husband's work in Arkansas, I tried to be a contributor and a partner and have done it in front and in public. People know what I think, then they can make their judgments about it. There's nothing behind the scenes about involvement."

Mrs. Clinton is vital to her husband's campaign

By Carolyn Barta

Thursday, March 5, 1992



The Atlanta Journal
The Atlanta Constitution

Ms. Barta writes for the Dallas Morning News.

Dallas — Shortly after Hillary Clinton allowed as how she's no Tammy Wynette and made a few other forthright statements on "60 Minutes," former President Richard M. Nixon suggested that the Clinton campaign ought to be careful about using her to campaign for husband, Bill. In other words, tone her down. Put the muzzle on.

"If the wife comes through as being too strong and too intelligent, it makes the husband look like a wimp," Mr. Nixon told The New York Times. He went on to say that some voters agree with Cardinal de Richelieu's position that "intellect in a woman is unbecoming."

Hillary Clinton, a 44-year-old lawyer, heard the words but wouldn't dream of heeding the message. For a former president to deride any woman for being intellectual, she said, is a "step backward."

Hillary Clinton's own intellect has been very much a part of her husband's administration as governor of Arkansas.

No retiring violet, this one. She graduated first in her law class at Yale — where she met Bill Clinton; he graduated sixth. Hillary Clinton has participated in all of his gubernatorial campaigns except the one he lost.

Besides being the first lady of Arkansas, she is a partner in an Arkansas law firm and has been named one of the 100 most influential lawyers in America.

But first order of business is to help her husband get the Democratic presidential nomination. Last week, she was in Texas.

She believes the country is going in the wrong direction, that Ronald Reagan and George Bush have presided over a decline in the economy, that her husband has a plan to turn that around, and she's ready to be part of it.

When somebody remarks after one of her stemwinding speeches that she ought to be the candidate, her response is, "I



BILLY DOWNS/Staff

*"I want to be part of
the changes. Not
everyone needs to run
for elective office."*

Hillary Clinton
wife of Gov. Bill Clinton

Hillary Clinton represents a new style of candidate wife — competent, confident and unafraid to get into real issues or take off the gloves with the incumbent.

She accuses Mr. Bush, for example, of practicing the politics of "denial, division and diversion," and of pitting "race against race, region against region, and, when it benefits him, men against women."

The adjectives used to describe Hillary Clinton range from dynamic, impressive, polished and passionate to strong-willed and strident. It's clear that she's smart and she knows it. But she balks at being labeled part of a "new generation" of political wives. "I don't want to move from one stereotype of a political spouse to another stereotype."

But she clearly rejects the stereotype portrayed by Mr. Nixon's remarks. She recalls that she served on the staff of the House Judiciary Committee that recommended his impeachment.

Daily News, Monday, March 16, 1992

Hillary Clinton is no sideliners

By Carolyn Barta

Dallas Morning News

Shortly after Hillary Clinton allowed as how she's no Tammy Wynette and made a few other forthright statements on "60 Minutes," former President Richard Nixon suggested that the Clinton campaign ought to be careful about using her to campaign for husband, Bill. In other words, tone her down. Put the muzzle on.

"If the wife comes through as being too strong and too intelligent, it makes the husband look like a wimp," Nixon told The New York Times. He went on to say that some voters agree with Cardinal de Richelieu's position that "intellect in a woman is unbecoming."

Hillary Clinton, a very un-bimbo-like 44-year-old lawyer, heard the words but wouldn't dream of heeding the message. For a former president to deride any woman for being intellectual, she said, hurrying away from a recent campaign appearance in Fort Worth, Texas, is a "step backward."

Hillary Clinton's own intellect has been very much a part of her husband's administration throughout his years as governor of Arkansas. "He says all over Arkansas that you can get two for one," says Texas campaign chairman Garry Mauro, who serves on the board of Wal-Mart Stores with Hillary Clinton. "They would be a team in the White House."

Well, if we're electing a team, maybe folks should know a little more about the other half.

No retiring violet, this one. She graduated first in her law class at Yale — where she met Bill Clinton; he graduated sixth. Hillary Clinton has participated in all of his gubernatorial campaigns except the one he lost; she was pregnant with daughter Chelsea, now 11. For several years after their marriage, she retained her maiden name — until it became a political liability.

Besides being the first lady of Arkansas, she is a partner and litigator in the Rose Law Firm of Little Rock, Ark., and has been named one of the 100 most influential lawyers in America. Even now, while on the road campaigning, she's preparing for two court this spring.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Hillary Clinton takes active role in government

husband get the Democratic presidential nomination.

"If I just thought I'd be living in the White House and going to Camp David on weekends, I wouldn't be here," she said at a recent gathering. Rather, she believes the country is going in the wrong direction, that Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush have presided over a decline in the economy, that her husband has a plan to turn that around, and she's ready to be part of it.

When somebody remarks after one of her stemwinding speeches that SHE ought to be the candidate, her response is, "I want to be part of the changes. Not everyone needs to run for elective office."

She has been part of the changes in Arkansas. As the Wall Street Journal reported, "she demands, and plays, a role both in poli-

Bill Clinton is known as an education governor, and Hillary Clinton served as chair of the Arkansas Education Standards Committee in 1983-1984 that recommended substantial changes be made to the accreditation standards for the state's public schools.

Now, in campaign speeches, she touts her husband as "the only candidate with an education platform that goes hand-in-hand with an economic platform." She delights Democratic crowds by calling George Bush "a photo opportunity education president."

Hillary Clinton speaks without a note forcefully, for 30 minutes — ticking off a list of issues ranging from education to health care to energy and deficit reduction. She represents a new style of candidate — much like Marilyn Quayle — competent, confident and unafraid to get into real issues or take off the gloves with the incumbent.

She accuses George Bush, for example, of practicing the politics of "denial, division and diversion," and of pitting "race against race, region against region, and, when it comes to benefits, men against women."

She is an avowed feminist who chairs the American Bar Association Commission on Women, which recommended policies on family leave and sexual harassment.

What sort of role would she expect to play in the White House? Working on the same issues that she's been involved in for 20 years — as a national advocate for children and families, fighting the demise of the middle class and explosion of poverty, she says.

The adjectives used to describe Hillary Clinton as she travels the country range from dynamic, impressive, polished and passionate to strong-willed and independent. It's clear that she's smart and knows it. But she balks at being labeled part of a "new generation" of political wives. "I don't want to move from one stereotype of a political spouse to another stereotype." She simply wants women to be empowered to make their own choices.

But she clearly rejects the stereotype portrayed by Nixon's remarks, flicking them away as easily as swatting a gnat from her nose. She recalls that she served on the staff of the House Judiciary Committee that recommended his impeachment. "President Nixon," she says, "has a long memory."

(Carolyn Barta is the Viewpoints page editor of The Dallas Morning News.)

Duffer Bill at whites-only club: par for the course

THE house reeked of doom. Somewhere upstairs a baby was crying. A green-faced time clock hanging by the front door punched another minute dead with a hollow clunk. The AIDS babies were still in their cribs dying. They stare at you with eyes that will never read a book.

"Is Jerry Brown here yet?" a woman wanted to know. She was

MIKE McALARY



straightening out a row of stained baby carriages in the

narrow hallway.

"We've got about five minutes," she was told.

The time clock punched out another dead minute. The walls of Hale House on West 122nd Street in Harlem are lined with brass and calligraphy. Mother Hale doesn't need the thanks, or even the politicians. But still they come. Carter. Reagan. Mondale.

Bush. Dukakis. Even Bob Kerrey. The wall is cluttered with their good intentions.

"Have you even heard anything from Bill Clinton?" Dr. Lorraine Hale was asked.

"No," she said, politely. "Nothing from him."

Jerry Brown was still speaking in a Harlem church in this moment, talking about Clinton, one

of the most duplicitous figures in American politics. During the week, Clinton runs as a friend to blacks. With black support, Clinton rides to victory in the Michigan and Illinois primaries. On his off day, Clinton, the governor of one of two remaining states without civil-rights laws, plays

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CLINTON: HILLARY WON'T BE CALLING ANY SHOTS

By DEBORAH ORIN Washington Bureau Chief

Democrat Bill Clinton yesterday denied that his wife, Hillary, will become a "co-president" if he wins the White House.

"No, she wouldn't be a co-president — we have our differences of opinion. In the end, I have to decide," Clinton said on NBC's "Meet the Press."

But Clinton added that he "would rely on her very heavily for advice." And he didn't rule out the possibility that she might continue her

Won't rule out Jesse as his veep

private law practice as First Lady.

Last week, after rival Jerry Brown accused Clinton of "funneling" Ar-

kanzas state business to his wife's law firm, Mrs. Clinton fumed: "I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and

had tea."

Clinton yesterday insisted his wife's remarks were "mistakenly interpreted" and denied that

she looks down on full-time homemakers.

Aiming for tomorrow's Connecticut primary, Clinton said the Nutmeg State is "about to be blindsided" by defense cuts, because President Bush has no plan for converting to a

civilian economy.

Clinton taped "Meet the Press" in New York, then went to Connecticut, where he'll spend all of today.

Brown has pledged to make Jesse Jackson his running-mate if nominated — and Clinton yesterday first tried to deflect the question of whether he'd also consider Jackson, but ultimately said he might.

"I have refused to play the vice-presidential game with anyone," Clinton first said — only to be reminded that, in fact, he has cited Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, Connecticut Sen. Joe Lieberman and ex-rival Paul Tsongas as veep prospects.

Pressed on whether he'd also consider Jackson, Clinton then replied: "I certainly wouldn't rule that out."

The Arkansas governor also defended the fact that he and his wife have taken nine free rides on private planes since 1989 from Tyson, a big Arkansas poultry firm, which environmentalists charge is one of the state's major polluters.

"I don't think there is a conflict there as long as the people know it," said Clinton, whose administration gave \$7.5 million in tax breaks to Tyson, according to a Washington Post report yesterday.

The same report said nearly half the 600 miles of streams in northwest Arkansas, home of the state's poultry industry, are so polluted by animal waste that swimming is banned and fecal bacteria threaten the drinking water for 300,000 people.

Asked if he can reassure jittery Democrats that nothing else can come out — after questions about his marital fidelity, ethics and avoiding the draft — that could "doom" him, Clinton hedged.

"I can assure you that there is nothing in my background which is inconsistent with what I have told you," he said. "I don't have any reservations about my character."

Jerry aims new salvo at Clinton: He's worse than Bush

By DEBORAH ORIN Washington Bureau Chief

Hoping to undermine Bill Clinton's black support, Democratic rival Jerry Brown went to Harlem yesterday and claimed Clinton — by playing golf at an all-white club — looks even worse than President Bush.

"George Bush — he wouldn't even dare to play golf at a white golf club," Brown said at Harlem's Memorial Baptist Church.

"Only an arrogance and a complacency and a smugness [by Clinton] could explain that kind of incredible political maneuver," added Brown, noting that Arkansas is one of just two states without its own civil-rights law.

But Brown also found himself on the defensive against Clinton's charge that Brown's former law firm got \$178,000 in taxpayer funds to challenge top limits on campaign contributions — while Brown now preaches lower limits.

Brown said he was never a partner in the firm, got only \$50,000 a year and wouldn't share in the \$178,000 — adding that the money was awarded under federal law only after the



TENDER TOUCH: Jerry Brown cradles little Peter as Mother Hale looks on in Harlem yesterday.

firm won the case.

At the church, Brown — who once trained to be a Jesuit priest — got his warmest response when he used scripture to tell how the cities have been ignored while children suffer, rather than when he blasted Clinton.

"The people are dying right outside in that street — they're dying and what are people in Washington doing about it? They're raising their pay," Brown thundered — as parishioners applauded and said, "Amen."

Later, Brown said Clinton's Arkansas record "will go down in history books for what not to do in American politics. It either comes out now or George Bush and his Samurai warriors will make mincemeat of Mr. Clinton."

As Brown was speaking to reporters, church member Richard Brown came up to pledge his vote and then pleaded: "I want to enjoy Harlem like I did when I first came here. Don't fool us — do it."

What was crystal clear was not support for one

candidate or another so much as the city's pain, and the hunger for someone to see it, to do something about it.

Brown yesterday split his time between Connecticut, which votes tomorrow — there are no recent polls but Clinton is favored — and New York, which votes two weeks later.

So far Clinton has won overwhelming black support but Brown, who had strong black and Latino support as California governor, is trying to make inroads — making the first

high-profile Harlem stop was part of that strategy.

However, most black leaders have rallied behind Clinton — one exception is Harlem Rep. Charles Rangel, who's neutral but hopes for a brokered convention that might turn to Sen. Jay Rockefeller (D-W. Va.).

Clinton — who has honorary memberships at three all-white clubs — apologized for playing golf last week at the all-white Little Rock Country Club, where he has renewed his membership annually.

Wednesday, April 1, 1992, Santa Maria Times—A-5

A cabinet spot for Hillary Clinton?

Presidential contender Bill Clinton wasn't really jumping the gun the other day when he announced that his wife, Hillary, could have a spot high in his administration. The idea of a candidate naming his wife, say, secretary of labor so departs from tradition that the electorate needs a while to chew it over.

To our mind, the candidate's musings should shock no one this side of Saudi Arabia. Hillary Clinton is a seasoned lawyer whom her governor husband appointed to many commissions in Arkansas. Besides, if President Kennedy could make brother Bobby attorney general, Bill Clinton ought to be able to recruit from his dining room table.

Yet a First Lady needn't have a ministry to spur national changes. Eleanor Roosevelt, for example, advocated civil rights for blacks when such positions rankled many. Lady Bird Johnson spearheaded a national beautification campaign. Betty Ford helped get alcoholism out of the liquor cabinet, so to speak.

If we're any judge of such things, Hillary Clinton by nature is no shrinking violet. Wherever she lands in a possible Clinton administration, it's apt to be with both feet.

Hillary Insists She Fills The Bill

By Tom Collins

STAFF WRITER

When Hillary Clinton heard that the three TV networks led their news shows with Gennifer Flowers claiming Bill Clinton had been her lover — she told friends if she had Flowers on the witness stand, "I mean, I'd crucify her."

That comment, offering an inside glimpse into the steely character of lawyer Hillary Clinton — who has attracted much attention in the Democratic primaries — appears in an article by prominent author Gail Sheehy in the May issue of *Vanity Fair*.

And when Hillary Clinton first got the word in late January at a campaign stop in Pierre, S.D., that Flowers was talking to the press, Sheehy says, she remained unflappable and ordered her campaign manager, who was "fighting back tears" over the news, "Let's get Bill on the phone."

In the article Sheehy declares "She and her husband are, despite protestations to the contrary, co-candidates for president of the United States," and Bill Clinton makes a pretty good argument for Sheehy's case.

"If I get elected president it will be an unprecedented partnership, far more than Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt," Sheehy says Bill Clinton told her. "They were two great people, but on different tracks. If I get elected, we'll do things together, as we always have."

On another occasion, when Sheehy asked Clinton whether "he was concerned about being upstaged by his wife," he told her, "I've always liked strong women. . . . It doesn't bother me for people to see her and get excited and say she could be president. I always say she could be president, too." At one of his fund-raisers he quipped, "Buy one, get one free."

Hillary Clinton's friends privately tout her as a possible attorney general in her husband's administration, Sheehy says. But her brother, Hugh Rodham, a public defender in Florida, says, "Attorney general is only local lawmaking. There's treaty negotiations she could do. There's labor stuff. There's secretary of state. . . ." Her husband recently said he wanted her to take a "very high level" role in his administration.

Asked at a luncheon if she wanted to be vice president, she responded, "I'm not interested in attending a lot

Please see HILLARY on Page 9

Hillary Runs as 'Co-Candidate'

HILLARY from Page 4

of funerals around the world. . . . I want to get deeply involved in solving problems," Sheehy continues. "She later told me that she doesn't see herself as a cabinet officer but as an all-around adviser."

She also recently told an audience, "We'll have a woman president by

2010." Asked if she'd run, she replied, "We'll talk later."

Sheehy also recounts how two years ago, when Bill Clinton was considering not running for a fifth term as governor so he could concentrate on presidential moves, Hillary Clinton began testing the water herself with her friends.

"She got very enthusiastic about the prospect of running for governor,"

Caroline Huber, Hillary Clinton's closest confidant, is quoted as saying. And four years ago, Clinton himself led a charity affair. "Some say the wrong Clinton is in the statehouse, and I wouldn't disagree with them."

Sheehy writes that what really steams Hillary Clinton about the Flowers case is that George Bush has been spared the same treatment by the press.

Freeport
NEW YORK NEWSPAPERS, SATURDAY, APRIL 1991
it

The Clinton co-presidency

■ The script for Bill Clinton will be his wife's left-wing political agenda.

HILLARY Clinton wants to be president of the United States. If her husband is elected, it appears he will be little more than a front man for his wife's political agenda.

What other conclusion can be drawn from Hillary Clinton's remarks that if we elect him we get her, and comments by her husband in the May issue of *Vanity Fair* magazine? In an article by Gail Sheehy, Bill Clinton is quoted as saying, "If I get elected president, it will be an unprecedented partnership, far more than Franklin Roosevelt and Eleanor. They were two great people, but on different tracks. If I get elected, we'll do things together like we always have."



CAL THOMAS
Commentary

Such a position requires a closer look at Hillary Clinton's background and beliefs and her attempts to implement them.

Hillary Clinton is a child of the radical '60s. While Bill Clinton was at Oxford avoiding the draft and smoking (but not inhaling) marijuana, Hillary Rodham was an activist student at Wellesley College, where she was president of the student government in 1968-69, her senior year.

Later she came under the influence of Marian Wright Edelman of the Children's Defense Fund. She joined the board in 1978 and was board chair from 1986 until February of this year when she resigned. The organization favors the right of children to sue their parents. ("Johnny, go clean up your room." "Shut up, Mom, or I'll call my lawyer.")

But Hillary Rodham's coming of po-

litical age occurred during her tenure as a member of the board of the Legal Services Corporation (LSC), a government-funded agency originally conceived to help poor people with their legal needs, but quickly transformed into a radical organization that has used government money to promote a liberal social agenda. This includes lawsuits against the government that pays its way.

During her last two years on the LSC board, Hillary Rodham (though married, she was still using her maiden name, perhaps as an act of feminist political correctness) presided over the publication of tax-funded training manuals that urged legal services lawyers to "develop a more 'political attitude'" and to align themselves with "the Democratic coalition" and use "muckraking" and lawsuits as means to intimidate and embarrass opponents of community action groups.

MANY OF THESE manuals were published following the 1980 election and 1981 inauguration of Ronald Reagan, so it would appear that the liberal LSC hierarchy was attempting to thwart the conservative mandate given the new president, and doing so at the expense of a majority of taxpayers who had voted for Reagan.

During Hillary Rodham's tenure at LSC, attempts were made to authorize affirmative action lawsuits by LSC lawyers that would classify drug addicts, alcoholics, homosexuals and others as "protected groups" and "handicapped persons." Federal funds were channeled to various activist groups promoting abortion rights, Indian land claims, class action suits, political causes, prison reform, rent strikes, job quotas, graduated state income taxes, bilingual education programs, halts in bus fare increases and utility rate reform.

Every citizen should have the right to campaign for or against such causes — but without taxpayer assistance. Sen. Charles Grassley (R-Iowa) said in 1981, "My experience with the way in which

this program is being implemented leads me to believe that the congressional mandate is being ignored and, in some instances, violated. Concern with the basic needs of the poor has been replaced by a commitment to social activism and changing the fabric of our society."

The LSC charter specifically prohibits certain activities as off limits, such as union organizing, procurement of nontherapeutic abortions, school desegregation cases, criminal cases and defense of illegal aliens. All of these, and more, found favor and federal money during Hillary Rodham's tenure on the LSC board.

In Connecticut, an LSC lawyer demanded that taxpayers foot the \$10,000 bill for a sex-change operation. In Iowa, the LSC used tax dollars to lobby Congress for more food stamps. In Florida, LSC staffers used funds to organize unions and sue the federal government for \$10 million on behalf of illegal aliens. In California, LSC grantees sued the school board to challenge a regulation on the hair length of male students. Perhaps the worst abuse occurred when the LSC convened in Puerto Rico to devise a strategy to defeat the Reagan administration's plans to defund their activities. The conference cost the taxpayers an estimated \$100,000, according to a General Accounting Office report.

Hillary Rodham Clinton has no plans for being a traditional first lady. She told *Vanity Fair* that if she could get Gennifer Flowers, the woman who claims to have had a 12-year affair with Bill Clinton, on the witness stand, she would "crucify her."

There is little doubt that Hillary Clinton, the cookie monster who mocks stay-at-home, cookie-baking mothers, might conduct some other crucifixions if she became a de facto president. As she said, "If you elect Bill, you get me." Given her agenda, we can do without both.

Cal Thomas is a columnist for the Los Angeles Times Syndicate.

BIBLE SELECTION

For whether we live, we live unto the Lord; and whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord's.
Romans 14:8

MEM
CA
4-9

means a great deal to him. He'll be for it as long as there's some political advantage to it."

End Adv Wednesday AMs April 15

AP 04-10-92 01:08 PET

Hillary Clinton Walks Tightrope as Career Woman and Candidate Wife

By RON FOURNIER

Associated Press Writer

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (AP) Bill Clinton once called his wife "one of the best arguments for re-electing me." Hillary Clinton also has set off some of the best arguments in Arkansas.

Some annoyed Arkansans view Mrs. Clinton as a feminist Yankee who minds her husband's business and once refused to drop her maiden name. Others like her so much they urge her to run for office herself.

"I think we've elected the wrong Clinton," legislator Lloyd George said after Mrs. Clinton presented proposed education reforms to a legislative committee in 1983. The proposals became law, and George's quip lived on as well.

Mrs. Clinton, a 44-year-old attorney, jumped into Arkansas' old-guard political scene in the late 1970s with her sleeves rolled up, building a power base of her own.

She worked on children's issues nationally, became a senior partner in her law firm and spearheaded state education reforms while at the same time helping rear the couple's only child, Chelsea, now 12.

Mrs. Clinton was named by the National Law Journal as one of the nation's 100 most influential lawyers in 1989. She serves on the boards of directors for the Children's Television Workshop, Southern Development Bancorporation and Wal-Mart Stores Inc., among others.

"Like most American women, I have many roles in my life," she said in a letter she sends to voters who write her. "I'm a wife. I'm a mother. I'm a lawyer. I'm a volunteer."

While many people have been enthusiastic about Mrs. Clinton's role in her husband's presidential campaign Clinton tells voters "you've got to get me in before I can get her in" her outspoken manner and independence have rankled people at times.

"I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas," Mrs. Clinton said last month when questioned about a report that her law firm had received \$235,000 in state business since 1985.

To many, the remark sounded condescending toward non-career women. Mrs. Clinton expressed regret that the remark had been misunderstood and said she had been referring to "the ceremonial role of the first lady."

Mrs. Clinton also said she made a mistake in telling Vanity Fair that she had heard unsubstantiated rumors President Bush had been involved in an extramarital affair.

Years earlier, she offended many Arkansans by continuing to use her maiden name, Hillary Rodham, after marriage. Her husband's 1980 re-election loss was blamed partially on that and she later took

his name.

Mrs. Clinton was born in Chicago on Oct. 26, 1947. Her father, Hugh Rodham Sr., ran a drapery fabric business. He moved his family to the suburbs when she was 2.

She attended Wellesley College near Boston and in 1973 graduated from Yale Law School, where she had met the future governor of Arkansas. She and Clinton worked on George McGovern's 1972 presidential campaign in Texas.

After graduating from Yale, Bill Clinton moved to Fayetteville, Ark., to teach law. Hillary Rodham worked for the Justice Department to help prepare the impeachment case against President Nixon.

She moved to Arkansas in 1974 to teach law with Clinton and the two married the next year. Her activities as first lady have gone far beyond what she calls the traditional "ceremonial role."

"To call her an adviser to the governor is both to acknowledge her role and shortchange it," Betsey Wright, a longtime Clinton aide who worked with the couple on McGovern's campaign, once said.

Clinton appointed her to chair the 1983-84 task force that designed the state's landmark education standards, which required teachers to take basic skills tests. Many teachers still hold the test provision against her.

Mrs. Clinton's views do not always jibe with her husband's. She is a board member of the Children's Defense Fund, which was at odds in 1989 with 48 governors, including Clinton, who sought a freeze on further mandates for state spending on Medicaid.

As a scholar-activist, Mrs. Clinton has written in favor of using state facilities to help parents achieve an education for their children. She has argued that the current presumption that children are incompetent denies them the "opportunity to mature into a responsible adult."

In "Children's Rights: A Legal Perspective," Mrs. Clinton wrote, "The first thing to be done is to reverse the presumption of incompetency and instead assume all individuals are competent until proven otherwise."

Perhaps to foster responsibility in competent youths, Mrs. Clinton supported a new state law that denies drivers' licenses to children who drop out of school.

Mrs. Clinton has toyed with the idea of running for public office. Her husband recently said he would like to give her a high-level job in the federal government if he were elected president. But she said later she did not want a paid post such as Cabinet secretary.

"I have no interest and I don't think that's realistic," she said.

End advance for AMs Tuesday, April 14



NEW YORK POST

LATE CITY FINAL

MONDAY, APRIL 13, 1992 ★★ / Sunny, 50 rods / partly cloudy, upper 30s tonight / Details, Page 2

60¢ in New York City 50¢ elsewhere

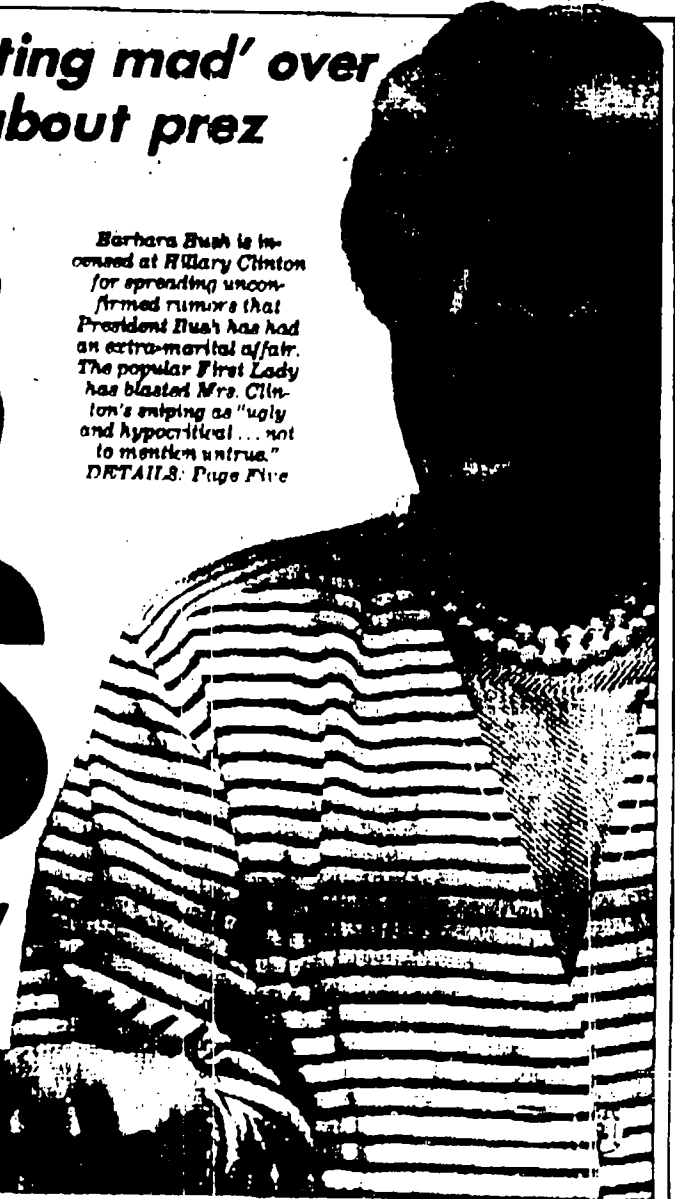
First Lady Barbara Bush 'spitting mad' over Hillary Clinton's gossiping about prez

BABS

BITES

BACK

Barbara Bush is incensed at Hillary Clinton for spreading unconfirmed rumors that President Bush has had an extra-marital affair. The popular First Lady has blasted Mrs. Clinton's sniping as "ugly and hypocritical... not to mention untrue." **DETAILS: Page Five**



Associated Press



Associated Press

Rosalynn Carter was in Houston to get an award.

Ex-first lady has advice for Clintons

HOUSTON POST 4-15

BY JANE GRANDOLFO
POST POLITICAL REPORTER

Rosalynn Carter knows anxiety.

Eleven years ago — at the height of the Iranian crisis — the first lady couldn't stand listening to critics bash her husband for not doing enough to free the American hostages.

She recalls walking in the door one day and demanding, "Why don't you just do something?" The president

Please see CARTER, A-18

CARTER: Ex-first lady offers advice to Bill, Hillary Clinton

From A-1

said, "What can I do?" She replied: "Bomb the harbors!"

Today, in retrospect, she laughs at the impetuosity of her remarks. She's convinced that her husband's restraint helped the captives come home alive.

From that seasoned perspective, Rosalynn Carter has some advice for presidential hopeful Bill Clinton and his wife, Hillary: You have to be very confident that what you're doing is best and right for the country. Then criticisms will just roll off. You have to develop that type of attitude or you don't survive."

The 64-year-old former first lady was in Houston on Friday to receive an award for distinguished service from the Anxiety Disorders Association of America.

Carter has been an advocate of mental health care since the mid-70s, when she served as honorary chair of the President's Commission on Mental Health.

During an interview Friday, Carter said she was distressed by the amount of scrutiny that presidential candidates must now endure.

Wearing a taupe suit and a single strand of pearls, Carter was demure — shy at times — even as she defended Arkansas Gov. Clinton, the likely Democratic presidential nominee.

The questions being raised about Clinton's integrity, she said, are flat-out "character assassination."

"I'm not saying character isn't important, but how are you going to get good people to run for office if they know ahead of time what's going to happen to them?" she asked. "We'll stop getting good people in office."

The former first lady said she, too, was once a lightning rod for criticism.

The American public — which can still recall the steely eight-year tenure of former first lady Nancy Reagan — may find that hard to believe. Carter, however, said she took heat for attending Cabinet meetings, blazing the campaign trail for her husband, and for be-

ing an outspoken advocate of women's rights.

"I was accused of all kinds of things. You would have thought I was running the White House," she said. "I learned that opponents will pick up anything or say anything. If they could portray Jimmy as weak, while the hostages were being held, they delighted in that. What they didn't realize was what a very strong person it took to withstand all the pressure to do something about the hostages, to bomb."

Carter thinks that Hillary Clinton, a successful attorney, has also been misunderstood.

Recently, while defending herself against allegations that her husband funneled work to her law firm, Hillary Clinton told an interviewer, "I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas." The remark offended some homemakers.

Carter says it's an example of critics making much ado about nothing.

"I think she's wonderful and what I learned when Jimmy was in politics is it doesn't matter what you do, you're going to be criticized," she said.

Still, she said, the role of first lady is changing rapidly.

"I think the days when a first lady will only stay in the White House and be a hostess and pour tea, are gone," she said.

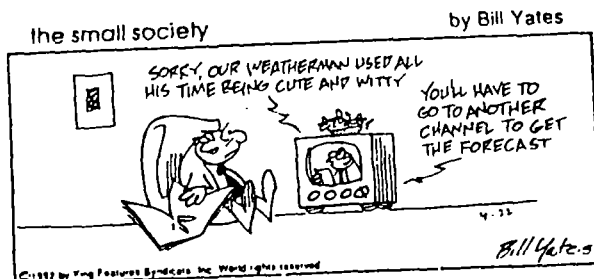
Bill Clinton, the likely Democratic presidential nominee, is the first Southern governor to come close to following in Jimmy Carter's footsteps. Carter, the governor of Georgia, was elected in 1976. He suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of Ronald Reagan in 1980.

Since then, the Carters have been active in charity work for children, the homeless and the mentally ill. The Carters also devote their time to the Carter Center of Emory University, a think tank for national and international issues.

While Rosalynn Carter was in Houston on Friday, Jimmy Carter was in Japan attending a United Nations Conference on economic development.

PRISONS: State board agrees

12-1
AD



Details coming on Hillary and minors' legal rights

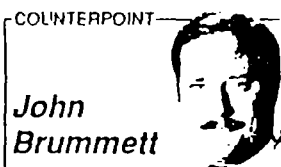
Political campaigns are driven these days by focus groups. Those are small gatherings of people randomly selected to sit in a room and have their pulses taken by political operatives looking for the best ways to portray their candidates and the worst ways to portray their opponents.

If they haven't already, Republican operatives soon will assemble a focus group of a dozen or so people and test a few issues on Gov. Bill Clinton.

They'll ask the participants what they think about a presidential candidate who offers his wife as part of a presidential package deal: buy one, get one free, as Clinton has said.

Some will say it's fine. Others will say he ought to let her be president. Others will say that he, not his wife, is the candidate. Others will say the wife has no business having a role in the government.

Then the operatives will ask whether it would be appropri-



ate in such a case to explore the wife's past and her positions on issues.

Oh, sure, the participants will say.

Then they'll ask the participants what they think about a potential first lady, offered as part of a package deal, who has written that children should be allowed to sue their parents.

Eyes will bulge. Tempers will flare. Sensibilities will be offended. That's nuts, some participants will say.

A television commercial along this order would be born.

"Bill Clinton is not running for president alone. He says

his wife is part of a package deal. But before you buy this package, make sure you know what you're buying. Did you know that Hillary Clinton has proposed that children be allowed to sue their parents, even over something as basic as whether the children may take piano lessons? George Bush wants to keep American families together - but at home in the traditional sense, not in court as tools of lawyers like Hillary Clinton."

As with all political commercials, one's instinctive reaction should be to say, "That's a political commercial. Now what about the facts?"

As with most political commercials, the one I just suggested would be grounded in enough fact to be defensible. But it also would be grounded in enough oversimplification to be unfair.

In November 1973, a 26-year-old Hillary Clinton wrote a lengthy and typically dry ac-



ademic dissertation for the Harvard Educational Review on the rights of children. In it she engaged mostly in detached analysis of various suggestions for giving children more rights in our legal system.

She appeared clearly to favor additional legal empowering of children, though she actually went not too far beyond what is now a common practice: court-appointed attorneys to represent the interests of children in custody fights.

In what I've read, Mrs. Clinton never advocated outright that minors be given the right to sue their parents. Instead, she wrote favorably about a dissent by William O. Douglas, the late Supreme Court justice, from a majority ruling that upheld the right of Amish parents to be exempt from a Wisconsin law requiring children to attend high school.

Douglas wrote that the critical interests at stake were those of the children and that they should have had their interests represented in court.

In writing about Douglas' dissent, Mrs. Clinton said that his argument was based on psychological and social findings that children of the high school years have the moral and intellectual judgment necessary to make their own decisions on religion and education. She quoted Douglas: "(The child) may want to be a pianist."

When I asked last week for a clarifying statement from Mrs. Clinton about those writings, a campaign press aide told me that the legal staff was working on a comprehensive statement on her writings that could be released within the week.

They know they're likely to hear more on the subject.

John Brummett is editor of *Arkansas Times*. His column appears in the *Democrat-Gazette* Sunday, Tuesday and Thursday. Write him at 201 E. Markham St., Suite 200, Little Rock, Ark., 72201, or call 375-2985.

Editorial

Limit welfare babies?

Should there be a cap on the number of welfare babies that states are responsible for supporting through the Aid For Dependent Children program?

Federal rules say no; they require states to support as many such babies as are born.

Presidents, however, can waive those rules, and Bill Clinton, who at first said no to capping, beat George Bush to the punch last month in saying, yes — as president, he'd waive the rules to let states experiment with caps.

Bush, who is as strong for welfare reform as Clinton, didn't follow up until early this month, when he told Wisconsin it could go ahead and experiment with its cap plan.

Bush is expected to do the same soon for New Jersey, whose plan Clinton opposed when that state passed its "cap law" back in January.

Campaigning then in New Hampshire, Clinton was asked about the law and said that if he was governor, he wouldn't sign it because it unfairly penalized babies.

But when asked in New York last month whether, as president, he'd sign a waiver to let New Jersey go ahead, he said he would — so as to let the state experiment with the capping plan.

At home last weekend, though, the governor didn't endorse the Arkansas Legislative Council's decision Saturday to make a start toward considering a cap plan for the state via a study of what's proposed in Wisconsin and New Jersey.

The council pledged a start on the subject Saturday after Rep. Patrick Flanagan of Forrest City asked the Joint Interim Committee on Public Health, Welfare and Labor to make the study.

Flanagan said he knew that any proposed cap on state support of welfare babies would be controversial, and so it would be — anywhere.

Some, of course, favor the cap. Others, like Clinton, prefer education and job-training for welfare mothers. Yet others want to tackle the problem up front via federally paid abortions for those welfare mothers who want them.

Clinton has said all along that he prefers spending more money on education and job training for welfare mothers while fully supporting their children. After this training, Clinton says, he'd require the mothers to find jobs if possible — but that if they didn't, after a certain period, he'd want to give them public service jobs.

This seems the best approach to us.

A cap on the number of state-supported babies shouldn't, in our view, be imposed on welfare mothers who agree to work to support however many children they want.

Other ways out

Prison overcrowding has resulted in several laws designed to speed up the release of non-violent penitentiary inmates to make room for violent criminals. Sometimes it's hard to know which law is being applied.

One of them is Act 814, which empowers the Department of Correction to release inmates on work-release — so long as the Board of Correction doesn't object. Another is Act 378 for first offenders, under which former lawyer-banker John L. Johnson was sentenced.

Johnson got into a work-release program last week only four months into his six-year prison term for possessing cocaine — but under provisions of Act 814 instead of Act 378.

After we complained on Monday's page about Johnson's premature release under Act 378, Carol Bohannon, a member of the Board of Parole and Community Rehabilitation, called to say that it was the Correction Department, not the parole board, that had freed Johnson, and that he had been released under provisions of Act 814.

Johnson, she said, had been up for a parole hearing under Act 378 in February but was denied parole after he asked the board to delay consideration of him until June.

However, in the meantime, the Department of Correction freed Johnson under Act 814, a supervised work-release program that does not require him to live in a prison unit as another work-release program does.

The other work-release program operates at the Benton Unit of the Department of Correction. Participants have to live there while working in the free world.

In writing about Johnson's release Monday, we noted that Prosecutor H.G. Foster of Conway had objected beforehand to him being allowed work-release.

Foster wrote that he feared that such a short sentence would hurt the credibility of the criminal justice system. He also objected because he believed that Johnson was in an advanced stage of cocaine addiction when convicted and that it was the state's duty to protect and rehabilitate him.

Foster also wrote that he didn't believe Johnson had been rehabilitated, and that releasing him would neither protect nor rehabilitate him.

We think Foster's point is well taken, especially if he is right about Johnson's rehabilitation needs. Revolving doors at the penitentiary make a mockery of criminal justice.

Arkansas Democrat & Gazette
An Independent Daily and Sunday Newspaper

4-21 ADG

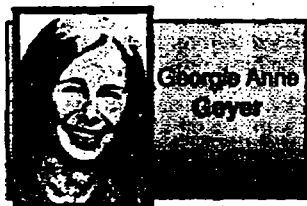
COMMENTARY

The Patriot-News, Reading, Pa., Wednesday, April 22, 1992 — A1

Hillary Clinton

Her ambitions are truly scary

HILLARY CLINTON is pretty in a harsh sort of way, but who is she really? Hillary Clinton is obviously smart, but what would her dogged liberal social policies mean in a Clinton presidency? Hillary Clinton is obviously tightly affixed, despite marital problems, to Bill Clinton, but just how tight is their little island marriage?



George Ann
Geyer

All of this, I quickly aver, would not need much answering in normal circumstances, even if Hillary were to be first lady of the land. I believe that first ladies can have any beliefs, ideologies or prejudices they want — totally different from their husbands' — because they no longer need to be clones.

But we are beginning to see something very different from anything before in the ambitions of Hillary. And they scare the very devil out of me.

The real Hillary Clinton begins to emerge in a splendid and comprehensive profile of the 44-year-old attorney, wife and mother in *Vanity Fair* by the accomplished author Gail Sheehy, and

she is something new even in American politics.

What soon comes through in the lengthy and well-researched piece is the degree to which so many of Hillary's admirers and friends feel that she, and not Bill, should be the politician and leader.

She is the "wife of Bill something," and "the diesel engine powering the front-running Democratic campaign." Sheehy has Hillary suggesting that she, not Bill, run for governor. She is more popular with polled voters than Bill, and steps in and seizes the stage instead of introducing her husband.

HE IS THE messenger, she is "the message." She sees herself in a Clinton presidency as not limited to being even a Cabinet member (not exactly a position lacking in prestige, some might say). No, that is too tame — she wants "maneuverability . . . to get deeply involved in solving problems" as an "all-around adviser."

Then, finally, all of these tides of passion and social commitment and ambition take form. "Now they are, despite protestations to the contrary, co-candidates for the president of the United States."

And Bill Clinton tells Sheehy that "If I get elected president, it will be an unprecedented partnership, far more than Franklin Roosevelt and Eleanor. They were two great people, but on different

THE CLINTONS CONVALESCENCE...



tracks. If I get elected, we'll do things together like we always have."

Well, hey, wait a minute. Why do I have the gnawing feeling that something is wrong? Let me explain.

Many of us early or original feminists for our age thought that what we were fighting for was a woman's right to do whatever she chose to do on her own — to finally take responsibility for her own actions and also take the joy and honor of fulfillment. We didn't think much of women who used men to fulfill their own personal ambitions — and I still don't.

One can admire Hillary Clin-

ton and the many things she has accomplished and still think that this idea of what is in effect a co-presidency is not only bizarre but dangerous.

WE ARE NOT electing Hillary Clinton — that is not our choice. We are not questioning and putting her through the wringer for her political thoughts and ideas — that questionable honor goes to her husband. And if she does not want to stand up on her own and stand for election on her own, she has absolutely no right whatsoever to try to slip through to power through the marriage bed, just like so many of the women we criticized in the past.

I probably would like Hillary personally. I do not like many of her ideas, such as giving children the "right" to sue their parents. This is exactly the delegitimizing of authority that has brought us to the divisive social mess we are in today.

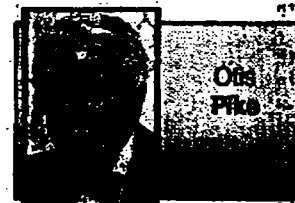
Still, that is not my main objection to this strange idea of a marital presidency. It is not only dangerous because it's based on the notion of giving an unelected person the power of an elected official, it is personally dishonorable.

George Ann Geyer's syndicated column appears Wednesdays and Fridays in *The Patriot*.

Perot speaks his mind, gets bashed

VERO BEACH, Fla. — One would hope that those who to form our opinions and lead our thoughts might show some of compassion for anyone who offers the essential new on leading our nation out of its political and economic morass. One would hope in vain.

The two presumptive candidates of the major political ties, Republican George Bush Democrat Bill Clinton, offer nothing new. As true establishment pros, they take polls, the nation demands change, and offer change. The man who offers change is independent H. Ross Perot. Does the media welcome him? They bash him with gleeful



H. Ross
Perot

Recently, NBC News' Lisa Myers expounded at length on how Perot used government contracts to build his computer company, EDS, into the multibillion-dollar operation he sold to General Motors. Are government contracts bad? Then so are General Motors, Boeing, General Dynamics and every other business in America that gets gove-

Harrisburg 4-22-92

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George Anne Geyer's column appears on Fridays in

Hamburger
Washington Bureau Correspondent

firm, which uses the waste to
cement kilns, has not been active
in Arkansas. The company says that
it recycles hazardous products and
that its environmental record is
good. Nonetheless, Greenpeace and
other organizations have said that
Lafarge's cement-kiln system is a



Wal-Mart Stores Inc.
Bill Becker, the _____ of Ark

Madison Guaranty S&L

In 1985, Madison Guaranty was under pressure from federal regulators to increase its ratio of capital to assets. Madison Guaranty's principal shareholder, Jim McDougal, was an old friend of the Clintons' who had brought the couple into a real estate partnership several years earlier.

- London *Manchester*

Hillary Clinton plans to define own role as America's First Woman

The outspoken and ambitious wife of the most likely Democratic challenger to George Bush speaks to **Simon Tisdall** in Memphis

HILLARY CLINTON, the wife of the probable Democratic presidential nominee, Bill Clinton, is in hot water again. This time the row is over Mrs Clinton's suggestion that, in the interests of balance, the press should re-examine an old story that George Bush once had an affair.

Mrs Clinton's comment, flowing from allegations about her husband's supposed philandering, outraged Barbara Bush. The president's popular spouse viewed it as beyond the pale, and said so forcefully. Her private life quickly became public news.

As the Bush-Clinton presidential battle comes into focus, the bad blood between the First Lady and First Lady-in-waiting will surely provide one of its spicier elements. So will the contrast in their styles.

Mrs Bush plays the traditional First Lady role to perfection. She has espoused good causes, such as a national literacy campaign. She is at her husband's side whenever it is appropriate, but never gives the appearance of interfering. In public, she is invariably jolly, uncontroversial, and humorously self-deprecating, referring to herself as "the fat lady".

Mrs Clinton is a very different proposition. Her row with Mrs Bush followed an infamous and some thought arrogant remark, in response to a question about women like her who pursue their own careers. Should she, she asked rhetorically, "stay home and bake cookies and have teas?" Furious house-makers bombarded the Clinton campaign headquarters in Little Rock, Arkansas,

with cakes sent through the mail.

At times during the campaign, notably on the night of Mr Clinton's primary victory in Chicago, Mrs Clinton has seemed to take over. On that occasion, she made an impassioned, articulate "victory" speech, upstaging her husband in the eyes of many observers, including his staff.

Mrs Clinton does not worry about her tendency to draw the limelight, even if her husband's campaign advisers do. Nor is she enthused by the idea of slotting into the traditional role of candidate's wife, or indeed, of

achievements as a lawyer specialising in litigation, as a teacher, and as a champion of public education and women's and children's rights.

A spouse's loyalty is mingled with a touch of competitive rivalry. There is Bill, the drawing, conciliatory Southerner, and then there is Hillary, the tart-tongued Yankee chatterbox.

Laughing loudly, Mrs Clinton dismissed a suggestion that people were more interested in her than in him. "I think it's just a curiosity," she said. But she sees their relationship more in terms of First Partners than First Couple. "I think my husband will be president, and I think that we'll be working really hard to solve the problems that have been neglected in this country and that are the root causes of our economic distress and our social disarray."

"I think I am pragmatic. You look at policies, at what works, in a non-ideological way. Yes, you need guiding convictions, but they must be rooted in reality, not in some abstract political stance. This whole country needs to grow up and be more responsible. Business leaders need to be more responsible, labour unions, educators, too, need to think more about what they're doing, everybody."

"When I was little girl, I wondered why people didn't get involved, didn't try and make things better. It's a question of engagement, something that I got from my family and my parents, and the Scriptures. I just think you have obligations, and your life is fuller if you meet those obligations."

On the question of their much-discussed marital problems, Mrs Clinton is both defensive and angry. "We were startled. It was the tactics of 1968, when they started doing that. But the people want this election to be about them, they don't want it to be subverted. He wasn't derailed, he came back. And he's the stronger for it."

"People are more sophisticated, there is a greater maturity. They don't want to be sucker-punched again. You make mistakes, and you admit them, and you grow up. And I think a man like my husband has tried to be better, and not be the sort of plastic, packaged politician of the quality that we've been used to. He showed he has guts and he has character."

What about her guts and character? "I stand up for what I believe in. This election is about more than Bill Clinton, and it's certainly about a lot more than me. If all our thoughts were that we'd be living in the White House and going to Camp David, believe me I wouldn't be here."

'I'm doing what I've done for 20 years, speaking out about issues I care about'

First Lady. "I'm not interested in moving from one stereotype to another," she said. "I'm just myself and I'm doing what I've done for more than 20 years, speaking out about issues that I care about."

"I don't think anybody should be bound by some stereotype about a role that is a non-role [that of First Lady]. Each individual has to define it to suit her, or some day his, interests and experience."

"It's not a question of role models. We're a new generation. What I do, it's an example of what a lot of women already do, every day of their lives. It's where we are."

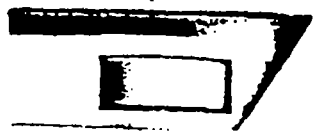
Aged 44, Mrs Clinton is slim and fair-haired, the daughter of a wealthy industrialist and the mother of one child, Chelsea. Mrs Clinton is proud of her

Mr Clinton has already discussed his wife's possible appointment to a senior post in his administration, should he win. Her record includes being chair of the Children's Defence Fund, board member of the National Centre on Education and the Economy, former chair of the Arkansas Education Standards Committee, and businesswoman — she is on the board of the Walmart supermarket chain. Whatever her future role, Mrs Clinton said she envisaged a broad canvas.

"Children's issues, women's issues, public education, economic concerns. When I was at law school [Yale], I thought about going into politics, but never into any elective office. I'm interested in consensus, in identifying what's wrong, in bringing people together."

4/22/92

The Guardian



ST Louis Post-Dispatch
4-25-92

cloth on the floor and placed on them.

The Woman Who Would Be Ms. President

I am writing in response to Cal Thomas' April 16 column, "A Radical Feminist For President?"

Hillary Clinton represents the American female not only of the 1990s but of the 21st century as well. Her outspokenness and what Thomas labels radicalism epitomize the frustration with the male-dominated American political system that women have endured over the past few centuries.

Sen. Tom Harkin of Iowa expressed similar if not the same political views during his now-defunct presidential campaign. But I do not see Thomas attacking Harkin's "radicalism" or his liberal (the 1980s bad word) ideas. According to Thomas, the male expresses his ideas whether they are political or otherwise. When a female does the same thing, she is outspoken.

America needs Hillary Clinton. Not only is she intelligent and, most important, honest, she represents the ever-growing American female population that tries and often succeeds in balancing a career and a family. She

represents the 1960s baby boomers who are tired of the status quo of the American political system. She represents change not only in the political system but in the social system as well.

America is tired of the Barbara Bushes of this world. Thomas and people like him are afraid of Hillary Clinton's power surge in the White House if her husband is elected president. My response to that is an old adage: Two heads are better than one. In November, I am casting my vote for Hillary Clinton's husband for president of the United States.

T. Bennett Burkemper Jr.
Troy, Mo.

Cal Thomas' April 16 column is a glaring example of irresponsible journalism. To my certain knowledge, it is erroneous, untrue and misleading. The worst part is that Thomas knows or should know that, because the facts are a matter of public record and have been for more than 10 years.



He asserts that during Hillary Clinton's last two years on the board of

Legal Services Corp., she presided over certain actions of the corpora-

tion to which Thomas objects. Hillary Clinton left the board of the corporation on Dec. 31, 1981. During 15 of the last 24 months on the board, I, not she, was the chairman. She was simply one of 11 members of the board.

Further, the board itself had nothing to do with the actions of which Thomas complains. The corporation represents no clients and provides no services; it simply is an agency that grants funds to more than 300 local legal aid agencies. Grantees use the grants to provide services within the framework of the statute and regulations adopted by the board. As Thomas should know, the statute creating the corporation provides that the president of the corporation, not the board, makes the grants.

Even if a grantee were somehow to misuse the funds, the board would have no power to halt the abuse. Defunding requires a hearing before an independent hearing examiner. The charge that Hillary Clinton was somehow responsible for the actions of the grantees is absurd.

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THE NATIONAL LAW JOURNAL

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AP/Wide World Photos

VISIBLE: Hillary Clinton, who has been with The Rose Law Firm since 1977, stands with Georgia Gov. Zell Miller at a campaign stop in Georgia.

Hillary's Law Firm Adjusts to Spotlight

By CLAUDIA MACLACHLAN
National Law Journal Staff Reporter

CAMPAIGN



IN THE CLOSE-knit legal community of Little Rock, Ark., the Rose Law Firm looms large — far larger than its size and for far longer than it has

employed Hillary Rodham Clinton, wife of the state's governor, Bill Clinton.

Established in 1820 by two of the founding fathers of the Arkansas Territory, Rose has 55 lawyers, making it the third-largest firm in the state. Now it is the best-known as well, thanks to Ms. Clinton, whose high-profile role in her husband's presidential race has drawn the klieg

lights down on her partners.

"Obviously this has made our firm a lot more visible than we want to be," said Rose partner Webster L. Hubbell, a former mayor of Little Rock and the designated firm spokesman. "We've had lots of phone calls. They run the gamut from wanting to know everything about our personal financial situation to asking for humorous anecdotes about Hillary," he said.

Finances are something that the otherwise affable Mr. Hubbell declines to discuss. By all accounts the Rose firm, with 30 partners and an enviable roster of blue chip clients, does very well.

Ms. Clinton reported income of \$105,711 in 1990 from the Rose firm, up from \$92,444 the year before. A knowledgeable legal source put Ms. Clinton's income in those two years

Continued on page 35

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Worth Reading

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JUST HOW d
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sored by Rep. ...
Wirth, D-Colo. — are caught in a political blockade
because neither Republicans nor Democrats in the
House of Representatives want to take responsibility
for giving more funds to RTC.

"The S&L crisis has cost taxpayers hundreds of
billions of dollars," said Representative Levine on
the House floor April 9. "It has cost thousands of
depositors their life savings. Those responsible for
these outrageous crimes should not be allowed to
escape payment and a punishment for their actions
by hiding behind a statute of limitations."

Congressional staffers say that RTC officials have
told them there are at least 160 potential cases for
which the agency has not yet hired attorneys to do
the work. They say they need more hands even
though the RTC grew by 76 in-house lawyers to a
total 668 in the first two months of 1992. RTC's in-
house counsel direct hundreds of outside law firms in
professional liability suits and other legal work asso-

ly put the officials of those institutions beyond the
reach of the arm of the law.

RTC has at least six years from the date of taking
over an institution to file breach of contract suits
(more in cases where state law offers a longer stat-
ute of limitations). But RTC could collect less money
in those cases, because contract suits do not ordinari-
ly provide the opportunity for punitive damages or
contributions by joint tortfeasors.

The cloud of possible criminal prosecution still
hangs over the head of thrift officials for 10 years
from the date of any alleged crimes, (as long as
those alleged crimes were committed after Aug. 9,
1984), due to an extension in the criminal statute of
limitations voted by Congress in the thrift reform
and bailout law of 1989. The decision to pursue those
cases is not ultimately in the hands of RTC, however,
but in those of the U.S. attorneys, based on the evi-
dence of criminal wrongdoing.



HAT IN HAND: Resolution Trust Corp. President
Alfred V. Casey waits to testify before the House
Banking Committee Feb. 26 for more time.

Campaign Puts Little Rock Firm in Spotlight

Continued from page 3

at about half the normal draw for Rose
partners, reflecting the fact that she
spends only about half her time on law
firm business.

Lately, she has had even less time
for clients, although Mr. Hubbell says
Ms. Clinton is handling several active
files and checks in daily. Two cases
she had scheduled for trial in March
were settled out of court, he said.

Ms. Clinton practices in the firm's
litigation and labor section, one of four
practice areas. While much attention
has been paid to the firm's dealings
with state government, Ms. Clinton's
presence does not appear to have
drawn much direct state business.

The Rose firm ranked 33d in obtain-
ing state business between July 1989
and February 1992, according to recent
report in the Daily Record, a Little
Rock legal and business journal. In
that time, the state reported spending
\$1,384,080 for outside legal work, with
\$4,226 going to the Rose firm.

Separately, the firm ranked fourth in
obtaining bond work from the Arkan-
sas Development Finance Authority,
according to the Daily Record. Be-
tween 1983 and 1991, Rose was paid be-
tween \$77,432 and \$154,884,609 for bond
counsel work. The Finance Authority
provided ranges, rather than exact
amounts.

Rose bills itself as a general corpo-
rate firm, handling work for such local
clients as Tyson Foods, the chicken
processor; Stephens Inc., a securities
company; and Aromatique, a fra-
grance firm. Wal-Mart Stores Inc., the
giant Arkansas-based retailer, has a
large in-house legal staff but farms out
miscellaneous legal work to various lo-
cal firms, including Rose.

National clients include Alcoa Alu-
minum Co., Minnesota Mining and
Manufacturing Co., and General Elec-
tric Co. Rose partners tend to be active
in local, state and national organiza-
tions and among their ranks are a for-
mer bankruptcy judge and a former

member of the Arkansas House of Rep-
resentatives. Mr. Hubbell, in addition
to being mayor, also served as chief
justice of the Arkansas Supreme Court.
Firm Spotlight

The intense national spotlight has
taken its toll on the firm, where Ms.
Clinton has worked since 1977 when
her husband was elected attorney gen-
eral. Mr. Hubbell is bearing the brunt
of the pressure by fielding most of the
phone calls. In February, he had to
hole up in a hotel room so he could
finish grading bar exams.

"There are good points and bad
points" to the publicity, he said. "We
enjoy being called a prestigious firm."
On the other hand, the Rose partners
have been stung by allegations of con-
flict of interest or favoritism resulting
from employing the governor's wife.

"Those are difficult charges to deal
with and yet maintain client confiden-
tiality," Mr. Hubbell said. "The press
scrutiny has never been like this," he
said, although most of the allegations,

raised over the years by Governor
Clinton's opponents in gubernatorial
races, are old news in Little Rock, hav-
ing been thoroughly examined by the
local press.

Little Rock lawyers, clannish in the
best of times and now wary of saying
anything that could even remotely be
construed as critical, are quick to
praise the Clintons and the Rose firm.

"Both [Bill] and Hillary have gone to
great extremes to make certain that
everything they did was ethical and
beyond question," said Isaac A. Scott
Jr., senior partner at 58-lawyer Wright,
Lindsey & Jennings, which competes
with Rose for business and which em-
ployed Governor Clinton in 1980 and
1981 when he was between his first and
second terms as governor.

"This is a small legal community,
and Governor Clinton supplies a level
playing field," Mr. Scott said. "We do
not feel we have ever been favored by
the governor, nor have our com-
petitors."

The Hillary Loophole

*Political spouses have
a right to work.
They don't have a right
to influence-peddle*

by Katherine Boo

Over the last few years, the House Sergeant at Arms' quarters may have edged out Brock Adams' office as the tawdriest place on the Hill. Forget the two and a half years of GAO warnings that the House bank had gone haywire. In addition to overdrafting \$104,000 worth of his own checks, Sergeant at Arms Jack Russ, a protégé of Ways and Means chairman Dan Rostenkowski, had an aide arrested by the Capitol Hill police as a bachelor-party prank, allegedly ran a private business out of the House stationery room, possibly commanded his police force to wiretap members, and still found time to spread the rumor that Speaker Tom Foley was a closet case.

With opportunities like those, the tiny office's fulltime auditor should have had a dream job—an exposé a day. But oddly enough, the auditor didn't find much. Or maybe it's not all that odd. For most of 1990 and 1991, the job was filled by one Chris Downey, wife of Rostenkowski's Ways and Means colleague, Tom Downey. As her husband and 330 other members bounced checks, she took home about \$35,000 a year as auditor until she was promoted to assistant to the Sergeant at Arms, at \$40,000. Her professional experience immediately before coming to the House was operating a Capitol Hill pizza parlor.

Scholars of the bank fiasco should be forgiven for missing this low-profile auditor. She wasn't regularly listed in the staffing reports Congress is required by law to publish. Plus, explains the new Sergeant at Arms, Werner Brandt, she wasn't really an auditor. What did she do for her salary? Her chief duty was presiding over the refurbishment of The Mace—the House's four-foot silver and ivory ceremo-

Katherine Boo is an editor of The Washington Monthly. Research assistance was provided by Greg Bologna.

nial staff. On March 1, as the bank scandal broke, Downey departed her job.

Maybe calling Chris Downey an auditor was an innocent mistake. And maybe overseeing the polishing of a staff really is worth 35 grand. And possibly she was the most qualified person in all of Washington to do it, just as Hillary Clinton was the worthiest lawyer in Little Rock to represent a failing S&L as it asked a securities commissioner appointed by her husband for a reprieve. But maybe there was something else involved, something some people are suddenly reluctant to name.

In the wake of the media's timid suggestion that Hillary Clinton's career may have been boosted by her husband's political position, public reaction has taken an unexpected turn. Instead of railing against the candidate's wife for peddling influence, many people seemed to object to the premise of the question: a veiled advocacy, some charged, for the barefoot-and-tea-pouring school of femininity. As Bill Clinton snapped at Jerry Brown, such a line of inquiry doesn't "respect the fact that women can have their own world and do their own jobs."

Indeed, a woman's right to pursue her own career regardless of her husband's is unarguable. Yet there's a legitimate issue involved here, one that will increase in importance as the Nancy Reagan gaze yields to the Hillary Clinton galewind. More and more wives of politicians are pursuing their independence through jobs in government or its lobbying and consulting appendages, where their career choices may have an effect on public interest.

A decade ago, hard as it might be to believe now, eyebrows arched when lobbyists seeking access to Washington powerati-

hired Ellen Proxmire's party-planning Washington, Inc. to up their odds. Today, a congressional spouse is more likely to be a lawyer, lobbyist, or political consultant than to sell crudites to Georgetown hostesses. There's Ruth Harkin, whose law firm Akin Gump boasts a slew of farmbelt clients, from Pillsbury to RJR Nabisco to Miller Brewing, who are deeply concerned with the actions of the agricultural appropriations subcommittee, which Tom Harkin chairs. There's lawyer Mary Whalen, wife of House education committee chair William Ford, whose firm lobbies on behalf of one of higher education's most powerful corporate interests. There's the embattled chairman of the Commodities and Futures Trading Commission, Wendy Gramm, whose husband Phil has actively pushed her interests in the Senate. There's Barbara Morris Lent, who lobbies her husband's House committee on behalf of NYNEX. And on and on.

Women's lives have changed, thank God. The problem is that politics hasn't. Access still helps, it's still worth plenty, and—as a look at the work of America's political wives suggests—influence-peddling isn't a gender-linked phenomenon. Thus we have a need to look closely at what Hillary Clinton's firm earns in state business or how Ruth Harkin's firm works with agriculture subcommittees or why Chris Downey was hired for that mysterious job—and the impact any of it might have on public policy. That's a principle easily grasped when the subject is Billy Carter or Armand D'Amato. But in our sympathy for the difficulties women face in the working world, we've allowed relevant questions about wives' careers to be silenced by social mores and public disclosure loopholes John Zaccaro would have cherished.

House wives

You'd think Chicago representative William Lipinski would have enough to worry about, with his district's spiraling crime rate, crummy schools, and constituents' proclivity for burning crosses on front lawns. But a primary obsession of this Public Works and Transportation Committee member over the years has been securing federal funding for a rail line through southwest Chicago to Midway Airport. The Chicago Transit Authority (CTA), one of the chief beneficiaries of the project, has been appropriately grateful for his largesse: Shortly after the rail line received several hundred million dollars in federal startup funds, CTA awarded a one-year, \$44,000 lobbying contract to Lipinski's wife.

Rose Marie Lipinski has, by all accounts, an IQ well into the three digits. Four years ago, she graduated from law school. But when CTA officials were asked what other virtues justified the creation of a new lobbying post in her honor, they came up with a rather limp rationale: She was a longtime resident of Chicago. In 1991, shortly after Ms. Lipinski was hired, the CTA received an additional \$13.4 million in federal discretionary funds for the Midway airport project.

A working-woman issue? "I don't think anybody ever saw her do anything," laughs Natalia Delgado, a lawyer for Genner & Bloch and former CTA board member. "She never reported to the board on anything."

Minor scandal? Apparently not: Our definition of propriety has "evolved" along with wives-of's occupations. When Billy Carter was hired as a lobbyist by the Libyan government way back when, he became an instant symbol of incipient corruption. When *The New York Times*' credible account of Hillary Clinton's intervention in the Arkansas S&L deal was published, on the other hand, she became a symbol of unfair press persecution. Yet the breadth we give to wives-of's careers isn't just a fuzzy matter of public acceptance. In some cases the approval is official. Before Rose Marie Lipinski began lobbying her husband's committee on behalf of CTA, the Lipinskis queried the only institutional watchdog on these matters, the House ethics committee, and received its okay.

Our willingness to tolerate such questionable arrangements may stem from a strange confluence of old- and new-school thought on working women. To the dinosaurs, wives' jobs simply might not seem all that important; why not provide some harmless pastime for politics' gracious ladies? To the younger and more enlightened—many of whom are, or are married to, women who work—it's something else.

While Billy Carter's hiring by Libya couldn't possibly be construed as an equal rights issue, Rose Marie Lipinski's hiring can. "It's tricky business," says Congresswatch's Michael Waldman, explaining why his good-government group, like Common Cause, doesn't monitor spousal conflicts. No good liberal wants to impinge upon a woman's right to work.

Of course, conflict of interest is a notoriously slippery concept. As ethics committee members surely rationalized in the case of the Lipinskis, the extra income paid to the wife was likely to have no effect on the husband's voting: Lipinski has never been averse to pork (although his wife's contract might inspire him to work a little harder for the project). The harmony of interest is not so neat in the case of New York representative Norman Lent, ranking minority member of the Energy and Commerce committee. One of the hot issues before his committee is legislation affecting the Baby Bells, which are fighting newspapers and the cable industry over control of on-line data services. But those papers and cable operators aren't likely to get much help from Lent, whose wife lobbies for one of the biggest babies, NYNEX.

One could argue that NYNEX was indifferent to Ms. Lent's connections when hiring her. But one might also note that another member of NYNEX's lobbying team is former representative (and telecommunications subcommittee member) Tom Tauke. One might also argue that Ms. Lent can't be blamed for possessing those connections if she doesn't actively use them. Yet Energy and Commerce staffers observe that while Ms. Lent actively lobbies her husband's colleagues, she's seldom seen on the Senate side, where her name is not quite so effective a calling card.

Washington is a sophisticated place, fully capable of distinguishing the arriviste from the arrived. But wife-of status may be an advantage even when all the credentials are in order. In February, as debate over the Higher Education Reauthorization Act raged, legal aid lawyers representing students went head to head with the Student Loan Mortgage Association (Sallie Mae) over whether students should be liable for school loans when trade schools' promises turn out to be fraudulent. (Sallie Mae, which packages and resells millions of those loans, believes students should still pay.) Money politics being what they are, the legal aid folks were already woefully outclassed. But when they met with the staff of the House Education Committee, which is chaired by William D. Ford, they faced another disadvantage: Sallie Mae was represented by Ford's wife's firm, Williams and Jensen.

A conflict of interest on Ford's part? Not officially. The Sallie Mae account is handled by a lawyer a

few doors away from his wife's office. And Mary Whalen was a lawyer long before she was a spouse. But to deny the impact of being lobbied by your wife's firm is to deny a fundamental political truth: connections matter. That's why a defense contractor recently slipped Armand D'Amato \$120,000 to lobby his brother, the senator, according to a federal indictment. And that's also why lobbyist Tom Boggs—the Patton, Boggs, and Blow partner and consummate son-of—is one of the most powerful people in Washington.

That's not to say that such influence is wielded vulgarly:

Hire me because my husband/mother/daughter chairs a key committee. In fact, most people blessed with access carefully carve out a window of deniability. Boggs never lobbied his mother's Merchant Marine Committee, while Hillary Clinton refuses a cut of her firm's earnings from state business. Those small sacrifices help distinguish politics' savvy access-holders from the unembarrassed, and slightly embarrassing, Barbara Lents, but they don't close all doors. Indeed, it's as a softer form of currency that access really works.

At Akin Gump or Williams and Jensen or Little Rock's Rose law firm, partners have subtle ways of letting their social wiring show, for good reason. Clients value access to powerful people, and being able to demonstrate that you have it increases the total take of the firm, and thus the worth, and perhaps the salary, of the connected. While putting a precise price on wifely access is as futile as quantifying grace, an imperfect way to gauge it is to look at a woman who lost it. In 1987, when Pamela Kostmayer was married to a popular Pennsylvania representative, her PR firm, Kostmayer Communications, boasted an institutional client list that included Allied Signal, Monsanto, and Levi Strauss. At the time, Pamela Kostmayer publicly complained (as political wives often do) that her political scruples were actually hurting her business. Today, after the divorce, her business is primarily "grassroots." "I'm not into the Hill anymore," Kostmayer explains gamely, insisting her new practice is doing splendidly.

Of course, access isn't just a fiction people create to drum up business or accumulate power. It requires a fairly chilly definition of marriage to believe Norman Lent's feelings towards the Baby Bells aren't affected by his wife's interests, or that John Dingell's

thoughts about the United Auto Workers haven't evolved over years spent with his wife, a GM executive and heiress to the Fisher Bodies fortune. And if you think Phil Gramm can read with wide-open mind the pile of GAO reports criticizing his wife's Commodities and Futures Trading Commission, well, you probably aren't still married.

Some of the great moments in spousal influence-peddling don't require a Rhadamanthine sensibility to arouse indignation—like when Antoinette Hatfield accepted a \$55,000 fee from Greek businessman Basil

Tsakos for "interior decorating advice" while her Oregon-senator husband was urging federal funding for Tsakos' \$12 billion oil pipeline, or when Betty Wright, wife of House Speaker Jim Wright, received an \$18,000 salary from a Texas investor who had sought favors from her husband. (What did she do for the money? Not much of anything, investigators concluded.) Nevertheless, even those actions have been gingerly defended along feminist lines.

"I understand the opportunities for power-couple corruption," Ellen Goodman said with distaste after Betty Wright was busted. "But is this to be a new line of ethical inquiry: 'What does your wife do for a living? Is she really doing it?'" Given the temptations, indeed it should. What Goodman seemed to elide was that in both the Wright and Hatfield cases, the object was apparently to encourage a politician to act out of private interest. Had the payments to the wives not been brought to light, the cost to society may have far greater than the loss of income and professional traction to each woman. (Although that's not saying much; it's apparently still rather cheap to buy off a wife.)

In the case of Hillary Clinton and the S&L, the lopsidedness of the career/public-interest equation is particularly clear. Had she forsaken the opportunity to represent the insolvent institution while it sought state approval of a new fundraising scheme, she might have lost a few thousand dollars' worth of billable hours. Instead, the funding scheme was approved, the thrift failed, and the federal government was forced to intervene, leaving taxpayers with a far bigger bill.

Clearly, some political spouses have benefited, knowingly or not, from their connubial connections, and the public has paid a price. But to congressional

**"It's tricky business," says
Congresswatch's Michael
Waldman, explaining why his
good-government group doesn't
monitor spousal conflicts.
What liberal wants to impinge
upon a woman's right to work?**

spouses and their defenders, even pointing out potential conflicts or profiteering is likely to be perceived as sexist. "Men don't get this scrutiny," charged Ruth Harkin recently, "because it is assumed they deserve their success, but somehow a wife doesn't."

Harkin's right: There is a double standard here. But it's not the one she had in mind. When Tom Harkin announced his presidential candidacy and then stumped for months, *Legal Times*, *National Journal*, *Congressional Quarterly*, and the major newspapers usually deputized to keep an eye on influence-peddling shenanigans didn't think to investigate Ruth's work for agricultural clients at Akin Gump—a firm notorious, thanks to partner Robert Strauss, for elegant insider-trading. But when Pat Schroeder merely considered running for president, *Legal Times* raked the career of her husband, a partner at Kaplan Russin & Vecchi, over the coals. (He came out clean.)

Married . . . with influence

Better yet, consider former San Francisco mayor and California gubernatorial candidate Dianne Feinstein, whose husband is affluent money manager Richard Blum. Instead of printing soul-searching columns about Blum's right to his own career, the San Francisco, Oakland, and Los Angeles papers have marshalled reporting teams to comb his records for conflicts for a decade. Although the investigations have occasionally veered toward zealotry, the premise is perfectly sound: Public interest requires that potential conflicts of interest be explored.

"Blum's business clearly has benefited from the union and the networking opportunities," concluded the *Los Angeles Times* censoriously—and accurately—after a review of Blum's myriad business partnerships in 1990. The same could probably be said of the careers of Hillary Clinton, Ruth Harkin, Chris Downey, Barbara Lent, and other political wives. It isn't. Still, what's most interesting about the Blum case isn't the conclusions the media drew. It's what the media brought to light: no megascandals, simply the fact that Blum worked for hotel and insurance interests vying for multimillion-dollar contracts with the city of San Francisco.

Making that information public didn't deal a fatal blow to Feinstein's political career, nor should it have. Rather, public awareness of her vested interest surely made Feinstein a lot more careful, and perhaps more equitable, as she voted on those issues. Was that unfair to Feinstein and Blum? It would have been far less fair to the public not to know that a generous city redevelopment contract was going to a partner of the mayor's husband.

That's exactly the kind of information we don't have on many political wives. While federal criminal law prohibits executive branch employees from taking actions that benefit their own or their spouses' financial interests, Congress has exempted itself from that law. And it's also awarded its spouses generous exemptions on the financial disclosure forms members are required to file. For instance, congressmen must disclose where a wife gets her money, but not what she does nor how much she earns for doing it. (How much did Chris Downey make? "Salary," responds her disclosure report helpfully.)

Meanwhile, don't look to the House and Senate ethics committees to initiate investigations of potential conflicts: they simply wait, delphically, to be asked. And they don't get asked very often. Between 1977 and 1987 (the latest date available), the House ethics committee gave careful consideration to dozens of questions concerning donations of doughnuts and trinkets to congressional staffers, but only two questions involving the propriety of spousal careers. In both cases, the committee left the determination of potential conflict of interest to the members and spouses themselves.

Is there a better way to protect public interest, one that doesn't condemn spouses to the kitchen? Sure there is—and Congress had a hand in coming up with it in 1989, when Carla Hills was appointed U.S. Trade Representative (USTR) and her husband's career came under scrutiny. A former SEC chairman and managing partner at Latham Watkins who represented a Japanese trading giant, Roderick Hills wasn't happy about rearranging his professional life. But Washington politicians, faced with the alternative—allowing the spouse to represent interests whose fates were controlled by his wife—and freed from fear of being called sexist, could see pretty clearly which claim weighed more heavily on national interest. By the time of Carla Hills' confirmation, Roderick Hills had agreed to terminate all business relationships that might pose a conflict of interest, promised to keep the USTR apprised of his planned business activities, and agreed not to take on any new clients without the approval of the Office of Government Ethics.

In a climate where even mentioning the uxorial advantage comes off as piggish, demanding strictures on wives' abilities to influence-peddle will surely harrow a few politically correct politicians. It might—sorry, Ms. Clinton, Ms. Downey, Ms. Harkin, Ms. Lipinski, Ms. Lent—even hamstring a few lobbying or government careers. But if true equality for women is the goal, an equal deference to the public interest doesn't seem an unreasonable thing to ask.

WHAT HILLARY WANTS

The most controversial figure of the election year so far has been a woman. Hillary Clinton, and she isn't even running for office. Or is she? Whether she loves the boy in Bill Clinton as much as the man or whether she is simply unwilling to forfeit her sixteen years' investment in their political partnership, Hillary is determined to seize the national stage. GAIL SHEEHY reports



POWER SURGE
Bill and Hillary Clinton
share the spotlight



In May of 1990, Bill Clinton was running for his fifth term as governor of Arkansas. While he was conveniently out of town, a challenger in the Democratic primary, Tom McCrae, called a press conference in the echo chamber of the capitol rotunda. He was in the middle of telling everyone who would listen that Bill Clinton was a chicken—"and since the governor will not debate..."—when all at once another voice chewed into his sound bite. "Tom, who was the one person who didn't show up in Springdale? Give me a break! I mean, I think that we oughta get the record straight..."

The camera swung around to a small, yellow-haired woman in a houndstooth-check suit—literally *in his face*. Having crashed McCrae's photo op, she planted herself directly opposite him, just spoiling for a fight. She looked quite pale without studio makeup, but her eyes flashed in the lights of the television camera. "Many of the reports you issued," she charged, "not only praised the governor on his environmental record, but his education record *and* his economic record!"

The camera spun again to reveal the hapless man's grit-eating smile, his eyes bobbling around in his head as if he'd just been zapped by a stun gun. His stammering response was trampled by the woman ticking off her points, reading embarrassing passages from the candidate's own earlier handouts. "You now turn around and as a candidate have a very short memory," she finished. As they say in Arkansas, *she ate his lunch*.

The Eyewitness News man wound up his thrilled coverage with the tag line "Hillary Clinton showed again that she may be the best debater in the family."

It is the Year of the Political Woman. Paul Tsongas, whose least appealing quality was his mopey personality, said with a grateful nod to his attorney wife, Niki, "If you don't have charisma, you marry it." Ruth Harkin, a former prosecutor, assumed the role of her husband's unofficial political adviser for his six-month run. Marilyn Quayle, who told *The Washington Post* through

clenched teeth that politicians in the past never acknowledged that "your little wifey...helps you," commands entry into the Office of the Vice President from a six-office suite across the hall, passing judgment on lobbyists and other supplicants. (Marilyn says she raises a subject with the vice president "if I think it's important enough." Otherwise, staffers "let me make the decision instead.") President Bush, who often leans on his vastly more popular wife at public appearances, has recently brought on board his rudderless re-election team wordsmith Peggy Noonan.



RULES OF ATTRACTION

"I loved being with her," says Bill, "but I had very ambivalent feelings about getting involved with her."

Her job description: "Message development." Even bullyboy Pat Buchanan, Beltway pundits say, wouldn't have run if it hadn't been for his sister—who is also his campaign chairwoman.

And it is Hillary Rodham Clinton, lawyer-activist-teacher-author-corporate boardwoman-mother and wife of Billsomething, who is the diesel engine powering the front-running Democratic campaign. In the space of one week in late January, Hillary fast-forwarded from being introduced as "wife of" (*60 Minutes*) to the victim of "the other woman" (*PrimeTime Live*) to "Trapped in a Spotlight. Hillary Clinton Uses It" (*The New York Times*), the last illustrated by a picture which said it all: Hillary with her arm thrust in the air and wearing a big campaign smile, out in front of her husband.

The forty-four-year-old wife and

mother still shows flashes of the sweet ingenue smile of her college years, and has maintained her size 8 by touching little more than a lettuce leaf and water during campaign fund-raisers (her less disciplined husband has put on twenty-five pounds). When the cameras dolly in, however, one can detect the calculation in the f-stop click of Hillary's eyes. Lips pulled back over her slightly jutting teeth, the public smile is practiced; the small frown establishes an air of superiority; her hair looks lifelessly doll-like.

But there is no mistaking the passion in her words or the impact of her presence. "The *instant* she came in the door of the ballroom, I knew it," said a savvy pol, Patricia Derian, an assistant secretary of state under Jimmy Carter, who saw Hillary sway a big-ticket Washington crowd at a benefit in March. There was no fanfare, no spotlight, the lady isn't even much taller than a podium microphone. "But there was no missing her," said Derian, "and that's really rare. She's a spectacular candidate in her own right. She's got my vote."

In Los Angeles, at a March 26 salmon-and-spinach luncheon hosted by Hollywood producer Dawn Steel and television producer Linda Bloodworth-Thomason (among others), Hillary dazzled an audience that is usually ho-hum about stars and plenty impressed with themselves. "We need to be against brain-dead politics wherever we find it!" she thundered, looking fierce in a fire-engine-red suit. "We need to forge a new consensus about [our] new political direction...that doesn't jerk us to the right, jerk us to the left, prey on our emotions, engender paranoia and insecurity...but instead moves us forward together." Producer Sherry Lansing pronounced it "an extraordinary speech, *extraordinary*."

The sold-out luncheon—her most successful of the season, raising \$50,000—came off in the heat of the controversy over Hillary's role in her husband's campaign. Her snappish response to Jerry Brown's broadside on her career—"I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas"—had offended millions of wom-

en who have chosen to be full-time homemakers, reinvoking the arrogance of the Tammy Wynette quote that so irritated the country-music vote. That very morning, *New York Times* columnist William Safire had written about what he called "the Hillary problem," describing her as a "political bumbler" who suffers from "foot-in-mouth disease."

In a private interview after the luncheon, I asked Hillary how she felt about being labeled "the problem." Uncharacteristically, she squirmed and stammered. "I don't know how to feel about it. . . . I think I'll just have to be more . . . careful in the way I express my feelings, so I don't inadvertently hurt anybody."

"I think the only legitimate concern is around the misconstruction of what I said about baking cookies and having tea. I can understand why some people thought that I was criticizing women who made different choices than the one I had—in fact, criticizing the choice that my mother and a lot of dear friends have made. Nothing could be further from what I believe."

Did she, then, agree with Barbara Bush, who stirred up a hornet's nest at Hillary's alma mater, Wellesley College, when she told students that a working mother should always put family before career? "For me, I believe that," Hillary replied fervently. "Personally, I believe that a woman should put her family and her relationships—which are really at the root of who you are and how you relate to the world—at the top of your priority list." She hastened to add, "But I don't believe that I, or Barbara Bush, should tell all women that's what they have to put first. . . . What we have to get away from is the idea that there's only one right choice."

Hillary seems to understand why she has become a lightning rod in her husband's presidential campaign. "What they're trying to figure out is 'How will she be able to influence him? Who is this person?' Well, Bill Clinton is the kind of person who asks advice from literally dozens of people. If you look at George Bush, he's advised by a coterie of men . . . who are, frankly, all of one mind, a very narrow, all-white coterie of, exclusively, men."

The president is one of Hillary's fa-

vorite targets, and she pillories him mercilessly in her speeches. "When it's all stripped away," she told the L.A. crowd, "at bottom what we see is a failure of leadership, rooted in a very hollow sense of what politics is and can be." As one listener put it, "She's unbelievably articulate and connects with her audience with a message that hits home." Then she joined the buzz heard all over the room: "You can't help but think, Why isn't *she* the candidate?"

She almost was. Two years ago, when Bill Clinton considered forgoing his fifth gubernatorial contest in order to

"If I get elected president," Bill Clinton vows, "it will be an unprecedented partnership."

build an early base for his lifelong presidential ambitions, Hillary called up a friend and former newspaper publisher in the state, Dorothy Stuck, and asked, "What would happen if I ran for governor?"

"After all this time Bill's been in office, you'd be hung with his baggage," answered the veteran newspaperwoman. She pledged her support, but advised Hillary to wait a few more years. "She thought she had a good chance," remembers Stuck, who adds that Hillary Clinton is revered by many women in Arkansas. Hillary's closest confidante, Carolyn Huber, confirms, "She got very enthusiastic about the prospect of running for governor." Hushing her voice, as if telling a little tale out of school, Huber says, "I think she'd like to be governor, but she wasn't about to try if Bill wanted to again."

"Some say the wrong Clinton is in

the statehouse," the governor himself drawled at a charity roast of Hillary four years ago, "and I wouldn't disagree with them." On February 7, when I asked if he was concerned about being upstaged by his wife, Clinton was unfazed. "I've always liked strong women. . . . It doesn't bother me for people to see her and get excited and say she could be president. I always say she could be president, too." At his own fund-raisers he has often quipped, "Buy one, get one free!"

In fact, fewer people seem to have negative feelings toward Hillary than toward her husband. According to a national survey conducted from March 27 to 29 by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman for *Vanity Fair*, 41 percent of those surveyed have a generally favorable impression of Hillary, while 24 percent have an unfavorable one. Fifty-five percent think she is an asset to her husband's campaign; 24 percent think she's a liability. A whopping 84 percent say they would not object to a First Lady with a separate career. Those surveyed use the following descriptions of Hillary: intelligent (75 percent); tough-minded (65 percent); a good role model for women (48 percent); a feminist in the best possible sense (44 percent). The negatives: power-hungry (44 percent); too intense (36 percent); a wife who dominates her husband (28 percent). Most disturbing for the Clintons, however, is the skepticism over their relationship: 53 percent think it is more a "professional arrangement" than a "real marriage" (22 percent).

The raised eyebrows are due in part to the way Hillary has seized the stage at certain public appearances. Even the normally unflappable Tom Brokaw was startled when, in the triumphal glow of the southern stomp on Super Tuesday, she shot past her husband to man the microphone. "What I would like to do, in introducing . . . someone . . ." she began, while her husband danced in the background like a prizefighter trying to stay warm. Soon she was booming, "We believe passionately in this country and we cannot stand by for ONE MORE YEAR and watch what is happening to it!" Over the applause, Brokaw observed dryly, "Not just an introduction, this is a *speech* by Mrs. Clinton."

Hillary barely referred to her hus-

band—and then only as “the messenger.” If he is the messenger, she may be the message. Those who keep asking “Why isn’t *she* running?” miss the point. Hillary Clinton *is* running. She and her husband have been a political team for more than twenty years. And now they are, despite protestations to the contrary, *co-candidates* for president of the United States. Asked at the L.A. luncheon if she wanted to be her husband’s vice president, Hillary brushed off the question. “I’m not interested in attending a lot of funerals around the world,” she cracked. She got a laugh, but when she continued it was with serious intent. “I want maneuverability... I want to get deeply involved in solving problems.” She later told me that she doesn’t see herself as a Cabinet officer but as an all-around adviser. And she doesn’t see what all the fuss is about. “No one gives George Bush a hard time when he gets advice from Jim Baker,” she’d complained to me earlier in the campaign.

Before he was forced to retreat on the subject of Hillary’s possible role in a Clinton administration on NBC’s *Meet the Press*, Bill told me, “If I get elected president, it will be an unprecedented partnership, far more than Franklin Roosevelt and Eleanor. They were two great people, but on different tracks. If I get elected, we’ll do things together like we always have.”

Which would make Hillary Clinton one of the most formidable women in the world, a model of a full partner in public life. Friends go even further, touting Hillary as the next attorney general by pointing out that she would be better qualified than Robert Kennedy was when his brother named him to the post. Hillary’s own brother Hugh Rodham, a public defender in Dade County, Florida, foresees even higher callings. “Attorney general is only local lawmaking,” he says dismissively. “There’s treaty negotiations she could do. There’s labor stuff. There’s secretary of state...”

The Clinton camp had planned “a slow build for Hillary,” according to her campaign manager, Richard Mintz. That was until all hell broke loose—until the day Bill Clinton was “deflowered” by a cabaret singer who once headlined at the Pinnacle Lounge in Little Rock.

The candidate’s strategists huddled in panicky planning sessions. One significant piece of information: polls showed that 39 percent of voters would have reservations about voting for a candi-

date who had been unfaithful—but that the number diminishes if the wife knows about it and accepts it. The clear conclusion was that Gennifer’s unforgettable slot-machine eyes and hydraulic lips and indelible black roots required an immediate visual challenge: the apple-cheeked, moon-eyed wife of the governor, staggeringly poised, effortlessly articulate, primly silk-scarved. Blonde too—in fact, Hillary looked like a *Town & Country* version of Gennifer Flowers, but not with a G, with a good little Wellesley girl’s hair band covering her brown roots.

Hillary rendezvoused with Bill in Boston the night before the Clintons’ extraordinary “Checkers speech” on *60 Minutes*. She conferred with the television crew on colors and camera angles. “You can quote me as saying that my sense of it was that she was in control,” says Steve Kroft, the interviewer. “We fiddled around with who should sit on which side, and they fiddled around with chair heights and things like that. You didn’t know she was his wife, you’d have thought she was a media consultant. She didn’t do it in a dictatorial sort of way... She was very delightful and charming. When they left the room, everybody pretty much said, ‘Boy, she’s terrific.’”

The next day, before airtime, tension was reportedly running high in the control room, with producer Don Hewitt ranting to Clinton advisers George Stephanopoulos and Harold Ickes. “He’s gotta come clean! He’s got to say yes!” Once Bill and Hillary were seated, Mrs. Clinton stared intently at Bill as he responded to the grilling. This was no Nancy Reagan glaze—this was the look of the *consigliere* sitting vigil over a member of the family.

Kroft’s impression was that Hillary was “tougher and more disciplined than he is. And analytical. Among his faults, he has a tendency not to think of the consequences of the things he says. I think she knows. She’s got a ten-second delay. If something comes to her mind she doesn’t



The Valkyries—Maidens of Odin, awful and beautiful, hover over the field of battle, choosing those to be slain and conducting the worthy to Valhalla.

SAVING GRACES

In an unpublished mid-eighties cartoon, Bill Clinton is rescued by three female guardians: Hillary, press secretary Joan Roberts, and chief of staff Betsey Wright.

**“It’s hurting so bad,”
Hillary said.
“The press doesn’t
believe you
have any feel’ngs.”**



STATE OF THE UNION
The Clintons enjoy breakfast in the Arkansas governor's mansion the morning after his first inauguration.

think will play right, she cuts it off before anybody knows she's thinking it."

"I have acknowledged wrongdoing," Bill offered when the cameras were rolling. "I have acknowledged causing pain in my marriage." At another point when Kroft pressed him—"I am assuming from your answer that you're categorically denying that you ever had an affair with Gennifer Flowers"—he took the bait. "I've said that before," he replied quickly. "And so has she..."

In jumped Hillary the litigator: "I don't want to be any more specific. I don't think being any more specific about what's happened in the privacy of our life together is relevant to anybody besides us."

It was a signal for her husband to button up. "Having made the mistake of denying Gennifer Flowers, he was undoing what they had decided to do," explains senior campaign adviser Susan Thomases. "So she was reminding him, 'Hey, buddy, remember our strategy: if you say you're not going to talk about *any* specific case, and then you talk about one case, you're blowing the strategy.'"

Hillary's presence was so strong, in

fact, that, according to Kroft, "we found ourselves rationing her sound bites to keep her from becoming the dominant force in the interview."

But some people think it has become obvious that Hillary is the dominant force in the Clinton campaign. Even those awed by her commented after her Super Tuesday speech, "There's something a little scary, a little Al Haig-ish about her." Her closest counterparts, high-striving professional women, often react viscerally: she's "too intense," they say, or she's "missing something feminine"—as if they can't forgive her for appearing to have it all.

The slings and arrows never seem to pierce Hillary's armor-plated determination. "Hillary is convinced the way she does things is the right way," attests her brother Hugh. Carolyn Huber, the woman who may know her best, having served as Hillary's "mansion administrator," day-to-day logistical helper, and surrogate grandmother to her child, affirms that Hillary will simply not be deterred. "She wants to win as bad

as he does." Is she tougher than he is? "I think so," laughs Huber. "She's more clear about what she wants and the way she wants it done. I don't think there's ever been a time when Hillary set her mind to something she wanted to happen that it hasn't happened."

Hillary is widely regarded by their closest associates as the tougher, cooler, and more intellectually tart of the two. Her favorite recreation is standing with friends and talking ideas around the kitchen counter in the governor's mansion, one long *Big Chill* party, people helping themselves out of the fridge. (Hillary rarely cooks, and the state dining room is scarcely used.) She might mimic one of her hillbilly witnesses spitting tobacco from the stand while she cross-examines him. Or she'll burst into a high-pitched Ozark honk—hee hee hee—over one of her husband's Bubba lines. But come 10:30 she'll announce, "That's it for me, I'm goin' to bed." Bill is the night owl, the eternal schmoozer; Hillary is the emotionally disciplined one.

Sometimes this causes dissonance. "Hillary's hard to know," concedes a close family friend, Carolyn Y. Staley.

Another family friend, assured she wouldn't be identified, is more candid: "I never know from one day to the next how I'm going to be received by Hillary. She's very busy, she knows exactly where she wants to go and how to get there. You're either useful or extraneous to her." Finally she blurts, "Look, Hillary's tough as nails. *Bill has always deferred to women to fight his battles.*"

Indeed, throughout his career Bill Clinton has surrounded himself with exceptionally strong-willed, capable women. Following his first and only loss as governor, he drafted the rough-and-tumble George McGovern operative Betsey Wright as his campaign manager; she devoted the next ten years of her life to protecting and re-electing him. (Wright, who quit as Arkansas Democratic Party chair just before Clinton announced, says that she was "fried" by the time this presidential race came around.) He persuaded the flinty Susan Thomases, who had cut her teeth on Bill Bradley's first Senate campaign, to join his current brain trust. And his top staff in the Arkansas statehouse has been predominantly female. "The only two men I know in American politics who are capable of treating women as real equals," says Thomases, "are Bill Bradley and Bill Clinton."

Part of Clinton's dependence on his wife is financial. As one of the chief litigating partners in the Rose Law Firm and a director on five corporate boards (including a position as the only woman on the board of Wal-Mart) Hillary earned—based on her own figures—an estimated \$160,000 in 1990. Twice voted one of the hundred most influential lawyers in America by *The National Law Journal*, "she could command the top salary for a litigator in any law firm in New York or Los Angeles," claims her partner Herb Rule. (The going rate is \$500,000 and up.) Instead, she has committed much of her energy to pro bono work, such as chairing the Children's Defense Fund, and serving on the boards of nearly a dozen other educational and social-justice organizations.

"If Hillary were doing what she

most wanted to do in this world, she would not be a partner in a corporate law firm," confides her close friend and former Wellesley dormmate Jan Piercey. "That's what she's had to do—she's responsible for the revenue in the family." (Bill has increased his salary from \$25,000 at the age of twenty-nine to the princely sum of \$35,000 almost twenty years later.)

Bill Clinton is the *puer aeternus*, suggests one of their older, wiser friends—the eternal boy, a Jungian archetype, who remains stuck in an adolescent ori-

"The mutual admiration that creates the closeness in their marriage also produced difficulties."

entation toward life, often prompted by an exaggerated dependence on his mother. Seductive to men as well as women, the prototypical eternal boy often hopes to redeem mankind; in the archetype he is meant to replace the old king as a symbol of the renewal of life. But the "winged youth" often falls, psychologically, and in crisis turns to strong female figures to raise him up again. "Bill has achieved enormous success, but he's still reaching," says an Arkansas friend. "It's the young man who's been a star and who is, I hope, not locked in adolescence. We don't know that yet—he's only forty-five."

George Fisher cartooned Bill Clinton in the guise of a boy for fourteen years at the old *Arkansas Gazette*, starting

him off in his first term in a baby buggy, later graduating him to a tricycle and a ten-speed bike. (In real life Bill Clinton plays with a '64 Mustang—Hillary calls it his "boy's toy.") In the mid-eighties Fisher penned a striking drawing that captures Bill Clinton's dependence on his delivering angels. The cartoon, which was never published, shows three winged, spear-carrying women—Hillary, Betsey, and Clinton's former press secretary—lifting their barefoot boy from the battlefield. They are meant to be Valkyries, "awful and beautiful," who gather up the worthy and fly them to Valhalla.

I saw Fisher's cartoon come to life during what the campaign calls "the incredible week" after the *60 Minutes* appearance, a week I referred to once as a "crisis" only to have Hillary correct me: "This is not a crisis, not a *personal* crisis anyway." Flying with her, knee-to-knee, I watched while she fashioned the strategy to bring her husband "back from the dead," as he now describes it.

It was in a nondescript motel in Pierre, South Dakota, where she had twenty minutes of downtime, that Hillary flipped on the TV on Monday, January 27, and caught the end of Gennifer Flowers on CNN playing tapes of her phone conversations with the governor. They were devastating.

"Let's get Bill on the phone," Hillary coolly directed her campaign manager, Mintz, who was himself fighting back tears. According to Hillary, Clinton told his wife he wasn't concerned—after all, who was going to believe this woman? "Everybody knows you can be paid to do anything," the governor said.

"Everybody *doesn't* know that," she insisted. "Bill, people who don't know you are going to say, 'Why were you even talking to this person?'"

At 6:25 P.M. Central time, Hillary was pressing the flesh at a Pork Producers Rib Feed in Pierre when her campaign manager whispered in her ear, "All three nets led with the Flowers press conference." She excused herself and made a beeline for the one pay phone in the hall, pursued by a camera

crew from *PrimeTime Live*. Mintz appealed to them not to shoot her. "I promise I'll give you a shot of her on the phone, but this is not the time."

I watched as a terrible shrug went down Hillary's face. Little Rock was telling her about the latest deal—a young woman had been offered half a million dollars to say she'd had a one-night stand with Bill Clinton. Where would it stop?

Back in her six-seat charter plane, Hillary vented her frustration above the grinding hum: "If we'd been in front of a jury I'd say, 'Miss Flowers, isn't it true you were asked this by A.P. in June of 1990 and you said no? Weren't you asked by the *Arkansas Democrat* and you said no?' I mean, *I would crucify her.*"

Hillary boils over at what she perceives as a double standard—that the press has shied away from investigating long-standing rumors about George Bush. "I had tea with Anne Cox Chambers [the heiress who is chairwoman of her media empire's Atlanta newspaper group]," Hillary recalled to me in a later interview. "and she's sittin' there in her sun-room saying, 'You know, I just don't understand why they think they can get away with this—everybody knows about George Bush,' and then launches into this long description of, you know, Bush and his carrying on, all of which is apparently well known in Washington. But I'm convinced part of it is that the Establishment—regardless of party—sticks together. They're gonna circle the wagons on Jennifer — and all these other people." (Anne Cox Chambers remembers telling Hillary, "I don't understand why nothing's ever been said about a George Bush girlfriend—I understand he has a Jennifer, too.")

The reference is to a decade-long Bush staffer who now enjoys a senior State Department position. She has been persistently linked with the president in rumors that have never been proved. When I interviewed her in 1987 in Bush's Senate office, the amply built middle-aged woman, a born-again Christian, was discreet about her work and travel with Bush. (In June of 1987, George Bush Jr. told *Newsweek* that when he asked his father if he'd ever committed adultery he replied, "The answer to the Big A question is N.O.")

On the tiny plane, Hillary focused on the problem at hand. "I'm just not go-



POLITICAL FORCES
 "She's more clear about what she wants and the way she wants it done," says one friend.

ing to sit by anymore and say, 'Well, it's the press's responsibility. If we can destroy people with paid stories, what's next?' I don't think Bill appreciates how TV really doesn't give the other side. It's like negative advertising." A night bulb switched on behind her eyes. "That's what I should have told him. In 1980 the Republicans started the negative advertising; in 1992 we have paid political character assassination. What Bill doesn't understand is you've gotta do the same thing in response as you do with negative advertising. Dukakis

didn't understand that." Suddenly, a brainstorm. "This is the daughter of Willie Horton!" Now she had the outlines of a proactive, not reactive, strategy: pound the "Republican attack machine" and run against the press.

Just before landing, she recited a prayer she says often. *Dear Lord, be good to me. The sea is so wide and my boat is so small.* Thump, bump, the plane skated through the blackness toward a shack with the sign RAMP CITY. Within minutes, Hillary was checking across the *Continued on page 212*

The Virgin King

ful lot of stupid laws, and the Establishment knows they're stupid. For example, I think brothels should be legalized and the girls properly checked to see that they're not H.I.V.-positive or have V.D., to see that they have a ready supply of condoms." Since 1968, the Branson-sponsored Help Advisory Centre has offered free counseling on birth control and sexually transmitted diseases. Five years ago, Branson created the Healthcare Foundation in response to the AIDS crisis.

The ability to act on his sense of mission is a luxury Branson is aware of as

never before. "If you talk to a number of M.P.'s privately they'll agree" about the need for services such as those the foundation offers, he says. "But they won't dare get up and say it."

Two days after closing the Virgin Records deal, it was clear that Branson had survived the sale's "morning after." Within a week, he hired Robert Beckman, the American attorney who had filed an anti-trust suit against B.A. for Freddie Laker, to consider legal action on behalf of Virgin in the United States. A few days later, on March 20, Virgin began libel proceedings against B.A. and Lord King in Britain.

Now that he had enough money to wage his air war for as long as he wanted, Branson was trying hard to be diplomatic rather than gloat. After all, this is serious business, and, as his latest deal proved, he is one of the world's most serious entrepreneurs. "British Airways has spent the last two years trying to push us into the abyss," he said sternly. "Now it's time for them to accept that there'll be two British airlines for the next fifty years."

But Branson couldn't quite pull it off; he just couldn't play the sober captain of industry. "You know," he chortled, "I'm trying very hard to resist saying 'Up yours, Lord King!'" □

What Hillary Wants

(Continued from page 147) concrete airfield, coatless, eager to coach her husband and rev up the campaign staff on a conference call. "Who's getting information on the Star?" she demanded. "Who's tracking down all the research on Gennifer? Where is our surrogate program? Who's going to be out there speaking for us?" She let the fragile young staffers who had not experienced a Hiroshima in a campaign know that she and Bill were going to be out there fighting, "and I want you all to be putting this stuff together."

"It was," says deputy campaign manager George Stephanopoulos, "inspirational."

To Hillary Clinton, the stories of her husband's sexual infidelities seem to register, consciously at least, as having nothing to do with her, or with their marriage, but rather as evidence of the depths of degradation to which the hit men behind George Bush will stoop. Rarely does anyone in her audiences dare to bring up the question of infidelity, and when someone does, Hillary usually knocks it out of the park, leaving people cheering. Her refrain has become something of a mantra, protecting her from ever seeming to take the whole ugly business personally: "This is a much bigger issue than just Bill and me—I just hope for the sake of the country we'll set some boundaries for others coming along."

Not only is her altruistic defense politically astute, it also serves to buffer her psychologically from the feelings that would send most women off on an emotional roller coaster. "It doesn't make any difference what people say about her," says her friend Stuck, "whatever criticism or belittling, she doesn't take it personally,

because the cause is always more important. It may very well be the way she insulates herself from hurt. And I think in the past ten or twelve years with Bill she may have done that, to protect her sanity."

In all the time I traveled with Hillary, and in sixty interviews with her friends, family, and associates, there was just one hint of a deep emotional reaction. "She never shows her personal feelings on the surface," attests Carolyn Huber, but that week, when the governor's wife phoned her confidante and Huber broke into sobs, a fissure opened in the protective coating of equanimity. "I know, Carolyn, it's hurting so bad," Hillary said. "The press doesn't believe you have any feelings. They sure don't believe in the Bible."

But Hillary is also an avowed pragmatist, accustomed to life in the political fishbowl. "She knew this day would come," says Jan Piercey, her former college dormmate, "and she wasn't going to put anybody in the position of lying." Another friend says of the media frenzy over Clinton's nocturnal peccadilloes, "None of this came as a surprise to her."

I asked Hillary if she thought her husband had told her everything she needed to know. "Yes. I have absolutely no doubt about that," she replied, her light-blue eyes unblinking beneath the dark hedgerow of brows. "I don't think I could be sitting here otherwise. That's been, over years, part of the development of trust."

I asked if she thought Gary Hart was qualified to be president, or did she think his problems revealed something disturbing about his character? "He was not yet at a point where he could be honest with himself, that's my perception," she said. "People in his campaign said they con-

fronted him and said, 'Have you ever?' and he said 'No.'"

She praised Bill Clinton for being honest with the people he loves, admitting his problems, and declaring he wanted to do better. "I think as he got older, as he became a father, he began to let his breath out a little bit," observes Hillary. Her husband believes that trauma and mistakes are all tests that help one grow. For him, says Hillary, "it's a constant coming to grips with who you are and what stage of life you can grow beyond."

The Clintons' friends fiercely idealize their marriage, seeing in it a remarkable integration of strong personalities and sheer guts. "Most of us have thrown in the towel," says one friend, the thoughtful actress Mary Steenburgen. "These people didn't. It's exciting to be around them and to see how it *can* be to be a married couple." Another member of the "Arkansas diaspora" in L.A., television producer Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, is one of Hillary's most loyal intimates. "Look, this isn't Lurleen Wallace," says Bloodworth-Thomason. "Hillary doesn't have to stay with Bill Clinton. She could get to the Senate or possibly the White House on her own—and she knows it. . . . But these two people are intertwined on every level, as a man and woman, as friends, as lovers, as parents, as politicians. . . . This is a love story." Huber agrees, describing how "Bill and Hillary are always smooching." Their pals call the Clintons "soul mates," saying they confide fully in nobody, not even family, only in each other.

"She also has an investment in this marriage and his career," points out the practical Wright, who says Hillary never

considered divorce. "It absolutely was not an alternative that she gave him."

The only area of vulnerability friends spot in Hillary is her daughter, Chelsea. The longest periods of silence she maintains are in hotel rooms, a phone cradled to her ear, often dead tired but listening without interruption to the stream-of-consciousness account of the twelve-year-old's day. Before the campaign, Hillary was out of town on law or board work two or three nights a week. She does homework with Chelsea by fax.

"Whenever Hillary was there, she always sat with Chelsea while she had dinner," recalls Melinda Martin, the resident baby-sitter from '85 to '87. (Most of the Clintons' baby-sitters are fresh out of the University of Arkansas, with names like Melinda, Melissa, and Michelle.)

I asked Melinda how often Bill and Hillary went out together. "Just the two of them? Very, very seldom. . . . Hillary took Chelsea on vacations. Bill would promise to catch up, but usually he'd come a couple of days late, or not at all."

Hillary's protectiveness of her daughter took precedence one evening, at the peak of the bimbomania, when she was facing a command performance as the "candidate's wife" before a backbiting Washington audience at a roast of Ron Brown, chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Bill was scheduled to take Chelsea to a father-daughter dance at the Little Rock Y.W.C.A. Their friend Linda Bloodworth-Thomason had an inspiration: "Let's do a live remote to Little Rock—it will be a nice image for them to see Bill dancing with his daughter."

Hillary didn't think twice. "No," she said. "This is Chelsea's night."

It is one of Hillary's philosophical tenets that children should be spoken to just like adults. This explains how Hillary is able to pass the supermarket checkout counter in the company of her adored daughter without gagging. Indeed, Hillary is the first to point out the lurid tabloid headlines screaming about multiple affairs or a love child, instructing Chelsea that "this is what's to be expected in a political campaign." Chelsea follows the political horse race avidly, but "when they talk bad about my daddy" on TV, she leaves the room.

For women who have been betrayed by unfaithful husbands, Hillary Clinton is a Rorschach test. Some grimace at the prospect of having their hearts broken by a man whose story you never know whether to believe: "I don't want another charmer." Others admire her stoicism and buy the strength-through-adversity story.

Still, any wife subjected to embarrassing, detailed reports of infidelity must register searing pain at some level. It is quite possible that Hillary is so focused on power agendas that she is disconnected from her feelings, able to compartmentalize her pain: she codes it, labels it, and puts it away in the deep freeze. What does that leave? An unresolved hurt so profound that it may not surface until all the sound and fury of campaigning is over.

The secret behind Hillary's boldness goes back to the torch passed from a silent generation of mothers to the daughters of the feminist movement. "I was determined that no daughter of mine was going to have to go through the agony of being afraid to say what she had on her mind," says Dorothy Rodham, Hillary's mother, who hadn't finished college before marrying Hugh Rodham, a rough-edged Chicago salesman and later owner of a small textile business. Mrs. Rodham made raising her three children her full-time occupation. They played endless word games and rarely watched television. Thus, Hillary was an especially sheltered four-year-old when the Welsh-English family moved to Park Ridge, a middle-class, white-collar suburb out near O'Hare airport.

The new neighborhood was dominated by a family with a daughter, Suzy, who regularly decked the beribboned little Hillary, watching in triumph as she ran home sobbing.

"There's no room in this house for cowards," Hillary's mother announced one day. "You're going to have to stand up to her. The next time she hits you, I want you to hit her back."

Out trudged the trembling four-year-old. A circle of scowling boys and the pugilistic girl closed around her. Suddenly, Hillary threw out her fist, knocking Suzy off her pins. The boys' mouths dropped open. Flushed with victory, Hillary ran home to exclaim to her proud mother, "I can play with the boys now!"

The lesson sank in deep. "Boys responded well to Hillary," clucks her mother. "She just took charge, and they let her." Even as a child she thought in terms of mobilizing constituents for her causes, organizing neighborhood carnivals or clothing drives for migrant workers. As a young teen she helped her youth minister, the Reverend Don Jones, in counseling black and Hispanic teens from the South Side. "She would think things through to see what would be appealing to the group," recalls her brother Hugh. "We would just follow along as little brothers."

The other formative experience for Hil-

lary was competitive sports. A keen though terminally mediocre athlete, Hillary now appreciates having learned the lesson few girls did in those days: "You win one day, you lose the next day, you don't take it personally. You get up every day and you go on." It became the pattern of her life, a pattern that has fortified her in the topsy-turvy days of the current campaign.

To go east in 1965 to Wellesley College—"all very rich and fancy and very intimidating to my way of thinking"—was a big stretch. She started out a Goldwater Girl. Though instant conversions to radicalism were common at the time, Hillary had a slower, more thoughtful evolution in her political views, working her way through the moderate Rockefeller wing of the Republican Party to campaigning for Eugene McCarthy by '68.

Jeff Shields, her Harvard boyfriend in those days, who is now a Chicago lawyer, fell in love with her earnestness. "The thing that I remember most were the conversations," he recalls. "She would rather sit around and talk about current events or politics or ideas than to go bicycle riding or to a football game."

Hillary's charisma was strong enough to attract a half-dozen girls to move into the Gothic dorm, Stone Davis, to be near her. They all ate together in a cloistered stone-and-glass gazebo. "You were surrounded by role models," remembers Jan Piercey of the all-female college. "We came away just assuming that everyone had serious aspirations." Hillary became president of her college government and graduated with high honors.

Coming to political consciousness in the late 1960s, Hillary saw these as "years dominated by men with dreams, men in the civil-rights movement and the Peace Corps, the space program." As an ambitious fourteen-year-old Hillary had written to NASA asking what it took to be an astronaut. She was told girls need not apply. Still, "growing up in the fifties, a lot of us sensed that we could redefine what women do." Her mother had hoped Hillary would be the first woman on the Supreme Court, "but Sandra Day O'Connor beat her to it," she jokes. Friends along the way have told her what Dorothy Stuck says today: "Regardless of what happens to Bill, the nation will be exposed to Hillary Clinton, and Hillary could—and should—be our first woman president."

Bill Clinton's childhood, as tumultuous as Hillary's was stable, helps illuminate his complicated relationship with his wife and the mistakes that have tested

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their political and personal partnerships.

Three months prior to his birth, his mother, a high-spirited, part-Native American, part-Irish woman by the maiden name of Virginia Cassidy, lost Bill's father, the first of her four husbands. William Jefferson Blythe III, a traveling salesman, swerved across the highway driving home from Chicago and drowned in a rain-filled ditch at the age of twenty-nine. The tragedy meant that Bill was left with his grandparents in the tiny town of Hope, Arkansas, for his first four years while his mother went off to New Orleans to pursue nurse's training in anesthesiology. Young Billy adored his grandfather, a six-day-a-week storekeeper who died when the boy was eleven. From then on he was bereft of family male role models.

When I asked Bill Clinton who was the first man who endorsed him as worthwhile, there was a very long pause. He stared out the plane window at the bleak, snow-blistered New England terrain. After mentioning his grandfather, he spoke stiffly of his stepfather Roger Clinton. "He took me to St. Louis in a train once. I remember that." He dredged up one family vacation, one fishing trip. "Literally, all those years and I can count on one hand—there just weren't many times. It was sort of sad. . . . I missed it."

When Bill was seven, the family moved to Hot Springs, a tingly place notorious for its racetrack, illegal gambling clubs, whorehouses, and gangster glamour. Every winter the high rollers would come from New York and Chicago and Miami Beach, looking for action. "The Clintons fit in with all that," says Carolyn Staley, the local preacher's daughter, who introduced herself to me at Clinton headquarters as "Bill's 'girl next door.'" Staley says Virginia Clinton was at the races every day—still is—she has her own box. "She loves it, it's in her blood. She wrote her own rules."

Clinton's mother also worked at being glamorous. With a silver streak dyed down the middle of her dark hair and three shades of eye shadow, "she'd put on tailored men's pajamas and mules and hang around with a cigarette in her hand, real Hollywood," says Staley. "She was a good-lookin' lady and hilarious. . . . One-liners are her trademark, like a walking female Will Rogers."

Virginia Clinton remained emotionally stoic through the abuse of Bill's alcoholic stepfather, who went on rampages that sometimes ended with a bullet hole shot in

the wall or a beating of Bill's mother or younger brother. Finally, at fourteen, Clinton put an end to the violence in a shocking confrontation that marked the turning point of his adolescence. Hearing a fight, he broke down the door of his parents' bedroom. "[I] told him that I was bigger than him now, and there would never be any more of this while I was there," Clinton recalled to political writer Joe Klein.

Virginia Clinton temporarily threw Roger out of the house—a brief divorce—and began taking her teenage son along to a nightclub she frequented called the Vapors. During racing season the club ran fast and loose with lusty Vegas entertainers singing over the raucous *chi-ching* of slot machines and the squeals at the blackjack tables—an experience which seems to have simultaneously intrigued and repelled the boy. "It was fascinating," Bill told me. But he added, "I didn't like to be around dark smoky places where people were drinking too much. . . . I had a real negative association with alcoholism. I think subconsciously I was afraid it would happen to me." Bill later became president of his Baptist Sunday-school class.

"Some of the mistakes I made later in life were rooted in all those things that were unsaid or unexplored when we were growing up," Bill told me. Virginia Clinton made no attempt to explain or analyze behavior. "My mother was trying to keep peace and survive in an explosive situation," Bill never rebelled, adds Staley. "He had to be the shining light in his mother's life."

The fact that his reality as a child was completely defined by a woman may explain his later dependence on Hillary and other strong women. Young Bill also developed the pleasing style of many children from alcoholic homes, who reason, as Betsey Wright describes it, "If I'm really nice, and I make this person feel better, then maybe this [behavior] will stop." Wright adds, "I can see that in Bill now. *He* sees it."

Another common result in families where parents are weak, narcissistic, or alcoholic is that the growing child either copies the immature habits he sees at home or leaps ahead to become a premature grown-up. The missed childhood can later trigger immature behavior as an adult. "I always wondered if I'd want to be sixteen when I was forty because I never felt like I got to complete my childhood," Bill Clinton has said.

Carolyn Staley confides that "Virginia and Bill and Hillary have taken what might otherwise have been made out to be a debilitating background and they've

carefully developed a spin to their lives to make Bill the conquering hero."

Bill Clinton first laid eyes on Hillary Rodham at Yale Law School in a class they shared in political and civil liberties. He thought she was "the greatest thing on two legs," but there was more to the attraction. They belonged to a new generation, where everything was supposed to be equitable between the sexes. Hillary had come to Yale already a star, renowned as a multiple winner on the TV quiz show *College Bowl*, and as the college senior who delivered an extraordinary counter-commencement speech at Wellesley College in 1969. The address, which earned her national publicity, including her picture in *Life*, had struck a very sixties tone: "We feel that our prevailing, acquisitive and competitive corporate life. . . is not the way of life for us. We're searching for more immediate, ecstatic. . . modes of living."

What does Hillary remember as the most ecstatic experience of her twenties? She ponders, then laughs, conjuring up the sunny southerner with Elvis sideburns who entered Yale Law School a year after she did. "Falling in love with Bill Clinton," she answers.

What attracted her to him? "He wasn't afraid of me," says Hillary.

"But I was afraid of *us*, I tell you that," admits Bill.

He trailed her out of the class they shared, following her so close he could smell her hair, and then he stopped dead in his tracks. *No, this is nothing but trouble*, he told himself. "I could just look at her and tell that she was interesting and deep." He walked away. For the next couple of weeks he stared at her, he stalked her, but he couldn't bring himself to make the first move.

One night, huddled at the end of the library, he watched the object of his gaze stand up and march the full length of the Yale Law School library until she stood face-to-face with him. "Look, if you're going to keep staring at me, then I'm going to keep looking back," Hillary said, "and I think we ought to know each other's names. I'm Hillary Rodham."

"I was dumbstruck," says Bill Clinton. "I couldn't think of my name."

They have been looking at each other with mixed feelings of fascination and apprehension ever since.

Stidious, solemn, dynamic, substantive—these are the adjectives her classmates use to describe Hillary Rodham at Yale Law School. Hillary gave no

thought to "getting herself up," and was in fact mousy-haired, makeupless, and somewhat intimidating behind her oversized, Steinem-like glasses. Big Bill Clinton, by contrast, was "Mr. Aura"—a good time, funny, intense, a very quick study. Bill shared a famous beach house for the first two years with an African-American from a family of Philadelphia Republicans, Bill Coleman. He remembers Clinton partying, reading Camus, dating several women (including an African-American classmate). But he spent most of his time working on political campaigns. "He did not spend lots of time trying to master *Marbury v. Madison*," snickers Coleman.

Professor Burke Marshall remembers Hillary vividly. "She was even then forceful, very smart, very articulate. Some very good lawyers ramble, but that's not Hillary. Her mind is an organized mind." Of Bill Clinton he says, "He was a very good student, he's very, very smart. But I'd never have thought Bill Clinton was law-firm material. He was obviously going to be a candidate."

To Clinton, law school was just a credential. He had a single-track focus. Even when he and Hillary took a house together, a baby Colonial, and "he was totally consumed by somebody else's being," as Coleman recalls, Clinton did not take his eye off his soaring political ambitions. As a result, doubts about the match lingered for Bill and Hillary. "I loved being with her, but I had very ambivalent feelings about getting involved with her," Bill admits. He insists he warned Hillary from their earliest dates, "You know, I'm really worried about falling in love with you, because you're a great person, you could have a great life. If you wanted to run for public office you could be elected, but I've got to go home. It's just who I am."

When Hillary and Bill joined the Barriers' Union, to put on a competitive trial before a real jury, she whipped him into shape as her partner. Alan Bersin, a fellow student, now a partner at Munger, Tolles & Olson in L.A., chuckles as he remembers Bill, "who was superb at presenting. But Hillary was definitely the serious one about getting work done and thinking through the position." They did not, however, win the prize trial. "I just had a bad day," Bill told me sheepishly, adding that it didn't help when "Hillary wore this bright-orange outfit."

But the dynamic duo made a lasting impression on one of the judges, John Doar, a hero of the civil-rights movement. Six months after they graduated, Doar was shopping for crack young lawyers to staff

the House Judiciary Committee inquiry that would prepare the impeachment case against President Richard Nixon. Bill excused himself; he was already geared up for his 1974 congressional race. But what about Hillary? "If he hadn't suggested her, I would have called her anyway," says Doar.

The work was thrilling and grueling, twenty hours a day for six months. In August, freed by the committee's work and public opinion, Nixon resigned. By the end of her first year out of law school, Hillary Rodham had become part of history.

Why would she marry him? That was what her Wellesley classmates and the feminists who knew Hillary from the McGovern campaign demanded to know. Most thought Bill was terrific. *But move to Arkansas? You gotta be kidding*, the subtext clearly being *buncha redneck racists*.

"I kept struggling between my head and my heart," Hillary remembers. Head said: gold-plated law firm in New York or Washington, public-interest law, or government. Heart won. Later in the summer of 1974, she "took a leap of faith" and moved to Fayetteville. "I just knew I wanted to be part of changing the world," she says now. "Bill's desire to be in public life was much more specific than my desire to do good."

Hillary and Bill taught at the University of Arkansas Law School, eschewing living together "because of the local mores." After a year of trying on Arkansas life, Hillary decided to see what all her friends were doing that she might be missing. "I went to Boston, New York, Washington, Chicago," she recalls. "I didn't see anything out there that I thought was more exciting or challenging than what I had in front of me."

When Bill picked her up at the midget airport, he was ebullient. "You know that house you liked?" Hillary looked blank. "What house?"

As Bill tells the story, she'd made a passing comment about a pretty little glazed-brick house. He'd gone out and bought it, feathering the nest with an antique bed and flowered sheets from Wal-Mart. "So you're going to have to marry me," he declared, winding up his pitch as he pulled into the driveway of the house. Two months later she did.

"I was disappointed when they married," admits Betsey Wright, who had met the dating couple when they came to her home state of Texas to work for the McGovern campaign in 1972. "She has been absolutely critical to Bill's success but, then, I had images in my mind that

she could be the first woman president."

Mack McLarty, a childhood friend of Bill's who now serves with Hillary on the board of the yogurt giant TCBY Enterprises, adds candidly, "I married above myself in terms of intellect, like Bill did."

For Hillary, Arkansas was a different world. Even in Little Rock, where they moved in 1976 when Bill became attorney general, women were expected to be content with curling their eyelashes and selecting china patterns—especially political wives.

Instead, Hillary was recruited as one of the first women in the state to join a mainline law practice, the Rose Law Firm, after several partners were impressed by the way she set up the University of Arkansas's legal-aid clinic. "I think initially there were some [clients] who might put her into a stereotype... the pushy, Yankee female," says her law partner Webb Hubbell, "but I don't think anybody after fifteen minutes with Hillary would think that.... She can tell if the client is very nervous or concerned about something and can put them at ease."

In 1978 the Clintons swept into the governor's office with the promise of youth and purity. "Arrogant" was the outcry of the Establishment, and the governor's spouse became the lightning rod for people's resentment. To southerners expecting a more decorative First Lady, Hillary Rodham was almost an eyesore. She rejected makeup, glared through thick glasses, drowned herself in big shapeless fisherman's sweaters, and adamantly stuck to her maiden name.

Two years later, at the age of thirty-two, Hillary produced her "one perfect child" the same month she made law partner. According to Carolyn Huber, Hillary believed the baby came three weeks early because she was under the emotional stress of litigating a tough child-custody case. There were harrowing hours until Hillary underwent a cesarean. Finally, Bill emerged from the delivery room in green scrubs, cradling a seven-pound baby, saying he was "bonding" with his new daughter, and generally acting "like he'd invented fatherhood," says Diane Blair, a political-science professor in Fayetteville.

But it was also an election year. When the newspapers reported that "Governor Bill Clinton and Hillary Rodham had a daughter," the voters were outraged at their First Lady's blatant feminism.

His defeat that November was devastating for the wunderkind governor, who was written off as having no political future. "There are a couple of periods in my adult life that were pretty tough," says

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Bill, and this was the first one. Observant friends think Bill also felt as if he had failed Hillary. "The mutual admiration that creates the closeness in their marriage also produced difficulties," says Piercey.

At the time of his disorienting loss, Hillary's own career was soaring. "Subconsciously, that's hard for all of us," sympathizes Herb Rule, another of Hillary's partners. "You always want your friends and spouse to do well. But not at a time when you're failing."

For the next six months, according to friends, the governor "went a little crazy." They suggest that the Clintons' marital problems began around this time, and lasted until a few years ago. Before the couple purchased a small house, Betsey Wright was summoned to move into the mansion and see what was salvageable of Bill's career and his political records. "He got crazy in the incessant quest for understanding what he did wrong, which was masochistic," remembers Wright.

The ousted governor stalked around the state apologizing for himself—and seeking solace. "The frustrations I went through in the seven years of being his chief of staff," moans Wright, "of watching the groupie girls hanging around and the fawning all over him. But I always laughed at them on the inside, because I knew no dumb bimbo was ever going to be able to provide to him all of the dimensions that Hillary does."

According to Wright, Clinton resisted the aphrodisiac effect of his powerful position more than many men. But, she admits, "Bill was always very careless, out of an unbelievable naïveté. He has a defective shit detector about personal relationships sometimes. He just thinks everyone is wonderful. He is also careless about appearances."

Bill remembers during this dark period being so haunted by a sense of imminent death, "I would seize everything." Hillary thinks he "viewed his father's death as so irrational—so out of the blue—that it really did set a tone for his own sense of mortality. . . . Not just in his political career. It was reading everything he could read, talking to everybody he could talk to, staying up all night, because life was passing him by." Uncharacteristically, her narrative begins to skip at this juncture: "I mean it was. . . it was an intense sense of. . . what he might miss at any moment."

Some say Hillary took the political de-

feat harder than her husband did. When she gets down for brief periods, she withdraws into reading, playing dress-up with Chelsea, or trudging off to the Y to work out. She also prays. "Hillary has an unbelievable ability to control her personality and her moods," marvels Wright. Sometimes, she pops off, not often, but stingingly. "The person on the receiving end never gets over it," says Huber.

Hillary determined to do whatever it took to put her husband back in power. So, without a word from Bill, she shed her name for his. She also dyed her hair, traded her thick glasses for contacts, and feigned an interest in fashion.

The Clintons campaigned nonstop those next two years—on top of their jobs at respective law firms. The first of a series of baby-sitters was hired to live on the premises and be on twenty-four-hour call. Once their daughter began speaking, at age two, "Chelsea would say, 'I want my mama,'" recalls Huber, but she soon learned to answer her own question: "Mommy go make 'peech."

Commonly, a chief of staff and willful wife are natural enemies, but "Hillary made herself absolutely indispensable," says Betsey Wright. She sat in on their strategy sessions. "Her own performance in selling and implementing his government programs was extraordinary. There were so many ways he needed her."

Hillary also acted as his conscience. "I think that there have been many times when he would have liked to go home and turn on the TV and escape or just read a book," concedes Wright, "and she would be in with a list of things people had called her about that day or that had to be done. He would be 'Ah, couldn't you just be a sweet little wife?' instead of being this person helping me be what I'm supposed to be."

"Between Hillary at home and me at the office, pushing and pushing him, I know there was a point where he felt, *These people need to leave me alone. I just want to do what I want to do.* It was a rebellion."

By the time voters returned the Clintons to the governor's mansion in 1982, Hillary was ready with her beaded inauguration gown, Chantilly lace over charmeuse silk. And for Easter she made sure to pick out the sort of cartwheel-brimmed hat that would stir whispers of "Very nice" and "Just right." As Jan Piercey puts it, "Hillary made her trade-offs early on, and I think she steeled herself not to look back."

The Clintons marched straight into the

heat of public censure in '83 when the governor appointed Hillary to chair the state committee on educational standards. She spearheaded a requirement for a one-time teacher examination. "Lower than a snake's belly," one school librarian called her. It was typical of the insults she faced for the next several years.

Hillary pushed on to introduce a consumer-rights approach to education, and the concept of continuing education for educators. She barnstormed around the state for hearings, stopping in all seventy-five counties. Her husband massaged his legislature until Arkansas was eventually funneling seventy cents out of every tax dollar into education programs. These improvements—plus the governor's timely hike last year in teachers' salaries—won over the teachers' union, which had been their bitterest foe. It was typical of the way their political partnership worked.

Hillary also injected her ideals into her corporate-board work. As a sort of resident sociologist on the board of Wal-Mart, a nonunion company with 380,000 employees, she contributed to the retailing giant's ranking in *The 100 Best Companies to Work for in America*. Named head of Wal-Mart's environmental committee, she reframed the question from waste disposal to education and launched the company on a recycling program. She "saved us from a false start on environmental policy," says Rob Walton, son of the company's founder.

The Clintons' partnership looked perfect, at least from the outside. And then Bill stepped on another land mine from his past.

He was thirty-seven when he went through the worst year of his life. It was 1984, during his second term as governor, when a colonel of the state police phoned Betsey Wright, who dashed out to track down Hillary in a nearby restaurant and tell her, "We need to talk to Bill." His twenty-seven-year-old half-brother, Roger, had been spotted selling cocaine. The state police wanted to inform Clinton about their undercover surveillance. Though he was pained by it, he told them to proceed. "It was," says Hillary, "a much greater crisis than anything we've had in this presidential campaign."

Bill's half-brother did more than a year in prison, then came out only to discover that he was cross-addicted to alcohol. A drug counselor rounded up Bill, Roger, their mother, and even occasionally Hillary for intense family therapy. She led them through discussions on co-dependency. Clinton says the process helped him to learn things he never knew about

himself. The counselor told them that the line between wanting to be a rock star—Roger's dream—and a governor is a very thin one.

During "the next two or three years of discovery... they all came to grips with having grown up in the home of an abusive stepfather," says Wright.

"After my brother got into trouble in 1984, it really had a profound impact on me," explains Clinton. "I just couldn't imagine... I kept asking myself, How could I not have known this?"

The unfinished business of his past threw him again into a period of disequilibrium. He feared he might not be able to live up to the great expectations of his political life and his life partner. The soul-searching, which coincided with Bill's mid-life passage from the age of thirty-seven to forty, also sparked a revival of the behavior that had earlier put strains on their marriage.

In the summer of 1987 forty-year-old Bill Clinton was poised to launch his candidacy for the presidency. Political big shots flew into Little Rock for the announcement luncheon. Everything was ready.

But moments before the scheduled start, Bill backed out. He and Hillary had had a heart-to-heart talk about the long-standing rumors of his zipper problem. Chelsea was only seven. It was too soon. The press that July day caught a rare glimpse of Hillary Rodham Clinton spilling emotion: she stood behind Bill and wept.

The period that followed the climb-down from their joint national aspirations may have been the nadir of their marriage. A clue slipped out during the *60 Minutes* confessional. Bill told Steve Kroft humbly, "If we had given up on our marriage... three years ago, four years ago, you know... If we were divorced, I wouldn't be half the man I am today, without her and Chelsea."

So it was that Hillary Clinton woke up one morning last August in the Arkansas governor's mansion, looked over at her husband's sleepy face, and told him, "You almost have to do it," meaning run for president.

"Do you have any idea what we're getting into?" he asked.

"I know, it'll be tough," she replied. But she was ready to take her own platform national, as a campaign letter described it. And she was bored with the politics of Arkansas, where her husband has put in a full decade as governor.

"She doesn't like all the duties of First Lady," confirmed her brother Hugh Rodham. "It's tiresome and too local."

Reflecting back on the personal journey he has made over the last four years, Bill says the fear of life running out at any moment has subsided. "It's all different now. I think—in the aftermath of my brother's encounter and all the stuff that Hillary and I went through, and where we are together now, and Chelsea—I'm so much more relaxed. I got into this race because I really felt I was strong enough and ready to be president... and because the things that Hillary and I have worked on together were more relevant to what has to be done in the country than anybody else."

"Every life has challenges," Hillary told me philosophically. "Life has become very unpredictable and scary for people. And the only insurance policy you've got against whatever comes down the pike is to be as ready as you personally can be. I think that's part of what the voters have been saying to me: Nobody could have predicted that all this would happen to you. You didn't ask for it. But you were ready. And, boy, we're glad you were."

If he loses, Hillary predicts, "Bill and I have great opportunities, we'll always be able to make a good living, we've got a wonderful daughter—we'll be fine." It doesn't usually work that way, however, particularly not for two driven people whose every axon and dendrite have been tingling for months as they crisscross the country in matching campaign planes, eager to deliver political redemption to the masses. If suddenly they land, SPLAT, back in Little Rock, and they wake up to the concern that their child has been necessarily neglected, and perhaps Hillary begins to thaw out the small, excruciatingly painful little package in the deep freeze labeled "Bill's Marital Mistakes," this could be a very difficult period.

But Hillary Clinton also has developed her own form and substance, her survival instincts and resilience. Maybe the next gubernatorial election the other Clinton will run. There could be a role switch: Bill might find rewards in replicating his childhood—supporting the woman who defines and controls his existence.

And maybe the next presidential election, or several more down the line, the other Clinton will be on the ticket. As Hillary told a Los Angeles audience recently, "We'll have a woman president by 2010."

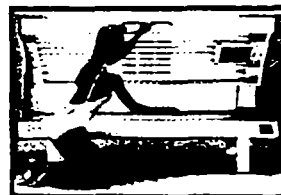
Would she consider running? she was pressed.

"We'll talk later." □

CREDITS

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Editor's note: On page 12 of the April issue, the photograph of Marie Brenner was taken by Firooz Zahedi, that of Ken Auletta by Thomas Victor. The photographs on page 114 of the April issue were from U.P.I./Bettmann (top) and The Sporting News (bottom).



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AP 05-04-92 12:21 PET

Expanding Children's Rights a Favorite Cause of Hillary Clinton
y LAURIE ASSEO
Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON (AP) Hillary Clinton believes that children deserve expanded legal rights to decide their own futures, at times even if their parents disagree.

Given such rights, children must shoulder the responsibility to follow society's rules and learn in school, Mrs. Clinton has said in a series of articles and speeches dating back almost 20 years.

Some of her ideas don't sit well with conservatives who say they could hurt husband Bill Clinton in his race for the White House.

"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," Mrs. Clinton said in a 1979 article.

"Children should have a right to be permitted to decide their own future if they are competent," she wrote in "Children's Rights: A Legal Perspective."

"A child denied the opportunity to exercise responsibilities is effectively denied the opportunity to mature into a responsible adult," she said.

Those ideas and her proposal for a system linking health care, day care and education to give children a good start in life are getting a closer look as the political combatants move closer to the fall campaign.

Clinton has supported parental notification for minors seeking abortions. Mrs. Clinton said in an interview Friday that she agrees, adding that it does not conflict with her proposals.

Mrs. Clinton, a board member of the Washington-based Children's Defense Fund, contends that children under age 18 or 21 should no longer be automatically considered unable to make decisions for themselves.

"The first thing to do is to reverse the presumption of incompetency and instead assume all individuals are competent until proven otherwise," she wrote in 1979. A baby would obviously be considered incompetent, she said; a typical 16-year-old would not.

In an interview Friday, she disagreed with those who say such ideas would lead to children suing their parents for making them take out the garbage.

"I'm talking about extreme examples. In the vast, vast majority of examples ... parents and children have identical interests," she said.

Exceptions might involve a child who wanted surgery to repair a cleft palate over the opposition of parents, she said, or one who wanted schooling to prepare for a career as an astronaut over parents' religious objections to such education.

Mrs. Clinton wrote in 1979, "I prefer that intervention into an ongoing family be limited to decisions that could have long-term and possibly irreparable effects if they were not resolved."

Notifying the parents of a teenage girl seeking an abortion could, in most, serve to pull the family together, Mrs. Clinton said in the interview. In cases where that is not possible, she said she favors a provision allowing judicial bypass.

Douglas Besharov of the conservative American Enterprise

Institute said last week, "If the average American voter hears (her proposals) they will no longer say 'Hillary Clinton for president.' That is so totally at odds with how people think about things."

Gary Bauer, president of the Family Research Council and a former domestic policy adviser to the Reagan administration, said that if Mrs. Clinton's ideas were enacted, "You'd have the government right in the middle of the family."

Once children were given such legal rights it would be impossible to control how far judges would let them go, he said. The ultimate result could be kids suing parents over religious training or disputes over watching television, Bauer said.

Jim Weill, general counsel of the Children's Defense Fund, said such scenarios are not his group's intent. While declining comment on Mrs. Clinton's articles and speeches, he said that "999 times out of 1,000" children interests and their parents' are the same, and the remaining cases generally involve child abuse.

Mrs. Clinton said society should expect more out of children including simply obeying the law.

Children must learn enough in school to be able to compete in a global economy, she told an urban education symposium at Memphis State University in 1990.

When she chaired an education task force in Arkansas, she found resistance among educators to the idea of requiring students to take a statewide eighth-grade exam.

"We are not doing (students) any favors by letting them get away with things," Mrs. Clinton said. For some underprivileged kids, she said, "If the school doesn't structure their day and help set some expectations, it's unlikely anybody will."

Mrs. Clinton said in 1988 she backs improved in-service training for teachers and wants to "increase by 100-fold the number of women superintendents and principals." But schools cannot do the job alone, she says.

The United States could emulate France, which has a coordinated system "that links day care, early education and health care and is accessible to virtually every child," she wrote in The New York Times in 1990.

"Child care is not just a family matter," Mrs. Clinton wrote. "To do our children and our country justice, we need to develop a nationwide consensus on how to best nurture our children ... We ought to consider valuing children, French-style."

AP 05-04-92 12:40 PET

Candidate's Wife Visits Indianapolis High School

INDIANAPOLIS (AP) Hillary Clinton told Indianapolis high school students today that her husband, Bill Clinton, would push national education goals and a new college loan program if he becomes president.

Mrs. Clinton, accompanied by Indiana first lady Susan Bayh, visited a computer class at Arsenal Technical High School and talked to students for about an hour in the inner-city school's library.

She said that if her husband wins the Democratic nomination and the presidency, he would try to implement national education goals by the year 2000. Clinton has helped develop those goals as

Arkansas governor working on national task forces.

“We have this very vague idea about what we expect (students) to learn,” Mrs. Clinton said. “We need tests tied to curriculum that establishes what we want kids to learn.”

To make post-secondary education available to more students, Clinton wants to scrap the current federal student loan program and replace it with a national service program monitored through income tax returns, Mrs. Clinton said.

In return for a federal loan, a student would agree either to have a set percentage of his or her post-graduate income deducted from salary or agree to perform community service, she said. A loan recipient who didn't perform the agreed-to community service would have loan payments deducted by the Internal Revenue Service.

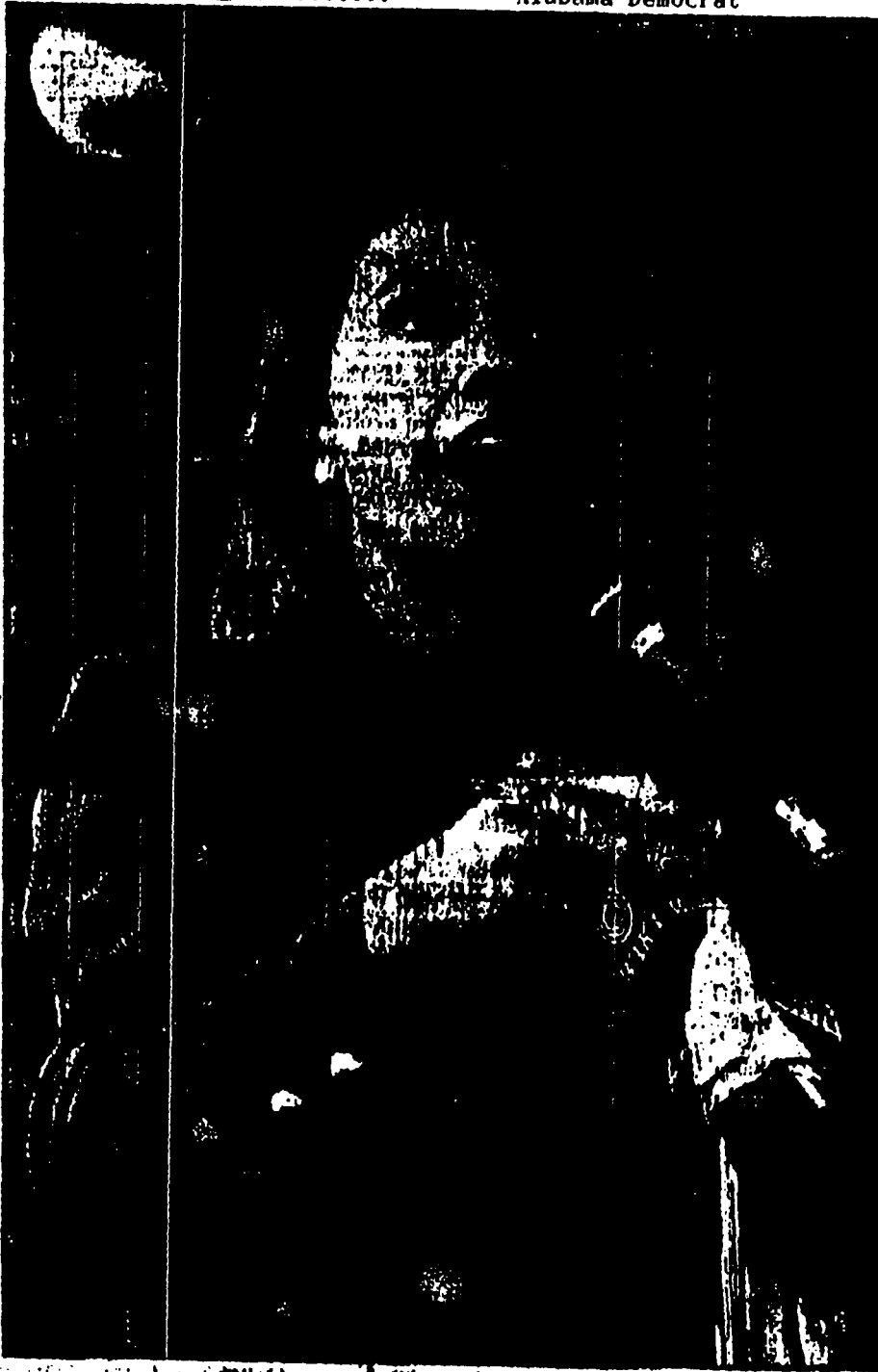
Clinton is considered the front-runner in Indiana's Democratic presidential primary on Tuesday.

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Front Page

and →



An enthusiastic crowd greeted Clinton at Thursday's rally

By MARK MILLER/Staff

Hillary Clinton hates to be misunderstood

By TRACEY MCARTNEY
Staff Writer

Hillary Clinton doesn't mind making people angry.

She just hates being misunderstood.

The lawyer, mother and first lady wannabe has drawn almost as much attention as her husband, Bill, the Arkansas governor who hopes to be the

Democratic nominee for president.

But unlike the enthusiastic crowd that came to hear and shake hands with her at a rally at the RSA Plaza in Montgomery Thursday, not all who follow the campaign like her, especially those who believe she has denigrated women, in particular first ladies, who

Please see CLINTON, 12A

Clinton

Continued from 1A
have chosen not to have careers of their own.

And some of that hostility directed toward her — she's even been called "the Hillary problem" by one journalist — is the product of "inaccuracy and false or unfair characterizations" in the media, Mrs. Clinton said in an interview en route to her chartered Learjet Thursday afternoon.

She made some people angry when she responded to Jerry Brown's allegations of conflict of interest with a pointed, "I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas."

"I learned a big lesson with that 'cookies-and-tea' remark," Mrs. Clinton said Thursday while filing her nails in the back seat of the Cadillac taking her to the airport. "I was responding to Jerry Brown's suggestion that when Bill became governor I should have given up my career or I should have done nothing but the ceremonial role of being first lady, which I have done a lot of."

And she recognizes the social double standard that allows a two-income household almost anywhere but the White House.

"I think that we've moved beyond that in most state and local

offices, and even in Congress ... but there's just something about moving this reality of life to the presidential level that gets people to talking and wondering," she said.

While she doesn't believe that "career woman" and "first lady" are mutually exclusive roles, she would not practice law while in the White House if Gov. Clinton is elected president, she said.

"I don't want to raise any questions that would unfairly reflect on my professional integrity or Bill's position," she said. "I had a friend who's a doctor say to me, 'Hillary, I'm not sure I could even practice medicine without being criticized,' because people would say she shouldn't take Medicaid or Medicare."

She has been the target of speculation that her law firm benefited unfairly from \$235,000 in business from the state of Arkansas, a charge she has denied and is not eager to have replayed on a bigger scale if she makes it to the White House.

"The climate in which we're living right now is so hypercritical, and until we rebuild people's trust in the good faith of government, I think those of us who care to be in public service have to bend over backwards to be sensitive," she said.

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Hillary Clinton preaches Bill's sermon in state

By Peggy Roberts

Post-Herald Montgomery Bureau

MONTGOMERY — Health care, jobs and educational opportunities — the same message Bill Clinton preached in Alabama last autumn — his wife, Hillary, delivered again to an enthusiastic audience yesterday on a campaign stop in Montgomery.

The campaign trail has apparently softened the outspoken Mrs. Clinton, who greeted everyone who wanted to meet her and posed for photographs at the RSA Plaza.

During her 30-minute speech, Mrs. Clinton proposed plans to swap college tuition for employment service, extend investment tax credit for companies that invest in domestic jobs, and ensure health care for every American. But she graciously credited her husband for the ideas. Clinton pushed many of the same ideas in a speech earlier yesterday in Los Angeles.

Supporter Jane Gordon, who knew Mrs. Clinton, 44, when Ms. Gordon worked in Arkansas, noted the difference. "She was toned down. She seemed to be plugging her husband more than telling us her own philosophy."

Mrs. Clinton demurred at the suggestion that she would be a better candidate.

"The right Clinton is going to be elected president and there are many people around this country who really believe in my husband, that he is the person to be the leader for America right now," she said.

Several supporters said they were impressed with Mrs. Clinton's words and her delivery. "She's well-spoken and she gave a good message," Cindy Weeks said.

"It's obvious she has a plan. It's not just flag waving," Tim McKinney said.

Mrs. Clinton blasted the Republican economic policy of the past 12 years.

"One percent of the population realized the growth that did occur in the 1980s," she said. "Not only did our economy not grow ... but we became less fair as well."

"My husband says no more money-based economy and let's invest in the only part of our country's resources that won't get up and move, our people," she said.

Despite persistent questions about the fi-



AP
Hillary Clinton works her way through a crowd during a reception for local Democrats in Montgomery.

ve-term Arkansas governor's reputed womanizing and his military service record, Mrs. Clinton stuck to her husband's positions on the issues. She brushed off the rest as the work of threatened Republicans.

"Anytime you pose a serious challenge to an incumbent the way my husband poses to President Bush they will do whatever they can to prevent his message from getting out and from having people vote for him. But I don't think the American people are going to be fooled again this year," she said.

Mrs. Clinton urged voters to give her husband a chance to improve education.

Full funding of Head Start programs and a college apprenticeship program are two ways to begin, she said.

"What Bill proposes is to scrap the existing student loan program and substitute for it the National Service Trust Fund," a program that would swap loans for government service, or repayment through income tax deductions, she said.

"Education is part of whether or not we will have an economically viable country. It's time we had the kind of president my husband would be. A real education president instead of a photo opportunity education president," she said.

"The message he's conveying is a message of hope and opportunity and responsibility. ... No one who works full time in America should be mired in poverty," she said.

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Page 2

COVER STORY

Woman enough for a man's job?

Hillary Clinton has an agenda, but a co-presidency isn't on it

By Renee Tawa
Daily News Staff Writer

Hillary Clinton is looking into a fun-house mirror at her petite size-8 figure — in a periwinkle blue suit — turned tall and thin.

The mirror was propped up against a wall in the makeup room at KTLA (Channel 5), which Clinton visited Thursday for an interview with the morning news crew.

"Look at that!" she said, her voice booming. "Can you believe I like this mirror?"

It's a mirror that puts a different spin on reality, and the same type of mirror that the national media — and some candidates — are holding up in this presidential campaign, she said.

Like Vice President Dan Quayle, for instance, said Clinton, 44, in an interview with the Daily News. Quayle created a firestorm this week after his remarks that TV character Murphy Brown, a single mother, was an example of a "poverty of values" in society.

Clinton said she believes most mothers want to be married.

"I don't know any mother who is a single mother who wants to be a single mother," she said. "I know literally hundreds of women who thought they were going to marry the father of their children, who had the father walk out on her, who lost him to death."

Later, in a speech at the Center for Enriched Studies, a magnet school in the Los Angeles Unified School District, Clinton pointed out that her husband's father died before his son was born. Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton — a Democratic presidential candidate in the June 2 California primary — was raised by his mother, who was widowed three times.

"She deserves more respect than the vice president gives people who are trying to raise children by themselves," Hillary Clinton said to a cheering audience of about 100 students.

Clinton spent a busy morning in Los Angeles, fielding questions about Quayle's Murphy Brown remarks and talking to the press about a local newspaper's Califor-

nia poll that has voters favoring Ross Perot (37 percent) over Clinton (26 percent) and President Bush (25 percent).

Perot is getting attention as the new kid on the block, but no one really knows him, the way they know, say, Bush, Hillary Clinton said.

"I think that poll is very bad news for President Bush," she said. "It doesn't bother me at all about my husband being in second place."

Clinton's own role as a mother and a wife have been at issue in the presidential campaign. She and her husband have been probed and prodded by the national press. Together, they have addressed questions of Bill Clinton's marital infidelity and whether Hillary Clinton really is the one who wears the pants in the family.

She was stewered by critics after at least two major gaffes — saying that she wasn't going to pull a Tammy Wynette and demurely stand by her man, and saying that she wasn't going to just stay home, bake cookies and have tea.

She is a national figure in her own right — a top-dollar litigator for an Arkansas law firm, twice named one of the top 100 lawyers in the country by the National Law Journal, chairwoman of the Children's Defense Fund and a member of 17 civic and corporate boards.

She is the inspiration for a new word in the lexicon of presidential campaigns — she and her husband have been called "co-candidates" and potential "co-presidents."

This is where Clinton believes the press skewers reality. She never said she would be half of a presidency, and she has no desire to run for office.

She wants to concentrate instead on a few pet projects, such as those involving families and children. She does not completely rule out the option of continuing her work as an attorney, if her husband is elected president.

"I don't know," she said.

But, at the same time, she's concerned about conflict-of-interest appearances and is eager for the chance to make a difference in the



Hillary Clinton watches a program at the Los Angeles Center for Enriched Studies. Bob Mahoney/Daily News

SPOTLIGHT ON HILLARY CLINTON

Age: 44. **Birth:** Sept. 14, 1947, in Chicago, Ill. **Education:** Wesleyan, Yale Law School. **Career:** Top lawyer at Apple Law Firm in Chicago. Also, twice named one of the top 100 lawyers in the United States by the National Law Journal. **Family:** She and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton have one daughter, Chelsea, 12. **Gaffes:** Saying that she wasn't going to do a Tammy Wynette by standing by her man, saying that she could have stayed home, baked cookies and had tea, suggesting that Bill press charges for one of Arkansas' allies involving President Bush. **Quote:** "I'm not doing anything different in the campaign than I've done in any of Bill's previous campaigns. I've always spoken out. I've always represented families that are in need."

world. "I think that may be too much of an opportunity to walk away from," she said. "There are real changes that I want to help bring about."

To a point. She wouldn't be a Jim Baker to the president, she said, referring to Bush's secretary of state and former President Reagan's chief of staff.

"There isn't any such thing as a co-president," she said, her tone pleasant but firm with slight irritation.

"I think it's an equation on the part of some of the press to figure out. You know, Bill is a lawyer, Clinton, her husband and their daughter, Chelsea, 12-year-old daughter, Chelsea, treat her like a woman. That's what Clinton is a forceful, smooth-talking woman. So we have to treat her as something else. Well, what is she? Of the campaign. She is having a good time, despite her rigorous all-around country travel schedule."

She also scoffed at recent press accounts that alleged "campaign" from home," she said. "That is the managers have buzzed her, told her to look better. Clinton said how to make any better, so I jumped at the chance to tell that."

Clinton, answering before the question was finished. "That's just nonsense," she said. "As absolute nonsense as the co-president piece. Last month, I was going to be president (in the press). This month, they have a muzzie on me," she said, laughing heartily.

As makeup artists worked, she brightened when someone mentioned Murphy Brown.

"I think the funniest thing was (presidential press secretary) Marjorie Fitzwater, offering to marry Murphy Brown," she said.

There isn't much time alone for Clinton, her husband and their daughter, Chelsea, 12-year-old daughter, Chelsea, treat her like a woman. That's what Clinton is a forceful, smooth-talking woman. So we have to treat her as something else. Well, what is she? Of the campaign. She is having a good time, despite her rigorous all-around country travel schedule."

so because I miss my daughter and I need to be home."

Clinton talks with her daughter twice a day, once before school and once before Chelsea goes to bed. Chelsea, incoming president of her school's Earth Awareness Club, wants to be a scientist when she grows up. The Clintons' daughter doesn't travel much with the campaign.

Chelsea told her mother: "You know, Mommy, I really want Daddy to win, but I really don't want to move."

The three of them rarely are together these days, although they will be this weekend. Together, they like to go to movies, play card games, watch videos and take bike rides.

"Bill and Chelsea love to go to the mall, hang out, eat in the food court, see what's happening."

So, she's really not that different from Barbara Bush, in the sense that her priorities are family, family, family?

"Absolutely," she said. In fact, she sounds a little like Barbara Bush, with a twist.

"There's no doubt in my mind that your primary obligation is to your own family and your own children," Clinton said.

Here's the twist: "But that cannot be your only obligation if you want to have the kind of society that will be good for your children."

She's a mother and a wife, but she's Hillary Rodham, too — that's who she was before she got married. She changed her name under pressure during her husband's second campaign for governor.

But, at the Center for Enriched Studies, where she signed an autograph, Clinton said:

LAW

Children's Rights Will Be Tested in Case

By HELENE COOPER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

In a court battle beginning today, a judge will be asked for what is believed to be the first time to determine whether children have the right to take legal action on their own behalf.

At the heart of the dispute in a Lake County, Fla., courtroom is a small, bespectacled boy who claims his childhood has been destroyed and who is doing battle with two formidable adversaries: his parents and the U.S. legal system.

Gregory K., age 11, (his name is being withheld by the court) has taken the unprecedented step of filing a petition to divorce himself from his parents.

After a decade of being bounced from the care of his parents to foster homes and an institution, Gregory has asked that the parental rights of his mother and father be terminated. In papers filed in Lake County Circuit Court, the child argues that his father physically abused him, his mother emotionally abused and neglected him, and the state of Florida has imprisoned him by "depriving him of the freedom to enjoy a normal childhood."

Judge G. Richard Singeltary is being asked to decide whether Gregory has the right to divorce his parents. The court is also being asked to allow Gregory's foster parents — with whom the boy has been living for nine months — to adopt him.

The existence of this case illustrates the change in the way society and the legal

system view children's rights. Children are coming to assume certain rights of their own, and scholars say the law is evolving to affirm children's rights as being equal to, or perhaps even superior to, the rights of their parents.

"Even 10 years ago, any concept of a child having rights just wasn't in the realm of consideration," says Leonard Loeb, past president of the American Association of Matrimonial Lawyers. "But now the law has evolved. The existence of this case isn't shocking."

Although moviegoers will remember that a similar story was spun in a 1984 film starring Drew Barrymore, there is scant real-life precedent for Gregory's case. In 1990 a Fairfax, Va., circuit judge allowed 11-year-old Daniel Elin to retain a lawyer in a custody battle between his parents. That case marked what is thought to be the first recognition of a child's right to counsel in a custody case. Although he gained counsel, Daniel ultimately lost his bid to live with his mother and was sent back to his father.

Some legal scholars say Gregory might have a shot at winning his case — if he is able to persuade the judge to consider the real-life issues of the case, and not just the legal precedents.

Unlike Daniel, Gregory is seeking not only the right to counsel, but also the right to sue on his own behalf. And that represents uncharted territory, says Chris Hansen, associate director of the Children's Rights Project at the American Civil Liberties Union in New York. While suggesting that the judge could hand down a narrow ruling in Gregory's favor, Mr. Hansen predicts that a broad ruling giving children the right to sue is unlikely.

Such a ruling, legal scholars say, would open the door to a wide variety of suits.

Children would be able to sue their parents for, say, not taking them on a particular vacation. Also, allowing children to sue means they could, in turn, be sued by their parents.

Gregory's saga began in 1983, when his parents separated. The child's father assumed custody of Gregory in 1984, keeping him for five years until 1989, when a report alleging neglect and physical abuse was filed with the Florida Protective Services System. Gregory was turned over to his mother, who eventually gave him up, saying she wanted to put him up for adoption.

A children's rights attorney whose family took Gregory in as a foster child wants to adopt him, but the state stopped efforts to terminate Gregory's parents' parental rights when they objected.

That's when Gregory sued. "We talked for a long time before I agreed to take his case," says Gregory's Tavares, Fla., attorney, Jerri Blair, who says the boy first talked with his foster father about retaining an attorney. "This boy is intelligent. He knows what he's doing."

Gregory's natural father has consented to the adoption, but his mother says she wants her son back. "The boy's mother is a loving, caring parent who made some mistakes, but nothing so glaring that her rights should be terminated," says Jane Carey, the mother's Orlando attorney.

DISNEY GENERAL COUNSEL was his former law firm.

Sanford M. Litvack, Walt Disney Co.'s senior vice president and general counsel, and Andrew Kilcarr, both former partners

of Donovan Lelsure Newton & Irvine, sued the New York law firm claiming that they are owed about \$1.1 million under a deferred payment clause in their partnership agreement.

Mr. Litvack and Mr. Kilcarr, now a partner at Washington's Hogan & Hartson, are also seeking punitive damages in their lawsuit, filed in Los Angeles County Superior Court.

As chairman of Donovan Lelsure's executive committee in the mid-1980s, Mr. Litvack was widely viewed as the mastermind of an unusual plan to solve the major law firm's economic problems. Messrs. Litvack and Kilcarr then left the firm in 1986.

Their attorney, Henry Ben-Zvi of Proskauer, Rose, Goetz & Mendelsohn in Los Angeles, said Messrs. Litvack and Kilcarr had agreed that the firm could hold money it owed them for five years. "Our interpretation of the partnership agreement is that the money was due in March of 1992, and the firm hasn't paid," Mr. Ben-Zvi said. A spokesman for 150-lawyer Donovan Lelsure couldn't immediately be reached for comment.

NOTED: Federal Judge David N. Edelstein resented former congressman Robert Garcia to three years in jail, the same length as before, but made the former congressman immediately eligible for parole. Mr. Garcia was convicted of extorting a \$20,000 no interest loan from Wedtech Corp., a Bronx, N.Y., defense contractor that was at the center of an influence peddling scandal during the 1980s. He had already served 104 days in prison before a previous conviction was overturned in 1990. His wife, Jane Lee Garcia, was resented to three months in prison; she previously was sentenced to three years. They were both reconvicted on different Wedtech-related charges.



TOTAL P. 06

Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 21, 1993

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on Hilkey's
position?

GS

Bush Touts School Choice to Catholics

President Misstates Key Feature of Voucher Plan: Its Means Test

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA, July 21—President Bush today worked to rally Catholic voters behind his school choice proposal but misstated a key element of the program he has been promoting as a centerpiece of his domestic agenda for at least six months.

Later, in an apparent reference to Hillary Clinton, Bush criticized liberals who "even encourage kids to hire lawyers and haul their parents into court." In a law review article, Clinton, the wife of the Democratic presidential nominee, proposed giving children expanded rights to separate legal representation from their parents in some circumstances, and she has come under sharp attack by conservatives for the proposal.

Bush's mix-up on choice came in response to questions from parents at Archbishop Ryan High School here. A woman who described herself as a mother of eight asked him what Washington would do for the middle class, noting the poor were getting the bulk of the federal help and middle-class families, even ones with incomes of \$40,000 or more, should be helped. "They're the needy," she said.

"You're right," said Bush, who proceeded to describe his school choice program as one that would help a family like yours. He added, "This program that we're talking about here, there is no means testing."

Bush repeated twice more that the program was not tied to income. The "principle of choice and no means testing will apply to this

program," he said, "so you would get some relief."

Comparing his program to the GI Bill, which was not tied to income, Bush said all families would be eligible for the program's \$1,000 stipend to parents who could use the

The proposed stipend program, pending in Congress, is open only to families with income below the state or national median income, whichever is higher.

aid to send their children to the school of their choice.

Contrary to the president's statements, a means test is integral to Bush's school choice proposal. It is based on the concept that the wealthy already have choice in education because they can afford to choose any school for their children. The program, pending in Congress, is open only to families with income below the state or national median income, whichever is higher.

The legislation Bush sent to Congress in June, plus White House fact sheets and the president's announcement of the legislation describe the means test involved.

White House deputy press secretary Laura McIlillo said later that

what Bush meant was there "is no federal formula that has a means test in it, a singular federal formula. Also, the audience was medium-income and working class, people who would qualify, and he was referring to them being eligible."

With Catholic voters a fifth of the electorate and a key voting block for the GOP this year, Bush was in full campaign swing here today, nodding appreciatively when Archbishop Anthony Bevilacqua praised him for support of aid to private school parents and attacked critics of such a program, who believe it violated separation of church and state and would undermine public schools.

Democratic nominee Bill Clinton has called for greater choice in public schools for parents, but opposes providing federal funds to send children to private schools. He has been endorsed by the major teachers union, the National Education Association, which Bush attacked today as an "arm" of the Democratic Party, a "powerful union" keeping Congress from approving his choice proposal.

The audience today was friendly to the president, but even their gentle questions reflected anxiety about the economy and concern about the increasing burdens of raising families and paying for Catholic schools.

Later, in a rally in New Jersey, Bush offered a second ethnic and strongly Catholic area, Garfield, a pump campaign speech portraying the Democrats as "old-style" liberals who want to put "birth control devices" in public schools and encourage children to sue their parents.

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analysis

The First Lady With A Career?

C LAD IN A BRIGHT YELLOW SILK RAINCOAT, Hillary Clinton rushes from the Jetway and into the Indianapolis airport. "Hey, this is going to be a good day," she says, her smile cheery, her voice confident, as she greets Susan Bayh, the wife of the governor of Indiana. She moves quickly with her small entourage of aides and friends through the terminal and into a waiting car, as superenergized as any candidate for major political office. But Hillary Clinton is the candidate's wife, and a very different candidate's wife at that: She is a woman complete unto herself—to some, almost disconcertingly so. As the first potential First Lady with an independent professional identity, she's blazing a trail for working women, and cutting the path is even tougher than it looks. This is shaping up as a good year for women in politics, maybe even a great year. In many areas women seem poised to mop up the voting-booth floor with their better-funded, better-known male counterparts. Pollsters are ticking off encouraging reasons: Women are seen as more honest in the current antipolitics climate;



In a year when it may be harder to be a candidate's wife than a candidate, Hillary Clinton is running the toughest campaign of all: convincing voters that having a career, a child and an agenda for change is good for America

more sensitive to the worrisome issues of crime, child care and education; more attuned to the human costs of a recessionary economy. The outcome of the Clarence Thomas hearings has stirred lasting anger. And while women are perceived as the ultimate outsiders at a time when cynicism about politicians is rampant, they've also become more confident and seasoned as

By Patricia O'Brien • Photograph by Frank W. Ockenfels

they have reached for higher places on the political ladder.

Curiously, one person who hasn't benefited as much as expected from this surge is Hillary Clinton. This year, in fact, it is actually easier for a strong, independent woman to be a candidate than a candidate's wife. It's more acceptable for a Geraldine Ferraro to blast an opponent's record with hard-hitting speeches than it is for a Hillary Clinton to be simultaneously independent and supportive, hoping to convince a suspicious electorate that her agenda won't overshadow her husband's. The rules of the game are quite clear for female candidates; they're the same as those for men. It's easier to fight those classic political battles than to shadowbox with the stereotypes of what a First Lady should be.

Hillary Clinton, 44, has been criticized and sniped at, some say, even though she is precisely the kind of competent, outspoken, caring human being that voters appear to want. Here's a woman who's been a top corporate lawyer, a strong campaigner, a tenacious fighter for education reform, an advocate for children, a director on several corporate boards and a conscientious mother. In person, she is not intimidating—she chomps popcorn like a kid and greets a good joke with a wonderful belly laugh. She can give an impressive 40-minute speech without notes, testify cleanly and boldly before legislative committees, absorb information, ask the right questions and use her powers of persuasion to get results.

But wait. She also projects something that some men find unsettling. Call it a lack of need. She demonstrates an ease with power that some women find arrogant and off-putting. She is not malleable, which tends to irritate political operatives used to compliancy from a candidate's wife. She is, in short, a force to be reckoned with—and Republicans hope to play on fears that she will take over if Bill Clinton becomes President. "Hillary pounds the piano so hard that Bill can't be heard," former President Richard Nixon has said. "You want a wife who's intelligent, but not too intelligent."

What, then, is she supposed to be? She should be strong (but not too strong), involved (but not too involved), a personification of the highest family values—in short, everything Americans project onto the image of a First Lady. And so she walks a tightrope, knowing she has to soothe anxieties but determined not to be something she isn't.

"It's such nonsense," says an exasperated Patricia Schroeder, representative from Colorado. "Women should say, 'We're pleased she isn't silent.' People should say, 'She has a great mind; we need creativity, competition and good ideas.' And why shouldn't they come from the President's wife?"

Never before has a woman with as highly visible and totally separate a set of credentials as Hillary Clinton's become First Lady of the land. Eleanor Roosevelt shaped her identity and agenda after she came to the White House, but Clinton is the first to aspire to the role with a career already established, one that not only largely defines her but has essentially supported her family during her husband's low-paying tenure as governor of Arkansas.

If she does become First Lady, how would she shape and change the role? What work would she do? What are the inherent difficulties in being both a symbol and an independent woman?

A Yankelovich Clancy Shulman poll, commissioned by *Vanity Fair* earlier this year, reported that a surprising 84 percent of those surveyed say they would not object to a First Lady with a career. But how does that initial nod of permission translate into reality? The general consensus: Not easily. "If Hillary Clinton works, it will be goddamn difficult, because the press won't let her," says one seasoned political reporter who asked to remain anonymous. "Wherever she turns, she'll be accused of conflict of interest."

"Not if she proceeds cautiously," says Harriett Woods, president of the National Women's Political Caucus. "She needs to define something she really cares about that would utilize her abilities in

a way that doesn't appear to intrude on the presidential powers or compromise the integrity of his office."

Easier said than done, perhaps. "It would be easier to be in the government than outside," says Anne Wexler, a friend of the Clintons and chair of the Wexler Group, a government-affairs organization in Washington, D.C. "As attorney general, at least she could be an advocate for her husband's policies." Yet when John Kennedy surprised the electorate by appointing his brother Robert attorney general in 1961, the decision was highly controversial—without involving the conflicting expectations many have of a First Lady. Even with a strong show of approval for such an appointment, women might also read it as an exercise in nepotism that only underscores how difficult it is for other

competent women to attain high office. "You mean other women aren't qualified?" they might ask Bill Clinton. "Only your wife?"

"Somewhere along the way, the line will be broken," sighs Wexler. "But whoever breaks the ground will pay a very large price." Like Schroeder, Wexler sees no reason that Clinton couldn't take a Cabinet position. "She would have to excuse herself if there were any conflict," she says, "but Cabinet secretaries do that all the time." For example, Commerce Secretary Barbara Franklin, whose husband chairs a large aerospace and auto-parts company, has said she will step aside when issues involving his products come up. Her predecessor, Robert Mosbacher, did the same on issues concerning oil and gas because of his investments.

Clinton's political opponents are dismissive. "She's like all trailblazers," says Republican consultant Roger Ailes. "She'll break ground, but she won't succeed. Eight to 10 years down the road, somebody else will reap the benefit."

The woman whose future is being so intensely discussed is thinking through her options, acknowledging that she is learning as she goes. She approaches the subject carefully, aware of the pitfalls of too confidently outlining a job she may never have.

"I don't want to be paid," she says firmly, wrapping her yellow coat tightly around her in the car as the flat, green Indiana countryside speeds by. Nor would she attempt to practice corporate law, as she does now. "It's not possible," she says. "I've learned

She argues forcefully: A man sensitive to working women's needs must be sensitive to the needs of families



how sensitive people are to potential conflict and breaches of trust."

Bit by bit, she is jettisoning parts of her professional identity for the duration of the campaign. She has resigned from three prestigious corporate boards of directors, including those of Wal-Mart, TCBY Enterprises and Lafarge. She earned over \$60,000 a year from these directorships—far more than Clinton's \$35,000 salary as governor and a significant portion of their \$235,000 total income. In a statement, Hillary said that the demands of campaigning full-time for her husband prevented her "from fulfilling my responsibilities as a director of these public companies." It can also be argued that leaving these boards reduces the likelihood that she will be hit with conflict-of-interest charges. But she is clearly reluctant to rule out practicing law altogether—understandable for a woman rated among the 100 most influential lawyers in America in 1988 and 1991 by *The National Law Journal*. She speculated as to whether she could go back to working with Legal Services, the federal agency designed to provide legal help for the poor, but concluded there would be too many pitfalls. "Legal Services can sue the government," she says, with a smile and a shrug.

Indeed, almost any path Hillary Clinton chooses is strewn with real or imagined obstacles. If she becomes an advocate on the Hill for things she believes in, for better education, prenatal care and child-immunization programs, will people accuse her of blatant partisan lobbying? If she works for an international relief organization, what about the possibility that it could involve federal money?

When the jobs suggested carry some political power, questions from voters (encouraged by Republican seeding) get more pointed. Will she operate as some kind of co-President? You can almost hear the palpitations. Shouldn't someone bottle up this independent woman before things really get out of hand? Fast? Pass the Maalox, please.

The root of the issue, of course, is that Hillary Clinton is in the odd position of being *too* impressive. She moved onto the national scene assuming her credentials were an asset. "If you vote for him," she proudly said of her husband, "you get me." That produced a tremor of national nervousness. Asked in a recent U.S. *News & World Report* poll if she helps or hurts her husband, 38 percent of the respondents said she helps, but 30 percent said she hurts. Asked the same question about Barbara Bush, 79 percent said she helps, while only 4 percent said she hurts.

Yet to watch Hillary Clinton in action is to see a reassuring answer to those fears and projections. At a school in Fort Wayne, she kneels down next to third graders intent on their computers and asks questions about their work, engaging them with warmth and intelligence. She doesn't talk down to kids, and she doesn't talk down to adults—though she can startle them with her knowledge about the issues they care about. She demonstrates, at instances like these, soothing qualities that are less evident in the TV soundbites that have sculpted her image for most voters. The Clinton campaign staff hopes she can convey those qualities as she buckets around

the nation's skies in a series of tiny planes, pushing forward to the date in November when all of this could become reality.

If Bill Clinton wins, she'll be seen as a rousing success. Like Siamese twins, they share a single fate—to a greater extent, perhaps, than any other presidential pair in history. To present this potential First Lady in a less threatening mode, there has been an obvious campaign effort to smooth out the sharp edges. "I've learned the soundbite lesson," she says ruefully, referring to the flap raised when she appeared to disparage women who work in the home by saying she could have stayed home herself and "baked cookies and had teas" rather than work. "It was a self-inflicted injury, and I'm trying to do a better job of being clear." What she emphasizes now is her image as a "generational bridge," with insights and skills to help women in the home as well as women in the workplace. The

positioning is showing signs of success because her credibility is sound—without the help of a public-relations campaign. It is, then, an image Republicans are sure to attack.

The role Clinton is shaping for herself with the electorate is markedly similar to the public-policy role she has played in Arkansas, and it carries with it the comfort of a concept that worked. "There's no point if I can't do public service," she says plainly. She is drawn to the idea of serving again on a special commission—a role that won her respect and plaudits in Arkansas. From 1983 through 1984 she chaired the Arkansas Education Standards Committee, which, after exhaustive hearings, recommended major changes in the accreditation standards for public schools. "Bill might appoint a commission, maybe on children and strengthen-

ing families," she says. "I don't know exactly what form my commitment would take, but that's an idea that would make sense." If he does form such a commission, Hillary already has both a road map and the experience to get where she wants to go. While still at Yale Law School, she heard a speech by Marian Wright Edelman, founder of the Children's Defense Fund, and came away determined to build a career dedicated to child-advocacy work. She joined the staff of CDF in 1973 and has worked closely with Edelman for almost 20 years, most recently as chair of the CDF board.

"She did a magnificent job [heading the education commission] in Arkansas," says John Brummett, a political columnist for the *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette* and editor of *Arkansas Times*, a monthly magazine. "I'm not one of her biggest fans, but I give credit where credit is due. She worked hard and competently and built political consensus for reducing class size, increasing accountability—it was masterful."

Eventually, of course, we will end up with a career woman in the White House. The trends are clear. But the particulars are not. Eleanor Roosevelt, easily the strongest, most visible First Lady of this century, was both admired and criticized for her separate, public life. Her public speaking and column writing proved so lucrative that a suspicious Congress requested her tax returns to see if she was making a profit from her position as First Lady. (She was not. All her earnings went to charity.) Rosalynn (Continued on page 72)

'I've learned the soundbite lesson,' Clinton says of the cookies-and-tea flap. 'It was a self-inflicted injury'



Clinton

(Continued from page 47) Carter came to the White House as a true partner of her husband, but her tenure was a textbook example of the problems awaiting a First Lady who triggers the national ambivalence about the role of women. The American public was not happy with the idea of her sitting in on Cabinet meetings; it was equally critical of her modest, high-necked gowns, which shows what happens when a President's wife doesn't fit into a comfortable slot of fashion plate or retiring mother figure.

Through the years, each First Lady has tried to carve out a role that works for her, with varying degrees of success. Carl Sferrazza Anthony, author of *First Ladies: The Saga of the Presidents' Wives and Their Power, 1789-1961*, says that many of them were not happy—starting with Martha Washington. After running a huge plantation for years, she was frustrated by her First Lady role. "I am more like a state prisoner than anything else," she lamented in a letter to a confidante. Indeed, for many early First Ladies, frustration and confusion prevailed. The confusion was shared by the public, which referred to these women variously as "Lady Washington" or "Lady Adams," and even "co-President." Dolley Madison held, if but briefly, the loftiest title: "Lady Presidentress," which would probably send the country into an uproar if anyone tried to claim it again.

Even though Hillary Clinton has ruled it out, there is a precedent for paying a First Lady: Martha Washington spent several winters during the Revolutionary War with the army, handling secret correspondence for her husband, loading wagons with food and mending kits, holding morale together. After the war, George Washington went to the Continental Congress and argued that she should be paid for her work—which the Congress agreed to do. On present-day college campuses, a handful of college presidents' wives are paid for the official duties they perform. Most schools shy away from the idea (if the president is fired, is his wife fired, too?). But according to Roberta H. Ostar, author of *Public Role, Private Lives: The Representational Role of College and University Presidents*, 24 percent of spouses recently surveyed (all wives) think they should be paid.

Is there another way to look at a model for our era? Can an independent woman exert a different kind of influence on her husband? There will surely be a particular kind of impact when a career woman becomes First Lady. Whether it's Hillary Clinton or not, a woman with an independent work life has a profound influence on her husband. Her perspective on family and social issues can't help but shape his. "Ask any woman who works for a male boss," says columnist Ellen Goodman. "She can tell what his attitudes will be on things that matter—like dealing with sick kids or working overtime—by whether his wife has a job or not."

This could be the bridge Hillary Clinton is searching for in her efforts to win over women both in the home and in the workplace. She argues her point forcefully: A man sensitive to the needs of working women must be sensitive to the needs of families, and those needs encompass the problems of women at home worrying about the quality of schools as well as women in offices worrying about the quality of child care. "I know what it's like, and so does Bill," she says. "He had a working mother, and he knows the problems. He brings so much more sensitivity than a lot of men who haven't had that experience."

Some claim that the support from women who are her natural constituents—other working women—has been curiously muted. "Women are not being aggressive enough in defending her," says Schroeder. "I can't believe there is a working woman anywhere who didn't understand what she really meant with that 'tea and cookies' quote. If we don't stand up for each other, we deserve to be pilloried." Goodman's analysis is different. "Maybe women are so focused on supporting women running for office, they aren't thinking about her," she observes.

Clinton's progress is being watched with great interest by a small class of women who themselves were once a step away from the role of First Lady. "She doesn't need to write legislation; she can't work; she doesn't need a title," says Joan Mondale, wife of Walter Mondale, the Democratic nominee for President in 1984. "She has a title. There's only one First Lady. She can become a passionate spokesperson." She laughs. "I know, I'm obsolete. I'm the only one who stays home on my block. But as First Lady, she can be an incredible leader."

"Someone has to make the break, and she's the one," says Eleanor McGovern, wife of former candidate George McGovern. "I was criticized for saying I wanted to be the child advocate. I was told I was too serious. [But] it doesn't make sense. You get two capable people in government, you should be able to use their abilities to the utmost. I can't understand this bashing she's getting."

Can any woman truly be free and independent—and a wife? Or does she always face what Sissela Bok describes in writing about her parents, Nobel Prize winners Gunnar and Alva Myrdal, as the problem of "twosomeness"? "This problem arises each time two persons join their lives together," she writes in *A Daughter's Memoir*. "To what extent does each one then remain a separate person while also becoming part and parcel of the other's existence?"

Hillary Clinton thinks a long time before responding. "Who knows?" she says finally. "You can't answer until you've lived long and your marriage has matured along with you." But she knows the implications for her political life, and she knows some people wonder why she isn't running for office. She hears the hint of a sense of waste, and she addresses it in her usual straightforward fashion.

"People miss the boat when they say, 'Gosh, if only she weren't married,'" she says. "They read into my life their own interests and projections. I don't know if I would ever run for office. People think so much is planned when, in truth, life has a way of just happening. You are who you are, not who you're married to. At the core is your own identity, and the challenge is to discover who you are." Then, just the hint of a smile. "And I know who I am."

But what is a First Lady? "A partner," she says slowly. "A partner who represents for all of us a view of who her husband is, as well as a symbol of women's concerns and interests at a particular time."

Ah, a generic job description. But perhaps that is all we are ready to accept. Can there be a First Lady who fits all sizes? We're still working our way through that one. Only one thing is certain: The smart, savvy, ambitious woman in the yellow raincoat has accepted the challenge of pointing the way. ■

Award-winning journalist Patricia O'Brien's first novel, *The Candidate's Wife*, was published in February by Simon & Schuster.

Daniel Wattenberg

The Lady Macbeth of Little Rock

Hillary Clinton's hard-left past and present.

Hillary Clinton has been likened to Eva Perón, but it's a bad analogy. Evita was worshipped by the "shirtless ones," the working class, while Hillary's charms elude most outside of an elite cohort of left-liberal, baby-boom feminists—the type who thought Anita Hill should be canonized and *Thelma and Louise* was the best movie since *Easy Rider*. Hillary reckons herself the next Eleanor Roosevelt. But, standing well to the left of her husband and enjoying an independent power base within his coalition, Hillary is best thought of as the Winnie Mandela of American politics. She has likened the American family to slavery, thinks kids should be able to sue their parents to resolve family arguments, and during her tenure as a foundation officer gave away millions (much of it in no-strings-attached grants) to the left—including sizable sums to hard-left organizers. She is going to cause her husband no end of political embarrassment between now and November—and who knows how long afterward.

By the morning of June 5, four top Clinton campaign aides—David Wilhelm, George Stephanopoulos, Eli Segal, and Stanley Greenberg—had had enough of Susan Thomases and Harold Ickes, two ultra-liberal campaign aides who had fastened themselves to Hillary. Accord-



ing to a Clinton insider, the four had concluded that "Susan Thomases is running this campaign with Harold Ickes through Hillary," and gave Bill Clinton this ultimatum: "Either [Thomases] goes, or we're all going and she can run the campaign." Ever the Conciliator-in-Chief, Clinton managed to avert a mass resignation by the top echelon of his campaign staff. "They papered all this over for the time being, but it won't last," says the insider.

Thomases, a New York lawyer, is "the most doctrinaire liberal or old-line thinker

around" the campaign, says a Clinton advisor. "Someone who just doesn't get any of the reform/New Covenant message." Ickes, son of Roosevelt's New Deal Interior Secretary Harold Ickes, is anathema to many centrist Democrats who rallied early to the Clinton candidacy. In 1988 he was Jesse Jackson's convention manager. In 1972, he was a key delegate selector for George McGovern, bending party rules to disestablish traditional Democratic constituencies—middle-class and socially conservative—in favor of student, feminist, and minority activists. A Clinton insider calls him "the most evil man on the face of earth," adding: "He has done more single-handedly to destroy the Democratic party than anyone else."

The immediate cause of the threatened walk-out was a national poll that the four, along with Frank Greer, had worked on with Thomases. When, despite opposition from Thomases, the others prepared to run the poll, Thomases

Daniel Wattenberg is a writer for Insight.

complained to Hillary. The latter interceded with her husband, and the poll was killed. But the poll was small potatoes compared to the strategic coup that Hillary and her allies pulled off in blocking the move of Clinton's campaign headquarters from Little Rock to Washington, a move many considered inevitable after Clinton's victory in the New York primary. In Little Rock, lines of authority are fuzzy, and Hillary's temple dogs roam free. By keeping the campaign in Little Rock, they simultaneously froze out ideological adversaries linked to the centrist, Washington-based Democratic Leadership Council (DLC) and a group of seasoned national campaign professionals. "Hillary's probably the only person in this campaign who wanted it to be in Little Rock. The DLC crowd and the centrists—all of Washington—have basically been left high and dry," says a campaign source.

An influx of senior political talent would have left Mrs. Clinton's politically inept allies licking envelopes—Thomas is the political genius who guided Bill Bradley, a New Jersey institution since his All-America days at Princeton, to a 50-47 reelection squeaker over underfunded, unknown challenger Christine Todd Whitman in 1990. And moving the campaign to Washington would have meant more conventional wife-of-duties for the gaffe-prone Hillary. "You bring it to Washington and the first thing you do is you get the Tom Donilous, the John Sassos, and all the grown-ups involved with real experience. They're going to—number one—kick out the Thomaseses and the Lokeses," explains an insider. "Number two, they're going to put Hillary in a very different position in the campaign."

Hillary Clinton's unfavorable poll ratings have risen as high as 29 percent in recent months. "Negatives" of 40 percent are generally fatal for a candidate; for a new-to-the-national-scene wife of a candidate, negatives in the 30 range are disastrous. The image of Mrs. Clinton that has crystallized in the public consciousness is, of course, that of Lady Macbeth: consuming ambition, inflexibility of purpose, domination of a pliable husband, and an unsettling lack of tender human feeling, along with the affluent feminist's contempt for traditional female roles.

Usually when a public figure develops a chronic image problem, it is the result of searching investigative reporting, leaks, revelations, scandal: Dan Quayle's National Guard service; John Tower's drinking and womanizing; Nancy Reagan's new china, borrowed designer gowns, and astrology. The surprising thing about Hillary's image problem is that it is self-generated. No one in the press has really scrutinized her twenty years of political activism in the far left border regions of the Democratic

party. The only big scandal to blow in her direction concerned her errant husband, and that should have earned her general sympathy. The *New York Times* did do a page story about Hillary's involvement on behalf of a client with a case before the Arkansas Securities Commission. But that went right over most heads, and she was home free until Jerry Brown dinged her about it and she answered, famously, "I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had tea."

Hillary Clinton is a self-detouring explosive. The condescending comments and snide innuendos that have landed her in such trouble (the Tammy Wynette crack, her insinuation in a *Vanity Fair* profile that Barbara Bush's husband was an adulterer too) have been volunteered. "She seems to be poised and intelligent," laments a Clinton adviser, "and yet she always seems to be one smart remark away from getting in trouble."

While Clinton has abandoned the husband-and-wife presidency concept implicit in the slogan "Buy one, get

free," and while on-background speculation about cabinet posts for Hillary has been squelched, protecting the campaign from her bouts of public tactlessness remains "a continual topic of conversation day in and day out" within the campaign, according to one source. But how do you tell her to knock it off? Very carefully. "People

who wrote memoranda which kind of gently raised that topic had them returned saying, 'You need to take those two paragraphs out, because Hillary will see them, and if she sees them, you'll be dead.'"

Centrist Democrats fear that internal advocates of a 34-percent strategy (placate the liberal base, concede the center) have found a powerful and untouchable champion in Hillary, guaranteeing continuing wrangling in the campaign. "There is a general notion below the surface of a 34-percent strategy, meaning go to the left and energize the base to win this thing, versus 51 percent," says an insider. "There was always a marriage of expedience and principle in the DLC world: You had to get back the Reagan Democrats by going to the center. But the expedience and principle have been decoupled, because now the expedient may be to go for 34 percent."

Many in and around the campaign have the disquieting sense that Clinton is powerless to check his wife's growing influence because he needs her to fulfill the public role of forgiving wife standing by her man through marital vicissitudes. Could it be that Hillary is exploiting this unusual form of leverage to maximize her clout? A source replies, "It would be the first time I've heard that without an outright expletive in the sentence."

How could the party's moderate wing have signed on with such enthusiasm to a campaign that is penetrated at

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American politics.*

high levels by the nutty left? "We didn't know Hillary at all," confesses a Clinton adviser.

When the spunky, young Hillary Rodham left Park Ridge, Illinois, for college in 1965, she was by all accounts a Goldwater conservative. Four years later, as Wellesley's first-ever student commencement speaker, she took her leave of the school in a valedictory cloud of disjointed sixties rhetoric. What happened to Hillary at Wellesley? "What happens to everybody at Wellesley," says her close college friend, Eleanor "Eklie" Acheson (granddaughter of Truman Secretary of State Dean Acheson). "They become right-thinking."

The times they were a-changin', and a naturally ambitious but intellectually impressionable college girl like Hillary was made to order for a faculty mind-sweep. Hillary was a political science major at a time when virtually all departments at Wellesley, according to Acheson, were being swamped by "a ton of younger assistant professors and lecturers and instructors who came to that college with a lot of new ideas and some very aggressive, advocacy-oriented ways of teaching." Pursuit of knowledge for its own sake was giving way to the pursuit of Relevance. "Whatever the course, one needed to draw a current application from it. How did it relate to where we are today in the United States of America and the world at large?"

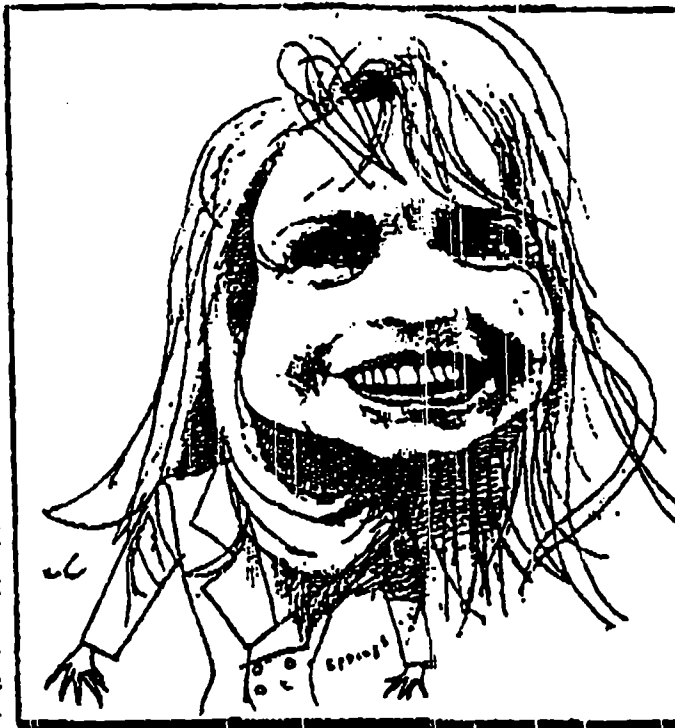
Hillary's 1969 commencement speech offers a glimpse of the results of her undergraduate education. After initial resistance and much negotiation, the Wellesley administration finally agreed to a student commencement speaker, on two conditions: the speaker and her remarks were to reflect a consensus of the graduating class and the remarks were to be "appropriate" and not embarrass the college. The students selected Hillary, the president of College Government, to speak. But the main commencement speech, delivered by the late Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, a liberal Republican, flunked the "relevance" test. "Senator Brooke gave an address that was pretty close to being just absolutely disconnected with the four years of our experience at Wellesley," says Acheson. "Hillary decided it could not go unremarked upon, and before her speech, gave an extemporaneous critique of Brooke's remarks."

Although Acheson defends her friend, Hillary's speech, read today, appears barely intelligible, even by sixties standards.

Every protest, every dissent... is unabashedly an attempt to forge an identity in this particular age. That attempt at forging for many of us over the past four years has meant coming to terms with our humanness. Within the context of a society that we perceive—now we can talk about reality, and I would like to talk about reality sometime, authentic reality, inauthentic reality, and what we have to accept of what we are—but our perception of it is that it hovers between the possibility of disaster and the potentiality for imaginatively responding to men's needs.

This part isn't much better:

Words have a funny way of trapping our minds on the way to our tongues, but there are necessary means even in this multi-media age for attempting to come to grips (sic) with some of the inarticulate maybe even inarticulate things that we're feeling.



But she springs free from the mind-word-tongue trap to express her impatience with empirical analysis as a basis for radical change:

What does it mean to hear that 13.3 percent of the people in this country are below the poverty line? That's a percentage. We're not interested in social reconstruction; it's human reconstruction. How can we talk about percentages and trends?

It gets even more interesting:

There are some things we feel, feelings that our prevailing, acquisitive and competitive corporate life, including tragically the universities, is not the way of life for us. We're searching for more immediate, ecstatic, and penetrating modes of living.

(Hillary must look back now with some amusement on the anti-corporate, anti-acquisitive rhetoric of her youth. Until a few months ago, she served on three corporate boards—French chemical giant, La Forge; Little Rock-based yogurt kings, TCHY; and the Wal-Mart Corporation, source of the recently deceased Sam Walton's fortune, perennially the largest personal fortune in the United States. Between 1986 and 1991, Hillary collected more than \$129,000 in director's fees. "Hillary has always made out like a bandit," says a tax expert familiar with the Clintons' returns. "Director's fees have been a really big source of income to them over the years, particularly since the mid-eighties.")

In quest of more immediate, ecstatic, and penetrating modes of living, Hillary went from Wellesley to, of all places, Yale Law School. Here she met her future husband, and the story of their first meeting—she made the first

move—is well known. Law school professor Burke Marshall took her under her wing, and she flourished academically. Marshall, a Kennedy family confidante, is the first person Ted Kennedy called after driving Mary Jo Kopechne off Chappaquiddick Bridge.

At Yale, Hillary slipped into an intellectual milieu marked by way-out and sometimes vicious left-wing polemics and activism. While leading campus protests against everything from the Vietnam war to the absence of a Tampax dispenser in the women's law school john, she found time to serve on the board of editors of a law school quarterly called the *Yale Review of Law and Social Action*.

The Spring 1970 issue featured articles by Duncan Kennedy (now a leading figure in Harvard Law's Marxist critical legal studies circle) and Robert Borosage (a radical left Jesse Jackson adviser based at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington). Another article, "Jamestown Sevcary," proposed "political migration to a single state for the purpose of gaining political control and establishing a living laboratory for experiment." Impatient with the counterculture, the authors hungered for an American-style Kam-puchea:

Now a new frontier must be found to foster further experimentation, an environment relatively unpopulated by conventional patterns of social and political organization. Experimentation with drugs, sex, individual lifestyles or radical rhetoric and action within the larger society is an insufficient alternative. Total experimentation is necessary. New ideas and values must be taken out of heads and transformed into reality.

As a member of the editorial board, Hillary provided a "detailed sympathetic critique" of the article, according to a source at the journal. Her main problem with the piece was that it was "long on rhetoric, short on action," according to the source. Hillary, it seems, had found an appropriate laboratory for the "human reconstruction" she championed at Wellesley.

Hillary Rothman is listed as an associate editor in a special double issue of the journal, much of it devoted to the Black Panther murder trials then taking place in New Haven. Several drawings depict policemen as pigs. In one, rifle-toting, hairy-muzzled pigs with nasal drip march in formation emitting "oinks" and thinking to themselves, "niggers, niggers, niggers, niggers . . ." Another shows a decapitated and dismembered pig squealing in agony. It is captioned, "Seize the Time!" If Hillary approved of her colleagues' artwork, then she appears to have foreshadowed by about twenty years such contemporary traffickers in cop-killing imagery as rappers NWA and Ice-T.

In the *New York Review of Books*, Garry Wills touted Hillary as "one of the most important scholar-activists of the last two decades" for her work in the field of children's rights and family policy. On federal children's policy, she repeatedly expressed the radical's contempt for fainthearted liberal approaches to federal programs for children. She rejected piecemeal testing and evaluation of pro-

grams targeted on needy children in favor of "comprehensive programs—those that provide services for the entire child population."

In "Children's Policies: Abandonment and Neglect" (*Yale Law Journal*, 1977), she chastizes the Brookings Institution's Gilbert Steiner for his look-before-you-lead attitude toward federal intervention in the family. "Steiner posits that 'non-intervention serves as a basic guiding principle rather than an absolute.' Steiner's rejection of absolutism is welcome, but it is his cautious attitude toward governmental involvement in child-rearing that implicitly molds his analysis." And later: "There is nothing wrong with pressing for better programs for the needy, but Steiner sets his sights too low."

Underlying Hillary's demands for a sweeping range of federal children's programs now is the same impatience with empiricism she exhibited in her adieu to Wellesley ("What does it mean . . . 13.3 percent . . . are below the poverty line? That's a percentage . . ."). The flaws in Steiner's analysis, she writes, can be pinpointed by

examining two familiar corollaries of the non-interventionist principle, both of which help shape Steiner's evaluation of federal policy toward children. . . . The first corollary is that in order to overcome the non-interventionist impulse the evidence supporting proposed or ongoing children's programs must be greater than that necessary to overcome resistance to change in other areas of public policy. . . . The second corollary . . . is that children's programs, once underway, should be judged more quickly and harshly than other programs.

It's worth noting in passing that her second corollary merely restates part of her first, an embarrassing logical lapse in a finely tuned legal mind.

In any case, the empirical threshold is just a blind for sentimentalists: "Apparently we share so much apprehension about potential harm to cherished, albeit fantasized, family values that programs for children must demonstrate immediate success or risk extinction."

But Hillary's advocacy of massive and immediate expansion of federal child-care programs was relative tinkering compared to the radical redefinition of the relationship between state and family that she called for as a champion of the "children's rights" movement. In "Children Under the Law" (a 1974 essay reprinted by the *Harvard Educational Review* in 1982) she proposed three measures for obtaining "children's rights": (1) the immediate abolition of the legal status of minority and the reversal of the legal presumption of the incompetence of minors in favor of a presumption of competence; (2) the extension to children of all procedural rights guaranteed to adults; (3) the rejection of the legal presumption of the identity of interests between parents and their children, and permission for competent children to assert those independent interests in the courts. (In effect, when parents and their teenage kids don't agree on who's the boss, a judge steps in.)

The relationship between her first and third proposals

forms a powerful wedge for the courts to intercede between parents and children to resolve intra-family disputes. It works like this: Under proposal No. 1 (the reversal of the presumption of incompetence), competence would be decided case by case by the courts. Hillary accepts that infants will in most cases be deemed incompetent, but when it comes to kids 12 and over, she leans to the view that they are more like adults than kids and that their presumed competence ought to withstand challenge in most cases. Under proposal No. 3 (the rejection of the presumption of the identity of interests between parents and their children), when the interests of parents and children diverge, competent children—that's most teenagers, remember—are free to testify against Mom and Dad and the courts will decide between them.

In a 1979 article, "Children's Rights: A Legal Perspective," Hillary—by this time over 30 and wife of the governor of Arkansas—answered critics who feared her brand of children's rights would elevate family squabbles into legal battles:

The fears that many people have about . . . a law of children's rights arise from their concern about increasing government control over such intra-family disputes.

A letter sent out several years ago about the Child and Family Development Act urged persons to oppose the proposed bill because it would, according to the writers, allow children to take parents to court if they were ordered to take out the garbage. Family disagreements that result in legal battles are, of course, of a more serious nature. . . . The most recent example of disagreement between parent and child is found in the abortion cases recently decided by the United States Supreme Court. The Court held that a minor child might seek an abortion without her parents' consent and over her parents' objections if a court believed it to be in the child's best interests.

In other words: "Don't worry, we'll still leave mundane decisions to the discretion of parents, it's just the important ones they can't be trusted with." Did she think her critics would be reassured?

How far into the home would Hillary invite 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. Children should have a right to be permitted to decide their own future if they are competent.

Incidentally, it is by no means clear in these litigation-happy times that a "long-term and possible irreparable ef-

fects" criterion would exclude take-out-the-garbage cases.

Maybe the most irresponsible thing about Hillary's writing in this field is that she never attempts to calculate the "chilling effect" of what she proposes. In a world where parent-child tiffs are actionable by legally competent children, will parents have the nerve to oppose their children's wishes on matters of importance? Or even insignificant matters? How will they know where the line is between the important and the trivial?

I have read all she has written on children's rights and can only conclude that Hillary suffers from a massive misunderstanding of the function of parents. "The presumption of incompetency" has profound significance not just because children are reliant on adults to exercise their rights for them, but because a child denied the opportunity to exercise responsibilities is effectively denied the opportunity to mature into a responsible adult," she writes. She seems to miss the

obvious: as children mature, sensitive parents gradually relax the reins and give their children greater freedom and greater responsibility. Hillary Clinton doesn't appear to grasp how spontaneously evolved social institutions like the family absorb and retain knowledge and wisdom through the ages, an igno-

rance typical of the left to which she belongs. Gerry Willis laments with Hillary that we don't have a "calibrated scale of increasing competence applicable to all children." Of course we don't. We don't need one. Because we have something far better, families: millions of calibrated scales of increasing competence tailored individually to millions of individual children by millions of parents.

Truth be told, Hillary Clinton harbors a deeply cynical view of the traditional family, its origins, and its defenders. In "Children Under the Law" she likens arguments against her plan to eliminate the legal minority status of children to arguments in favor of black slavery and against the emancipation of married women. In the same article, she goes even further, equating the family itself with slavery:

The basic rationale for depriving people of rights in a dependency relationship is that certain individuals are incapable or undervaluing of the right to take care of themselves and consequently need social institutions specifically designed to safeguard their position. Along with the family, past and present examples of such arrangements include marriage, slavery and the Indian reservation system.

In her view, the family as we know it, in which children are legally dependent on their mother and father until achieving majority at 18 or 21, is not a social institution adapted over time to meet children's needs of protection,

sustenance, and love. It is instead a breeding ground of perpetual conflict that was "invented" in the nineteenth century in response to organized labor demands aimed at protecting adult workers against competition from children:

Many of the modern conflicts between parents and children arise because of the 'invention' of adolescence. Children in the Middle Ages became adults at the age of seven. . . . The concept of childhood gradually was expanded until children became more and more dependent on their parents and parents became less and less dependent on their children for economic support and sustenance. During the nineteenth century in this country, the idea of compulsory education provided an opportunity for children to be trained, and took them out of an increasingly smaller work force, so that they would not compete with adults. Child labor laws continued this trend and so did the imposition of age requirements for school attendance. . . . Because children now remain in the family for longer periods, during which they are still dependent but becoming more and more adults, the opportunities for intrafamily disputes have increased dramatically.

As Hillary would reverse the presumption of the identity of interests between parents and their children, so I would like to reverse the presumption of the identity of interests between Hillary and America's children. I suspect that Hillary's years of activism on behalf of children's rights and comprehensive federal child care have less to do with the interests of children than with the interests of the feminist elite of working mothers that Hillary has come to exemplify. If children mature much earlier than is conventionally believed, and if such needs as they still have for adult supervision can be met by federal day-care centers, then career-first moms (and dads, for that matter) need not have their busy days bustling from law offices to corporate board rooms to television studios troubled by occasional pangs of conscience for their neglected children. It lets all of America's Hillarys right off the hook, once and for all.

The children's rights movement fizzled out in the late seventies, far too wacky to get very far even in the pro-Reagan courts. About the only chance it has to make a resurgence, and it's a slender one, is if Bill Clinton is elected President and his wife assumes responsibility for screening his judicial appointees, as she did in Arkansas, according to a story in the *New York Times*.

If one is to believe street talk in Arkansas, Hillary's rejection of traditional family life is not confined to her scholarly scribbles. The status of the Clintons' marriage, including the possibility that Bill's extramarital wanderings reflect an "open marriage," is the subject of wide speculation and gossip in Arkansas political circles. Those close to the Clintons hotly deny any such allegations.

"There are some things we feel, feelings that our prevailing acquisitive and competitive corporate life . . . is not the way of life for us. We're searching for more immediate, ecstatic, and penetrating modes of living."

Friends of the Clintons say that there is a very powerful bond between them, a bond immediately apparent to anyone who sees them together. "What I get a sense of when I'm around them is a really powerful relationship, of two people who really take a lot of delight in each other," says Hillary's close friend, film actress Mary Steenburgen.

Powerful though it may be, there is a pattern of details about their relationship that suggests it is not as fully 1 as an old-fashioned marriage. The Clinton's financial assets are separately held; Bill draws a modest salary as governor, and basically the rest of their assets are under Hillary's name. (Despite her husband's frequent public complaints about the investment in non-productive assets and "paper profits" of the eighties, Hillary appears to have done well by such an aggressive strategy in the decade of greed. "At Wharton business school this spring, [Clinton] was yelling at them about how many of them went off to be investment bankers and did this sophisticated financial stuff instead of

doing something that was actually productive," says a source familiar with the couple's tax returns. "Hillary herself in 1987 bought straddles. Standard and Poors. She's done the kind of stuff that he thinks is bad. The way they've actually gotten the richest is that in 1986 Hillary sunk a lot of her money into this thing called the Value Partnership.

It's very aggressively managed: they short all of these stocks, there are all these puts and calls, and it did very well for them." But Hillary has never been one to let principle stand in the way of pecuniary gain: in 1981 she reported a tidy, if politically incorrect, capital gain from the sale of stock in De Beers, the South African diamond barons.)

The Clintons give to separate charities. And attend separate churches: he's a Baptist and she's a Methodist. But if one is to believe wicked gossips in Little Rock, they do attend church at the same time: election time. The two also take separate vacations. Hillary vacations annually with the Arkansas native Steenburgen, daughter Chelsea (named after sixties folkie Judy Collins' hit "Chelsea Morning") in tow. San Francisco is a favorite destination. (Steenburgen explains that they are mother-daughter deals, to which even her son is not invited.) As should be clear by now, the Clintons have separate ideological agendas, and Hillary is indeed a faction leader within the Clinton campaign. And finally, press reports notwithstanding, Hillary appears to have retained her maiden name. Legend has it that after many blamed her retention of her maiden name, Rodham, for her husband's failed re-election bid in 1980, Hillary took his last name. Strangely, though, the name she gives on page one of her 1991 tax return is Hillary Rodham.

None of these details in and of itself rebuts the Clinton

loyalists' avowals of a "powerful relationship" or a "strong bond." Indeed, many of these arrangements are typical of modern marriages among elite segments of society. But that's just the point. They are typical of modern, post-sixties counterculture designer marriages, not of traditional, pre-counterculture marriages. Steenburgen puts it this way: "They're two whole people. One hasn't given away huge parts of themselves to the other."

In 1978, Hillary Rodham was appointed Chairman of the Board of the Legal Services Corporation (LSC) by Jimmy Carter. Established by Congress as a federally funded, independent, private, non-profit, and *non-political* corporation to provide legal assistance to the poor in non-criminal cases, the LSC degenerated under Rodham into what the late Warren Brookes called "a \$300 million liberal political action committee," rife with illegality. During her chairmanship and later tenure on the board, the LSC published a political training manual showing "how community organizations and public interest groups can win political power and resources," a sequel to the earlier "Tactical Investigations of People's Struggles." They even made a contribution to a mayoral campaign in Georgia, rationalizing it as "a project to educate clients about their rights in the legislative process."

In January 1980, the LSC funneled taxpayer money into something called the Proposition 9 Task Force, a campaign to coordinate the efforts of thirty LSC grant recipient groups and 500 attorneys in California to defeat Proposition 9, a ballot initiative to cut state income taxes in half. The LSC is explicitly barred by its charter from providing this type of assistance to defeat a state ballot initiative, and in a September 19, 1983 report, the Comptroller General of the United States (GAO) nailed the Rodham LSC to the wall.

According to the report, the LSC, the Western Center on Law and Poverty (the California legal services grantees that requested and received a \$61,655 LSC "Special Needs" grant to hire four "coordinators" to direct the campaign), "and certain other unidentified California Legal Services grantees violated the provision of 42 U.S.C. §2996e(d)(4) in providing funds and personnel support for the Proposition 9 Task Force that operated a large-scale opposition campaign to the Proposition 9 ballot measure."

Because the Task Force "had obtained staff commitments from approximately 30 California Legal Services Programs funded by the Corporation," the GAO concluded that LSC resources dedicated to the campaign went far beyond those accounted for in the "special needs" grant. According to the report: "The cost of these staff commitments is unknown and difficult to compute, considering the lapse of time. However, we know that the campaign lasted approximately 3 months and that many staff persons field offices throughout California devoted at least half their time to the campaign. With the grant . . . the Task Force hired four coordinators who had experience working with poor people and in political campaigns. Funds were also expended on clerical staff, travel, printing and postage associated with campaign activities." These activities, the Comptroller concluded, "were the precise sort . . . prohibited

by the statute's injunction against using corporate funds to oppose a ballot measure that is already on the ballot and where client's legal rights are not at issue."



But Task Force 9 was a mere pilot project in politicization and illegality, compared to the corporation's 1981 effort to mobilize Legal Services lawyers into a nationwide network of resistance to Reagan Administration plans to restrain the growth of entitlements and social programs and rein in the rogue LSC. In January 1981, the LSC held a Regional Project Directors meeting in Boulder, Colorado, attended by a host of officials from grantees organizations in nearby states and Corporation officials from

Washington. In a training session captured on videotape, a parade of speakers took the floor to denounce Reagan fiscal policy in startlingly frank terms and outline their plans for organizing an LSC network to combat it.

The GAO concluded from the remarks that LSC grantees officials had violated statutory bars against using LSC money to hold training programs to advocate public policies, encourage political activities, or create associations, federations, or networks. They faulted the Corporation itself for failing to insure the compliance of its grantees with the provisions of the Legal Services Corporation Act.

In 1982, Hillary and other holdovers from the Carter LSC board made one more attempt to nullify Reagan's mandate by seeking an injunction in the U.S. District Court to prevent the newly appointed Reagan board from assuming

control of the board or even holding a meeting of the board. They moved on the grounds that the Reagan board members, as recess appointments, had not been confirmed by the Senate, as required by the I.S.C. act. In denying the motion, the judge observed that four members of the Carter board had themselves been recess appointments. One of the four was Hillary Rodham.

Because of the way the Legal Services Corporation Act is written, only the corporation itself has the power to enforce compliance with the Act by grantees. No third party has standing to sue to compel compliance. Given this virtual immunity to external authority, Hillary's lax supervision of the Corporation, while its staff not only tolerated but actively encouraged prohibited political action by grantees, was an especially egregious betrayal of the public trust.

Hillary served in 1987-88 as director and chair of the board of directors of the New World Foundation, a philanthropy dedicated to the support of "progressive activist organizations," as she puts it in her foreword to the group's annual report for 1987-88. While the foundation (ranked as one of the country's ten most liberal in a recent Capital Research Center monograph) does back some fairly well-known liberal groups (Norman Lear's People for the American Way, Randall Robinson's Trans-Africa Forum, and the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund), under Hillary it also financed a number of groups associated with the hard left.

In 1988, New World gave \$5,000 to the Committee in Support of the People of El Salvador (CISPES) education fund. CISPES was founded at meetings in New York City in 1980 by Feri Handal (brother of El Salvador's Communist party chief Shafik Handal), who had come to the United States to mobilize American support for the FMLN, the major Communist guerrilla organization in El Salvador. Also in 1988, New World gave \$2,500 to Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting, a group dedicated to exposing conservative bias in the media, especially the television networks. That's right, conservative bias. In *Extral*, its newsletter, FAIR chastised such liberal standard-bearers as Michael Kinsley and National Public Radio for being too tough on Jesse Jackson. Last year, in a special issue of the newsletter devoted to media coverage of the Persian Gulf War, editor Jim Naurekas lashed out: "The euphoria at the beginning and the end of the Persian Gulf War brackets one of the most disturbing episodes in U.S. journalistic history—a period when many reporters for the national media abandoned any pretense of neutrality or reportorial distance in favor of boosterism for the war effort." (While Bill Clinton maintains he supported the decision to move militarily in the Gulf, I'm not so sure about Hillary. Mary Stoenburgen recalls a conversation in which she along with Hillary and another friend discussed their "feelings" about the prospect of U.S. involvement in the war. "Both of them had felt like [Saddam] was a really frightening person that was potentially very dangerous to people, yet we all talked about our feelings that war was not

the way to solve everything," she says. *Potentially very dangerous? The guy had gassed Kurdish villages and conquered a neighbor by this time.*)

In 1988, Hillary lavished \$20,000 on the Christie Institute, the far left crackpots who flacked the "secret team" theory, alleging a massive, 20-year conspiracy by CIA Special Forces operatives to do everything from run a ring out of Indochina in the sixties to topple the Sandinistas in the eighties. In June 1991, they were assessed 1.1 million in court-ordered sanctions for filing a frivolous suit against General John Singlaub and other supposed secret teamsters. Hillary doled out \$15,000 in 1987 to the National Lawyers Guild, founded in the 1930s as an adjunct to the American Communist party and retaining party ties to this day. Support also went to the Center for Constitutional Studies (co-founded by Chicago 7 lawyer William K. Ler) and the Institute for Policy Studies (self-styled "center for radical scholarship")—the list goes on and on to include scores of other more obscure but equally fishy-sounding grantees.

While these grants may have gone to projects that sound innocuous enough, if you give twenty thousand bucks to bad folks for a merely objectionable project, then that's twenty thousand they don't have to raise for a truly hideous one. Moreover, in her foreword to the annual report, Hillary makes a special point of New World's predilection for giving money away to the left with no strings attached:

The foundation has recognized the dilemma presented to public policy as federal support is withdrawn from social programs and social advocacy at the same time as the need for such programs grows more acute. As a result philanthropy has had to serve as a bridge from the "system" to the neediest and least represented. The New World Foundation has sought to use its resources to strengthen that bridge and to encourage other foundations to focus on the fragility of activist and advocacy efforts on behalf of the poor in general and people of color in particular. In this effort we have made *mostly general support grants, rather than special projects grants, so as to provide core support to organizers and advocates.* [Emphasis added.]

Guess you can't be too choosy with Ronald Reagan on the loose.

There are those who would say of Hillary's involvement in radical politics, "Aw, she was just a kid." But she wasn't just a kid. She was a middle-aged woman of 40 when sponsoring the hard left from her perch at the New World Foundation. Moreover, she has not, as far as I know, publicly repudiated or even distanced herself from the views or activism described in this article, and her husband's presidential campaign was the perfect occasion to do so. There is no reason she ought to be forgiven, when she hasn't repented. Especially since she is right now doing her utmost to drive her husband's campaign into her own corner of the Democratic party, where the liberal left and the radical left meet. □

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