

11-STATE DEFENDER, September 5, 1992 — 1

A talk with Hillary

New World Realities
versus New World
Order.

By Arelya J. Mitchell

In an exclusive interview with the *Tri-State Defender*, Hillary Clinton uses the term, "New World Realities." It could be that it pretty much defines Hillary Clinton's outlook on foreign policy which, she stresses, should be linked to a strong domestic economic policy.

Right now, she believes there is not a *realistic* foreign policy because there is no strong domestic economic policy. When asked to address the Republican accusation that her husband has no foreign policy experience, she answers with biting graciousness.

"Well, my husband has given three major speeches outlining his foreign policy goals for America," she says to the point. "They are premised on his very strong belief that if America is not strong at home, we cannot be strong abroad. So you cannot separate foreign policy from domestic policy anymore, the way George Bush likes to do." She then ties this subject in to another aspect that is dear to her heart, education. "Of course, if our people are not educated, if our economy is not strong, we cannot lead the world. You cannot put together coalitions to deal with bullies like Saddam Hussein. That's the first point. The second point is that the primary competition in America of the future will come from two sources. Number one, economics. We have to view foreign policy as a tool of economic strategy in the future. Secondly, with the collapse of communism, we are looking at a different kind of challenge to America, primarily coming from unexpected places like Iraq, and the *non-thinking* George Bush brings into foreign policy, the defender of the status quo, where he kept Saddam Hussein supplied with military equipment until he (Saddam) turned on him. That is not adequate anymore for the new world we face."

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TO: Lisa Caputo
Hillary Clinton's Office
From: Arelya J.
Mitchell, Editor

~~At the~~

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TO LISA (Aduto)
From Arelyn J. Mitchell

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It is at this juncture in conversation that Hillary Clinton gets more fervent in her outlook of a world that is ever growing smaller. "I think as people learn more about my husband I think they will realize that he is much better equipped to deal with the *new world realities*... His experience as a governor prepares him to deal with current economic issues... he has an understanding of foreign policy—he has been a student of it for many years; he is much better equipped to deal with the world now," she emphasizes, "not the way it was yesterday."

Four years ago in the last presidential election, journalists didn't much bother to ask potential First Ladies about domestic policy, let alone foreign policy. But these times, they are a changing and those potential First Ladies were not of the baby boom generation and they were no Hillary Clintons. The wife of the Arkansas Governor who is heading the first baby boom presidential ticket was as much of a hot issue at the Republican Convention, as the family values issue. The latter, of course, has not caught on the way the Republicans had calculated and neither did they manage to do much damage to Hillary Clinton's reputation and charisma.

When asked what she thought about being the brunt of the Republican Convention, she slipped it aside: "I really don't address it. I don't think I need to defend myself or what I stood for or have tried to do... I thought it was kind of sad that the Republicans would hold a convention and for four days do nothing but run other people down instead of talking about how we

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TO: LISA (Vaduto) - Hillary Clinton E. 4712
From: Arely A J. Mitchell, Editor Page 3



A potential First Lady...

Hillary Clinton, left, and *Tri-State Defender* editor, Arely A. J. Mitchell chat at A.M.R. Combs Airport. Mrs. Clinton was in Memphis during a Clinton-Gore campaign swing into the city. (Photo by Glen Yaun).

(MORE)

Hillary

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could lift each other up... for what my husband is trying to do is so important because he wants to bring positive change to people and that is what I think a presidential election should be about. So, I just don't pay much mind with what they say about me."

Well, end of that.

This writer, having recently attended the Republican Convention, had made the observation that Republicans did not extend an invitation to H. Ross Perot supporters as did the Democrats at theirs in New York. What did she think of this oversight?

"We are trying to welcome everyone back to the Democratic party and to be an inclusive group that represents all of America—whether one is a Perot voter or if one is an African American or Asian American or Hispanic or any part of America," she stressed. "The Democratic Party under Bill Clinton and Al Gore wants everyone to feel welcomed."

As the conversation is going, this writer analyzes in her mind the ups and downs of the Clinton campaign...and if you pinpoint when the battle started going Bill Clinton's way, you have to go back to the *60 Minutes* TV program. It was Hillary Rodham Clinton who saved this early-on scandal-ridden campaign. Her intellectualism shone brilliantly and put her in America's limelight which has not been done since the Jackie Kennedy days. When the *60 Minutes* news drama was over, the nation full well knew Hillary Clinton was still the wife, the mother, the protector of her family—in other words, she exuded those family values.

In fact, Hillary Clinton herself is a passionate advocate of the core of family values: Children. She is well known for her work with the Children's Defense Fund, headed by African American Marian Wright Edelman. She was also the founder of Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families in 1977. And what did she think of the Republicans pitching at their convention how she advocated that children had a right to sue their parents?

"Well, I think it's clear now that that was an example of the kind of distortion and untrue stories they were telling about a lot of people in Houston (where Republicans held their convention), including on me," she says earnestly. "Everyone has read what I have written and followed what I have done with the Children's Defense Fund and other organizations...and (they) realize what I and others are trying to do when a family falls into a terrible situation."

It is at this point Hillary Clinton rattles off statistics but not without feeling and with the compassion of being a mother herself.

"You know," she begins quietly. "every 13 seconds a child in America is abused or neglected; and every 53 minutes, a child in this country dies from the effects of poverty; and every three hours, a child in America is murdered." She pauses then says with the commitment that made her become an advocate of protecting children long before her husband's bid for the presidency: "Now these are the kinds of facts and issues that I think are worth talking about instead of try-

ing to tear the work I've done down and to try to undermine my work with Marian Wright Edelman's Children's Defense Fund. They (the Republicans) should have been concerned about these problems because these are what we need to be addressed as citizens."

Of course, when you bring up the subject of children to Hillary Clinton, you bring up the subject of education. This writer asked her pointblank if Bill Clinton, if elected President, intended to keep intact George Bush's *America 2000* education program.

"My husband has his own program to be a real education president, which is a title George Bush has claimed but has not earned," she said and took the opportunity to set the record straight. "My husband was the lead governor at the summit meeting held between President Bush and the nation's governors back in 1989, which came up with six national education goals that the country should try to implement. Rather than attempting to implement those goals, the Bush Administration came up with their own program which was the *America 2000* program, which really, when you strip it all the way, is about sending tax money to private schools—the so-called choice/voucher system. That is no answer to America's education problem."

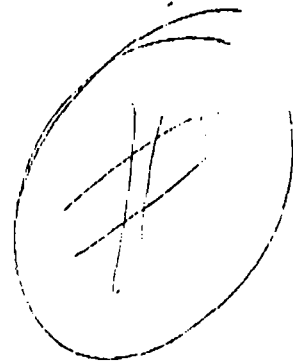
"What my husband proposes," she continues, "instead is to take those goals that were agreed to by the nation's governors. Just them off that shelf that the Bush Administration put them on and begin to implement them, which include such things as working to ensure that every child is ready to go to school to learn. How do we do that? We make sure every pregnant woman has pre-natal care, we make sure the health system takes care of the health needs of all of our children."

Clearly, the Hillary Clinton factor is becoming a rising plus to the Clinton-Gore campaign even in spite of "baking cookies" gaffe...which, by the way, is how the cookie crumbles, when Hillary Clinton takes on the *New World Realities* versus *The New World Order*.

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To: LISA CAPRA
1/1/1994
Hillary Clinton
OFFICE

From: Roddy A
J. M. Felt



Hillary Clinton Urges Women to Use the Law

By DAVID MARGOLICK
Special to the New York Times

SAN FRANCISCO, Aug. 3 - With Anna C. Hill sitting four chairs down the dais, Hillary Clinton celebrated the recent advances of women in the legal profession and urged her fellow female lawyers to use their newly attained power and influence to improve the lives of women and their families throughout the United States.

Speaking at the annual meeting of the American Bar Association, whose commission on women she led from 1987 to 1991, Mrs. Clinton hailed the progress that women had made fighting discrimination, harassment and abuse in the legal workplace.

The joint appearance of the two women brought unprecedented passion and frenzy to the normally staid bar proceedings. The 1,200 tickets quickly disappeared, and there was actually

some shouting going on in the corridor, with tickets going for \$50 or more.

son, "who are struggling to hold body and soul together, who are trying to do their jobs well and still take time for their family, who do their work as best as they can and still help their kids with homework, who want to pitch in and help in their communities, who want to be a friend to their friends and maybe, most of all, sometimes just want an afternoon off."

"It is time we as women and as lawyers commit ourselves to the idea that we will not rest until public policy recognizes and accommodates women's needs and priorities," she said. She called for changes in policies regarding parental leave, child support, taxes, education, job training, and health care, as well as guarantees of abortion rights.

"Protecting Our Families"
Attitudes, too, need to be overhauled, Mrs. Clinton said, including those in the legal profession. "The law, the lawyers and the judges protecting our families deserve at least the respect now given to the law, lawyers and judges protecting our corporate boardrooms," she said.

One thing the nation's women do not need, she added, are "lectures from Washington about values." "They don't need to hear," she continued, "about an idealized world that never was, as righteous or as carefree — or as good for women — as some of them would like us to think. They just need a helping hand, and they need respect for what they are going through."

Mrs. Clinton and Ms. Hill appeared at an awards lunch sponsored by the Commission on Women in the Profession, an A.B.A. group. Each woman received long standing ovations and repeated applause. And the whoops and cheers were of a passion, pitch and timbre never before heard at bar conventions, where women have historically played minor roles and minority women were virtually invisible.

If anything, the reception given Ms. Hill, who spoke about fighting sexual harassment and was honored by the women's commission, was the more raucous, not about everyone except Mrs. Clinton joining in the standing ovation.

Mrs. Clinton was received warmly, if not ecstatically, when Cory Amara, a Washington lawyer, her successor on the women's commission, said she

their time is now, women in the bar group are told.

some shouting going on in the corridor, with tickets going for \$50 or more.

The wife of the Democratic Presidential candidate Bill Clinton, who here, at least, is still known as Hillary Rodham Clinton, paid special tribute to Mr. Hill, the University of Oklahoma law professor whose charges of sexual harassment against Justice Clarence Thomas have proven a near-epochal event to American women.

Ms. Hill, Mrs. Clinton said, "transformed consciousness and changed history with her courageous testimony" during Judge Thomas's confirmation hearings. "All women who care about equality of opportunity, about integrity and morality in the workplace, are in Professor Anna Hill's debt, and I am pleased to share this platform with her today," she said.

But as she celebrated the great strides female lawyers had made, Mrs. Clinton called upon them to use their influence and affluence to change the lot of women outside the legal profes-

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"may very well be the next First Woman of the United States." And whatever Ms. Clinton lacked in raw emotional appeal was compensated for by the possibilities she increasingly seems to embody for female lawyers.

Indeed, throughout the bar convention, including at a ceremony on Saturday night honoring Justice Thurgood Marshall, there was an unmistakable air of exultation and anticipation, as if these present felt American politics, the legal profession, and the A.B.A. were entering eras in which women mattered more than ever before — and in which both women and the A.B.A. could soon have close friends in the White House.

There was almost equal enthusiasm for other women honored at the lunch, who included Bertha Hill Kay, dean of the law school at the University of California at Berkeley; Judge Betty Fletcher of the United States Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco; Representative Patsy T. Mink of

Hawaii; Justice Leah Sears Collins of the Georgia Supreme Court; and Margaret Behm, a Nashville lawyer. "I feel like I'm on this wave, a wave of change," Ms. Behm said in accepting an award.

Mrs. Clinton, fresh from her Democratic Bus Tour II through the Midwest, breezed into San Francisco before lunch. Ms. Hill, by contrast, has been here for several days, and, if anything, has proven an even bigger draw. More than the Supreme Court Justices — John Paul Stevens and Anthony M. Kennedy — or indeed, any man on the program, she has proven the star attraction.

No Introduction Needed

By some accounts it took Ms. Hill an hour just to register on arriving here, so busy was she being button-holed by admiring conventioners. On Saturday night, en route to the dinner honoring Justice Marshall, she held court in the corridor, modestly receiving encomi-

um after encomium. "I just want to shake your hand!" said a Rhode Island woman as her husband hung behind.

On Sunday morning, her appearance at a program on "empowerment strategies" for minority women in the profession was such a draw that newspaper reporters and a few unlucky ticket holders were sent to an anteroom with closed circuit televisions upstairs.

Afterward, she was swamped by well-wishers; some wanted to shake her hand but more sought autographs. Ms. Hill obliged them with an apparently practiced hand, signing programs after programs. For one fan, Debra V. Jennings of Houston, she signed a copy of "Sexual Harassment: Know Your Rights!" Ms. Hill contributed a chapter to the book, which she entitled "The Nature of the Beast."

Apart from the appearances by Mrs. Clinton and Ms. Hill, the annual meeting's roster of celebrity visitors is short, particularly after a return visit

by Vice President Dan Quayle hit some snags and failed to materialize. In his address here a year ago, Mr. Quayle antagonized many convention goers by suggesting that a glut of lawyers accounted in part for the country's lack of competitiveness.

On the parliamentary side, the A.B.A. will have yet another raucous debate on the issue of abortion before the six-day meeting ends on Wednesday. In 1980, its House of Delegates narrowly adopted a pro-choice position, only to trade it for official neutrality six months later.

Also to be discussed are the bar group's position on legislation allowing televised executions; pretrial publication of the names of rape victims; the right of firms to conduct "ancillary" businesses related to the practice of law; and whether to allow the National Lesbian and Gay Law Association to become an affiliated organization within the bar group.

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Hillary Clinton envisions shaping policy as first lady

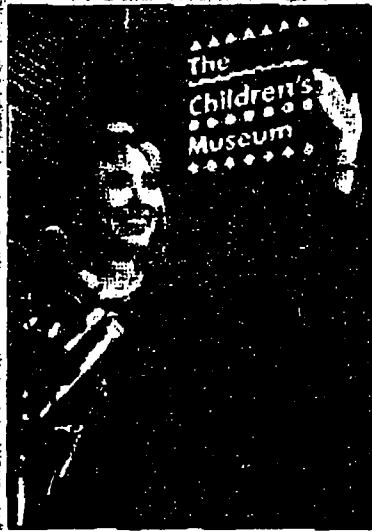
By Susan Baer
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Hillary Clinton, caught at the center of political storms this year over family values and career women, said yesterday she envisions for herself "a more comprehensive approach" to the role of first lady than that being exercised by Barbara Bush.

The wife of Democratic nominee Bill Clinton said in an interview yesterday that, should she and her husband take up residency at the White House next year, she'd like to shape policy related to children and family — not just talk about such issues.

"I don't think there's any point in being in public service if you don't really believe that you want to make a difference to help people," Mrs. Clinton said yesterday before leaving for a trip to hurricane-torn Florida with her husband.

Since she stepped out on the campaign trail last year with her trademark headband, power suits and four-star resume, Mrs. Clinton has emerged as a controversial figure, drawing scorn from Republicans who've portrayed her as a "radical feminist" seeking a "co-presidency."



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Mrs. Clinton focuses on children, with her husband but drawing high praise from admirers who see the successful lawyer, wife and mother as a role model and portrait of the

See HILLARY, 6A, Col. 1

AFL-CIO endorses Clinton. A

Hillary Clinton envisions putting ideas into policy on children

HILLARY, from 1A

contemporary woman.

Although she and the Arkansas governor have denied ever speaking of a "co-presidency," Mrs. Clinton spoke early in the campaign of reasons "we," or "Bill and I," were running for office.

She no longer uses those pronouns, and the campaign no longer hints that she might serve in a Cabinet position. But Mrs. Clinton leaves little doubt that she would take an extremely active role in the administration as she has in the campaign.

Today, among her staff of about 18, she has her own issues director and political consultant — highly unusual for a first lady, and more so for the spouse of a candidate — and when she's on the road, aides call from Little Rock, Ark., to equip her with the latest Commerce Depart-

ment figures on household income for her speeches and interviews.

The lawyer and longtime children's advocate said yesterday that, as a first lady, she would be "a voice for children," but in a more active way than Mrs. Bush has championed issues of personal concern, such as literacy and infants with AIDS.

"I think we need a more comprehensive approach. I think you have to match your voice with your actions," said Mrs. Clinton, currently on leave from the Little Rock law firm where she's a partner.

"It's not enough just to say, 'My goal, we have these terrible problems.' We need changes that will solve these problems. At the end of Bill's first year and first term, I want to be able to say I didn't just raise public awareness, I have effected in country that are

solving the problems of children and families."

If these aren't words the country is used to hearing from spouses of presidential candidates, Mrs. Clinton believes that, with this campaign, the country is going through "a historic transition" in its perception of political spouses and their roles.

"This transition has occurred at every level in our society except the presidential level," she says. "When Bill was first elected governor, it was unusual for a governor's spouse to work or have outside interests. Now it's a matter of course."

"But because we've never had people of Bill and Al Gore's age actually in position to be president, it's now occurring naturally at the presidential level."

In a short interview in her hotel suite before leaving Washington, Mrs. Clinton appeared at times more

defensive and brittle than earlier in the campaign, initially dismissing questions about negative reactions to her with, "Oh, who cares?" or "I don't know what you're talking about."

On the question of her husband's draft record that has come back to dog the Clinton campaign, she recites the campaign's line: "I have nothing to say about it." When pressed, she says, "You can ask me a million times. I'm not going to say anything other than what's been said because, as far as we're concerned, we've said all that needs to be said."

As the campaign heads for its traditional Labor Day opening, Mrs. Clinton denies that there's been any attempt to keep her in the shadows since her offending remark earlier this year about how she could have "stayed home and baked cookies and had tea."

"I'm doing the same thing I've always been doing," she says. In fact, say her schedulers, since the Democratic convention — which she appeared often with the Clintons' 12-year-old daughter, Chelsea — trotted out baskets of chocolate chip cookies and seemed to have softer cheeks — she has crisscrossed the Midwest twice and rarely has been off the campaign trail.

She was perhaps most visible, in name if not in person, at the Republican convention last month when speaker after speaker portrayed the former chairwoman of the Children's Defense Fund as a liberal extremist and threat to the American family. Ironically, the bashing has resulted in a backlash of support for she says, citing "Hillary fan clubs" that are forming in Maryland, Virginia and cheers she gets along the Clinton Gore bus trips.

THE BALTIMORE SUN

9/4/92

[FRONT PAGE]

Hillary Clinton labels criticism 'dishonest'

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — Hillary Clinton says Republican attacks against her at last month's convention were "totally dishonest" and bore no relation to her actual beliefs and opinions.

"They were not saying anything truthful ... about me," the Democratic presidential nominee's wife told Jane Pauley in an interview to be aired Tuesday night on "Dateline NBC."

"They were doing it for political purposes.

I knew that some of the peo-

ple knew better."

Convention speakers last month accused Clinton of devaluing women who stay at home with kids; saying children should be able to sue parents who ask them to take the garbage out; and comparing marriage to slavery.

"They are using your words, your own words against you in a rather shrewd way," Pauley said.

"In a rather dishonest way. I mean it's totally dishonest," Clinton replied.

She said her comparison of marriage to slavery referred to

a time when women and children were literally the property of men, and said her writings on children's legal rights applied to severe situations such as when they are chained to radiators.

Clinton said she once got a note from President Bush thanking her for bringing the problem of infant mortality to his attention, and Barbara Bush wrote a book that "was very complimentary about my role" in an Arkansas literacy program.

"They knew the kinds of things that I cared about and that

I've stood for and worked for," said Clinton, who until recently was chairman of the board of the Children's Defense Fund, an advocacy group.

Clinton said she is probably a lightning rod in the presidential campaign because "I do have opinions."

Asked if a first lady could be popular and opinionated, she said yes, but added: "Given the challenges we face, maybe we need to do with a little less popularity and a little more courage."

10-4-92

For better or worse, Hillary is partner in Clinton campaign



Associated Press

IT'S ELEMENTARY — Hillary Clinton (center) shares a laugh during a visit to the Family Center of New York's Bank Street College of Education on Thursday morning. Hillary Clinton is a Yale graduate, a political activist, a protective mother and a political adviser to her husband, Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton.

BY TERRY LEMONS
Democrat-Gazette Staff Writer

Political wives can sometimes be perceived as mannequins, providing little more than window dressing for their husbands' campaigns.

But, as Arkansans have come to know, Hillary Clinton is no dummy.

Arkansas' first lady is a Yale-educated lawyer, an opinionated political activist, a protective mother and a key adviser to her husband, Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton.



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The combination means Hillary Clinton plays a larger role in this year's presidential campaign than many of the spouses of previous candidates.

The Clintons' political partnership represents a departure from presidential tradition and the root of Americans' mixed reaction to Hillary Clinton as a potential first lady. Never before has the White House role been filled by a working mother who earns more than her husband.

During Bill Clinton's five terms as governor, she has generally been regarded as
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Wives

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an asset to her husband. But on the national political scene, the jury is still out on Hillary Clinton.

While Barbara Bush embodies society's traditional image of a first lady as hostess and homemaker, Hillary Clinton personifies society's ambivalence about the evolving roles of women in the home and the workplace.

That difference has not gone unnoticed in the presidential campaign.

Hillary Clinton, 44, has been criticized for everything from her legal writings to her hair accessories.

She is the first potential first lady to have her professional career and her personal philosophy scrutinized with the same intensity as the presidential candidate.

Her legal work has come under fire from everyone on the political spectrum from Jerry Brown to Pat Buchanan. Republicans have branded her a "radical feminist" whose views are out of step with mainstream American values.

For her part, Hillary Clinton calmly dismisses these characterizations as ridiculous. But she admits she's been somewhat startled by all the fuss over her role in the campaign.

"I have to confess I was a little bit surprised that on the national scene there was so much interest and curiosity about me personally, when at home I guess I had just gotten used to people knowing who I was," Hillary Clinton told the *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*.

Political observers, however, aren't quite as surprised.

The position of first lady remains draped in the fabric of old-fashioned womanhood, despite a few exceptions like Eleanor Roosevelt. A modern lawyer active in her husband's political battles does not fit the stereotypical image of a first lady.

But with the majority of women now working outside the home, Hillary Clinton finds herself the first of a new generation of presidential candidate spouses.

The questions accompanying her unprecedented role reflect the questions about the changing role of women in society, an issue just now entering the realm of presidential spouses, Hillary Clinton said.

"There really hasn't been the kind of opportunity until this year for someone of Bill's age and generation to be contending for the White House with the kind of changes it represents, including a lot of the issues and questions around the responsibilities of women," she said.

How people view Hillary Clinton and her potential position as first lady — along with how they see the other candidates' wives — could make a small, but potentially crucial, difference in a close presidential election.

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From Hillary Clinton's standpoint, she's been surprised by the tone of the political debate surrounding her at the national level. It's more personal than in Arkansas politics, she ob-

served.

"If someone opposes you at home, it's for substantive reasons," she said. "They don't go into all this other stuff."

She noted that similar questions arose about her role as the governor's wife in Arkansas in 1979 and 1980. But once the questions were answered, the emphasis changed.

"For nine or 10 years, the kinds of questions I'm asked are, 'How's education reform going?' ... They were very substantive," she said. "They weren't about me personally so much as they were about what we were trying to do."

During that time period, the Clintons faced a high level of media attention because of the Little Rock newspaper war, which ended last October. The intense competition between the *Arkansas Democrat* and the *Arkansas Gazette* helped prepare the Clintons for the microscope.

'There really hasn't been the kind of opportunity until this year for someone of Bill's age and generation to be contending for the White House with the kind of changes it represents, including a lot of the issues and questions around the responsibilities of women.'

of the national media, Hillary Clinton said.

"It was helpful," she said. "It certainly created a much more contested political environment than a lot of people who run for president have because there was extraordinary coverage of all kinds of activities and issues."

Hillary Clinton said the Little Rock media have tended to focus less on personalities and more on issues. She regrets the national media haven't followed suit.

"I realized, after thinking about it, that our whole political process at home for the last decade has been substance driven," she said. "And I miss that."

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For much of her life, Hillary Clinton has been on a collision course with political tradition.

The oldest of Hugh and Dorothy Rodham's three chil-

dren was raised in a conservative household in the suburban Chicago area. At age 17, she was a self-proclaimed "Goldwater girl," a supporter of 1964 Republican presidential nominee Barry Goldwater.

But her politics changed while attending Wellesley College near Boston and Yale Law School in Connecticut. It was at Yale, against the 1960s backdrop of social change and the Vietnam War, that she met her first Arkansasian, a fellow law student named Bill Clinton.

They eventually married and wound up back in Arkansas, where Bill Clinton immersed himself in politics and Hillary Rodham pursued a law career. In 1978, he won his first governor's race.

With her politically active stance in her husband's administration, Hillary Rodham faced many of the same general questions about her role from Arkansans that she now faces nationally.

When Bill Clinton lost his 1980 re-election bid, part of the blame was placed on his wife, who had retained her last name. So while her husband apologized to Arkansans for the mistakes of his first term, Hillary Rodham became Hillary Clinton.

When Bill and Hillary Clinton returned to the Governor's Mansion in 1982, she took an even bigger role in his administration.

Bill Clinton appointed his wife to head a state education commission in 1983. But what began as a questionable move turned into a shrewd decision as lawmakers began to wonder aloud whether the wrong Clinton had been elected governor.

During the next decade, Bill Clinton's political star rose on the national scene as Hillary Clinton gained national fame as a lawyer. *The National Law Journal* has twice ranked her among the nation's top 100 lawyers.

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So when Bill Clinton announced his presidential run last October, he brought with him a high-profile political partner.

During the early days of the primary season, Bill Clinton noted that a vote for him was a vote for her. "Buy one, get one free," he quipped.

Hillary Clinton took on a prominent role when Bill Clinton's candidacy was endangered by charges he had an extramarital affair. Her vote of confidence in her husband helped him survive the allegations.

"I'm not sitting here because I'm some little woman standing by my man like Tammy Wynette," Hillary Clinton declared during a "60 Minutes" interview in January.

That sort of direct, assertive approach drew attention.

When Democratic presidential challenger Jerry Brown questioned whether her law practice had benefited from her husband's position as governor, Hillary Clinton's angry response made headlines and generated controversy.

"I suppose I could have stayed home, baked cookies and had teas," she said.

Some people saw the infamous "cookies and tea" comment as a slap at housewives.

The media, however, did not generally include the rest of her quote: "The work that I've done as a professional, as a public advocate, has been aimed in part to assure that women can make the choice that they should make—whether it's full-time career, full-time motherhood, some combination."

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Following the uproar, Hillary Clinton took on a different, less prominent role in the campaign.

Although she has denied being "muzzled" by campaign officials, her image has clearly changed.

When Hillary Clinton appears with her husband, her comments have been brief and non-controversial, particularly on the campaign's early bus tours. Many national media stories note how she has embraced the "Nancy Reagan look" of watching adoringly while her husband speaks.

In other campaign appearances, she began focusing more on issues related to children and families. Although a favorite topic of hers, it also is more traditional fare for a candidate's wife.

The Clintons' daughter, Chelsea, also has had a slightly more visible presence in recent months. Some earlier polls showed people didn't realize the Clintons had a daughter, a reflection of her parents shielding Chelsea from national publicity.

The transformation culminated in a recent appearance on ABC's "HOME" show. Hillary

Clinton, clad in a soft sweater dress, sat around a kitchen table and shared parenting tips in a segment called "Club Mom."

Hillary Clinton's return to a more visible role in the campaign follows August's Republican National Convention, when she became a target of speaker after speaker.

The GOP played off the family values theme by hammering Hillary Clinton's views as being "radical" and "anti-family."

Hillary Clinton's beliefs are fair game in the campaign, Marilyn Quayle told the *Democrat-Gazette*.

"In her situation, the scrutiny came because her husband made her an issue," the wife of Vice President Dan Quayle said. "The governor said, 'You buy one, get one free. Vote for me, you get Hillary.'"

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Despite the Republican attacks, a *Time*-CNN poll showed 74 percent of those surveyed said Hillary Clinton would not affect their vote. Another 14 percent of voters said her views would make them less likely to vote for Bill Clinton, while 9 percent said she made them more inclined to vote for the Democ-

'It's ironic because initially she stumbled a bit trying to balance her role as a member of the support team and her own skills as a professional. I think she's gone from a potential liability to a tremendous asset.'

cratic nominee.

Democrats argue that the Republican attacks actually helped Hillary Clinton's image.

A poll by Clinton pollster Stan Greenberg indicates her favorability ratings climbed about 8 percentage points after the Republican convention.

James Carville, the Clinton campaign's master strategist, said the campaign benefited significantly from the "stupid" GOP portrayal of Hillary Clinton.

"It was one of the foolish acts of the campaign," he said. "Why on God's green Earth would they attack the candidate's wife?"

The criticisms by Buchanan and Pat Robertson backfired with the public, Carville said.

"If these goofballs think she's bad, she must be great," Carville said, explaining voter reaction to the GOP attacks.

Harriett Woods, president of the National Women's Political Caucus, noted the attacks on Hillary Clinton occur in the political year of the woman, as a record number of female candidates seek office nationwide. Woods has noticed an upswing in support for Hillary Clinton.

"The more she is flogged by the Republicans as a symbol of the career woman, the more value she has," said Woods, a former Democratic Senate candidate from Missouri.

She finds Hillary Clinton's resurgence interesting in light of her earlier campaign difficulties.

"It's ironic because initially she stumbled a bit trying to balance her role as a member of the support team and her own skills as a professional," Woods said. "I think she's gone from a potential liability to a tremendous asset."

★ ★ ★

Betsey Wright, the campaign's deputy chairman, said Hillary Clinton has done a good job of handling the campaign's unusual circumstances.

"You've seen someone who embodies the concept of grace under fire," said Wright, who served as the governor's long-time chief of staff.

Hillary Clinton has refrained from publicly firing back in recent months. She has called the attacks distortions, but added that she doesn't take any of it personally.

It's a persona that some Arkansans find surprising for the woman who ambushed her husband's 1990 gubernatorial primary opponent, Tom McRae, at a press conference.

Wright has conducted her own surprise attacks this fall against the Republicans. When asked if she thinks Hillary Clinton has restrained herself in recent months, Wright snapped, "You bet I do."

Other friends of Hillary Clinton said she has withstood the media attention and the political attacks by relying on her friends and family, along with her own inner strength.

"As always, adversity has brought out the best in her," Di-

ane Blair explained. "She's drawn on the inner resources she has."

Blair, a longtime friend, is a University of Arkansas political science professor and currently a Clinton campaign adviser.

In addition, Hillary Clinton said Tipper Gore has been helpful on the campaign trail. This is the second presidential campaign for Tipper Gore, wife of vice-presidential candidate Al Gore.

The two women have spent a lot of time together, particularly during the campaign's bus trips.

"She's very aware of a lot of the demands of a presidential campaign, which is a real benefit because I hadn't been through it before," Hillary Clinton said. "She really understands the pace of it and the need for media attention. Her experience has been very helpful, as has Al's."

★ ★ ★

What makes Hillary Clinton's role more difficult is that she is covering new territory for a presidential nominee's wife. Professional career women are not commonplace among first ladies.

"She's without precedent or without role model," Wright said. "She's blazing pathways for a lot of women to come."

The traditional first lady, who has stayed home and raised children, may become less and less common. Working women and mothers are finding their way into politics more and more on both sides of the political aisle.

While others characterize Hillary Clinton's role in the campaign as trail blazing, she's reluctant to characterize it as that.

"It's probably too soon to say," she said. "I'm more focused on what I can get done and what kind of changes I'd like to see get done."

She added that she would like to see women accepted for whatever they decide to do in life — no matter what house they might live in.

"What we ought to be doing," Hillary Clinton said, "is trying to figure out how to support women who want to be full-time homemakers, women who want to have full-time careers, and particularly the majority of women who balance work and family obligations."

Monday: Barbara B

Are we ready for a First Lady as first partner?

by Katha Pollitt

Glamour 9/92

Maybe. Then why are we so suspicious of one

IT MUST HAVE SEEMED LIKE A FABULOUS IDEA, way back at the start of Bill Clinton's campaign for the presidency: Present lawyer-wife-and-mother Hillary Clinton to the public as a thoroughly modern First Lady who might even—gasp—take a job in her husband's administration. After all, she's energetic, brilliant and politically astute, with a résumé few politicians can match and an income nearly five times her husband's. Who'd expect her to cool her heels as a traditional First Lady—redecorating the White House, advancing a favorite charity, making small talk with the wives of visiting dignitaries?

That was before Gennifer Flowers. Before *60 Minutes* introduced the Clintons to a transfixed America not as proponents of a new middle-of-the-road brand of Democratic politics but as refugees from *Donahue* ("Coming up: Couples who've endured marital stress and say they're stronger than ever!"). Before Hillary Clinton distinguished her own wifely loyalty from that of "some little woman standing by her man," offending legions of Tammy Wynette fans and bewildering millions of others who wondered what, if not standing by her man, she

thought she was doing. Before she lashed back after Jerry Brown's attack on her career: "I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas." Suddenly, Governor Clinton, who had often cited Hillary as a reason to vote for him—"Buy one, get one free"—and who had permitted speculation about Hillary's becoming attorney general or secretary of education, was assuring the public that his wife would have no formal role in his administration.

Is America ready for a first partner? Former President Nixon thinks not: Voters, he told reporters, won't accept a man whose wife is "too strong and too intelligent" (let's hope Pat Nixon missed that remark). Polls are more equivocal. A Yankelovich survey conducted at the end of March found that 41 percent of those questioned rated Hillary Clinton favorably, 24 percent unfavorably. *Newsweek*, on the other hand, found that 65 percent liked her and only 16 percent did not. A month later, *U.S. News & World Report* found the country nearly evenly divided: 38 percent felt Hillary Clinton helped her husband's campaign, 30 percent felt she hurt it.

Eleanor ROOSEVELT

Bess TRUMAN

Mamie EISENHOWER

Jacqueline KENNEDY

Lady Bird JOHNSON

"Stick to your knitting," one critic advised. Instead, she set a new twentieth-century standard.

"A woman's place in public," she said, "is to sit beside her husband, be silent and be sure her hat is on straight."

When asked how she wanted America to remember her, she replied, "Just a good friend."

"Does it matter if I can't come?" JFK once quipped about an event. "After all, Jackie will be there."

She balked at "the harness of hairdo and gloves," and reveled in the "rat-a-tat of . . . duties."

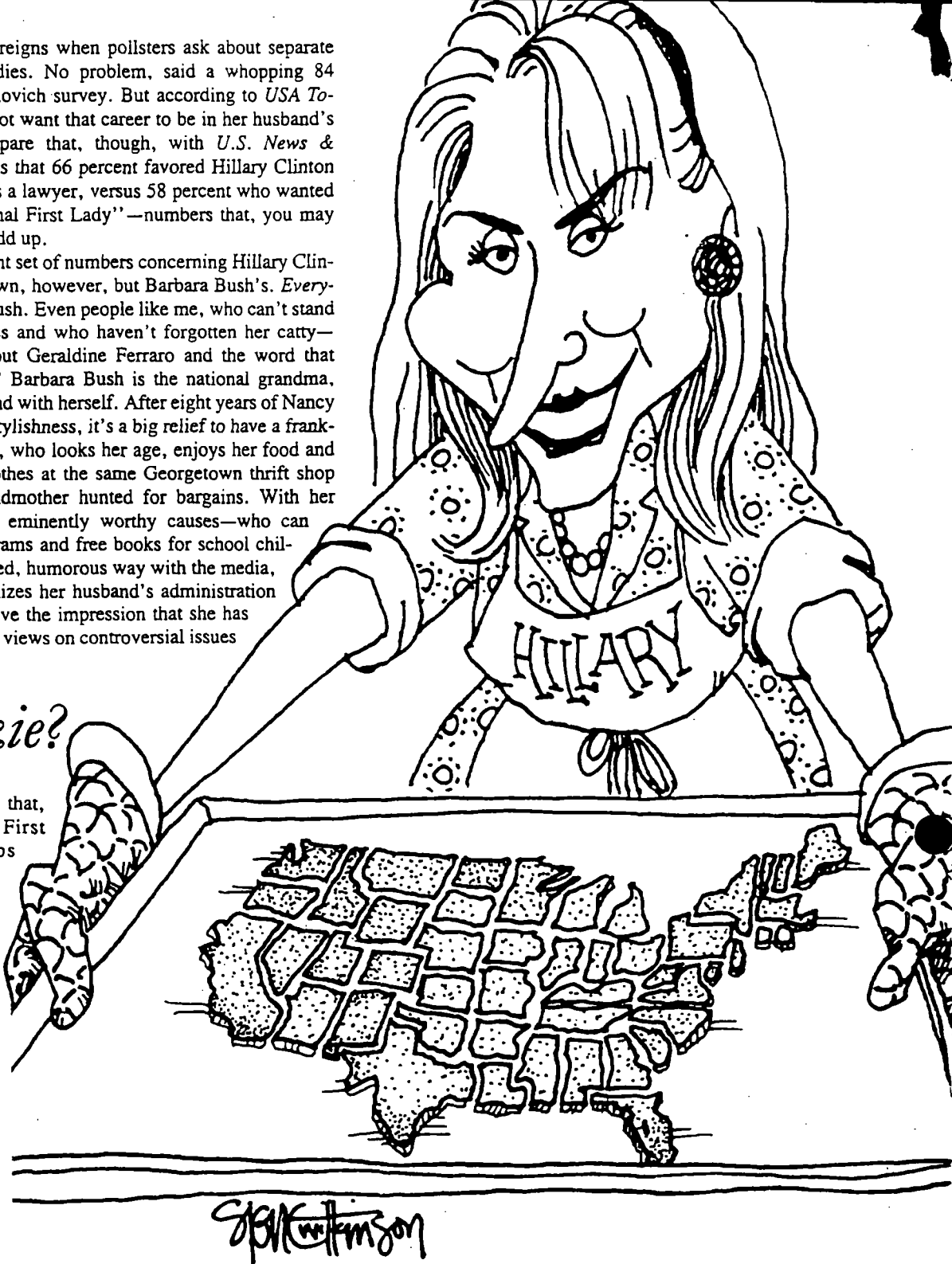
Similar confusion reigns when pollsters ask about separate careers for First Ladies. No problem, said a whopping 84 percent in the Yankelovich survey. But according to *USA Today*, 67 percent did not want that career to be in her husband's administration. Compare that, though, with *U.S. News & World Report* findings that 66 percent favored Hillary Clinton continuing to work as a lawyer, versus 58 percent who wanted her to be a "traditional First Lady"—numbers that, you may have noticed, don't add up.

The most significant set of numbers concerning Hillary Clinton may not be her own, however, but Barbara Bush's. *Everybody* likes Barbara Bush. Even people like me, who can't stand her husband's politics and who haven't forgotten her catty—and sexist—quip about Geraldine Ferraro and the word that "rhymes with rich." Barbara Bush is the national grandma, comfy with her life and with herself. After eight years of Nancy Reagan's strenuous stylishness, it's a big relief to have a frankly frumpy First Lady, who looks her age, enjoys her food and seems to buy her clothes at the same Georgetown thrift shop where my own grandmother hunted for bargains. With her noncontroversial but eminently worthy causes—who can oppose literacy programs and free books for school children?—and her relaxed, humorous way with the media, Barbara Bush humanizes her husband's administration while managing to give the impression that she has her own, more liberal views on controversial issues

one smart cookie?

like abortion. Views that, as a "traditional First Lady," she keeps firmly to herself.

But how much of Barbara Bush's image is just that—image? Impossible to say. The press has been ferocious in its scrutiny of Hillary Clinton: Too cold? Too superior? Not feminine enough? But reporters are deferential to Barbara Bush. No (Continued on page 329)



Pat NIXON



"I know a lot, but you have to keep it to yourself when you're in this position."

Betty FORD



Her creed became "I'd rather say what I want."

Rosalynn CARTER



"I'm not doing all this just for Jimmy," explained his closest adviser. "I feel I'm doing it for the country."

Nancy REAGAN



"A First Lady has the power to make a difference," observed the woman who stage-managed history.

Barbara BUSH



Though frankly frumpy and appealing, one observer dubbed her "a stealth-Nancy in Keds."

A READY FOR A FIRST LADY AS FIRST PARTNER?

Continued from page 271

barked-out questions about persistent rumors of her husband's lapses from marital fidelity, no badgering about possible differences with administration policy. It would be like grilling their mothers. (Indeed, when Hillary Clinton, in Gail Sheehy's *Vanity Fair* profile, charged that a double standard was responsible for media lethargy in pursuing the White House mistress story—rumors that not only exist but briefly surfaced in several newspapers—she lost points for whininess.)

Thus, when Barbara Bush, in her 1991 commencement speech at Wellesley, said that women should put family first, few headlined her comments as an attack on working and single women. But Hillary Clinton's tea-and-cookies remark was uniformly reported as a snobbish slur on homemakers, although it seems clear that the life-style she was dismissing—for herself, not necessarily others—was not full-time motherhood but the tedious ceremonial hosting that is the bane of politicians' wives. Similarly, Barbara Bush's style of motherhood is never criticized, or even examined. But Hillary Clinton's heavy schedule and frequent absences from home and 12-year-old daughter Chelsea are sharply noted.

Could it be that the media is fueling the Hillary problem? Leafing through my files, I was struck by how pointed and personal the press coverage of her is. Whether it's her appearance (made over, we are told, to appeal to conservative Arkansas voters), or her belated assumption of her husband's last name (done for the same reason), or her choice to stay married to Bill, or her keen interest in policy issues, the media is quick to pounce.

But wait a minute. Isn't Hillary Clinton living the life recommended to modern women by experts galore? She has a career, a husband whose ambitions she forwards, a child, volunteer activities. She's attractive and slender and nicely turned out. Last time I looked, women like Hillary were being touted as the smart ones who pragmatically made the right choices, as opposed to the foolish "too feminist" ones who demanded it all and risked ending up as miserable spinsters. Why is it that when actually presented with a "postfeminist" paragon in the flesh, so many of us are suspicious?

Well, the most obvious reason is that many of us are suspicious of Bill Clinton. But there's more to it than that. Many voters, including liberal ones, have a problem with the wives of political figures

wielding power on their own. "I'm not voting for her," said one friend of mine. "I'm voting for him. We don't have a monarchy in this country, where the whole family gets to run the country."

First Ladies deeply involved in policy are nothing new—Woodrow Wilson's wife, Edith, virtually ran the country after her husband's stroke; Eleanor Roosevelt was one of our most powerful political figures; more recently, Rosalynn Carter sat in on cabinet meetings, and Nancy Reagan hired and fired like a pro. But much of this power was exercised behind a public facade of demure wifeliness, symbolized by the adoring gaze Nancy Reagan trained on her husband. Maybe it's time we learned to live openly with reality. It's true, of course, that First Ladies are not elected—but then again, neither are most of the important people in the executive branch, where it is not unusual to find in high positions people who owe their jobs to a personal relationship with the president. Why does the prospect of Hillary Clinton as attorney general bother some of us more than the reality of John F. Kennedy's brother in that post did? Or George Bush's son Jeb as an intimate adviser does now? What is it, exactly, that we fear Hillary would do?

Behind the carping at and criticizing of Hillary Clinton lies the deep, ancient fear of petticoat government: rule by female whim. We don't like powerful women in this country, especially powerful wives: In the zero-sum game of traditional marriage, a strong wife means a weak husband. Indeed, a Republican adviser told *Time* that the Bush campaign planned to paint Bill Clinton as a man "out of control, who can't control his zipper, can't control his wife and can't control his waistline." One wonders what American women will make of that line of attack.

But it isn't just male chauvinists who are gunning for Hillary Clinton. Many feminists take aim at her as well. To women who've worked hard to achieve on their own—whether it's making a distinguished career or raising kids with little help from a long-vanished husband—Hillary may not be independent enough. "She's held up as the model of the independent wife," said one woman lawyer I spoke with, "but her success is dependent on her husband's position. Corporate law firms are not exactly falling all over themselves to make women partners. But the wife of a governor can make things happen for the firm, and that fact has a lot to do with Hillary Clinton's professional career."

Perhaps Hillary Clinton's problem, then, is that she falls between two oppos-

(Continued)

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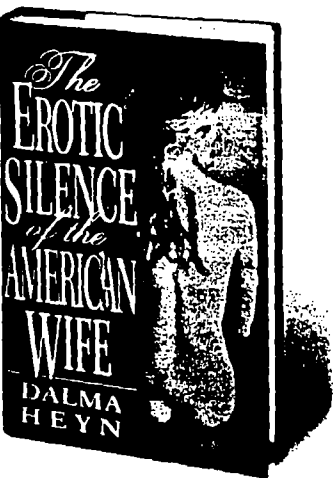
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ANOTHER SILENCE BROKEN—

It's about time women gave voice to all their dimensions, including the erotic, without shrinking in guilt."

— GAIL SHEEHY,
AUTHOR OF
THE SILENT PASSAGE



Because patriarchy has restricted women's bodies as the means of reproduction — and then assumed these restrictions to be 'natural' — we have little idea what female sexuality might really be. Dalma Heyn shows us a new reality and a tantalizing hint of the future — and neither women nor marriage will ever be the same."

— GLORIA STEINEM,
AUTHOR OF
REVOLUTION FROM WITHIN

ARE WE READY FOR A FIRST LADY AS FIRST PARTNER?

Continued

ing camps. For different reasons, neither feminists nor traditionalists have much use for a woman who seeks power through marriage. Many feminists object to the idea of a woman who, when all is said and done, follows in her husband's path; on the other hand, traditionalists think Hillary should walk farther, and more quietly, behind. Traditionalists resent her leadership role in the Clinton campaign, while feminists note that the most powerful woman around Clinton—as around Ronald Reagan—is his wife. Some feminists feel manipulated, too, by the way Hillary has been put forward as a kind of coded signal to women that a Clinton administration would respond to women's issues—though Bill Clinton made no direct appeal for women's votes early in his campaign.

Yet politics is largely about symbols, and what Hillary Clinton represents would have seemed revolutionary only a year ago. But 1992 is the Year of the Political Woman. Suddenly, after decades on the sidelines, women are running for office as never before. And to the astonishment of pundits, they are winning: Look at the

against-the-odds primary victories of Illinois's Carol Moseley Braun and Pennsylvania's Lynn Yeakel or California's Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein. This is the year of Anita Hill, when women finally saw, right there on TV, what it means for them when men control the government. It was not lost on women voters that the Democrats on the Senate Judiciary Committee—men with good voting records on abortion rights and social programs for women and children—were as clueless about sexual harassment as their right-wing Republican counterparts.

Hillary Clinton may be a new-style politician's wife, but she represents an old mode of women's political power: access to powerful men, rather than power itself. Maybe 1992 is one year too late to take as an emblem of progress a woman who, in the end, will still be nudging a man to do the right thing. After all, if President Clinton decides federally funded day care is a budget buster and the Freedom of Choice act too controversial, what can First Lady Clinton do? Divorce him?

One wonders sometimes if Hillary Clinton doesn't wonder if she sold herself—and women—short. ●

Katha Pollitt is working on a collection of essays about women and feminism.

DON'T "HEY, BABY" ME

Continued from page 311

women do it, it will make street harassment less fun for those men who enjoy it. If more and more of us are willing to [speak up], maybe fewer men will harass."

● **Report him** If you're being followed on the street, walk into the nearest open store or restaurant and call 911.

If you're entering a store and a man standing outside does anything to make you feel uncomfortable, he's guilty of loitering. Tell the management, and let someone in charge take care of him.

If you can find out where the harasser works, call the management and report what happened. Promise that, if it happens again, you and your friends will boycott the company.

● **Do a study** "Go up to the harasser, take out a pen and say, 'I'm doing a survey on the kind of behavior you just exhibited. Could you repeat that?'" suggests Dr. Kramarae. "This, of course, takes them

Kramarae. "In other words, say something that seems to be completely unrelated. Some women have had success with this, success meaning that they felt they had the last word—a last word he couldn't deal with in any way."

By deliberately "misunderstanding" a harasser's inappropriate behavior, you also take away his satisfaction (even if he thinks you just didn't hear him right).

● **Insult his manhood** Some women Dr. Kramarae talked to recommended staring contemptuously at the harasser's crotch. This might be hard to pull off. Looking at his crotch and laughing might be easier.

● **Use eye contact** Washington, D.C.—area police officer Patricia Harman, author of *The Danger Zone* (Parkside Publishing), suggests giving the harasser a nonconfrontational look that says, "I heard that, I have no intention of responding to it, and I'm not intimidated."

Street harassment won't go away completely until society stops denying it's a

A softer Hillary Clinton hasn't lost her savvy

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

NEW YORK

Hillary Clinton was on her way to visit a preschool classroom when a rumor began buzzing through the press corps: She's going to change a child's diaper.

Hearing the news, a cameraman scrambled off to find out just where and just when the changing would take place.

So why on earth would Hillary Clinton diaper a stranger's child on TV?

"To prove she can," the reporters joked.

It was a typical campaign trail joke, but it spoke volumes about the political predicament of the savvy, Yale-educated woman who hopes to usher in a new generation of first ladies.

Lauded for her intellect and charisma at the start of the campaign, she has spent months recovering from early gaffes that left some voters nervous about replacing their favorite grandmother with a woman the Republicans portrayed as an overbearing feminist out to wreck the family.

She has not gone so far as to change a diaper to soften her image.

But she has eked out change nonetheless, talking about parenting on daytime television programs like the *Home* show and adopting the adoring gaze of a political wife. And she has made sure voters know she is a loving mother to her 12-year-old daughter, Chelsea.

Clinton says there's been no transformation, either by happenstance or calculation.

"I can only be who I am," she says. "We shouldn't be moving from one stereotype of a role to another stereotype."

So even as she tries to present a more

"
I hope that by the end of the first year, and certainly by the end of the first term, you'll be able to interview me and we can point to real results.
"

— Hillary Clinton

complete picture of herself, Clinton makes no apologies for wanting to be involved in a Bill Clinton White House.

A lawyer with a four-page résumé, she says she wants to play a key role helping her husband implement "an agenda for children and families."

She's vague about exactly what she'll do, but the plan includes "health care changes, economic changes, educational changes."

And she promises results.

"I hope that by the end of the first year, and certainly by the end of the first term, you'll be able to interview me and we can point to real results," she says.

To get there, though, Clinton, 44, had to take a page from the campaign books of first ladies past.

"She's going against character right now," says Meredith Oakley, a columnist for the *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette* who has covered both Clintons for many years.

"This fawning over him is not something she has ever done in her life. But Hillary is smart enough to know it's not time for a woman to win the White House, so she's going to get there however she can. So ... she



By Natasha Lane, AP

PLANS ACTIVE ROLE: Hillary Clinton says she wants to play an important role helping her husband implement "an agenda for children and families."

stands two steps behind him and she stops talking at rallies," Oakley says.

Less than a month before Election Day, her efforts appear to be paying off.

While she still lags far behind first lady Barbara Bush in the polls, a recent Gannett News Service/Louis Harris poll found voters think Hillary Clinton is "a better role model for American women" than her

baby-boomer counterpart Marilyn Quayle, wife of vice president Quayle and a lawyer who says she sacrificed career for family.

In a jab at Hillary Clinton at the GOP convention — one of many heard there — Marilyn Quayle chided Democrats for not understanding that "most women do not wish to be liberated from their essential natures as women."

The attacks backfired. Republicans have stopped talking about Hillary Clinton.

"The Marilyn Quayle speech alienated a lot of moderates and the convention prompted (them) to identify strongly with Hillary Clinton," says Kathleen Hall Jamieson, of the University of Pennsylvania.

Says Clinton strategist James Carville: "The idiotic behavior of the Republicans helped her."

Helped, maybe; made her immune, no: Just in the past few weeks, she's been parodied as a bossy control freak on *Saturday Night Live* and in *Spy* magazine.

Clinton seems puzzled by the attention to her campaign style and career — especially at a time when the nation seems ready to elect an unprecedented number of women to high political office. "I hadn't been asked these questions about my role in Arkansas for 10 years," she says.

In her home state, Clinton has been widely applauded for implementing educational changes, including controversial teacher testing and the establishment of a program called HIPPPY to help disadvantaged parents take an active role in their children's education.

"Love her or hate her, people recognize that she is a brilliant politician," Oakley says. "She is much smarter than he is."

Clinton dismisses the attacks on her as being "not about me."

But the attacks are about her to the extent that she represents a new generation of political wife who has no intention of sitting on the sidelines — and that makes some people nervous.

"Bill Clinton is not becoming president," Oakley says. "Theirs is a partnership. They're in this for the long haul. They're going all the way to the top together."

Hillary Clinton Negotiates

Turns Along Campaign Trail

■ **Politics:** Democratic nominee's wife has gotten much attention, good and bad. Criticism recently has subsided as she focuses on children's issues.

By DAVID LAUTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—In this political "Year of the Woman," no woman running for office has gotten as much attention as one who is not, Hillary Clinton.

For her, the political year has gone through at least four phases. At first, there was Hillary the Secret Weapon—the gutsy, dedicated fighter for the interests of women and children. In the hopes of Clinton aides, she would attract the support of liberals and feminists to the cause of her moderately conservative Southern husband.

Then there was Hillary the Savior, who appeared at her husband's side when Gennifer Flowers' accusations focused public attention on rumors of his infidelities.

Next, inevitably, came Hillary the Problem. For months—from the unguarded moment in March when she talked to a dozen glaring television cameras about how she had not "stayed home and baked cookies and had tea" to the frenzy of Hillary-bashing at the Republican National Convention in August—Democratic strategists worried, and Republican tacticians hoped, that Hillary Clinton would become a major liability.

But now, as she travels the country with a small group of aides, campaigning in 25 cities in the last two weeks, the signs are clear that a new phase of the campaign has begun.

While Mrs. Clinton may never garner the sort of warm and cuddly feelings the public gives to Barbara Bush, Democratic officials say their recent polls show her with a more favorable image than Barbara's husband, the President, or for that matter, former President Ronald Reagan.

Most telling of all, Republicans—

stung by a backlash from their convention—have almost completely dropped references to Hillary Clinton from their speeches.

And to Mrs. Clinton, at least, that comes as no surprise. "Whatever the rules of the game are, I can figure them out," she said in a recent interview.

Hillary Clinton does appear to have figured out the campaign game. In her appearances, she now displays the discipline and focus that she lacked in the campaign's springtime of discontent. But still ahead of her, should her husband win next month's election, will be a more difficult game—mastering the role of being a First Lady with an open and strong interest in policy and government operations.

Part of the skill of mastering both the campaign role and a possible future role within a Clinton Administration involves focusing on her longtime interest in issues involving children. The campaign has presented her to the public recently in a series of forums at hospitals, child care centers and schools that allow her to talk about her policy ideas in a setting that relatively few voters are likely to find upsetting.

And Hillary Clinton repeatedly tells interviewers that she would like to concentrate on the same sorts of issues should her husband win the election. "I want to be a voice for children in the White House," she says.

On a recent campaign morning, Mrs. Clinton repeatedly conveyed that message as she briskly dispatched 10 satellite television interviews in a row, incessantly driving home both her own theme and the campaign's overall attack on President Bush.

Voters "want an election about the future," she told an anchorman in Milwaukee. Unfortunately, the Bush campaign wants to "divert attention from the real issues of the campaign" with negative tactics.

A few minutes later, it was time for Quincy, Ill. The Republicans "are trying to divert attention from the real issues. . . . Most people want this election to be about them and their future."

Then, on to Louisville, Ky. The

LA Times
10-10

GOP "has a negative political strategy to distract people from the real issues."

That sort of focus not only conveys the campaign's message, but also helps guard against the sort of stray remarks that can strike a sour note with voters. And judging by the polls, that caution appears to have succeeded so far.

To be sure, Hillary Clinton's negative image persists with many voters. Pollsters say her presence in the political arena has tended to increase an existing polarization that divides voters by age, by gender and by their views on the proper roles of women in American society.

On the one side are people like those who pressed forward against rope lines to shake hands with her after a recent speech at the University of Colorado in Boulder, displaying an enthusiasm that many candidates—let alone spouses—seldom see. Particularly to many of the women in the mostly youthful crowd, Hillary Clinton was a role model.

As she was at the beginning of the campaign, Hillary Clinton has once again become a rallying point for many voters, including

many liberal Democrats, who might otherwise be cool to her husband.

"You're an inspiration to all of us," one of the young women in Boulder told her.

Teresa Sharp represents the other side. Interviewed recently in her home in Dayton, Ohio, the 36-year-old mother of two, whose husband works two jobs while she stays home with their children, spoke bitterly of Hillary Clinton, mimicking her voice as she recalled the "tea and cookies" remark. "If you look at Bush and his wife—she stayed home," Sharp said admiringly.

Hillary Clinton concedes that some of her problems with voters like Sharp are of her own making. "I didn't know—have experience in this before. How could you until you've done it?" she asks.

"I didn't understand either how nobody could be expected to have any context to put me or Bill in because we came out of nowhere. And it's a process of getting to know someone," she added. "It's a process that takes longer, and that's something that I recognize and have really tried to understand."

In the November issue of Metropolitan Home magazine, Hillary Clinton says what she wants is a larger kitchen. In the October issue of Harper's magazine, however, writer Christopher Lasch says what the First Lady in waiting really wants is to redefine the family and diminish the traditional roles of parents as heads of the family.

Mr. Lasch has read the prolific writings of Hillary Clinton that span nearly 20 years. He concludes that her view goes against the traditional model — instead, she believes children should be equal to adults before the law. She does not believe parents should legally have the final say in the molding and direction of their children's lives.

Both Hillary and Bill Clinton have said children and families will be her issue in a Clinton administration. While she is now vague about what she has called her "agenda for children and families," her writings are specific and her philosophy will not appeal to those who have disdained modern Democratic approaches to social and family issues.

As Mr. Lasch correctly points out, Hillary Clinton's view is that the "traditional" family is an institution that needs fixing because it stands in the way of children's rights. She regards the children's rights movement as a natural follow-up to other social movements, from women's suffrage to civil rights.

In "Children Under the Law," which appeared in Harvard Educational Review in 1973, she called it a "pretense" that "children's issues are somehow beyond politics." She criticized the notion that "families are private, nonpolitical units whose interests subsume those of children."

As Mr. Lasch fairly concludes from this and her later works, "The movement for children's rights ... amounts to another stage in the long struggle against patriarchy."

Mrs. Clinton, writes Mr. Lasch, wants to abolish minority status for children and give adolescents equal rights with adults, integrating them as much as possible into our adversarial system of justice. Imagine the lawsuits that would flow and the already wealthy lawyers who would be

Trick or treat by Hillary?

made richer.

Mr. Lasch continues, "She condones the state's assumption of parental responsibilities, not because she has any faith in parents themselves but because *she is opposed to the principle of parental authority in any form.*" (Emphasis added).

By treating children as dependents, she argues, we discourage them from taking responsibility for themselves. In this view, children should be regarded as little adults with no concern for the maturation process and the mental, emotional and physical growth differences among them.

In "Children's Rights: A Legal Perspective" (1979), Mrs. Clinton calls for "a theory that adequately explains the state's appropriate role in child rearing." While she says state authority must be "exercised only in warranted cases," Mr. Lasch notes that "her writings leave the unmistakable impression that it is the family that holds children back, the state that sets them free."

Historically, parents have been thought to serve as stewards of their children's lives until the age of majority, with the state intervening only in extreme cases. Hillary Clinton, however, dismisses such a notion as "romanticism about the family." She believes that parents who wish to maintain their historical authority display "recalcitrance in the face of progress."

Perhaps Hillary Clinton would not be on the verge of implementing her radical family agenda if so many parents had not been caught up in the pursuit of material things and careers to the detriment of the family unit. Strong families cannot be created like fast food. They require a commitment of time and loving concern that too many have been unwilling to make.

Christopher Lasch has stripped away Hillary Clinton's false face and headband, revealing a social Lady Macbeth who is about to bring "toil and trouble" to the American family. The double tragedy is that so many parents no longer seem to care.

The Washington Times
10/25/92

The 1992 Campaign

Hillary Clinton

From Lawyer to Mother To, Now, All of the Above

By FELICITY BARRINGER

Special to The New York Times

CLEVELAND, Oct. 29 — In the waning days of the campaign, Hillary Clinton, who has emphasized two distinct aspects of her personality, is putting everything together for the stretch run, highlighting her command of policy, her confident assertiveness and her husband, the Presidential candidate.

It is as if she has had three incarnations during the campaign. There was Hillary I, the accomplished lawyer who spoke of herself as part of a "Blue Light special," saying "people call us two for one."

After the conventions, there was Hillary II, whom the Cuyahoga County Commissioner Mary Boyle called "the good wife of a candidate, the good family member of a candidate, with her special interest, children." She added, "Basically she had been tamed."

Finally, there is Hillary III, a hybrid of the earlier images. More and more of the professional women who form the core of her rallies from Cleveland to Trenton to Annapolis, Md., agree with Patsy Morrison, a small-business owner in Cleveland: "She's combined the two. She's her own person who happens to be the wife of a candidate."

Her aides argue that Mrs. Clinton has not changed; only the perceptions of the voters have, they say. "The American people are just getting to know her better," said Lisa Caputo, Mrs. Clinton's press secretary. "She's the same person she always has been."

Her Own Voice

One clue to where she stands is her language. Although most of her sentences revolve around the plans of "my husband," Hillary Clinton's personal voice — and the pronoun "I" — can often be heard on such issues as keeping abortion legal or keeping streets safe.

"I'm sick and tired of children being

shot going to and from school, being shot as they stand on the playgrounds, being caught in random gunfire," Mrs. Clinton told 40 ministers here at the First United Methodist Church on Wednesday.

"I think it is a government's primary responsibility to keep its citizens safe," she went on. "And my husband believes that as well."

Return to Assertiveness

Such language is a far cry from the cookie recipes that she was offering a few months ago. They are closer to the assertive image that led an article in the conservative journal *The American Spectator* to label her "Lady Macbeth of Little Rock" and "the Winnie Mandela of American politics."

In Mrs. Clinton's most-quoted piece of writing, published in the *Harvard Educational Review* 19 years ago, she wrote that children's rights have been bypassed. "The basic rationale for depriving people of rights in a dependency relationship is that certain individuals are incapable or undeserving of the right to take care of themselves and consequently need social institutions specifically designed to safeguard their position."

She went on, "Along with the family, past and present examples of such arrangements include marriage, slavery and the Indian reservation system."

The Republicans' gleeful repetition of these words, often out of context, became a staple in the "family values" theme of their convention.

One of the clearest indications of Mrs. Clinton's return to a more assertive mode came as she was speaking at the ministers' gathering, when she cited a pastoral letter from the National Conference of Catholic Bishops.

"I don't know anyone who argues with the idea that the family is the

"My belief is that after the election she will emerge as a power center in the White House. If so, it will be a power center with a new left flavor."

Amy Anderson, of Dunwood, Md., who attended a rally on Tuesday in Annapolis, said, "I don't think there should be any limits on her as First Lady. I don't think there will be because we're looking at a different kind of candidate."

Clinton's supporters, said later, "I think she's struck a happy balance. Maybe she was a little extreme in being self-assertive early on. But she's extremely comfortable now. She's being who she is."

Daniel Wattenberg, author of *The American Spectator* article, says he has also seen "a few signs here and there" that Hillary's personal voice is more audible.

primary developer of the values and the mindset of a child," Mrs. Clinton said. "But as the Catholic bishops said, a child is a result both of his or her family's values and the policies of the nation in which that child resides."

"So what I would like to do is to end the false debate, end the finger-pointing, end the blaming."

Mary Rose O'Leary, Cleveland's Democratic Congresswoman, one of Mrs.

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Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

Living With Lies

At the end of what has seemed an interminable campaign, we are left with a question of character: How does George Bush live with the knowledge of his disregard for truth in politics?

Even to ask the question may seem naive, so cynical have we become about politicians. They all lie, many would say, so why should we expect President Bush's conscience to be troubled?

Yes, but it is right to be skeptical about politicians, but surely there is a level of brazen falsehood that they should be ashamed to breach.

That point was passed by Mr. Bush when as Vice President he was interviewed by David Broder of The Washington Post on Aug. 5, 1987. Mr. Broder asked about his role in the Iraq-contra affair. Mr. Bush answered at length that he was not informed about it until after it ended. "We were not in the loop," he said.

There is now a mountain of evidence that Mr. Bush was fully informed about the shipment of arms to Iran in return for the release of hostages. He was briefed by both American and Israeli intelligence. He may even have had an important operational role.

Yet he goes on denying all. How

does he meet the eyes of David Broder, a man of honor? How does he live with himself?

Then there is Iraq. For years Mr. Bush boosted Saddam Hussein. Despite repeated warnings that Iraq was acquiring weapons of terror, he approved huge loan guarantees. Even when Iraqi troops massed on Kuwait's border, he said nothing. Then when Saddam Hussein attacked, Mr. Bush suddenly discovered that he was "worse than Hitler."

On talk shows now, when he is asked about the cover-up of the financing of Iraq, the President says he was just trying to bring Iraq "into the family of nations" — and alas, the policy didn't work. The hosts do not know enough to press him on why he said nothing when Saddam Hussein massed his troops, why he did not act when warned of the arms buildup or why he continues to shield the financial maneuverers today.

Cynicism has characterized Mr. Bush's career in politics for a long time. He opposed civil rights laws when he thought that position would advance him in Texas, then switched. He was for abortion, then against. He ridiculed what he called Ronald Reagan's "voodoo economics," then became a fervent advocate of same.

Truth has been a frequent casualty in his campaigns. In 1988 he used a picture of a waste dump elsewhere to illustrate a television ad about Boston Harbor. This time the false advertising has been wholesale.

A Bush radio ad said that Bill Clinton favored "radical environmental taxes" on fuel. Governor Clinton has not advocated any such tax.

Another advertisement on the radio began with a farmer saying he would "like to plant a crop of corn, please." A voice replies: "I'm sorry, sir, the Clinton-Gore Land Management Directorate has classified your farm as a wetland. ... you're delinquent on the new Clinton-Gore farm operations taxes." No such tax or program has been proposed by the Democratic candidates.

The main thrust of the entire Bush campaign this year has been negative: a series of efforts to smear Governor Clinton. Mr. Bush insinuated that there was something sinister in a trip Mr. Clinton made to Moscow as a young man. Political types from the State Department rummaged through Mr. Clinton's passport files — and his mother's. Mr. Bush said Governor Clinton had written a letter condemning all the U.S. military "as immoral." There was no such letter.

Do the smears work? Analysts and poll takers say the public is less likely to believe such attacks today. But they have worked in the past, and we cannot really be sure that lies have no effect.

Some people have asked me why George Bush did not run as the President this year: with dignity, as Gerald Ford did in 1976, almost winning against the odds. The answer is that that has never been his style. He is by instinct a negative campaigner. George Bush is, and so is his handler, James A. Baker Jr. Mr. Baker is the invisible man, avoiding responsibility for this slimy campaign. But he was the manager when Willie Horton and the fake Boston Harbor flourished in 1988, and he is in charge now. The hands may be the hands of Esau, but the voice is the voice of Jacob. □

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Hillary Clinton and the Laws of the Campaign

No Longer a Liability, She's Making a Quieter Case

By Donnie Radcliffe
Washington Post Staff Writer

WILSON, N.C.

The donkey did it.
"The highlight of my birthday," said Hillary Clinton of the life-size papier-mache animal that had her trying to stifle a laugh.

Did it have a name? Could she touch it? Where'd they find it?

"I want to know if I'm receiving stolen goods," she said, arching an eyebrow—you know, the way any skeptical lawyer might lay it on the line to prospective clients of somewhat dubious repute.

"We can't say," yelled back one of the photo-dogs from a Clinton-Gore campaign bus in the 16-vehicle caravan that was cruising across North Carolina.

She's almost laughing, but not quite. She's playing her part: the tough lawyer. And enjoying it.

"We liberated him," shouted another.

One report, unconfirmed, was that the ragged photogs had "liberated" this symbol of the Democratic Party from deep in the heart of Jesse Helms country—the front steps of the Raleigh City Hall—and given it to Clinton in celebration of her 45th birthday. They'd surprised her with it while she was working the rope line, shaking hands and hugging babies.

"They just crack me up," she said of these chroniclers of her every move. And so too, it seemed, that this woman who was once viewed as unapproachable, cracked them up as well.

It hasn't been easy being *The Woman* in this Year of

the Woman, everybody's favorite target for all that's dangerous about being independent, smart, impatient, articulate, outspoken, ambitious—and while she's at it, a three-fer: wife, mother and successful corporate lawyer. By any standard, Hillary Clinton has been a handful for America to deal with.

Yet Clinton has made it through to the end. Past all last spring's scrutiny as the would-be co-president, the feisty political helpmate, the wronged wife, the disavowing cookie baker. Past the summer of GOP discontent when a political convention focused an amazing amount of energy on the opponent's wife as "that dowdy feminazi" with views so "radical" they threatened to untie the very apron strings of American momism. Past, too, the discarded preppy headbands and mannish suits on the way to the crucial final perception:

See HILLARY, B4, Col. 1

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HILLARY, From B1

The Washington Post

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A softer, gentler, warmer Hillary who waves a lot these days but no longer nukes them, and with whom not just feminists but many voters can feel more comfortable—whether they intend to pull the lever for her husband or not.

If the political process has brought her to this, then so be it. At this point in the campaign, the polls indicate she is no longer a liability to Bill Clinton; in a variety of surveys, her "negatives" are down from their startlingly high levels of the spring. She's no Barbara Bush, but she doesn't appear to be a drag on the ticket either. It is a gratifying shift accomplished by a determined woman who's been through what others might regard as a devastating experience but which she calls "remarkably positive."

"You go back and look at the kinds of things that happened this year," she said the other day, "and so much of it was not about me or my husband, so far as I know and care about our life together. It was politically motivated, off base. You have to learn how to take political attacks seriously but not personally so that you don't let them interfere with who you are."

What she did take seriously was how those attacks appeared from the outside, and thus it was *her* outside that she changed. "I knew that what was being said wasn't true. I took it seriously because obviously if people thought that, or if the political system was being manipulated by people who wanted people to think that, one had to take that seriously."

She thought all the Hillary bashing was "sad, at first," but the intensity left her surprised, then hurt. Once she analyzed why GOP strategists went after her, she came to the conclusion they were scared. "You don't spend two or three days at a national political convention beating up on someone unless you're scared. It was a deliberate strategy. In kind of a backhanded way I was complimented. I figured 'Wow! Listen to this!'"

And she broke into laughter, just remembering how it struck her.

Ultimately she found comfort in a strange quarter: Richard Nixon. She recalled that the first person to attack her Out of the Blue before even the New Hampshire primary heated up was Nixon.

Certainly, it could have been because "he never forgets anything" and she had once been a staff attorney on the Senate staff that studied his impeachment in 1974. But she preferred to believe the other Nixon, the grand old political analyst who saw ahead of others that "there was a lot going on under the surface of this country and people were anxious for change."

"He was launching a preemptive attack," she says, "to try and in some way denigrate my husband because he's unafraid of smart and intelligent women and really believes that women ought to have opportunities to serve."

True or not, one gathers strength where one can.

The outcome of this kind of Hillary bashing has been one of the great sub-themes of the campaign, turning the race on one level into an ongoing national seminar on the role of women. Looking at the newer, quieter Hillary, some might even conclude that the outcome of this debate has been that the political process has succeeded in reining women in a few steps.

But Hillary Clinton sees the conflict as inevitable and also momentary—"some last step" of symbolic imper-

ance that hasn't happened before "because we haven't had people contending for the presidency who were born after World War II, who were really part of this change."

For all the criticism, she says, she's been gratified at the people who've reached out to identify with her with signs like, "Stay at Home Moms for Hillary."

"I think they hope that with Bill and Al and Tipper and me there will be people who understand what's going on in the country right now at the very basic level, and have a grasp about the challenges that families are facing and that women in particular are confronting."

Buscapades

If she's playing a role, she seems to be playing it with ease. That's easiest to see in the looseness on the campaign bus. Comic relief is the escape valve in this grueling cocoon of campaign madness. "You sort of got to develop a sense of humor," said Bill Clinton the other day when the countdown to Election Day '92 had dropped below the 200-hour mark. "Sometimes you laugh just to keep from crying." Tipper Gore did more than laugh. She had a whale of a good time aiming her camera and at Greensboro, N.C., airport one night, aiming her squirt gun at Al Gore's aides spilling off his plane onto the tarmac. She scored bull's eyes right and left, including one on a hapless reporter watching from the sidelines. The next day, during a hoke-it-up photo op aboard their customized bus, Tipper and Hillary climbed onto the laps of their spouses for the benefit of still photographers. (Video photo-dogs boycotted the session because their reporters were barred.)

"This is home away from home," said Hillary.

"If we win this thing," added her husband, "we're going to park this bus out behind the White House."

Winning "this thing" is still anybody's guess.

Hillary tries not to think about it very much, or about how in less than a week now her life may never again be the same. "Partly because I'm reluctant to speculate like that. It's like a no hit game. It's going well. We feel we're getting the campaign message across and I just don't even want to imagine" anything beyond the moment.

In Helmsland (renamed "Hillaryland" on oversized birthday buttons passed out by family pal Brook Shearer), the Clinton-Gore "Road to Change" buses cutting a 200-mile swath between Winston-Salem and Kinston was a hard-driving effort to erase the tire tracks of the Bush machine that had rolled through a few days earlier.

"We may be the only state in the Union that goes for Bush," fretted Sam Ervin's cousin, Burgess McSwain, who drove miles to wait, like others among the already converted, at one of the "impromptu" stops in towns where statues of Confederate soldiers tower above courthouse squares; where words carved in granite remind that "on fane's eternal camping ground their silent tents are spread . . ." and where cafeterias like "Ruth's never did have a 'g' on the 'Home Cookin' sign painted above the front door.

Talkin' southern wasn't all that hard. Illinois born, Wellesley and Yale-educated Hillary Clinton learned long ago to drop her g's with the best of 'em. In remarks that turned out to be

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Hillary Clinton and daughter Chelsea smiling for a campaign photograph.

her longest of the day, she apologized for being late and recalled the time they vowed not to stop ever again because they were runnin' three hours behind.

"All of a sudden we heard there were about 250-300 people up in a rest stop hopin' the buses would stop. Bill said 'What are we going to do?' and everybody said 'Well, we're just going to have to go right by them.' Bill didn't like that but finally agreed and the buses were goin' by kind of slow and he was wavin' out the window and all of a sudden he saw a sign that a man was holdin' that said 'Give us eight minutes and we'll give you eight years' and Bill said 'Stop the bus!'"

You could call it a kind of stand-by-your-man story.

Early Hillary

"I mean," said Hillary Clinton, "if all I thought was going to happen was moving into the White House and going to Camp David for weekends, having a ceremonial role, I think that neither Bill nor I nor the Gores would be there. I mean, that is just *not* what's at stake in this election."

There. She's said it. In an interview, some of the early-1992 version of Hillary comes out. She may not be making headlines anymore, but she has not retreated into a shell. Recent impressions aside, her words make clear that anyone who thinks she would be a passive first lady isn't paying close enough attention.

Unlike traditional political wives of the past, she has no misgivings about talking issues. She has never stopped being one of her husband's key advisers and when she wants to, she speaks with authority. She also intends to have her own issues, though she claims she hasn't determined the specifics of her own priorities other than that they will relate to maternal and child health care.

"Among Bill's priorities is dealing with the health care system, and I am particularly adamant that whatever we do . . . if we had a decent prenatal care system and early childhood health care system we would be saving money in a relatively short period of time," she said.

But she also shows a keen awareness of just what sort of world of limits her husband may be buying into. "Nobody really knows what the financial situation is," she said. "There's a great concern that Bill will be elected president and begin to see a great unraveling, which is always a danger when you assume an office but seems particularly acute now because of the disarray in this government. The extraordinary spectacle of agencies investigating one another and pointing fingers at one another suggest that there's just a lot that is not right and

we probably don't even know about it."

Cat's Out of the Bag

Chelsea Clinton, 12, had no trouble at all putting away a gigantic slice of her mother's chocolate birthday cake, even with the reporters coming out of the walls at Robinson's Restaurant in Greensboro. Between bites, Hillary kept a motherly eye trained, finally dispatching an aide to run interference.

"We have Chelsea out because we figured the last bus trip would be a special occasion," Hillary told owner Roosevelt Robinson.

Sarah Gore, 13, was out, too, and self-consciously standing together at times, or sitting on a lawn in front of the candidates, they giggled and whispered and had what Hillary later described as a "a different take on it, the kinds of things they see. At one point Tipper and I were up there laughing just watching Chelsea and Sarah in the crowd."

According to her mother, Chelsea is well aware of what's happening and what would happen if Bill Clinton wins. "But my concern is just giving her the chance to have her own life, to be able to grow up as normally as possible if she's living in the White House. And that's what I'm going to be focused on if the day after the election we wake up and that's what we have to start planning," said Hillary.

What she hasn't focused on is Socks, Chelsea's 2½-year-old cat who is not at all "standoffish or aloof but warm and loving and noble" and made them all feel better when they got him—even if Hillary and Bill are allergic to him.

The interview took an unexpected turn when she asked if what a Secret Service agent told them—that there are mice and rats in the White House—could possibly be true.

And if Barbara Bush really did find a rat doing the backstroke in the swimming pool?

Maybe it was visions of Socks to the rescue but suddenly Hillary cheered "Yeah, Socks! Socks might be the happiest human—or animal—being moving to Washington. I wonder if we could show him pictures of rats?"

Buoyed by the news that there hasn't been a First Cat since Amy Carter's lived at 1600, and that cat lovers of the country would probably feel enfranchised again, she regained her composure as campaign strategist.

"Exit Poll," she said, playing the poll-taker. "Did you vote for the Clintons because they have a cat?"

The potential was mind-boggling. "I love it!" she cried, convulsed by laughter. "Oh, god, I love it!"

Report Criticizes Justice Department's

Pursuit of Environmental Crimes

By Sharon LaFraniere
Washington Post Staff Writer

A new report by a George Washington University professor alleges the Justice Department has discouraged and sometimes blocked federal prosecutors and investigators from pursuing environmental crime cases.

Johnathan Turley, who authored the report for Rep. Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.), said it is based on interviews with more than two dozen federal prosecutors and Environmental Protection Agency investigators. It contends that the Justice Department officials have imposed "an unreason-

ably high standard" for environmental prosecutions and at times intervened directly with local prosecutors to lessen the charge or the penalty.

Roger Clegg, a deputy assistant attorney general in the environmental division, attacked the report in an interview, saying: "This is an obvious political hatchet job. This was commissioned by a Democratic congressman and written by law students supervised by a liberal junior law professor."

"None of the individuals appears to have any prosecutorial experience, yet they are second-guessing the decisions made by career prosecutors. The career attorneys in our section ought to be getting applause, rather than this kind of cheap shot."

The department's handling of six environmental crimes came under scrutiny last month at a hearing before the House energy and commerce subcommittee, chaired by Rep. John D. Dingell (D-Mich.) Six EPA investigators and supervisors testified that the Justice Department scuttled cases entirely or negotiated lenient plea bargains, despite strong evidence of criminal wrongdoing.

Turley's report focuses more on what he described as friction and "mistrust" between Justice Department headquarters and local U.S. Attorney's offices. It contends officials with the department's environmental crimes section often dispute the

strength of evidence and witnesses and overrule the opinion of local prosecutors.

By "micromanaging" and "slow-walking" environmental prosecutions, the department has discouraged prosecutors from even initiating such cases, especially against individuals, Turley said in an interview.

Turley, who teaches environmental law, serves on an advisory group for the U.S. Sentencing Commission, which is helping to write new sentencing guidelines for corporate environmental misconduct. He said he was not paid for his report.

The report reviews the cases that were the subject of Dingell's hearings, and briefly describes several others.

It says a local prosecutor had to go "to

extraordinary lengths" to win departmental approval for an indictment that the environmental crimes section wanted to kill. The defendant was eventually charged and convicted, the report said.

In another case, the head of the Justice Department's environmental division clashed with the U.S. attorney in Baltimore and his assistant over whether two individuals could be charged with felonies for destroying 86 acres of wetlands, the report says.

Asked about that case, Clegg said: "We have been very aggressive in bringing wetlands prosecutions." He said Turley failed to interview the prosecutors whom he criticized.

About Hillary

*She has a softer image
but remains committed
to an activist agenda*

BY STEVE GOLDBERG

MEDIA GENERAL NEWS SERVICE

About a month before the primary election in 1990, Tom McRae, a Little Rock, Ark., lawyer challenging Bill Clinton for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, held a news conference at the state capitol blasting Clinton for being in office too long and for neglecting the environment.

As the television cameras whirled, a female voice shouted an objection to McRae. "Oh Tom, give me a break," said Hillary Clinton, who claimed she just happened to be walking by. What had been a McRae press

PROFILE

conference was instantly transformed into a confrontation between McRae and Mrs. Clinton — one that Mrs. Clinton got the best of and one that dominated local news for the next several days.

It was vintage Hillary Clinton. If Bill Clinton wins on Nov. 3, the United States will get a first lady unlike any it has had before. Her admirers and detractors say she is as smart as Clinton, as tough, as bold, as well-educated and as experienced. She has expertise in her own right.

*"I have spoken for and on
behalf of my husband
throughout his political life. . . .
Nobody ever said anything
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trying to do the best job I can to
represent him and to speak out
on the issues that we both care
about."*

HILLARY CLINTON

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She is likely to be Clinton's top adviser on a number of issues, particularly those involving children and the family and legal matters. A top corpo-

rate lawyer, she has also been involved for more than 20 years with the Children's Defense Fund, a Washington-based advocacy group.

In the early days of the presidential campaign, Mrs. Clinton wowed audiences, prompting many to ask why she wasn't running for office herself. "If you vote for him you get me," she replied.

Clinton often told voters if they elected him they'd get "two for the price of one."

But that was before Hillary Clinton made the statement — "I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas" — a remark that was widely perceived as a put-down of housewives.

After that, Mrs. Clinton lowered her campaign profile, staying mostly in the background even during the relentless hammering she took during the Republican National Convention last August in Houston.

There, she was portrayed as a left-wing, ax-carrying feminist who preached that the traditional family was as evil an institution as slavery. There were dark hints that her marriage was more of a political arrangement than a romantic relationship.

President Bush said criticism of Mrs. Clinton was valid because she was not an ordinary political wife.

If "you have an activist past, and you're a very aggressive lawyer... that is a little different than if you're not taking positions," Bush said.

But the Republicans dropped the attacks after polls showed it was backfiring with voters.

A softer Hillary Clinton has emerged, with a new hairstyle, clothes and makeup. The makeover this year was not her first. After Clinton was defeated for re-election as governor in 1980, Hilla-

ry Rodham gave up for good her sacklike dresses, her thick glasses, her curly brown hair and her last name to help her husband win back the favor of Arkansas voters.

While she is not as politically astute as her husband, or as empathic with people, she is more focused. Some say she is better able to get things done; that she helps keep her husband from getting pushed off course.

In an interview in Milwaukee last week, she dismissed speculation that her role in the White House would go beyond being first lady.

"I have spoken for and on behalf of my husband throughout his political life. . . . Nobody ever said anything about co-governor, so I just can't take that seriously. I'm trying to do the best job I can to represent him and to speak out on the issues that we both care about."

She says reports of marital infidelity by Clinton were an unwarranted distraction.

"That's not what this election is about." People

PLEASE SEE HILLARY, PAGE C3 ▶

▼ HILLARY FROM PAGE C1

"want somebody who will talk about their problems and their futures and their children, and that's what this country needs."

Her eyes are red from fatigue after a long campaign day that included stops in Detroit and Chicago, and there are tiny lines on her face that make her look older than she does on television. She sits in a room backstage from a basketball arena where she and her husband have just given impassioned stump speeches.

The miniflap of the day is over a remark Clinton made in Chicago, saying he wants the election to give him "a mandate to rebuild America."

This had led to speculation that Clinton no longer is thinking merely of winning, but of rolling up a big electoral margin. Clinton strategists fear such talk will turn voters off.

"He didn't say the word mandate," Mrs. Clinton insists. "What he implied is what he's been saying for more than a year — that this election needs to be about an agenda for change."

And her role? "I'm going to be a voice for children in the White House. He's going to have an agenda for children and families . . .

"I think about it in the same way that I think about what Bill and I have tried to do for our daughter. You start with good prenatal care for every pregnant woman. That means you've got to have a health-care system that provides that. You provide good well-child care. I could access that because of our income and our insurance, and I want every child to have what my daughter had. I want them to be immunized because we now are having measles epidemics because we don't have our 2-year-olds immunized. I want preschool for kids who need to have it. I want schools that work."

She wants to lessen the stresses on families by providing "a basic health-care system" for all, "a floor of economic security" and "a welfare system that doesn't keep people dependent" and doesn't force mothers to choose between work and Medicaid.

All these positions have been articulated by her husband. It's an agenda Mrs. Clinton is well-equipped to help carry out. She has worked on behalf of children and families most of the years she has been in Arkansas. Her husband appointed her to head the state commission that brought about sweeping education changes in the state, but much of her attention has been focused on national issues, such as fully funding Head Start, providing free legal services for the poor, and passing legislation that allows family leave from work for emergencies.

Right now, she says, too many working mothers are being forced to choose between their jobs and their children.

"We don't give any kind of support to women in that kind of position. The family and medical leave act is a perfect example. It's so unnecessary to pose that kind of stark choice for working parents

"We certainly ought to be able to say to parents, 'We think as a society, it's important you do a good job of raising your children. If your child is sick, if you have a new child in the home, if you have an aging relative, that should not be the government's responsibility. You should have some time to help work that out yourself.'"

The Bush administration says the family leave act will hurt small businesses. It says the money is simply not available to pay for the ambitious agenda favored by the Clintons and many Democrats in Congress.

Mrs. Clinton said she became interested in the problems of children when she was growing up in the suburbs of Chicago and her Methodist church group did work with migrant children.

At Yale Law School, where she met Bill Clinton, "I really began to think hard about how I could take my emotional feelings about helping children and discipline them in some way so that I could make a contribution," she said.

An honor student, Hillary Rodham worked in the summer of 1974 for the House Judiciary Committee during impeachment proceedings for President Nixon. She was well on her way to making a name for herself as an activist and lawyer.

She surprised many friends when she decided to marry Clinton and head south.

But she has pursued her mission for children by heading the Children's Defense Fund. In addition, she's been a partner in the state's top law firm, been named as one of the 100 most influential

lawyers in the nation, and has served on the boards of a number of corporations, including retailing giant Wal-Mart.

She's a demanding taskmaster who works hard and asks the same of subordinates.

Tom Mars, who worked as an associate under her for 2½ years after clerking for a judge, recalls handing in a brief that he thought was done well. He got it back so marked up "it looked like someone had spilled blood over it. She was nice about it, but she made it clear she wanted everything that went out of the office with her name on it to look just right."

Some have seen her belittle underlings who don't meet her standards.

In her law firm job she earns roughly three times as much as her husband's \$35,000 annual salary as governor.

Despite her demands, she has always made time for daughter Chelsea, 12, bringing her to work with her, taking her to ballet classes and softball practice. On the campaign trail, she helps Chelsea with homework by fax, and tries to be home as much as possible.

If Bill Clinton wins Nov. 3, Hillary Clinton says she'll probably quit her law practice to spend more time concentrating on her agenda for families and children. But she has ruled out a Cabinet or White House job, which Clinton had earlier talked about offering her.

She ends the interview to play a five-minute game of pingpong with her husband. Then they climb into a limousine that takes them back to the Milwaukee airport, and they jet back to Little Rock for the night to see Chelsea. The next day they head west on a furious mission that will last until Election Day.

what paper
what date?

A tough cookie falls into another gap

SUZANNE FIELDS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Hillary Clinton, who doesn't like being behind the scenes, makes Nancy Reagan look like Pollyanna. Nancy pulled the strings from somewhere out of sight. Not the wife of the Arkansas governor.

"I'm not a behind-the-scenes kind of person," she says. "I'm very overt."

The gibe that "the wrong Clinton is running" is already a feminist cliché.

Nevertheless, Hillary Clinton is digging unusual gaps in Democratic support. Everybody talks about a Gender Gap, which suggests that women vote differently than men, but there's another gap that reflects a deep split between feminists and women who don't like the label.

Tara Roth Madden, in her book "Women vs. Women," identifies conflicts between women growing out of jealousies nurtured from childhood, exacerbated in adoles-

cence and young adulthood over competition for boys and men, and these jealousies become explosive when women, as feminists, begin to compete with each other for jobs in the workplace. A similar book could be written today about the conflicts among women over their perceived roles in society and in the home.

Hillary Clinton is a lightning rod in this debate which pits women against women.

She raised the ante when she tried to dismiss the argument over whether there has been a conflict between her work as a lawyer doing business with the state of Arkansas and her husband's job as governor "as the sort of thing that happens to women who have their own careers." Instead of defending her work, she sneered at women who stay home to raise their children.

"I suppose I could have stayed home, baked cookies and had teas, but what I decided was to fulfill my profession, which I entered before my husband was in public life."

She seemed to have heard the icy con-

tempt in her voice, and quickly offered a revised version, which was, you might say, "politically correct."

Phil Donahue, a feminist of such orthodoxy that he has occasionally worn a skirt on his TV show, conceded that Hillary sounded a bit condescending toward mothers who bake cookies. But when a caller who is a full-time mother complained that she gets no respect from feminists who work, he — who clearly cares a lot about what women say — wondered why she should.

Lots of women could tell him why, and of how they struggle with sacrifice, financial and otherwise, to find ways to put their children first, all the while enduring contempt and mockery from their professional sisters.

The controversy over Mrs. Clinton's perception of women's work, and of the women who do that work, will haunt her after we've heard all the answers to the questions about her law practice. It's a gap that's bound to widen.

In this century, there have been only three other men with Baker's status in a presidency: Robert Kennedy with his brother; Harry Hopkins with FDR; and Col. Edward House with Woodrow Wilson.<

Jim Baker is in their league; his friend, shall we say in this make-or-break week, is not quite comparable to their famous bosses.<

X X X<

(Thomas Oliphant is a Boston Globe columnist.)<

^BC-CVN-BARBARA national editors:WA<

^Bush campaign hopes first lady can help improve her husband's ratings in polls<

(PHOTO; details below)<

(HAS TRIMS)<

By Ellen Warren<

Knight-Ridder Newspapers<

WASHINGTON Barbara Bush has always been tough, funny and frank. Now the Bush re-election campaign is hell bent to make sure everybody knows it.<

The good news for the sagging campaign is that Mrs. Bush's popularity is enormous. The bad news is that for many months, she was the (BEGIN ITALICS) only (END ITALICS) good news.<

So, you're going to be hearing a LOT from this white-haired lady between now and election day.<

From a prime-time speech at the Republican convention next week, to a coast-to-coast campaign that follows, first lady Barbara Bush will be trying to get her huge poll numbers to leap into her husband's column.<

Sure, it's ironic. Here's Barbara Bush, the image of wife and mother, playing a major role in the Bush re-election strategy.<

Four years ago, her ability to duck hard questions was legendary, and even she admits that her extensive, glowing remarks about her husband made her kids want to "throw up."<

Back then, one of Bush's advisers said the early strategy was to "hide her in the smallest media markets," fearing that her frumpy image would backfire on her younger-looking husband. (She's 67; he's 68.)<

Today, a different top re-election planner says, "It doesn't take a campaign meeting" to figure out that you've got to showcase Barbara Bush. The numbers say it all. Her 75 percent popularity rating compares with a 31 percent rating for the president in a recent Boston Globe poll.<

The Bushes' role reversal shows the confusing status of political wives and the part they play in the 90s.<

Look what has happened to Hillary Clinton megabucks lawyer, chief family breadwinner and social activist. At the Democratic convention last month, she peddled her cookie recipe at women's teas and lunches.<

For her part, Barbara Bush said in an interview with Knight-Ridder that if she let all the bad news about her husband affect her campaign style, she would have given up and "You'd be talking to Mrs. Dukakis" in the elegant White House sitting room.<

(EDITORS: NEXT 2 GRAFS OPTIONAL)<

In fact, Barbara Bush takes herself and her accomplishments much more seriously than she lets on.<

"Would you say to Arthur Miller, 'You've just been a house husband and haven't done anything?' I mean, you're looking at the author of two books," she said, referring to the two books she authored as ghostwriter for her dogs. "I'm not putting 'C. Fred's Story' and 'Millie's Book' up with Arthur Miller but... why not?"<

(END OPTIONAL TRIM)<

"I know I'm strong. I know that. You have to be to survive the things

So, did she?<

"I wouldn't answer that question. I wouldn't sink to that kind of basis," she replied in the interview. But she added that she does think it's sexist that men are asked about philandering and women are not. "Did anyone ever ask Margaret Thatcher that?"<

(END OPTIONAL TRIM)<

She warned that if the conversation didn't get off adultery, the interview might end quickly. "It's not worthy of either of us to talk about, honestly. The adultery. That's just sick ... Your time will be up unless we move on."<

She changed the subject to fat. Her own.<

"The fact that I could squeeze into my dress is a miracle," she said, yanking at the top of her silk suit. "I'm having trouble with clothes," she joked. "They seem to have shrunk."<

That exchange was vintage Barbara Bush. She'll talk about something serious, like sexism and women in politics, then make fun of herself to take the edge off.<

Sometimes, there are political advantages to taking on a tough subject. With President Bush's anti-abortion views widely believed to be costing him votes, Barbara Bush has been going out of her way to leave the impression that she favors abortion rights.<

In an interview with magazine writers, she said the issue should not be in the Republican Party platform. She told them abortion was a "personal thing" and "the personal things should be left out of, in my opinion, platforms and conventions."<

(EDITORS: NEXT 3 GRAPS OPTIONAL)<

The first lady (who hates that term) brushed aside the fact that the president, through Supreme Court appointments and advocating an anti-abortion amendment to the Constitution, is trying to curtail abortions in this country. "Well, it hasn't happened. So, there it is," she said.<

"I'm not a devout feminist," Barbara Bush said, although she frequently showed feminist sympathies.<

For instance, "It really burned me up," when she read a newspaper account about a meeting of then-Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher with Anne Armstrong, then U.S. ambassador to Britain. The writers "didn't say what they talked about or the theme of their conversation. They described their outfits and hairdos."<

(END OPTIONAL TRIM)<

Feminist, traditional wife or something in between; "Barbara Bush has been the most definite political asset to a president-candidate-husband since Jackie Kennedy," says Rutgers University political scientist Ross Baker. "Whereas George Bush is mercurial and somewhat disjointed, she sort of conveys an impression of purpose, integrity. Whereas he's very often questioned about having any real philosophical anchor, she seems well-anchored. She seems to know who she is."<

"She's the best example of the ideal that the Republicans want to establish for the identity of their party," he said. "She's sort of a hood ornament."<

(EDITORS: STORY CAN END HERE)<

Wherever Barbara Bush fits into the American psyche, she tries to convey the impression that she's no co-president (the rap on Rosalynn Carter), no Cabinet member wanna-be (Hillary Clinton), no behind-the-scenes puppeteer (Nancy Reagan).<

She says she does not counsel her husband on important policy decisions. "No advice, honest," she says.<

"I only give advice when I'm talking to him."<

George Bush and I have survived," she said.<

Most recently, of course, was the "Swiss tryst" story of Bush's purported liaison with a female staffer in Switzerland in 1984 when Barbara Bush was on a book tour to promote "C. Fred's Story."<

"Lies," Barbara Bush said tersely during the interview with Knight-Ridder. "Repeating lies is not worthy of the press."<

A while back, she observed, laughing: "It's funny. Nobody ever asked me if I fooled around."<

(EDITORS: NEXT 2 GRAPS OPTIONAL)<

for Kim T.
From: Chris S.

AM-CAMPAIGN-WIVES (SCHEDULED)<

BARBARA AND HILLARY CONTRAST OLD FASHION AND MODERN<

By Steve Holland<

WASHINGTON, Reuter - In a presidential race pitting the old guard against a new generation, nowhere is the difference more apparent than in the candidates' wives, grandmotherly Barbara Bush and thoroughly modern Hillary Clinton.<

Make no mistake -- both these women are tough as nails, strong-willed, and have a great influence on their husbands, President Bush and Democrat Bill Clinton. But that's where similarities end.<

Blonde Hillary, 44, is Yale-educated, rated one of the country's top 100 lawyers, and quick to point out that she has a career in addition to her role as a political wife.<

White-haired Barbara, 67, fell in love with George at age 16, dropped out of college to marry him and in 47 years of marriage has put his needs above all else.<

In the final 10 weeks of the campaign for the Nov. 3 election, Hillary Clinton clearly has the more difficult chore of convincing Americans that they should be comfortable with the idea of her in the White House.<

"She is a very strong-willed woman who has her own views and they appear to be to the left of Clinton's own," said Larry Sabato, political science professor at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville. "It may be fair or unfair, but I think people are uncertain about her."<

There is no doubt where Mrs. Bush stands in the public eye. Out on the campaign trail recently, President Bush saw along the motorcade route a man holding a sign saying, "Keep Barbara in the White House."<

She may be the most popular Republican in the country, far more popular than her husband, who makes a point in nearly every speech of mentioning "that silver-haired philosopher, Barbara Bush." Experts say Americans rarely base their choice for president on the wife of the candidate, but voters want to identify with their leader and, by extension, his wife.<

With Hillary Clinton and Barbara Bush, voters have a choice between a social activist in the style of Eleanor Roosevelt or someone strict and demanding yet generous and considerate in the style of Mamie Eisenhower.<

Hillary Clinton talked of her dismay for public resistance to a more active role for the first lady in talking to The New York Times in May about the criticism Jimmy Carter's wife, Rosalynn, received for sitting in on Cabinet meetings.<

"I saw Rosalynn Carter in Little Rock and we talked about this," she said. "She got all this criticism for sitting in on Cabinet meetings. Well, so what if she did?"<

Hillary Clinton has been undergoing an image transformation to stress a more subdued role but not in time to keep Republicans from accusing her of being a liberal without traditional moral values who would dictate family policy in a Clinton administration.<

Sharp-tongued Rich Bond, chairman of the Republican National Committee, said in Houston Wednesday that Hillary "believes kids should be able to sue their parents rather than helping with the chores they were asked to do."<

"She has likened marriage and the family to slavery. She has referred to the family as a dependency relationship that deprives people of their rights," Bond said, relying on legal papers Hillary wrote in the 1970s and which Clinton supporters believe are being taken out of context.<

Bill Clinton fired back that Bush has no record to run on "so now they try to attack my wife. It's pitiful."<

Barbara Bush was not entirely happy with Bond's blast at Hillary but is

drawing some rare heat of her own.<

An article in the August edition of Vanity Fair magazine paints her as a woman who inspires fear, and that behind her down-to-earth image, ``the nation's most self-effacing celebrity is in fact a combative politician.''

``I could get in so much trouble if I said something she didn't agree with,''

Barbara's elderly stepmother, Willa Pierce, is quoted as saying. ``Because you know how she is: she knows how she wants to appear to the world.''

Mrs. Bush described the article as ``hurtful.''

But a hint of the combative politician may have come to light when she gave husband George some room to maneuver on the explosive abortion issue going into the Republican National Convention.<

After years of refusing to discuss the issue, she told news magazine reporters Thursday that abortion should be left out of the party's platform and left to personal choice.<

``I'm saying abortion should not be in there, pro or con,''

Mrs. Bush said. ``... It's a personal choice, is what I'm saying, (a) personal thing.''

REUTER

Democrats

Trapped in a Spotlight, Hillary Clinton Uses It

By GWEN IFILL
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2 — Hillary Clinton called it "an incredible week." Roller coasters are also incredible, and not always in a good way.

But Mrs. Clinton, whose chance to go with her husband, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, to the White House has strayed perilously close to derailment since a supermarket tabloid published reports that Mr. Clinton had cheated on her for 12 years, has decided that the harsh spotlight might yet be turned to her benefit.

She wants to talk about issues involving women, children and the work force.

"I'm going to keep talking about it as much as I can," she said in an interview today. "And maybe now

residents. In one ad, he is seen at an exuberant campaign rally hugging his wife; in another, he, Mrs. Clinton and their daughter, Chelsea, stride across the screen holding hands.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, 44 years old, is by no one's standards a meek woman. But by anyone's standards, the past two weeks have been a strain.

By the time she reached Washington late last week, she had appeared on two prime time network news programs, given countless speeches and apologized to a popular country singer for saying in a CBS interview that she was not "some little woman standing by my man like Tammy Wynette."

Now, as a result of the turmoil, her strategic role as prime defender of and symbol for her husband and the campaign has accelerated dramatically.

Independent and Successful

Perhaps the most repeated fact about Hillary Clinton is that she did not take her husband's name until others told her that her use of her maiden name may have contributed to his failed bid for re-election as Governor in 1980. That detail is supposed to tell people something about Mrs. Clinton — that she is independent and knows her own mind.

Both things appear to be true, and there is other evidence as well. Named one of the nation's top 100 lawyers by the National Journal, Mrs. Clinton is the chairman of the board for the Children's Defense Fund and earns at least three times her husband's \$35,000 annual Governor's salary.

But Mrs. Clinton resists the political school of thought that lumps her with Marilyn Quayle and Nancy Reagan as smart women who exercise considerable influence on their husbands and their politics.

"It would be a shame if we jumped from one stereotype to another," she said of the comparisons. "I hope people will restrain their need to categorize one another."

Unexpected Speed

Although campaign aides say Mrs. Clinton has always been involved in her husband's campaigns, all were



Hillary Clinton, the wife of Gov. Bill Clinton, has decided that the recent harsh spotlight she has been in may turn to her benefit. She wants to talk about issues involving women, children and the work force. The Clintons attended a campaign rally last week in Manchester, N.H.

unprepared for the speed with which her role has expanded this year.

"We wanted a slow build for Hillary," said Richard Mintz, her press secretary. "That was always the plan. That did not happen."

Instead, Mrs. Clinton's profile has grown exponentially as she has evolved in the public eye from loyal spouse to chief defender and prime strategist.

Aides to the Governor say Mrs. Clinton plays a vital adviser's role. But she said her role involves policy, not politics.

"As far as I'm concerned, the main reason I'm interested and involved in this campaign is because of the issues I'm involved in," she said.

Still, strategists hope Mrs. Clinton can provide a far more valuable service for a campaign that is trying to convince party leaders that Mr. Clinton has not been so damaged that he would be wasted as a Democratic nominee.

"Nobody expected this kind of forced presentation of family," said Mr. Clinton's poll taker, Stan Green-

berg, who spent last week in New Hampshire assembling groups of voters to gauge the effects of the infidelity accusations. "Their family is on display, and one thing is very clear: Voters think they have a real marriage and that he is committed to her. Nobody comes out of this feeling sorry for Hillary Clinton."

'Forceful Lady'

Elaine Leduc, a 44-year-old Portsmouth, N.H., resident attending a Clinton campaign event in her town last week, said of Mrs. Clinton, "She's a pretty forceful lady."

Indeed, many who watched the couple's appearance on the CBS News program "60 Minutes" thought that, in many ways, Mrs. Clinton handled the personal questions better than her husband did.

Mrs. Clinton's travels draw as much press attention these days as do her husband's. As she traveled through South Dakota, Colorado, Washington and back to Little Rock last week, her staff fielded at least 100 interview requests.

"The major role and responsibility of the spouse of the candidate is to be the window to the world about that person's character," said Paul Costello, a former press aide for Kitty Dukakis and Rosalynn Carter who is now communications director for Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly of Washington.

"They are basically the No. 1 character witness, and that's their job in the campaign," he said. "They say, 'I love this person. I trust this person. I am this person's most intimate partner, and if you believe me, you can believe them.'"

Sly Jokes

Mrs. Clinton seems to relish challenging her detractors. On the ABC News program "Prime Time Live," she charged a prominent Arkansas Republican with helping to disseminate the tabloid stories. He later denied it. She also dismissed another opponent as "a very bitter man" who criticized Mr. Clinton only because he had been defeated in a Governor's race.

At a party fund-raising event last Thursday, she found herself forced to listen to sly jokes about her husband in a ballroom full of Democrats. "It's 10 o'clock, Hillary," said a leering Larry King, the talk show host who was the evening's master of ceremonies. "Do you know where Bill is?"

Many in the audience winced, but Mrs. Clinton remained composed. When it was her turn to speak as a stand-in for her husband, she noted that the Governor was indeed elsewhere, escorting "the other woman in his life," 11-year-old Chelsea, to a party for teenagers in Little Rock.

At the end of the sentence, her voice cracked.

But she also used the chance to take discreet aim at some critics within the party.

"I've heard so many rumors this week, I can't keep track of them," she said. "And I know you've heard them too." She paused. "You may have even started some of them."

More than one person in the room squirmed.

Unwillingly at center stage, the candidate's wife has a forum.

someone will listen. That's one of the bizarre side effects of this whole thing."

Test of Credibility

If the first part of the Mr. Clinton's campaign for President was defined as a need to prove his electability, the second phase has become a test of his credibility. And Mrs. Clinton is an important factor in the formula the campaign has devised to regain footing.

But it remains unclear how the character issues unearthed by the infidelity discussion will affect Mr. Clinton's campaign in the long run.

Strategists have scratched plans to broadcast a new advertisements featuring Mrs. Clinton talking about her marriage, fearing that the commercial would only keep the issue alive. But the campaign has begun using new advertisements this week that portray Mr. Clinton as an achiever who overcame adversity to improve the standard of living for his state's

If you elect Bill Clinton, you also get Hillary

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."

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.

Cal Thomas is a nationally syndicated columnist.



CAL THOMAS

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 political 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 "mockraking" 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, bails 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 non-therapeutic 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 de-fund 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 Jennifer 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.



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First ladies

Mrs. Clinton will be an activist if her husband is president

More than in any previous presidential election, a candidate's wife may figure in the campaign if the Democrats nominate Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton. Hillary Rodham Clinton is a practicing lawyer who at times seems more the candidate than her husband.

As first lady, she clearly wouldn't be a homebody. Her husband was reported some weeks ago planning to appoint her to a top federal job if he won the nomination and election. Then a national poll showed Americans overwhelmingly opposed to a first lady in a government post. Among other things, any such appointment could subject the president to at least the appearance of a conflict of interest.

But most Americans probably have an image of the ideal first lady more in keeping with Barbara Bush and most of her predecessors. To be sure, other

first ladies have been activists. In fact, Mrs. Bush is one to a degree, with her campaign for literacy.

Eleanor Roosevelt is perhaps the premier example of the activist first lady, however, with Rosalynn Carter a close second. Mrs. Roosevelt wrote a newspaper column, "My Day," and engaged in countless causes. How much influence she had on her husband, President Franklin Roosevelt, is less certain. Chances are, whatever her precise role, Hillary Clinton would exert considerable influence on her spouse, especially in areas that most interested her.

While Mrs. Clinton's role, as first lady, might have a few features in common with her predecessors, chances are it would be unique in major ways. That's why Americans need the clearest picture of her, as well as her husband, in the fall campaign they now seem likely to wage.

Hillary Clinton as Aspiring First Lady: Role Model, or a 'Hall Monitor' Type?

By MAUREEN DOWD

After chatting sympathetically with Hillary Clinton for a moment about the silliness of judging a woman by her hairdo, a television reporter from Columbus, Ohio, zeroed in for the sound bite.

"You know, some people think of you as an inspiring female attorney mother, and other people think of you as the overbearing yuppie wife from hell," the reporter said. "How would you describe yourself?"

A look of annoyance glittered through Mrs. Clinton's blue eyes, but she was on a mission to soften her image and show that she has a sense of humor. So she smiled and described herself as a wife, a mother and an activist. Later, on her small campaign plane traveling in Kentucky, she took a bite of an apple and said, "I'm too old to be a yuppie."

Mrs. Clinton has stepped into the eye of the stormy debate about the role of women in society and in politics, and about the image of feminism. And the 44-year-old lawyer seems a bit at a loss over how to deal with all the powerful negative and positive reactions she has unleashed as her husband, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, campaigns for the Democratic Presidential nomination.

The Two Extremes

One night, eating dinner and sipping a glass of white wine at a revolving restaurant atop a hotel in Covington, Ky., where she was staying, Mrs. Clinton talked about the two extremes: She is moved by the women of all ages who approach her to tell her that she is a role model, but she is dismayed by the resistance to the idea of a First Lady openly engaged in the affairs of state.

"I saw Rosalynn Carter in Little Rock and we talked about this," Mrs. Clinton said. "She got all this criticism for sitting in on Cabinet meetings. Well, so what if she did?"

Republicans now regard the outspoken wife of the Arkansas Governor as one more vulnerability in an already vulnerable Clinton campaign. Even though it is now clear that Nancy Reagan helped run the country, with astrological charts and her own political agenda, and even though it is apparent that Barbara Bush is a significant voice on politics, the Republicans are busy mining fears as old as Adam and Eve about the dangers of an assertive, ambitious woman speaking into the ear of her man.

"To the extent that they've touted this as a co-Presidency and to the extent that she is such a dominating figure and key decision maker now

the Clintons on this issue?" said Mary Matalin, the political director of the Bush campaign.

Roger Stone, a Republican consultant, was more blunt. "Hillary Clinton is exceedingly polarizing," he said. "It's not that she's an accomplished modern woman. It's just that she's grating, abrasive and boastful. There's a certain familiar order of things, and the notion of a coequal couple in the White House is a little offensive to men and women."

She has become a paradigm of the over-structured, over-scheduled super-mom. A recent New Yorker cartoon showed a woman asking a salesclerk for a jacket and adding, "Nothing too Hillary."

• Even among women who are Mrs. Clinton's natural constituents, there is criticism about what they call "the Hillary situation." Some leading Democratic women privately worry that, while Mrs. Bush may be the last of the First Ladies who have never worked outside the home, the public

Fears about the notion of a coequal couple in the White House.

is still skittish about the idea of a First Lady who is more involved in substance than ceremony.

These critics say that the Clintons may have pushed too hard on the concept of an unprecedented partnership in the White House, and suggest that they should wait until after the election to break precedents.

There was Mr. Clinton's suggestion, since revoked, that he might give his wife a Cabinet job. And there was Mrs. Clinton's petulant defense on conflict-of-interest questions about her legal career in Arkansas, when she said she could have "stayed home, baked cookies and had teas."

One gleeful Republican campaign official suggests that it is less her sex than her demeanor, noting that Mrs. Clinton is "a hall monitor" type whose drive and earnestness are off-putting: "She doesn't complement Clinton because she appears to be another liberal policy wonk. It doesn't seem like a family — more like a merger."

Mrs. Clinton is far more articulate than the two men on the Republican Presidential ticket, but she lacks her husband's ability to stir emotions

companion, but she has a studious turn of mind. Even when chatting with the television reporter about hair and perceptions, she asked, "Has anybody done a survey or study about that?"

Walking a Narrow Line

Ruth Mandel, the director of the Center for Women and Politics at the Eagleton Institute at Rutgers University, is sympathetic to women in politics who must walk a narrow line to avoid offending various constituencies.

"Hillary Clinton's life and behavior represents the changes that have taken place in women's lives and marriages, and yet she is faced with the dilemma of not confronting the public with the extent of those changes," Ms. Mandel said. "When it comes to women, people are not ready to take more than a teaspoonful of change at a time."

After Gennifer Flowers's accusation about an affair with the Governor, the Clintons had to campaign often together to show they had a "real" marriage, as Mr. Clinton's poll taker, Stanley Greenberg, put it. But then critics said Mrs. Clinton was coming across as too much of an equal, and a Clinton opponent, former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California, mocked the pair as "the Bonnie and Clyde of American politics."

So now the campaign is keeping Mrs. Clinton on her own low-key schedule, while strategists try to figure out the best way to mend her image problems.

"The public is looking at a new kind of political spouse through a Mamie Eisenhower lens," complained Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, the producer of the television shows "Designing Women" and "Evening Shade," who is a friend of the Clintons. "The Republicans are constantly ready to take any idea that's new or progressive in terms of men and women and turn it into a negative."

Trying to Reassure Doubters

Susan Thomases, a New York lawyer who is an adviser to Mrs. Clinton, agrees that she has been "pigeon-holed" and that she has to show herself as a more rounded person. "The public needs to see her not just as a career woman, but as a mother, a daughter, a friend, a member of her church," Ms. Thomases said. "There are parts of her personality that are more conservative and traditional than a lot of people project onto her."

Everywhere Mrs. Clinton went last week the high-powered litigator who brought home almost five times the salary her husband did last year tried to reassure doubters that she is not Lady Macbeth in a black gown

Hillary Clinton, who h:
politics — and about the

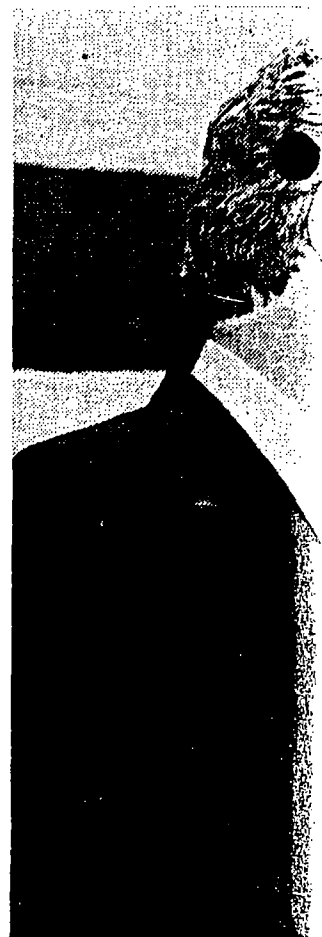
Looking at a new kind of political spouse.

She told reporters again and again that she did not dominate her husband — "He has a real core of business"; — that her husband would offer her a Cabinet post — "I'm not going to happen, and I won't take it if it did"; — that she would sit in on Cabinet meetings — "I did that in Arkansas and I'm going to start now," — and that she would not be a pioneer in making radical changes — "I think so; I hope I'm going myself."

She also insists that she has no ambitions to run for office. "People have talked to me all over since I was a little girl, I was captain at school in Park Ridge," she said, shaking her head.

Mrs. Clinton is circumspect about feminism, saying she believes in equality but rejecting the term "has come out of fashion today."

"I don't think feminism, as we stand the definition, implies a rejection of maternal values, of children, caring about the quality of your life," she said. "I don't



First Lady: 'Actor' Type?

companion, but she has a studious mind. Even when chatting with the television reporter about her and perceptions, she asked, "Has anybody done a survey or study about it?"

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Trying to Reassure Doubters

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Where Mrs. Clinton went last year as the high-powered litigator who left home almost five times the year her husband did last year tried to assure doubters that she is not Macbeth in a black preppy and.



Paul Husefros/The New York Times

Hillary Clinton, who has stepped into the eye of the stormy debate about the role of women in society and politics — and about the image of feminism. With her at a rally was her husband, the Democratic conte

Looking at a new kind of political spouse.

She told reporters again and again that she did not dominate her husband — "He has a real core of toughness"; — that her husband would not offer her a Cabinet post — "That's not going to happen, and I wouldn't take it if it did"; — that she would not sit in on Cabinet meetings — "I never did that in Arkansas and I'm not going to start now," — and that she would not be a pioneer First Lady making radical changes — "I don't think so; I hope I'm going to be myself."

She also insists that she has no ambitions to run for office herself. "People have talked to me about that ever since I was a little girl, the patrol captain at school in Park Ridge, Ill.," she said, shaking her head.

Mrs. Clinton is circumspect on the subject of feminism, saying she believes in equality but rejects some of what the term "has come to mean today."

"I don't think feminism, as I understand the definition, implies the rejection of maternal values, nurturing children, caring about the men in your life," she said. "That is just nonsense to me."

And she even tried to point out the similarities between herself and Mrs. Bush, who identifies herself on her tax returns as "housewife." "Barbara Bush and I have a lot in common," Mrs. Clinton said. "We're both very committed women. We care very deeply about our families, and we're supportive of our husbands."

Mrs. Clinton is intimately involved in strategy and policy planning and, even in a rush, she still includes her family name when she signs autographs, Hillary Rodham Clinton. Yet, last week her campaign schedule was traditional enough to have pleased Mrs. Bush, consisting mostly of cutting ribbons to open new campaign headquarters and reading stories like "Chicka, Chicka Boom Boom" to children in preschool classes littered with plastic ironing boards and stoves and sinks.

Just as President Bush uses his Texas twang on occasion for politicking, dropping g's and substituting "git" for "get," so Mrs. Clinton sometimes falls into some of the folksier twang of Arkansas. She talked a lot about her 12-year-old daughter, Chelsea, her interest in educational programs and her desire to be "a voice for children" in the White House.

But the difficulty of her situation was underscored as she left a school in Newport, Ky. She was surrounded by dozens of children in a warm, fuzzy and maternal photo session. But Ruth Ezell, the reporter for the

local CBS affiliate, offered this commentary to her viewers: "When I and Hillary Clinton were students at Yale Law School, they were my court partners. Ever since, they have been a personal and professional team. If Hillary Clinton becomes First Lady, you can expect she will reinvent the role and America will get two in the White House for the price of one."

Firm Stand on Big Things

Mrs. Clinton's friends say that while she may be willing to compromise on smaller things for political expediency, as she did when she changed her name to that of her husband to help him in a quest for second term as Governor, she will never compromise on big things. And indeed, a story she tells over dinner at the hotel in Covington illustrates that strong will.

She is talking about the summer during law school when she went to Alaska and got a job in a fish-processing plant. She was supposed to score out the entrails, but she began to get worried about the state of the fish.

"They were purple and black and yucky looking," she recalled, questioning the owner about how the fish had been dead, and he warned her to stop asking questions. But she continued asking questions, and was fired within a week.

She didn't care. "I found another job," she said coolly.

Date ?

DECISION '92

Hillary Clinton's style alienates some voters

■ After gaffes on the campaign trail, she is trying to change her image from a ground-breaker to a more traditional, supportive wife.

Scripps Howard News Service

NEW YORK — During the early winter, when charges about Bill Clinton's personal life first surfaced, his wife, Hillary, was his key defender, prompting Clinton to joke sometimes that maybe she should be the candidate.

In fact, for a time, Hillary Clinton became a media heroine. She was profiled as symbolic of the new generation of political wife, and the Clinton campaign put out the line that she was his closest adviser.

But now, no one associated with the Clinton campaign wants to talk publicly about Hillary Clinton, and she consciously has begun lowering her profile, trying to be less a ground-breaker and more the traditional, supportive wife.

That's because polls show her to be unusually unpopular for a candidate's wife among voters who have an opinion on the matter — and that was before her latest controversial comments urging the news media to probe into President Bush's sex life.

The item appeared in *Vanity Fair* magazine. Mrs. Clinton said she didn't understand all the questions about her husband's alleged sexual affairs when it "is apparently well known in Washington" that Bush had an extramarital affair long ago — a rumor that was much investigated by reporters in 1988 and found to be groundless.

Mrs. Clinton has apologized for her remarks, and the Bush campaign says now, as it did in 1988, that the rumor is untrue. But pollsters — and Democrats — say the damage has been done — to Hillary Clinton.

"Her latest comments (about Bush) drove my wife off the charts she was so angry," says a former top-level Democratic national official who has endorsed Clinton. "Her problem is the statements she makes."

The former official, who has been active in campaigns for a generation, said he did not remember a Democratic candidate's spouse creating such a potential problem.

Mrs. Clinton, a Yale Law School graduate who was named one of the nation's 100 most influential lawyers by one publication, has been a fixture on the campaign trail for her husband.

She is a high-visibility role model for feminist

activists, who are major players in Democratic primaries. But her outspokenness and image that pleases those voters alienates others.

When asked about charges her legal career had enmeshed her husband in conflicts of interest, she suggested that her only alternative would have been to stay home and bake cookies — an option she clearly found unpalatable.

Mrs. Clinton's supporters say she is not the problem — it's just that the public has not yet become accustomed to dealing with a woman of her stature.

"What is ironic about Hillary Clinton is that early on she became the savior of the campaign" when charges of his infidelity surfaced, said Harriet Woods, head of the National Women's Political Caucus. "Now, the problem is, the more she becomes a person in her own right separate from him, there is some discomfort among the public."

Critics and supporters say that unless Hillary Clinton is able to change her image, it could be a problem for Clinton if he is the nominee. Then, she will be up against the very popular Barbara Bush, whose traditional image will highlight the differences between them.



Mrs. Clinton is a role model for feminist activists.

Attack from feminists

NYT

Date? / publication



Beware the Cookie Monster

By Karen Lehrman

Shorn of her claws and fetchingly eager to be a White House wife, Hillary Clinton has returned after several months out of the limelight. No longer is she taunting, "if you elect Bill, you get me," or alluding to how she will reshape the role of the First Lady. Her potential White House role has been reduced, she says, to "a voice for children," and her biggest concern at the moment seems to be beating Barbara Bush in a Family Circle bake-off.

She's softened her hair, wardrobe and makeup, and even seems to have abandoned her yuppie headband — all with the none-too-subtle intent of making her appear more maternal, domestic, average, likeable.

It's not going to work. Hillary Clinton and her handlers seem to have learned the wrong lesson from the country's visceral rejection of her a few months ago. The public resentment wasn't, as she claims, due to sexism — that society isn't ready for a strong, outspoken, assertive, independent, opinionated First Lady. It actually stemmed from the fact that she was forsaking her presumed ideals: She was not being too much of a feminist, but too little of one.

No one really held her career, opinions and strength against her; what annoyed people was that she exploited her husband's campaign, blatantly using his platform for self-promotion. Voters don't think about a "governing couple" when the political spouse is male, why should it be different when the spouse is female? Why should we allow potential First Ladies a role we'd be horrified to offer potential First Gentlemen?

The husbands of the women who are running for Congress this year have largely tried to keep out of the spotlight. What if Stewart Boxer, a lawyer specializing in workers' compensation cases, started playing an ostentatious role in Barbara's

California Senate campaign? Wouldn't we resent him if he consistently filled in for her at campaign stops, gave substantive speeches and offered off-the-cuff comments?

Feminists are rightfully dismayed that Hillary Clinton has been reduced to playing the Harriet Nelson role. They are probably just as miffed that she felt a need to frost her hair, ditch her glasses and drop her maiden name — all for her husband's guber-

From coattails to the kitchen. That's no improvement.

natorial career. But riding on his coattails is just as much a betrayal of feminism, despite the fact that no prominent feminist has said as such.

Feminists have also been reluctant to admonish Hillary because she is seen as more liberal and intelligent than Bill. What, though, if she were less liberal and intelligent? What if she were, for example, anti-choice? Would feminists still be proud to have her play a big role in his campaign?

The Hillary image wasn't working,

but it didn't need a total overhaul. A truly independent, career-minded First Lady wouldn't give up any part of her personality or her career (unless there were a conflict of interest). And the voters wouldn't mind: A U.S. News and World Report poll showed that two out of three respondents approved of Hillary's continuing to practice law if Bill were elected President.

She could have maintained a high profile if Governor Clinton had announced his intention to make her part of his Cabinet (an idea that has apparently gone the way of her headband). This would have brought her inevitable adviser's role out in the open and legitimized some of her outspokenness on the campaign trail. But it would not have been a victory for feminism. Nepotism has a long and sordid history, and women don't need to rely on it.

By cynically repackaging her as a suburban housewife, however, the Clinton campaign has not only shown disturbing signs of condescension (who do they think they're kidding?) but has missed a great opportunity to present a new genre of First Lady: articulate, highly educated, career oriented, has her own passions and ideas and acts independently of her husband.

Karen Lehrman is writing a book about post-ideological feminism.

More Jobs, Jobs, Jobs

By Roger C. Altman and Arthur Levitt Jr.

Pessimism over New York City's future runs deep. Most people predict a continued exodus of businesses and taxpayers. Apparently the experts have not visited Pittsburgh, which has made a strong comeback over the past year. A key reason is its aggressive approach to economic development. Yes, it pockets of poverty, but rebuilt an economic that provides job opportunity.

In May, Mayor David Dinkins's

nomic Development Corporation and the state's Urban Development Corporation are out of money. They depend on their respective legislatures for funds, getting them only in a crisis. For example, when several commodity exchanges threatened to leave New York, the money to subsidize a new location was found. But far-sighted projects like building a biotechnology center together with Columbia University wait for 10 years or more.

The only solution lies in a organization whose governance financing politically dependent. Its equity must be obtained on a long-term, not year-to-year, basis.

Preparing for Criticisms
(OR Getting it from all sides)

—
compare HRC & BZ

—
look at the Sheehy article

Is a Rose

By
Audrey Duff

Hillary Rodham Clinton, the most well-known partner at Little Rock's \$5-lawyer Rose Law Firm, is not the firm's top rainmaker, nor is she the managing partner. And contrary to some press reports, she's simply spent too little time practicing to be considered that much of a lawyer.

William Kennedy III, 42, the chief operating officer at Rose and a partner at the firm, says that Clinton has been too busy helping her husband run for public office and serving on children's advocacy groups and corporate boards to pay much attention to legal work. "We're very proud of Hillary, and if she had ever quit having two lives and concentrated on the law practice, she'd have been a top lawyer," he says.

C. Joseph Giroir, Jr., Rose's former chief executive officer who is now name partner at Little Rock's ten-lawyer Giroir & Gregory, agrees. "I was always mad at her for not doing more [legal work]," he chuckles.

Nevertheless, because the wife of Arkansas governor and presidential hopeful Bill Clinton is a partner at Rose, these days the firm is often referred to as "Hillary Clinton's law firm." And that reputation hasn't hurt it. Although our best information is that "litigator" Clinton has tried just five cases in her career (see sidebar, page 71), the Clinton name is a valuable drawing card for clients, say three Little Rock lawyers. However, three partners at the Rose firm—the city's second-largest and among the most prestigious—point out that the partnership has been steeped in political connections and longtime institutional clients that knew the Rose name long before Clinton started working at the firm in 1977 and her husband became Arkansas governor

A lot of people now call Little Rock's Rose Law Firm "Hillary Clinton's firm." But it's hardly her fiefdom—or anyone else's, yet. Four years after a previous leader departed, the Rose firm is trying to live as a democracy.

for the first time in 1978.

One of Rose's major clients is Superphos Inc., a large hard trading firm, which accounts for about \$2 million in business annually, according to one former Rose lawyer. Longtime clients include The Equitable Life Assurance Company of the United States; Fairfield Communities Inc.; a Little Rock-based real estate concern; General Motors Corporation; The Prudential Insurance Company of America; J.A. Riggs Tractor Co.; and Minnesota Mining and Manufacturing Co.

Despite the fact that Clinton spends as much time politicking as lawyering, her impact on firm governance is substantial. She and two other litigators—Webster Hubbell and Vincent Foster, Jr.—have become key partners at the firm, following the ouster of the influential Giroir four years ago, according to one current and three former Rose lawyers. (Clinton would not comment for this article.)

According to one Rose lawyer, Clinton, 45, was among more than a dozen partners—primarily litigators—who pushed to expel the firm's former leader. Disagreement over the firm's compensation system was the main reason behind the move.

ing to two former associates and one Rose lawyer currently with the firm. These lawyers say that Giroir, who brought in top firm clients, would take a percentage of any business he attracted, regardless of whether he worked on the matter. Thus Giroir was raking in almost \$500,000 annually, says one Rose lawyer, while the next most highly compensated partners, including current firm chair William Kennedy and bond specialist George Campbell, were drawing only \$300,000. Litigators like Clinton, Foster, and Hubbell fared the worst under the old system, making \$75,000-\$175,000, according to this lawyer.

But Giroir and three current Rose partners deny that money was the root of the falling-out. They insist that Giroir chose to leave, prompted by conflicts of interest that arose when he was sued by two major banks that were also long-time firm clients.

When was the reason for Giroir's departure in 1988, since then Foster, Hubbell, and Clinton—known as "big, big buddies," according to one Little Rock lawyer—have come to wield significant power in the firm. In Clinton's case, it would appear, this is more because of who she is than what she

blue-chip legal credentials, a load appears light. But in a firm grappling with its loss of a single and dedicated to a consensus-based management style, Clinton's forthright personality seems to carry her far. Pugnaciousness and outspokenness are legendary, as was evident in famous "cookies and" re. concerning her career and conflict interest questions.

"[Clinton] knew she should have said that," says one Rose partner. "But she has this temper. She's very tempestuous."

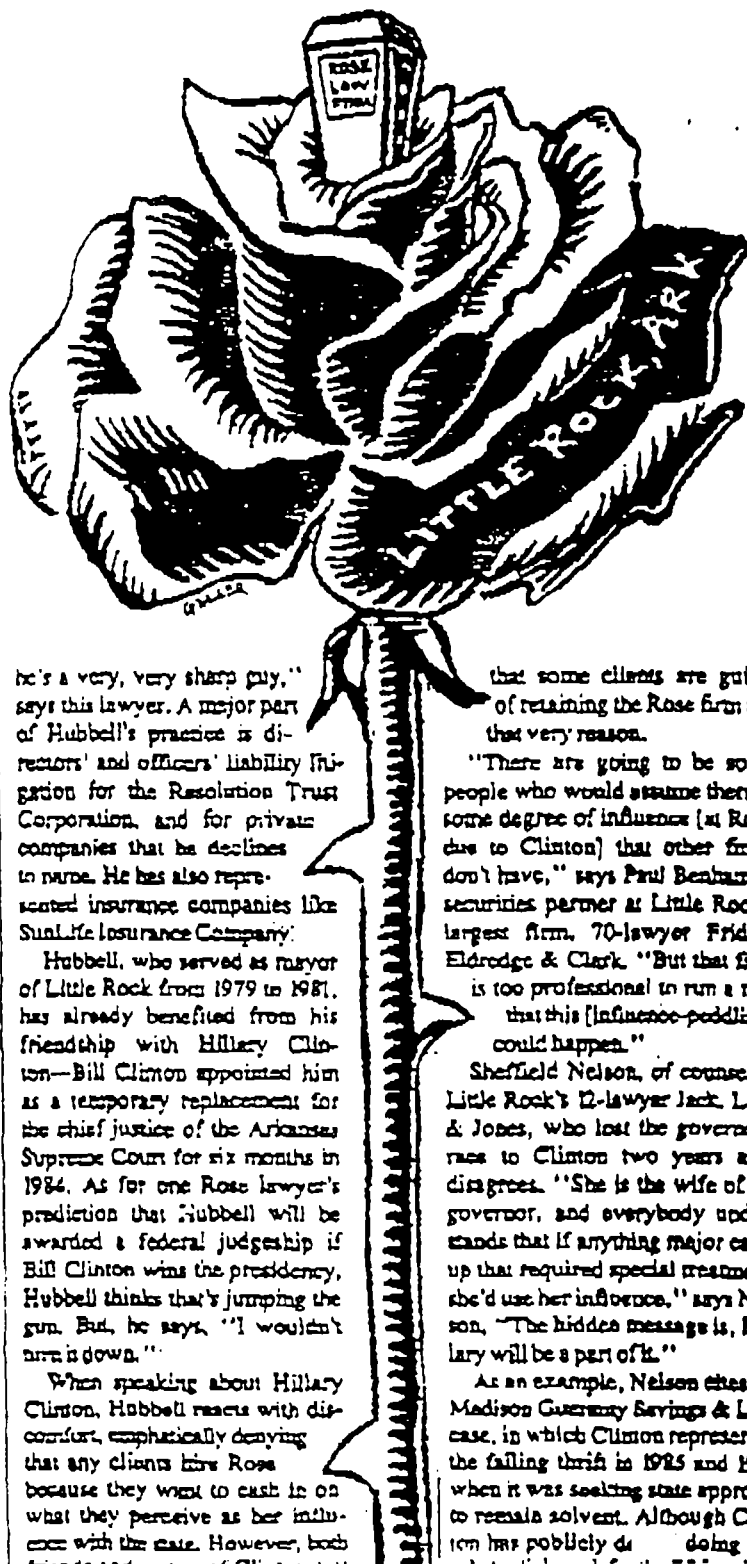
Should her husband make it to White House, Clinton will be in a position to reward her firm. Little Rock lawyers and one Rose lawyer say that Bill Clinton may award Foster or Hubbell governmental or judicial appointments if he becomes president. "He could be next attorney general," says a Rose lawyer of Foster.

But while Clinton is an asset to Rose partners, her presence pitfalls as well. Allegations swirling from a Washington Post article that Rose firm clients garnered special favors in dealing with the government and that Clinton profited from state business elicit passion and denials from firm partners. "It's abomination with no rational basis," declares Rose partner and bond specialist George Campbell. "It's all a bunch of lies."

"Hillary Clinton is either the Rose firm's biggest opportunity or its biggest problem," observes the Rose lawyer. "It'll depend on how they run with it."

STATE CONNECTIONS: THE NAGGING QUESTION
Pregnant honeymooner vines etc.

a Rose?



converted YWCA in which the 55 Rose lawyers are housed. Pickup trucks with gun racks nestle among Mercedes and Jaguars in the downtown firm's parking lot. Several vehicles sport Clinton For President bumper stickers. Inside Rose a group of wide-eyed teenage Future Business Leaders of Arkansas are being given a tour of the firm and are ushered past a row of portraits of deceased and retired partners, including that of Judge U.M. Rose, who joined the firm in 1865 and later helped found the American Bar Association. Further down the hall is the Rose Room, where the original 1820 handwritten partnership agreement is mounted, and where portraits of the two founding fathers, Robert Crinenden and Chester Ashley, are kept.

Visitors to Rose asking questions about Clinton and her role at the firm are immediately directed to litigator Web Hubbell's office. The duty of defending Clinton and the firm about conflicts issues has fallen in the lap of her good friend Hubbell, who is the firm's conflicts committee head. It is not a role he relishes. In fact, the 30 partners at the Rose law firm are about as attracted to the spotlight shining on Hillary Clinton as cockroaches are to sunlight. "We're a bit gun-shy," admits Hubbell. "Can you blame us?" he asks defensively.

The 44-year-old Hubbell was an offensive tackle for the University of Arkansas Razorbacks football team in the late 1960s, and with his formidable girth and height—he's 6 feet 5 inches tall—he looks like an ex-jock. He also acts like one, according to one Rose lawyer, implying that Hubbell enjoys playing on his good old boy image. "He gives you this 'I'm just a country lawyer' routine. But

he's a very, very sharp guy," says this lawyer. A major part of Hubbell's practice is directors' and officers' liability litigation for the Resolution Trust Corporation, and for private companies that he declines to name. He has also represented insurance companies like SunLife Insurance Company.

Hubbell, who served as mayor of Little Rock from 1979 to 1981, has already benefited from his friendship with Hillary Clinton—Bill Clinton appointed him as a temporary replacement for the chief justice of the Arkansas Supreme Court for six months in 1984. As for one Rose lawyer's prediction that Hubbell will be awarded a federal judgeship if Bill Clinton wins the presidency, Hubbell thinks that's jumping the gun. But, he says, "I wouldn't bet it's down."

When speaking about Hillary Clinton, Hubbell reacts with discomfort, emphatically denying that any clients hire Rose because they want to cash in on what they perceive as her influence with the state. However, both

that some clients are guilty of retaining the Rose firm for that very reason.

"There are going to be some people who would assume there is some degree of influence [at Rose due to Clinton] that other firms don't have," says Paul Benham, a securities partner at Little Rock's largest firm, 70-lawyer Friday, Eldredge & Clark. "But that firm is too professional to run a risk that this [influence-peddling] could happen."

Sheffield Nelson, of counsel at Little Rock's 12-lawyer Jack Lyon & Jones, who lost the governor's race to Clinton two years ago, disagrees. "She is the wife of the governor, and everybody understands that if anything major came up that required special treatment, she'd use her influence," says Nelson. "The hidden message is, Hillary will be a part of it."

As an example, Nelson cites the Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan case, in which Clinton represented the failing thrift in 1985 and 1986 when it was seeking state approval to remain solvent. Although Clinton has publicly denied doing any

was owned by a former contributor to her husband's campaign, Nelson says that there is no doubt why she was hired. "She had never done S&L work of that nature before," he says. "It's obvious she was there to bring whatever influence she could to bear on [the Arkansas Securities Department]." The S&L was closed by federal regulators in 1987.

But Lee Thalheimer, a partner at Little Rock's Arnold, Grobmyer Halcy who was Arkansas securities commissioner under Bill Clinton from 1981 to 1985, disagrees with Nelson's perception. He emphasizes that Hillary Clinton never stepped before the department or attempted to sway the agency in any way.

In any event, Hubbell says that Clinton's connection to the Madison Guaranty case is an anomaly, and that there is nothing unusual in the firm's relationship to the state, although Rose's bond work for the state has increased since Clinton joined the firm. Hubbell attributes this to overall rise in state bond activity emphasizing that the state had limited power to issue bonds until 1978. Further, he stresses, Clinton does not share in the fees from state bond work—whether the firm represents the state or its underwriters. Nor does she profit from other state work that has been awarded to Rose. In the past decade, he says, such as \$115,000 the Rose firm made in 1986 representing the state's public service commission in a nuclear power plant dispute, says Hubbell.

"We've ball it around her," explains bond partner Campbell. Revenues attributable to state work are held apart and distributed to all partners except Clinton, Campbell says. Net profit is

...and paid out to all the partners.
Not that Clinton is missing out on much. Her husband, Hubbell, the more amply functioning bond work to the firm, he says, asserting that the firm received just \$4,226 in fees from the state in 1991. According to the *Daily Record*, Little Rock's business journal, the firm ranked fourth in obtaining bond work from the Arkansas Development Finance Authority between 1983 and 1991, accounting for only up to \$173,000 in fees over those eight years.

Clinton has also faced scrutiny about her former role as a board member for two other Arkansas-based clients, WebMart Stores, Inc., and TCEY Enterprises, Inc., a yogurt company, for which she received \$12,500 a year until she resigned last May, according to Bill Clinton's financial disclosure forms. "[Clinton] is a great director. She pays attention to the issues," says William Creamer, general counsel at TCEY. "But in terms of any involvement between this company and her law firm, she's never exercised any unwarranted pressure on us to select her firm." (Still, Rose billed TCEY more than \$275,000 last year, says Creamer, noting that "there's a lot of billing to be had.")

Those conflicts of interest problems are usually more a question of appearance than anything else, insists general counsel David Knight of firm client Stephens Inc. "For example, the Rose firm represents Stephens. I was a former partner at the Rose firm, and I have done work for the Stephens family, which owns the Worthen Banking Corporation, and (former Rose partner) Joe Giroir was the chief executive officer of Worthen Banking," says Knight. "People think there is something insidious about all those relationships, but the fact of the matter is that lawyers practicing in Little Rock are faced with these intertwining relationship problems on a daily basis. People struggle with that, and they make sure their clients know."

PRODUCTION-BASED PAY

Although Rose partners like to describe their firm as a democracy, some voices at firm meetings are louder than others. Web Hubbell's is one of those louder voices. Another is that of litigator Vince Foster, 45, also a close friend of the Clintons. In contrast to Hubbell's blustery manner, Foster's style is much more corporate. His office, down the hall from Hubbell's, is a large brown room with brown carpeting and brown curtains. Foster himself is outfitted in a brown suit and wearing brown-rimmed glasses with a painstakingly placed brown tie. He is also a member of the firm's pocket.

Foster joined Rose after graduating from the University of Arkansas School of Law in 1971. Rose senior partner Philip Carroll, 67, was Foster's mentor, but over the years Foster started doing less of the insurance defense and Freedom of Information Act work in which Carroll is involved, and more business litigation including contract disputes, dealer-distribution terminations, and franchise disputes, recalls Foster. Now Foster represents clients like TCEY, which hired Rose for the first time in September 1990—three years after Clinton became a board member—to defend it in a class action securities fraud suit in federal court in Little Rock. (Foster recently won a motion in that case to deny certifi-



Litigation partner Vincent Foster, Jr.: Part of a powerful trio

Foster is "the soul of the firm," according to one Rose lawyer, and is respected as "the voice of reason."

fication of the plaintiff class.) Foster's other clients include Stephens, Springdale, Arkansas-based Tyson Foods Inc., a chicken processor, and WebMart.

Foster, who served as the firm's chief operating officer for the year preceding Hubbell's 1985-1987 term, is "the soul of the firm," according to one Rose lawyer. "Vince is the voice of reason. He is the most respected partner at the firm—not power hungry or money hungry."

Like Hubbell and Foster, Clinton commands a great deal of authority inside the firm, but not just because of her husband or the attention her name has for clients, says one former Rose lawyer. "She is influential because of the way she is," he explains. "She is articulate, and she has this presence—and it's not because she is the wife of the

governor."

"[Clinton] is a political animal," adds another former Rose partner. "She is good at manipulating people."

Mark Grobmyer, chairman of the MidSouth International Trade Association and principal partner at Little Rock's Arnold, Grobmyer & Haley, and a longtime friend of the Clintons, says that Hillary Clinton takes her role in the firm very seriously. "I brought [Tennessee senator] Al Gore's wife Tipper to meet Hillary back in 1988 during the presidential campaign," recalls Grobmyer. "We had to get Hillary out of a firm meeting, and the thing I remember most was how anxious she was to get back in that meeting."

Clearly, Clinton and her friends Foster and Hubbell have moved in to fill the void left when Giroir, the firm's guiding light from the mid-1970s to the

mid-1980s, was forced out—largely due to the efforts of a group of litigators including Clinton, Foster, and Hubbell. Litigation partners, say former and one current Rose law were dissatisfied with disparities between their compensation and the securities partners.

Those inequalities arose by virtue of the firm's compensation system developed by of counsel G. Williamson, 74, who is credited helping to lay the foundation growth at the firm. A Rhodes scholar revered at Rose as the quintessential Southern gentleman, Williamson joined Rose in 1946 after two years as lawyer at New York's Cabell, Don & Reinold, following his experiences as a prisoner of war in World War II. He worked primarily for the then Bank & Trust Company, then an important client, and daughter of the Worthen family, had a lot of connections," recalls Rose partner.

Williamson also ran a business from what then Arkansas's is department store, Cohe (which was sold and is no longer a client), as well as from several real estate and equipment companies. One of the more permanent business practices brought with him from his stint in New York was lawyer time-keeping, a practice he invented a few years before the 1950s he invented a new compensation process for Rose partners, called the "black book" system, according to one former Rose lawyer.

Under that system a partner's fee was based solely on collected fees attributable to that partner—measured both for matters the partner brought to that other firm lawyer died and those that he or she won. That number, based on a formula and kept in a black book, was accessible to any partner. The year's compensation arguments. The firm's treasurer would figure what percentage of the firm's fees were attributable to each partner, year, and average that figure with the previous four years. The year average percentage constituted partner's draw. New partners given an estimated average the year, based on the work they had as associates.

That production-based compensation system, which rewarded purely for hours billed and fees collected, was, and still is, accord senior litigator Carroll, one of the firm's most attractive selling points to new recruits. "A young lawyer worried about being on the bottom when pole doesn't have that profit our firm, expensive Carroll is a top money-maker. . . . This is place where the seniors take gravity."

On the other hand, securities partners fared better than litigators this system. The litigators were on a time-sheet mode of billing; the securities lawyers were charge premiums to their big clients—and to have those premiums distributed toward their colleagues. In 1986, for example, 25-year-old securities partner Lee made \$180,000, exceeding the 61-year-old Carroll by \$40,000, according to two former Rose lawyers. "That really stuck in the craw of the litigators," says one.

Hillary Clinton's Low-Key Legal Life

Though Hillary Clinton was named one of the country's most influential lawyers by the *National Law Journal* in 1988 and 1991, it would not seem to be for her work as a litigation partner. Last year's *NLJ* listing cites just two Clinton clients—Tyson Foods, Inc., which was brought to the Rose firm through former partner Joseph Girfort, and Haber Springs, Arkansas-based Aromatique, Inc., a company for which she handled a trademark infringement case. "I don't think Hillary Clinton would do anybody's shorthand," says one former Rose associate. "She's not real active in suits-and-bells legal work."

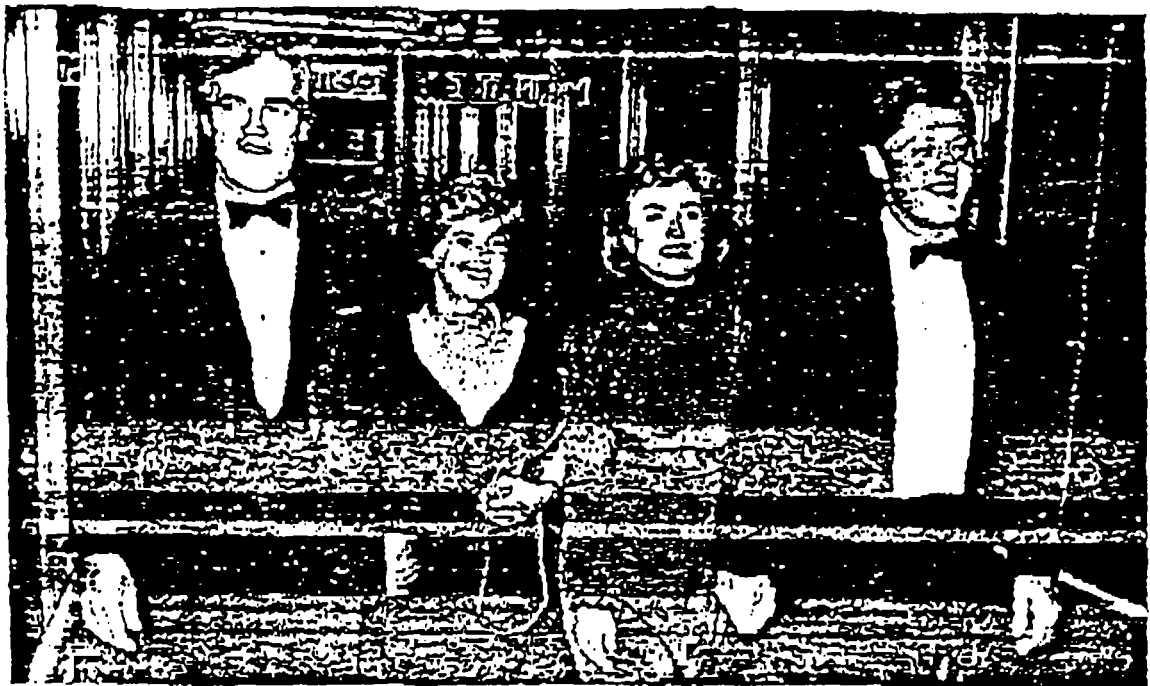
Clinton did develop the firm's intellectual property and patent infringement practice, but she has spent more time on the campaign trail, in boardrooms, and working for children's rights organizations than on handling her litigious duties. "As far as I know, she's tried only one case in the past ten years," one former associate asserts, referring to Clinton's work as local counsel in a 1986 Lantana Act case on behalf of Maybelline Products Co., Inc.

Clinton declined repeated requests to comment for this story. The Rose firm provided a list of "the [most] public cases have been reported where Hillary Clinton appeared as counsel or report for one of the clients," according to a letter partner Webster Hubbard. Decisions in seven of the nine cases were issued in 1987 or earlier. Though Hubbard writes, "I can assure you there are many, many other files on which [Clinton] worked," the firm declined to provide further specifics.

Although Clinton may not spend much time in court, her legal competency is unquestioned. In a firm where more than two-thirds of the partners earned their law degrees at the University of Arkansas, Clinton's Ivy League credentials are particularly impressive. President of the student government at Wellesley College and a 1973 graduate of Yale Law School, Clinton was a good catch, says one Rose partner. "You don't get out-of-state folks coming to Arkansas very often," this partner says.

However, contrary to some press reports, it was not Clinton's work establishing a legal aid clinic at the University of Arkansas that led the Rose firm to recruit her in 1977. Recalls head partner (re Campbell): "Herb was the one responsible for getting her," referring to bankruptcy partner Herb Rule. "Hillary was just a law professor [at the University of Arkansas]—that's all. But she was a very bright woman," Rule, a former member of the Arkansas House of Representatives, has been friends with Bill Clinton since Clinton's 1974 congressional campaign. Says Rule: "I was the point person on recruiting, and I got the word [from Bill Clinton] that she was coming, and I tracked her down. She had an interest and talents that would indicate that she would make contributions beyond the moment of law."

Indeed, before becoming a law professor, Hillary Clinton served on the impeachment inquiry staff of the U.S. House Judiciary Committee, helping to build the impeachment case against President Richard Nixon, and there's no doubt that any firm in Little Rock would have been interested in hiring her. Prior to her move to



The Clintons and the Fosters attending opening night of the Arkansas Repertory Theatre in 1983. From left: Rose firm partner Vince Foster; his wife, Liane; Hillary Clinton; Governor Bill Clinton

ationally known firm had talked seriously to Clinton about joining them. "We were quite interested in bringing her on," says Steven Orloff, a partner at Washington, D.C.'s Williams & Connolly. "Over the years I've probably talked to at least three hundred odd prospects, and I remember Hillary Clinton's interview—it must have been in the early 1970s—quite vividly. And I know Ed [Edward Bennett] Williams wanted to hire her too. But she decided to go to Arkansas."

Observes William Wilson, Jr., same partner of Little Rock's four-lawyer Williams, Engstrom, Corum & Dudley, who has worked with and opposed Clinton: "Hillary would have been a clean-up lawyer back in New York or anywhere. She is quick and gets right in the point. She doesn't meander. More of a blizzarding than an invasion-of-Normandy type of lawyer. There is no wasted motion."

Clinton, who made partner in 1979, appears to have spent the time she has devoted to firm work juggling the emotional demands of family law with the more economic concerns of commercial litigation. In between, Clinton also worked with other Little Rock lawyers on a variety of pro bono matters ranging from criminal law to a high-profile case concerning the redistricting of schools in Little Rock and two neighboring suburbs.

One former Rose associate, Thomas Marx, who worked at the firm from 1986 to 1988 in an office next door to Clinton's, recalls a child custody case in Arkansas Chancery Court that the two handled. "This was a real tough case emotionally," recounts Marx, who is now a name partner at Springdale, Arkansas's Staley, Harrington & Marx. "It involved a father who was living in Connecticut who wanted to get custody of his kids. I remember her closing remarks, which must have started at about nine at night. It was very moving, and the judge ruled in our favor right away. And getting custody for a father isn't always easy."

of Little Rock's Wright, Lindsey & Jennings who is considered a dean of the Arkansas trial bar, was similarly impressed with Clinton during a different child custody case in which he opposed her in the early to mid-1980s. "It obviously involved people of wealth and was body centered," says the 74-year-old Jennings in a booming voice that is well known in Arkansas legal circles. "There was a lot of evidence against my client that was not favorable, but what I think was the principal thing she did was to use depositions very effectively to search out additional evidence in her favor. She did not sit on her laurels because it looked better for her to begin with."

"Those kinds of cases are very tough," says Rose litigation partner Vincent Foster, who has worked closely with Clinton since she joined the firm. "She took domestic matters on, but it was not something that we were trying to encourage or promote at the law firm. So while she continued to do some family law quietly, she really was trying to build her commercial litigation practice." Foster says he is particularly proud of one victory of Clinton's in that area—a 1982 breach of contract action involving the purchase of Little Rock's KLR radio station by the Rose firm's clients for \$3 million. Once again, the loser was Alison Jennings. "Well, she was a still a young lawyer at the time, but she was not particularly green," notes Jennings wryly.

"There was some behind-the-scenes to the case because Alison [Jennings] was close friends with the owner of the station," says Foster. "Plus, we were very excited because we were trying a case against Alison. And we were even more excited to win."

Clinton also was attracted to intellectual property litigation. "We did not have any intellectual property expertise when she joined us," says Foster, who adds that Clinton got involved in this area through her work for the firm client Syncom, which

provides computer systems for universities. "She became sort of self-taught in all of this," explains Foster. "And you don't find a lot of intellectual property subspecialties in Arkansas. Quite frankly, the rest of us here thought of it as a language."

In 1988 Clinton, aided by former Rose partner Carol Arnold, now a partner at Seattle's Preston Thorgrimson Shidler Calais & Ellis, represented Aromatique, a manufacturer of fragrances, in a trademark infringement case in which it claimed that defendant Gold Seal, Inc., was using a package for its product so similar to Aromatique's that it would create the likelihood of confusion consumers. After a three-week trial in the Arkansas federal court, Judge J. Howard took the case under advisement. A decision is expected soon, according to Foster.

Arnold notes that she learned a great deal from working with Clinton, particularly about organizing trial preparation. "Hillary helped to recruit me," Arnold, who joined Rose in 1971, adds. "And she was certainly one of the reasons the firm was so attractive to me. Hillary was also very supportive of new lawyers and new female lawyers in particular. She made opportunities for people who worked with her."

These days Clinton is on the campaign trail supporting for her husband, while other partners are taking care of it at the firm. Apparently they don't mind. Not only does the production-based compensation system at Rose Clinton's draw relatively low—she took home less than \$150,000 from the firm last year, according to figures she provided to *Vanity Fair* magazine—but her affiliation has provided the firm with more valuable name recognition than all the PR efforts money can buy. "My view is, not contribute much as a lawyer," says one former Rose lawyer. "But she is [Bill Clinton's] wife, and they feel good about



Joe Giroir was the "most important lawyer here," a Rose partner asserts.



"[Giroir] ran roughshod over [the litigators] because he had the big-money clients," says one Rose lawyer of the split.

Indeed, the prime beneficiary under that compensation system was former firm CEO and securities specialist Giroir. After spending two years as an attorney in the Securities and Exchange Commission, Giroir joined Rose in 1965, becoming the first securities specialist in Arkansas, according to two Rose partners. By 1975 Giroir had leveraged that expertise to bring in some of the firm's then most lucrative clients, including Stephens Inc., Tyson Foods, Little Rock-based Systematic Information Services, Inc. (a company that provides computer systems for financial institutions), and Fort Smith, Arkansas-based Beverly Enterprises, a nursing home operator.

Giroir's forceful personality and star quality gave him an edge, say three of his former colleagues. "He is a walking fashion plate," says one. "He always appears youthful with this wonderful olive complexion, always immaculately well-dressed, and speaks like an eloquent movie star. . . . He is the epitome of a wheelbar-dealer."

The Rose partners soon recognized Giroir's importance and vision, and in 1975 made him the firm's first and only chairman of the board and chief executive officer, a position that he retained until his ouster in 1988. "Joe Giroir was the single most important lawyer here," says one Rose partner.

they sought out Giroir for his securities expertise. Giroir says he positioned the firm to take advantage of the boom. "We organized the firm in a way that was focused on institutional clients—mostly banking, corporate, and securities clientele," says Giroir. "My perception of where the law practice was going was that the institutional clients (like Worthen Banking and Stephens Inc.) that had needed corporate securities work for a decade would grow and need a commercial and litigator practice. . . . Until the mid-seventies in Arkansas, more litigation was personal injury, insurance, and routine contract disputes," he explains. "I had an idea that it would become important to build the commercial litigation capabilities."

THE GUIDING LIGHT GOES OUT

Under Giroir's direction the firm tripled in size, from 17 lawyers in 1975 to 53 lawyers ten years later. But while Giroir wanted a booming litigation practice, contention over compensation soon developed between the securities partners, led by Giroir, and the litigators. The securities section—primarily Giroir—was pulling in the most business, and for the first time the firm was able to charge huge premium fees for the increased interest and security

brought in the business decided how collected fees were allocated, if work that came in through the securities section also involved litigation, the litigators often were not credited for any of the hefty premium. Instead, it usually ended up in Giroir's column. Suddenly the firm's so-called productivity-based compensation system did not seem so fair, especially to the litigators.

"[Giroir] ran roughshod over [the litigators] because he had the big-money clients," says one Rose lawyer.

As grumblings from the partners increased, Giroir agreed that up to 20 percent of a partner's draw would be based on intangible additions he or she brought to the firm. Further, the executive committee would recommend to the partnership the amount of such compensation. For example, Hillary Clinton began receiving more money for, as one former Rose lawyer puts it, "enhancing the firm's reputation." Another former Rose lawyer explains that in her very public role as the chair of the Children's Defense Fund, and as a member of several corporate boards, not to mention her obvious draw as the governor's wife, Clinton brought more to the firm as a marketing tool than her productivity formula showed. (Still, according to figures the gave *Vanity Fair* in its May issue, Clinton took home less than \$150,000 from Rose last year.)

Despite Giroir's attempt to overhaul the compensation system, the partners were still not satisfied. "Joe's definition of change was too minor," says one Rose lawyer. "The general perception was that the securities lawyers were making more than their fair share." Responds Giroir: "There is always a certain amount of tension among any firm or family on how you divide the pie."

At the same time that Giroir was juggling these issues with his partners, he was also walking a tightrope between two careers—lawyer and business. In the early 1980s he made millions buying and selling stock in several Arkansas banks. He served as chair of the Arkansas Association of Bank Holding Companies, and in 1984 the First Arkansas Bankstock Corporation purchased Giroir's ownership in four Arkansas banks and elected him to its board of directors. He became a substantial shareholder in longtime client Worthen Banking Corporation in 1985 after swapping his 91 percent stake in First National Bank of Fayetteville for \$18.5 million worth of Worthen stock, and was later elected to Worthen's board.

Although many of these transactions brought work to the Rose firm, Giroir's wheeling and dealing did not fit well with everyone, recalls one Rose lawyer. "It was murky whether he was doing stuff as firm business or Joe's business," says this lawyer. Giroir says that at certain points he spent as much as half of his time on his own personal endeavors.

The straw that broke the camel's back for several disgruntled partners, according to one Rose partner and one former Rose lawyer, was when Giroir became embroiled in lawsuits stemming from his business dealings. As a board member of Worthen, he was

amount. "That conflict resulted in curailing a lot of our business with Rose law firm," confirms Worthen senior counsel William Keisler. "We've never really increased Rose firm's representation after circumstances to the level that it was Worthen, which had been providing Rose firm with several hundred thousand dollars in fees annually, according to Keisler, switched to Little R. Wright, Lindsey & Jennings, as other firms.

At about the same time as the 1985 then case, Giroir sued the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, then a top firm client. (The Resolution Trust Corporation and the FDIC are important Rose clients.) Federal regulators had seized the First Federal Association of Pine Bluff, which he was a shareholder, and refused to fund a loan commitment to it. However, FDIC counter-sued Giroir, charging that on firm letterhead Giroir had issued a legal opinion loan from which he would benefit before Giroir left Rose, the firm an insurance carrier settled with FS for an undisclosed amount. (One Rose lawyer says the firm's portion of settlement amounted to half a million dollars.)

Giroir says that the conflict of interest caused by his battle with FS prompted his departure, not the bitter partner compensation. However, one current and one former Rose lawyer say that both lawsuits were the nails in his coffin—that an ouster was inevitable. Regardless, in 1988 Giroir stepped down and sold his own firm the following month, eventually merged his practice with former Rose partner and securities specialist Walt Gregory III to form Giroir & Gregory. According to former Rose lawyers, Gregory decided to continue, but quit the firm a month before Giroir, dissatisfied with the changes that the firm making in the compensation structure.

"A RUDDERLESS SHIP"

With Giroir gone, the firm has begun to function without an overt authority figure, and to make its democratic management work. Partners vote on how much to reward each other for contributions to the firm other than fees billed, such as business generation efforts, client and a state management firm management and civic, bar association, and other activities. (Productivity, however, still accounts for at least 80 percent and usually closer to 90 percent of a partner's draw.)

As for the former referral fees ringleaders, that practice has been modified. In an indirect allusion to Giroir's former take, commercial secretary Charles Baker notes, "If you've got somebody doing all the work and somebody else who is just setting up, it's getting forty percent of that when that [first] person is going leave." Now partners are usually awarded a 25 percent referral fee, says Baker.

Without Giroir to steer the firm, former lawyer calls Rose "a rudderless ship." However, five Rose partners downplay Giroir's importance. "We have always been a democratic firm," insists partner William Keisler.



Partner Rich Hubbell. In line for a judgeship if Bill Clinton wins?

In a firm meeting "you can immediately see why [Clinton, Foster, and Hubbell] have power," says one former Rose lawyer.

detail the role of executive committee, the role of COO, and the treasurer."

What that means, though, is not more formalized leadership. The executive committee, for example, can make no major decisions without consulting the entire partnership. "The executive committee makes daily management decisions, but all planning decisions are brought to the partners to vote on," says Kennedy. "We sort of took that back [from Girvin]," he explains.

Nor does the COO have significant power. That part is seen more as that of a moderator than as a major decision maker; and the COO is not compensated as highly for time spent on administrative matters as on billable work. Further, as of two years ago the term of the COO was limited, so Kennedy will have to step down next year.

Since so much authority is needed to the partnership, the firm's partnership meetings are notoriously long and drawn out, according to three Rose partners. "Given the way the firm operates, it can be extremely frustrating," admits Kennedy. "But those are the normal inefficiencies connected with our democratic process."

At the same time, the process permits strong voices to prevail. If Foster, Hubbell, and Clinton join forces to push for something they want, "it's a done deal," says a former Rose

lawyer. "If you had ever seen these people in a firm meeting, then you can immediately see why [Clinton, Foster, and Hubbell] have power."

Two partners say Hubbell could become the next COO, but Hubbell is adamant in his refusal. "No way," he growls. "I became a lawyer because I wanted to practice law." And if Clinton becomes the first lady and either Hubbell or Foster or both accept a governmental or judicial appointment, other Rose partners will have to fill the gap. The absence of strong leadership will take its toll on the firm, according to one former Rose lawyer. "That lack of leadership will cause the firm to sink to the lowest common denominator," he says.

Before anyone can take the reins at Rose, bankruptcy and energy law specialist Herb Rule believes, his fellow partners will have to come to grips with the firm as an institution. "We need to focus on new management approaches . . . on how much should be decided by the executive committee, the COO, whether an executive administrator should handle certain things," says Rule. "Most frequently it's a question of how much control we as individuals are willing to cede to the center."

However, Rose partners are quick to dispel the impression that they are searching for a controlling hand. "We don't need dictators here, benevolent or otherwise," says one partner. □

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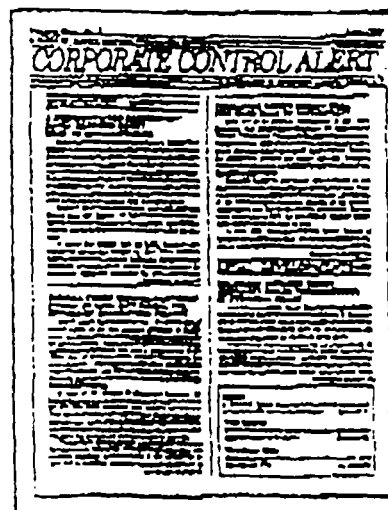
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H.R. Clinton's Case

Garry Wills

Millions of Americans were first exposed to Hillary Rodham Clinton as she sat loyally by her husband, Governor Bill Clinton, on *Sixty Minutes*. He was there to deny any liaison with the currently specified bimbo, though he conceded (indirectly) bimberies unspecified. His wife denied that she was like Tammy Wynette standing lachrymously by her man; yet that is exactly what she seemed at that humiliating moment. It would be a shame for people to continue thinking of her only in that role, since she is one of the more important scholar-activists of the last two decades. In 1988 and 1991, she was put on the list of America's most powerful lawyers by *The National Law Journal*, in recognition of her membership on corporate boards and her record as senior partner at the prestigious Rose law firm in Little Rock, where she has been an innovative litigator. In her fields of estate law, child custody, and children's rights, she was, for instance, the first trial lawyer in Arkansas to conduct the examination by satellite of a witness in a hospital outside the state.

But Ms. Clinton's record as a legal theorist and strategist is less recognized. Her academic record has been stellar (president of her class at Wellesley, first student to speak at a Wellesley commencement, an editor of the *Yale Law Journal*, legal counsel on the Nixon impeachment staff of the House Judiciary Committee, professor of criminal law at the University of Arkansas). But what set her apart from other successful and scrambling lawyers was her attempt to undergird practical activity with legal theory. She had become involved with the Children's Defense Fund after her graduation from Yale, and she deplored the ad hoc nature of reform efforts in a field where slogans and sentimental blunt responses to the right-wing defense of "family values" which tells the state, in effect, to "butt out" of what is the parent's sphere of sole discretion.

In "Children Under the Law," a 1974 essay for the *Harvard Educational Review*, she confronted that orthodoxy head on. Traditionally, children had been within what Blackstone called "the empire of the father," a position in which the children's very privileges came from their incapacity.¹ Wives, too, were within that "empire"; but they have become competent legal persons in the modern world, while that has not happened to children. Children are legally incompetent by reason of the disabilities that were their source of privilege—e.g., to the right of maintenance. At a time when young men were apprenticed at seven, or put to work in the fields, and young women bore children shortly after menarche, the law of minors was mainly concerned with the passing on of estates in the propertied class. But the cultural "invention" of adolescence, the introduction of child labor

laws, the lengthening of required or recommended periods of education. Now, she writes, created a large "twilight area" in which sexually and economically independent individuals are still "minors" for most legal purposes. The idea that a person is legally incompetent right up to his or her sixteenth or eighteenth or twenty-first birthday, and entirely competent one

mile courts. These are kept separate from ordinary courts on the grounds that children are still in need of protection; yet the very idea of holding minors responsible for their acts presumes competency—a presumption underscored by the Supreme Court's extension of due process protections to juvenile defendants (*In re Gault*, 1967). Yet four years after that decision, the Court refused to take under consideration the appeal from a lower

is no comprehensive theory of graduated maturity. Though Clinton argues that it would be impossible to establish a calibrated scale of increasing competence applicable to all children, she thinks that the effects of such a scale could be approached by a simple but radical proposal—to reverse the legal presumption of children's incompetence, to which extensive exception must be drawn up, and install a presumption of competence, to which exceptions no more extensive would be made.

There would be several advantages to this reversal. For one thing the area of admitted incompetence is small and more easily identified (the infant and physically unmastered stages) than is the large and complex area of growing competence. Children's advances in knowledge are explosive.

The presumption of competence would enlarge the number of factors that a court should include in its decision-making. When, for instance, the court decided a case against Amish parents for keeping children from public schools (*Wisconsin v. Yoder*, 1972), all the justices but one treated it simply as a matter of the parents' right to free exercise of their religion. Only Justice Douglas considered the child's right to educational advantages offered to all other citizens. A presumption of competence would have included that consideration in even Justice's ruling.

Some First Amendment rights have been defended for high school newspapers—rather illogically, in a scheme that leaves school activities to the discretion of the educators. A presumption of competence would assume, in the absence of proof to the contrary, that writers know what they are writing about and editors are responsible for what they edit. Since responsibility would increase liability (for things like slander), school administrators would still have the right to control their resources; but their relationship with a paper's editor would be more like that of an owner employer than of a patron-censor *in loco parentis*.

Clinton realizes that her proposal will be opposed by traditionalists who believe that the family is a politically exempt institution into which "the state" should not intrude. Senator James Buckley led the opposition to the Comprehensive Child Development Act of 1974, which President Nixon vetoed. But Clinton returns to a classical concept of all social activity as political. She also notes that political ideology is itself used to create the exemptions of the family from politics—e.g., by Roscoe Pound at Harvard, who argued that family autonomy makes for social stability. Even in practical terms, political interests have been at play in the legislation about minors' activities—e.g., when unions supported public education as a removal of child workers from the labor market, or agricultural lobbyists pushed for school lunch programs. Children are not exempt from the effects of politics just from political activity as their



THE WRITINGS OF H. R. CLINTON

Articles

'Children Under the Law' (1974) reprinted as the lead article in *The Rights of Children*, edited by Rochelle Beck and Heather Bastow Weiss. Harvard Educational Review Reprint Series, No. 9, 1982

'Children's Policies: Abandonment and Neglect' *Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 86, No. 7, 1977

'Children's Rights: A Legal Perspective' in *Children's Rights: Contemporary Perspectives*, edited by Patricia A. Vardin and Ilene N. Brody. Teacher's College Press, 1979

'Teacher Education: Of the People, By the People, and For the People' in *Beyond the Looking Glass: Papers From a National Symposium on Teacher Education Policies, Practices, and Research*. Center For Teacher Education, University of Texas, 1985

Speeches

'The Healthy Development of Our Youth,' Keynote Address to the Atlanta Convention of Southeastern Council of Foundations, 1988

'A Bridge Over the Mississippi,' Keynote Address to the Second Annual Urban Education Symposium at Memphis State University, 1990.

Keynote Address to the Conference on Adult Basic Skills and the Kansas Work Force, 1991

day later is so at odds with reality that law and court decisions have had to create a jigsaw pattern of exceptions that are decided according to the immediate problem and not with respect to any general theory of maturing responsibilities.

The clearest example of this is the series of compromises involved in

court's support for corporal punishment in schools (*Ware v. Estes*, 1971). This is just one of the many anomalies involved in a system that deals with marriage, alcoholic purchases, automobile driving, and economic credit in the penumbra of legal minority (incompetence).

The decisions in these matters are spotty and inconsequent because there

¹William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, Volume 1, A Facsimile of the First Edition of 1765-1769 (University of Chicago Press, 1979), p. 441, cf. p. 452: "Infants have various disabilities; but their very disabilities are privileges."

²Roscoe Pound, "Individual Interest in the Domestic Relations," *Michigan Law Review*, Vol. 14 (1916), pp 186-187.

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own responsibility.

In "Children's Rights," her second major article on the subject, published in a collection of papers by Columbia University's Teacher's College, Clinton developed the arguments framed six years earlier. The argument for a presumption of children's competence is presented here not just as one of several approaches but as an urgent priority: "The first thing to be done is to reverse the presumption of incompetency and instead assume all individuals are competent until proven otherwise." She also lays new stress on children's responsibilities as the inescapable correlative of children's rights: "This [regnant] 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."

Ms. Clinton's role as an activist for children's rights took on a new urgency in Arkansas, a state whose backward educational system has limited its citizens' futures. As a superachieving young lawyer in Fayetteville, the academic enclave where she began to teach law, she was frustrated—according to her Fayetteville friend from Yale Law School days, Richard Atkinson—by the attitude many of her students expressed, that they could not be expected to perform very well or rise very high because "we are only Arkansas folk."

When her husband became governor, he appointed Ms. Clinton to head a committee to raise educational standards in Arkansas. As an outsider from Park Ridge, a suburb of Chicago, she felt it necessary to gain community support for any proposals her committee would advance, so she began an exhausting round of county-by-county hearings where her emphasis was on a consumers' rights approach to education—that parents have a right to the best performance from teachers whose salaries they pay, but also that children have a right to the best product they are "buying" by their attention during their most educable years. Against the heavy opposition of the teachers' union, Ms. Clinton won popular support for the idea of testing teachers, as part of a program that would go on to give standard tests to pupils. The latter, she argued, was impossible without the former. The student must first have a right to good education before assuming the duty to show a return for the state's investment of tax money in his or her future.

To charges that the first tests given to teachers were too low in their standards to raise the instructors' abilities very far, Ms. Clinton responds that it was first important to establish the principle of responsible performance. Then, when the state provided opportunities for remedial instruction of teachers who failed, it established a further principle—that of continuing education for the educators. Testing, in this view, should not be a mere certification of education achieved but a means of improving education as an opportunity for career advancement. Ms. Clinton has outlined a comprehensive program for improving edu-

cation of would-be educators at all public schools, a program that has won the support of the very teachers' union that opposed testing in the first place. (See her essay in *Beyond the Looking Glass*.)

"Comprehensive" is the key word in Clinton's thought on social problems. She wrote an essay-review in the *Yale Law Journal* criticizing Gilbert Y. Steiner's 1976 volume, *The Children's Cause*, for its recommendation that an overall strategy for dealing with children's problems be abandoned for politicking to achieve such targets of opportunity as Headstart or day care. Clinton knows only so much can be done in any political situation; but it should be done, she feels, as a part of a larger strategy of interconnected rights. Attempts to improve education are useless if malnourished, damaged, or homeless children prove uneducable. Children's rights and women's rights are at odds without a scheme of day care that recognizes both. Economic competitiveness is impossible without improved education performance, and that is impossible in the American (as opposed to the Japanese) system without increased student responsibilities.

Clinton has studied the treatment of children in many countries, as part of her duties as cochair of the Children's Defense Fund. After an inspection tour of France in 1990, she wrote an op-ed piece for *The New York Times* (April 7, 1990) in favor of the French approach to child care since it is "a coordinated, comprehensive system, supported across the political spectrum, that links day care, early education, and health care." The French plan involves continual testing and certification of day care centers, and it recognizes without equivocation the state's responsibility to children as citizens.

As a "Yankee" in Arkansas, Ms. Clinton has been surprisingly successful at winning support for programs that have a radical basis. Her arguments for children having responsibilities contributed to passage of the state's requirement that pupils stay in school if they are to get and retain driver's licenses. But she argues, as well, for parents' duties to their children—as in the law that provides for court enforcement of a school's summons to a parent whose child needs counseling. In the past, the child's rights were asserted vicariously through the parent. Ms. Clinton sees those rights as, at times, to be asserted against the parent. This has always been recognized in abuse cases, but she would extend it much farther.

She would also use state facilities to

"There was a reversal of the protective status of the parent when Bill Clinton testified in support of his mother's petition for a divorce in 1962. The fifteen-year-old's deposition contained only questions about his alcoholic stepfather's abuse of his mother, not of him or his younger brother. But one cannot assume much legal enlightenment in a system that still began divorce petitions in 1962 with the standard first clause 'That both the plaintiff and the defendant are members of the white race.'" Garland County Chancery Court records, April 14, 1962

help the parent achieve an education for his or her child. In her community visits to create support for explicit education standards, she was struck by the frequency with which impoverished mothers failed to talk to their babies; they were not aware how speech patterns are deciphered even by infants. She brought back from Israel the unhappily named Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youngsters (acronym HIPPY). This was designed for immigrants from North Africa whose children had too few skills to take part in the normal day care centers. By showing the mothers how to teach basic skills to their children, the program instilled pride in the parents as well as proficiency in the children. Pilot HIPPY programs are proving a success in Arkansas.

Ms. Clinton is a feminist. She helped compile the state's *Handbook on Legal Rights for Arkansas Women* in 1977 and its updated versions of 1980 and 1987. Objections from voters made her, reluctantly, begin to use her husband's last name; but her feminism is a thing she has made acceptable to different political audiences. She clearly gets a warm response when talking in this vein to an audience containing a number of women who were or had been teachers:

One thing which I think would improve the quality of education about 100 percent in five years is to increase by one-hundred-fold the number of women superintendents and principals.... I think if you go into schools and talk with the people who understand children and are sensitive to their needs, many of them are women who have absolutely no chance of exerting leadership in the present system. What I find after going from school to school, is that the good teachers, many of whom are women, have adapted a strategy of defensiveness toward the outside administration. They basically close their doors and say, "I'm not going to let those people get to me and my students; and I'm going to do the best I can this year." The principal, who is often a fellow who took the night courses and wrote the thesis at the school of education about basketball theory, and is working his way up to superintendent, doesn't have a clue about how to get the most out of his teachers, how to encourage that development, that spark, that enthusiasm. He's not a bad guy, he's a good guy. But he is not a leader in education.

It is natural to wonder how far Governor Clinton agrees with Ms. Clinton's promotion of "activist" state programs in child care, health, and education. The couple's public disagreements are rare. One such is the

"H. R. Clinton, "A Bridge Over the Mississippi," keynote address to the Second Annual Urban Education Symposium at Memphis State University, 1990.

"H. R. Clinton, "The Healthy Development of Our Youth," keynote address to the Atlanta Convention of Southern Council of Foundations, 1988.

governor's support for parental notification before an abortion. This is at odds with his wife's presumption of competency in the young woman seeking an abortion, and she opposes notification.

Clinton is accused of being "soft on business," trying to lure industry to his state with tax breaks. Ms. Clinton is also on friendly terms with big business, as one can tell from her activity on the boards of important firms in her state (like Wal-Mart and Tyson Foods). She argues that educational standards create the talent pool for future jobs, and has recruited business support for programs like HIPPO. In fact, she says that luring business for its own sake is futile *unless* some commitment to the community can be elicited:

Now remember back six years, ten years, to what we in this part of the country thought of as economic development. We thought it consisted of enticing someone from somewhere else to come here. "Smokestack chasing" is what it was often called. If we could just convince someone to get out of "crummy old dying Detroit" or Chicago and move to Kentucky or Tennessee or Arkansas or Georgia, we were going to be moving right along. Of course, in the last six years, we have seen how many of those industries that we got to move from Chicago and Detroit have moved on to Taiwan and Bangladesh. And we have seen something more important—that economic development cannot depend on what kinds of jobs we bring here as much as on what we do to invest in our people, to become more self-sufficient, to generate more of our own economic opportunities.

Governor Clinton would find that hard to argue with, whatever the exigencies that limit his freedom of action as an office holder. If, as some claim, his "new pragmatism" means giving up comprehensive social programs, then he is not in accord with his wife's thinking, which has been spelled out with clarity and is exemplified in her later actions.

Some wonder what his wife would do in Washington if her husband should be elected. She never, so far as anyone knows, even considered giving up her law practice when Clinton took up his post as attorney general of Arkansas and then as governor. But a national "first lady" in the courtroom is hard to imagine. Her friends boost her as the next attorney general—a job for which she is, on the record of courtroom experience and legal theorizing, far better qualified than was Robert Kennedy, another close member of a president's family. Others see some such role in her future whether Bill Clinton wins or not. Her mother told me, "I was disappointed that Sandra Day O'Connor was the first woman appointed to the Supreme Court." She had always assumed that her daughter would win that honor. Whatever lies before her, she was right to tell us that she is not like Tammy Wynette. □

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Who's That Guy On the Ticket With Hillary?

"If you vote for him, you get me."

—Hillary Clinton

That's how the spouse of Bill Clinton modestly describes her role in a Clinton presidency. Maybe it's time to take her at her word and start imagining Bill and Hillary Clinton as the first First Couple of the post-feminist era.

Who is Hillary? On the stump, she sounds like Tammy Wynette, standing by her man's standard lines. But as she was quick to tell "60 Minutes," she's also much more. In her work and writing, she has revealed herself as the archetype of the modern lawyer as social and political activist. She is both a feminist and ardent liberal.

Strong convictions are surely to her credit. But especially because her husband likes to be all things to all voters, understanding the politics of Hillary is crucial to understanding what a Clinton presidency would really be like. Is her protean husband standing by his woman?

Ms. Clinton has staked out her views in speeches and articles that deserve more

Potomac Watch

By Paul A. Gigot

publicity. Liberal Garry Wills, who knows a fellow-traveler when he sees one, made a survey and came away dazzled in the New York Review of Books. His theme was amplified by a caricature portraying a giant Hillary behind a puny, faceless Bill.

Mr. Wills is thrilled because Ms. Clinton is a leading theorist of the "children's rights" movement. She has long promoted a legal doctrine that would declare children to be "competent" persons who would have wide standing to sue their parents.

"Decisions about motherhood and abortion, schooling, cosmetic surgery, treatment of venereal disease, or employment, and others where the decision or lack of one will significantly affect the child's future should not be made unilaterally by parents," she wrote in 1979.

This is more radical even than it sounds; if adopted by the Supreme Court, her theory would give the state a wedge to pry into family decisions. It is wild enough that even the intrusive Warren and Burger courts never went along. It's just what our lawsuit-happy society needs: Kids suing dad over a job at McDonald's.

Ms. Clinton even sides with the late liberal Justice William O. Douglas's lone dissent against a 1972 decision that let Amish parents keep their children out of public schools for religious reasons (*Wisconsin v. Yoder*).

This mentality informs her politics. She believes in—no, swears by—the virtues of government social work. Ms. Clinton, who has been her husband's education point-

person in Arkansas, told an audience in 1990 at Memphis State University that the public "school has to become more of a center for coordinating and delivering services" to children. So schools that can't even teach English are somehow supposed to become surrogate parents, too.

It shouldn't surprise that Ms. Clinton also endorses expensive, publicly run day care. In 1990, even many liberals in Congress abandoned this sort of Great Society notion in favor of vouchers. But Ms. Clinton, as chair of the Children's Defense Fund (CDF), lobbied hard for the nanny state. It's a safe bet that CDF's founder, Marian Wright Edelman, would end up in a Clinton cabinet. This doesn't sound like "reinventing government," a favorite Clinton theme.

All of which helps explain why her husband, a supposedly "moderate" Southerner, was endorsed by so many Northern liberals over a truer believer such as Tom Harkin. They may wonder about Bill, but they're sure about Hillary. She is the essential glue of his unlikely Democratic "coalition."

Jim Hightower, the tub-thumping Texas populist, says Bill Clinton's "instincts are good." But what really makes Mr. Hightower "comfortable are the good people around him, starting with Hillary," he says. "She's a real progressive. . . . I feel she'd be his conscience as president."

Her allies—known to some as "Hillarynistas"—have clout inside the Clinton campaign. Top strategist Mickey Kantor is a Los Angeles attorney who helped create LBJ's War on Poverty; he knows Hillary from their days together on the board of the Legal Services Corp., the subsidy tap for activist lawyers. Eli Segal, a Boston businessman and frequent adviser, has ties to both Hillary and Bill going back to the McGovern campaign. Judith Lichtman, of the Women's Legal Defense Fund, and a leader in the anti-Clarence Thomas crusade, doesn't work for the campaign, but is said by friends to be an adviser to Hillary.

Is it fair to link a candidate with the views of his spouse? In the post-feminist age, I think so. If a candidate's wife is now First Partner the way Hillary claims to be, her politics will shape his policy.

Betsey Wright, former chief of staff to Mr. Clinton, proudly asserts that, "She would make contributions to the policy choices of this country far beyond the ways First Ladies ever have." Hillary could be to a President Clinton what both Eleanor Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins were to FDR, confidante and power broker.

So why aren't our liberals and feminists crowing? Perhaps they're waiting for the day after the November election. Smart Republicans won't be so shy. If the Clintons win their party's nomination, there may be two races this autumn: Bill vs. George, and Hillary vs. Barbara.



Hillary Clinton

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Bill Clinton's Hillary problem

Obviously, Gov. Bill Clinton's choice of a running mate will go a long way towards signaling whether he plans to run a mainstream campaign; whether he plans to pull the Democratic Party away from the influence of the far left.

While Clinton has shown a pronounced affinity for moderate Democrats, as well as a measure of courage in standing up for centrist values — consider the Sister Souljah affair — it now emerges that his campaign has significant links with the far left.

Those ties cannot be severed: Hillary Rodham Clinton, the presumptive nominee's wife — and a key campaign adviser — embodies them.

LEFTIST ACTIVISM

An important article by Daniel Wattenberg in the August issue of *The American Spectator* makes it clear that Hillary Clinton has maintained ties to left-extremist groups over the course of her professional career. She has supported radical organizations both as a scholar/activist and as a foundation officer.

This might be disturbing news about Gov. Clinton in any event. But because Bill Clinton has made it clear that Hillary will play an important political role in any Clinton administration — "Vote for him, you get me free," is the way she often puts it — Mrs. Clinton's political affiliations merit closer scrutiny.

Part of what's most troubling about Hillary Clinton consists in her work as a "children's rights" activist — an orientation she embraced shortly after graduating from Yale Law School. She's fought for causes we deem altogether insidious. Her effort to give children standing in the law to sue their parents represents a clear case in point.

This stance is part of an intellectual and political battle that she and others have been waging against the very concept that children are minors. In Hillary Clinton's world, the whole notion of children as minors is a form of discrimination. Suffice it to say that this is an exceedingly radical stance, even within Politically Correct legal circles. (It's possible to oppose child abuse without rendering all parents and all children "equal" before the law.)

DERIDED THE FAMILY

A contempt for the traditional family animates the activists engaged in this battle. And, indeed, in one of her essays on "children's rights," Mrs. Clinton dismisses the family as a social arrangement which rationalizes "depriving people of rights" — rather like "marriage, slavery, and the Indian reservation system."

Hillary Clinton, to be sure, offered these thoughts in 1974. But her left-radical views appear not to have been tempered by time or by her experiences as the First Lady of Arkansas. In 1987, she became chairman of the board of directors of the New World Foundation.

The foundation, incorporated in 1964, doles out the Anita McCormick Blaine fortune. (Mrs. Blaine, 11

traveler, was a leading "angel" of the pro-Soviet National Guardian, a weekly that — according to newly available information — was also supervised by the KGB.)

The New World Foundation, under Hillary Clinton's aegis, gave grants to a number of extremist organizations, including the Committee in Support of the People of El Salvador (CISPES), a group tied to the Communist Party USA and supportive of Salvador's Marxist guerrillas. Hillary also approved grants to the Christie Institute, a loony-left organization that specializes in lavish lawsuits against imaginary "secret teams" in Washington. (The "teams" are supposedly manned by CIA agents and Laotian mountain tribesmen, among others.) Last year, the Christies were ordered to pay damages for filing frivolous lawsuits.

Hillary Clinton also directed money into the coffers of the Old Left/New Left National Lawyers Guild — once the American Communist Party's legal arm, now a fringe-left lawyers' collective — and to William Kunstler's Center for Constitutional Rights, an outfit with a parallel political orientation.

CORPORATE ANOMALY

Daniel Wattenberg notes in *The American Spectator* that Hillary Clinton's propensity to funnel foundation money into the institutions of the American hard left stands as unmistakable evidence that she hasn't put her 1960s-era radicalism behind her, notwithstanding a career as an establishment corporate lawyer who sits on the boards of establishment corporations.

There's nothing particularly unusual about this seeming contradiction, just as there's nothing unusual about wealthy radicals who decry capitalism while living off Fortune 500 dividends. The only thing that's genuinely interesting about Mrs. Clinton's ideological orientation is the fact that her husband may well be the next president of the United States.

If so, given her campaign role, it's fair to wonder whether the Christies and other New World beneficiaries will enjoy access to the White House. It's even fair to wonder whether posts in a Clinton administration will be reserved, say, for ex-CISPES members and/or members of the National Lawyers Guild.

HE WON AS CENTRIST

Wattenberg's article has a good deal more in it. The piece isn't remotely comforting, but it repays careful reading. We wouldn't raise these issues at this juncture were it not for the fact that we see a lot of promises in Bill Clinton's candidacy. He won the Democratic nomination campaigning as a centrist and we ourselves endorsed him in the New York primary.

We remain open as to November. We now feel a need to learn more about Mrs. Clinton, her actual relation to the campaign and her current political sensibilities. Moderates within the Democratic

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NANCY Q. KEEFE

COMMENTARY

Knowing Clinton like nobody else: candidate's wife

When the horses are barely out of the starting gate on the far side of the track, you can't tell them apart. You pick one on looks or colors or name. But you really just want a horse that finishes in the money.

So, too, with Democratic candidates for president this year. Gone are the imposing muscularity of Mario Cuomo and the slim Virginia elegance of Doug Wilder. Five candidates remain in the race, two of them probably forgettable. The three others aren't exactly memorable, with their two-syllable, all-American names and interchangeable looks.

Why, then, have so many Democratic Party leaders and officeholders — 50 of them in Westchester as of Tuesday — signed on with Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas?

Early converts

Maurio Sax, a teacher at Rye High School, likes what Clinton says on education.

David McConnell of Pelham heard Clinton speak two years ago at Yale and thought: "He's a comer."

Naomi Matusow, lawyer, state committeewoman and former candidate, says, "He can win."

That might sum up the feeling of most of the people at the White Plains home of Allison Greene and Oren Teicher on



Hillary Clinton

Tuesday. Despite the dreadful weather, 107 turned out to hear Bill Clinton's message as delivered by Hillary Clinton, the candidate's wife.

Which is a little like listening to a trainer tell you how good her horse is, his record in other races and how this is the right one — the horse for the course, as they say along the rail. It's not from the horse's mouth.

Poise and savvy

But when it's Hillary Clinton talking, you could become a believer. She has the trial lawyer's poise and savvy and gift of gab, and she projects the sense of compassion you would want from the national chairman of the

She talked about the "wedge politics" and failed policies of George Bush and about Clinton's thoughts on the economy, health care and, especially, education.

"With Bill Clinton," she said, "you would get a real education president, not just a photo opportunity." She ticked off four things "to make our economy work and to give opportunity to people."

"The first is to fully fund Head Start to give every child in this country a chance to be successful." Applause.

Then, "put some real teeth behind the national education goals," which Clinton helped write.

"For our kids who do not go to college, ... a national apprenticeship program."

For middle-income people, who have difficulty sending their children to college, a national service trust fund, from which college students could borrow. They would repay either by direct payroll deduction or with two or three years of national service in their communities, as police officers, teachers aides, child-care workers, for example.

She went on to say, to wild applause, that Clinton is pro-choice and had been for the 20 years she had known him. She used the issue as an example of an agonizing division in our diverse nation, she said, to show "how a president needs to take a position that, even if it's controversial, is more likely to lead to unity."

13 minutes of selling

It was a stunning performance — 13 minutes of meaty talk with no notes followed by substantive answers to questions from the crowd. Later, in an interview, I asked her:

How does a nice girl from Chicago who went to Wellesley in the '60s and Yale Law School and worked for the House impeachment staff in the Nixon era like it in Little Rock, Ark.?

She threw back her head and laughed.

"I like it a lot. ... I never would have ended up in Arkansas if I hadn't met Bill Clinton and just been bowled over by him. ... The last thing in the world I thought of was that I'd live in Arkansas or be married to the governor. Life has a funny way of providing challenges."

Her reaction had a wonderful spontaneity, so uncharacteristic of most people in campaigns, whose faces might crack if they smiled.

Naomi Matusow put on her coat to leave and said, "I've just found another reason to back him. Her."

Yes, but wouldn't it be even better to back her?

Nancy Q. Keefe's column appears Tuesday, Thursday and Sunday.



Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton kisses wife Hillary at a meeting of governors.

Pols saw in Clinton's wife potential to be president

By Joan I. Duffy
MEMPHIS COMMERCIAL APPEAL

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. — 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.

Miss Wright saw big things in the future for the young blonde 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 Miss Wright, who later became the manager of most of Mr. Clinton's campaigns for governor.

"I'm certainly not crying over spilled milk," she added. "Her relationship with Bill Clinton has yielded a rare partnership."

Mrs. 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," she said.

By most accounts, Hillary Rodham Clinton, 44, a partner in a prestigious old-line Little Rock law firm judged by the National Law Journal as one of the 100 most powerful in America, is Mr. Clinton's biggest asset in his race for the Democratic presidential nomination.

"She has been absolutely critical to Bill Clinton's success," Miss Wright said. "They have probably the strongest partnership I have known in a 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."

Mrs. Clinton 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 Mr. Clinton, who is now 45, failed to gain a second term as governor.

Mr. Clinton was returned to office two years later, Miss 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.

When the educational reform program that first drew national attention to her husband passed its critical legislative test, state Rep. Lloyd George leaned back on his cowboy boots and announced, "I think we elected the wrong Clinton."

It was Mrs. Clinton who sketched out the couple's so-far-successful response to rumors of his womanizing. She established her right to a "zone of privacy."

"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 particu-

larly scurrilous handbill appeared on Little Rock windshields.

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

She went east for college — winning election as student president and graduating with honors from Wellesley in the Boston suburbs — and met her husband at Yale Law School. She first noticed him in a student lounge, bragging about the size of Arkansas watermelons.

"He came home with her one Christmas. I don't think her father was too impressed," her mother said.

Mrs. 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 Nixon, joined her husband on the staff of the University of Arkansas Law School. Shortly after he was elected state attorney general in 1976, she joined the Little Rock law firm.

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

• Distributed by Scripps Howard



Life in the campaign fast lane

Hillary Clinton puts in full day on voters' trail

STORY BY ELLEN CREAGER,
PHOTOS BY MARY SCHROEDER

Hillary Rodham Clinton courts the voters of New Hampshire with handshakes, smiles and persuasive talk about why her husband, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, deserves the Democratic nomination for president.

With the New Hampshire primary only five weeks away, candidates need all the exposure they can get. Clinton last week hit Manchester, Amherst, Portsmouth and Hampton, N.H., and was headed for Lanconia in the snow.

Clinton says she's a good spokesperson for her husband. "We see the world in a very similar way and spend a lot of time talking about issues we care about . . . we are very much committed to public life."

A Chicago native, Clinton, 44, has been first lady of Arkansas during her husband's five terms.

She is one of three Democratic wives campaigning for their husbands to be the challenger to President George Bush in November. The others are Ruth Harkin, wife of Iowa Sen. Tom Harkin, and Niki Tsongas, wife of ex-Massachusetts Sen. Paul Tsongas. The other Democratic candidates, Bob Kerrey and Jerry Brown, aren't married. And Shelley Buchanan, the wife of Republican challenger Pat Buchanan, prefers to stay home rather than campaign.



For more on Hillary Clinton, see page 10.

Hillary Clinton campaigns for her husband at a luncheon in Amherst, N.H., attended by Democrats, Republicans and independents.



Martha Washington wouldn't make it now

MATES, from Page 1H

gas (Mass.), U.S. Sen. Tom Harkin (Iowa) and Bill Clinton all are married to lawyers. On the Republican side, conservative pundit Patrick Buchanan's wife, Shelley, is the only wife to echo a traditional Pat Nixon-type role — "Her job is to stand beside her husband," says Don Miller, a press spokesman for the Buchanan campaign. "She wouldn't feel comfortable speaking in public."

Hillary 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.

"What you see if you look at history is that first ladies did in the White House what they did before they went to the White House," says Harkin, sitting in her cluttered, bright office at the prestigious law firm Aiken, Gump, Strauss, Hauer & Feld in Washington, D.C. "If you're asking me if I could ever imagine a situation where a first lady could work for pay while in the White House, yes, I could. And if we had a woman president, we wouldn't expect her husband who had worked his entire adult life to suddenly be hanging out. I've been working since I've been 14. Hanging out is not something I'm familiar with."

Some Americans were put out by Rosalynn Carter's spending each day in her office and even attending cabinet meetings while her husband was president, "but in hindsight, I will say she's charted the way for what's coming," says Tsongas.

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.

Margaret Taylor, Zachary Taylor's wife, stayed in the shadows; Dolley Madison sought the limelight. Eleanor Roosevelt was often vilified for her role as social reformer, Nancy Reagan for her coolness. The educated Lucy Hayes was admired as a "new woman" of the 1870s. Frances Cleveland and Jacqueline Kennedy were thought beautiful; Grace Coolidge and Barbara Bush were thought warm. Edith Wilson was called the "secret president" for her role while her husband was paralyzed by a stroke.

"I, and yet, not I — this was the wife of the president of the United States, and she took precedence over me," wrote Coolidge about her years as first lady.

The new political women

Of the three would-be first ladies,

TIDBITS ABOUT THE WANNA-BE FIRST FAMILIES:

WHEN ASKED whether Shelley Buchanan worked outside the home, Buchanan spokesman Greg Mueller said, "I don't know."

TOTAL CHILDREN? Seven girls, one boy. Kerrey has a boy and girl; the Clintons have one girl, the Harkins two girls and the Tsongases three.

Brown has no children; neither do the Buchanans.

NIKI TSONGAS went to Michigan State University in 1964-65, before transferring to Smith College in Northampton, Mass.

By Ellen Creager

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 speaks forcefully, almost urgently.

"It makes me crazy that I have worked 20 years on issues like helping children, and today I wake up and my country has one of five children in poverty. I just don't understand it," says Clinton, who is campaigning for her husband nonstop but also preparing for two trials at work and keeping in touch with her daughter, 11, back in Little Rock. "This is something much bigger to me than my husband's candidacy. I'm not going to stand by and not participate."

On the other hand, she's trying not to think too much about being first lady. "It's like talking about a no-hitter," she says.

Tsongas, 45, is campaigning six days a week in New Hampshire from her home base of Lowell, Mass. She has time because last year she closed her law office and decided to hold off on starting another job while her husband campaigns. They have three daughters, ages 10, 14 and 17.

"I liked studying law better than practicing law," she says, sitting in the living room of her Victorian-style home. "I knew I couldn't do a campaign, be a lawyer and be a mother at the same time. You can do two, but three? For me, I couldn't have done it."

What kind of first lady would she be? She's been both a traditional political wife and a working wife. Tsongas sees the three Democratic contenders' wives as a transition between the Barbara Bush stay-at-home generation and future working first ladies.

"You cannot change the reality of who you are. You can't really plan for it other than to hope you have the resilience you need."

Harkin, 47, who has daughters ages

10 and 15, plans to take a couple of leaves from her job to campaign in New Hampshire for her husband. Though a former elected official herself — prosecutor for Story County, Iowa — Harkin says, "I could never stand to be in a legislative position, God, no. But my husband loves it." She describes her role as her husband's political adviser "and comic relief, definitely."

When she campaigns for him, "obviously, I'm not talking about what my beliefs are," she says. "After all, who really cares what my beliefs are? You are deciding on the candidate's views."

Still a man's goals

The strange thing is, as accomplished as all these women are, they still have not broken the traditional rule of political wives — never outshine your husband (although one Arkansas state legislator once remarked after hearing Hillary Clinton speak, "They chose the wrong Clinton.") His dream is still her dream; his goal, the presidency, is her goal, and she will make the sacrifice to put his career first. These days, there is more to give up — salary, power, personal status of one's own. Clinton and Harkin each earned about \$120,000 last year, according to published reports. But perhaps there is more to gain. If Tom Harkin is elected, Ruth Harkin might figure out how to do her job on the side and still be first lady. If Bill Clinton is elected president, Hillary Clinton may turn the first ladyship into an equal, if separate, power base. She has the fire of political ambition burning in her veins, same as her husband.

"Two for the price of one, that's what we say," says Richard Mintz, a campaign aide to Hillary Clinton.

"What you're going to see down the road are people running for office whose spouses have never helped, who are completely concentrating on their own careers, and they are not going to be so willing to abandon everything — husband or wife — to fill this role we

expect of first lady," says Tsongas.

The flip side of this is, will a more serious, work-centered generation of first ladies be tolerant of America's interest in their hair, clothes, cooking and decorating?

Not entirely.

"You can't take all that seriously," says Clinton with exasperation, who nevertheless is carefully dressed and made up. "Some days my hair will look good and some it won't. I don't live or die by how my hair looks, and I'm not going to live or die by what anybody else thinks my hair looks like. That's not how I value my life."

These three women also reflect the choices that women all over America face. How do you support a family, find meaningful work, keep your marriage together, yet still find time to breathe?

Harkin, Clinton and Tsongas juggle all the balls with aplomb, standing on tiptoe, doing pirouettes and also making a whole lot of visits to New Hampshire. If nothing else, they know what it's like when you lose your sitter, or you have a sick kid and can't miss work, or you have a conflict with your husband over dinner, or you forget whether quality or quantity time is better.

According to a new book, "Cuomo," N.Y. Gov. Mario Cuomo is such a workaholic that his wife, Matilda, had to call him at the office one Sunday to remind him to come home — it was her birthday and she had a houseful of guests.

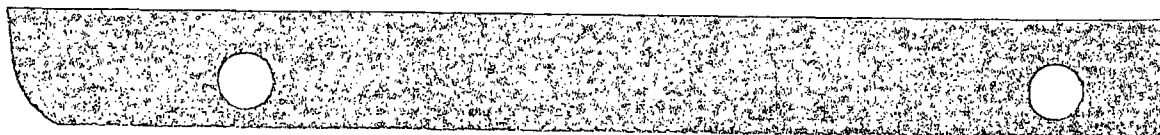
"That's ridiculous. I would never be married to someone like that," says Harkin. "My husband would have planned the party."

For a Christmas gift, the Harkins gave each other time — "What we always give, a trip to the Bahamas" over Christmas vacation. The Tsongases meant to give each other memories, but nobody found time to go out and buy the camera. Bill Clinton gave his wife a pin, a necklace and a watch. She gave him symbols: games and a ceramic frog playing the saxophone, "because there's an old saying in his family, you can't tell how far a frog will jump till you punch him," she says.

These maybe first ladies, all in their 40s, may turn America's notions of first ladyship on its head, if they get to the White House. Precedent? That's only back as far as you can remember.

If Abigail Adams could hang her laundry out to dry in the East Room of the White House, who's going to complain about a first lady calling her office once in a while?

TIPPER GORE



Los Angeles Times

December 16, 1986, Tuesday, Home Edition

**HEADLINE: URGES LEGISLATION FOR WINTER 'CRISIS ASSISTANCE';
WAXMAN SEEKS NEW HOMELESS AID**

BYLINE: By MARK LANDLER, Times Staff Writer

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY: A leading congressional advocate of federal aid to homeless people said Monday that he will sponsor legislation for "crisis assistance" this winter in the areas of medical care, shelter and food.

Rep. Henry A. Waxman (D-Los Angeles) said in an interview that he is drafting a bill to authorize an emergency appropriation of federal funds for the community programs, shelters and soup kitchens that serve a homeless population estimated to number between several hundred thousand and 1 million.

"Many of these men, women and children have serious health needs that are not being met," Waxman said at a hearing of the House Energy and Commerce subcommittee on health and the environment, which he heads.

The subcommittee is gathering information on the number of homeless Americans and their problems, so that it can propose a comprehensive aid plan.

In the meantime, Waxman said, he hopes the emergency measure can be approved early in the upcoming congressional session so that improved services can reach the homeless this winter. He said it has not been decided how much money should be requested.

'No Clear Strategy'

"It is embarrassing that the federal government has no clear strategy for meeting the medical and mental health needs of the homeless," he said.

Tipper Gore, testifying on behalf of mental-health care groups, said the U.S. Conference of Mayors estimated in 1985 that the number of homeless people increases by 25% each year. Gore, who is the wife of Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (D-Tenn.), added that a third to a half of all homeless people suffer from serious mental illnesses.

She urged that Congress commit more than the \$140 million proposed in last June's homeless health-care bill. "Let's not let the cold and federal inaction claim lives," she said.

Although President Reagan last year approved changes in federal guidelines to make it easier for homeless people to receive assistance from Medicaid, the federal medical plan for the poor, many homeless people do not qualify because they hold menial jobs that pay enough to exceed the income limits, Waxman said.

Diane Sonde, director of a New York City program that helps street people, said many hospitals "will not see people without Medicaid cards" because they fear they will not be reimbursed.

Low Income, No Insurance

"People working at low income levels have no health insurance," Waxman said.

Health experts told the subcommittee that federal support of mobile health and outreach programs is crucial to improving care of the homeless. Phyllis B. Wolfe, executive director of one privately supported program here in Washington, estimated that the project serves 75% of the district's homeless population.

She added, however, that at the current level of financing, "I don't think it is fair to say that we are meeting those needs."

Under Waxman's emergency measure, such programs would receive more money to pay for staffing and supplies and to begin offering new services.

Wolfe said that care of convalescents is a major, unaddressed problem with the homeless. Unable to afford hospital stays, patients who have no suitable place to go are often discharged soon after a serious injury or illness.

No Place for Recovery

Such patients frequently end up in shelters or halfway houses, where conditions may impede their recovery. "The shelter is a totally inappropriate place for crutches," Wolfe said.

Janet Waxman, Rep. Waxman's wife, said that Los Angeles, with an estimated 50,000 people living on the streets, is the "homeless capital of America." She said that facilities in Los Angeles for the mentally ill without homes are "sadly inadequate" and that these people are treated "horribly" in shelters.

She said that she supports expansion of community-outreach programs similar to those in New York and Washington, and the staffing of shelters and soup kitchens with people who are trained to treat mental illnesses.

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November 2, 1985, Saturday, Final Edition

HEADLINE: Accord on Lyrics Labeling; Firms, Parents Agree To 2 Warning Options

BYLINE: By Richard Harrington, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY: The recording industry and two parents' organizations, after months of wrangling over labeling of "explicit" song lyrics, yesterday announced a two-pronged compromise to settle the issue. Everyone claimed to be satisfied.

The parents' groups -- the Washington-based Parents Music Resource Center (PMRC) and the national Parent-Teacher Association (PTA) -- praised the agreement as a significant victory for consumers, even though they appeared to have gained few concessions from the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA).

In dealing with lyrics involving sex, violence or substance abuse, record companies will choose between two options: They can print a four-word warning ("Explicit Lyrics -- Parental Advisory") boxed and lined on the lower quarter of back covers. Or they can print the potentially offensive lyrics (on back covers or on lyric sheets under the plastic wrap) so that consumers can judge for themselves.

"We feel this is a win situation for everyone who is involved," Ann Kahn, president of the 5.6 million-member PTA, told a news conference at the National Press Club. Calling the clean-lyric controversy "a consumer issue from the beginning, one in which consumers have the right to have full information before they purchase any product," Kahn hailed the agreement as "a major step forward in giving parents more information on which they and their families can make responsible decisions."

"We welcome all aids to parenting," said Pam Howar, president of PMRC, the group founded earlier this year by the wives of several congressmen, Reagan administration officials and other members of Washington's political establishment.

"This constructive policy is intended to respond sensitively to the concerns of parents of younger children and to achieve a fair balance with the essential rights and freedoms of creators, performers, and adult purchasers of recorded music," the RIAA policy statement says.

In return for the voluntary labeling effort by the recording industry, the parents groups agreed to continue urging Congress not to get the government involved in formulating standards. Both the PTA and PMRC insisted they had not been seeking a legislative solution, though that possibility had been raised by several senators during a mid-September hearing of the Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation.

The main thing parents' groups seem to have given up is the right to define the word "explicit." Stickers or lyric sheets would appear only on records containing "explicit" material -- yet no specific definition was adopted, and all decisions will rest with the record companies themselves. "There are no guidelines -- explicit is explicit," said RIAA head Stanley Gortikov.

Tipper Gore, wife of Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (D-Tenn.), said that PMRC's members "have faith" that the record companies "will make those judgments with the concern of the parents with younger children in mind."

Another apparent loophole is that artists whose contracts give them control over the design of their album covers are free to ignore the understanding. But Howar said her group would monitor the record industry's compliance with the agreement, adding that letter-writing campaigns and other consumer pressures would be put on artists and companies that do not go along with it.

Gortikov, whose 44 RIAA member companies account for 85 percent of record releases in the United States, said that 22 companies, including all the majors, had already agreed to the new policy, and other record companies, including those not aligned with the RIAA, were being urged to follow the guidelines. The procedures are expected to take effect in 60 to 90 days.

There is still some dissension within the industry, however. Danny Goldberg, president of Gold Mountain Records and head of the Musical Majority, an industry group lobbying against lyric censorship, said "we remain adamantly opposed to labeling because it raises the same question as any rating system," including interpretation of lyrics. Nevertheless, Goldberg added, "We are urging record companies to follow the second option." While many Musical Majority members "feel it was probably a mistake to make any concessions to what I consider to be a right-wing pressure group hiding behind concerned parents," he said, "we don't have any objection to people reading lyrics, and welcome the opportunity for the rhetoric to be lowered and for us to be able to go back to American music business as usual."

Gortikov pointed out that "the number of records that might be considered objectionable is minute" and insisted that the agreement didn't "jeopardize or dilute the rights and freedoms of creators and recording artists, who must be assured protection against censorship." Kahn noted that the PTA has, in its 90-year history, always been opposed to censorship. All three organizations indicated that they would object to any pressure against stores carrying stickered products.

Since there is no room for lyrics on cassettes, companies that decide on the lyric-printing option will substitute the statement, "See LP for Lyrics." Ironically, that creates another major loophole in the agreement, because 60 percent of all music sold today is on cassette, and for rock music, that percentage is even higher.

Asked if the two parents' groups had not gotten far less than they wanted, PMRC cofounder Susan Baker, wife of Treasury Secretary James Baker, replied, "We had to give some. They had to give some. This is a start."

In response to a question about Frank Zappa's upcoming "Porn Wars" record, which uses snippets of testimony from the Sept. 19 hearings, Baker said, "we think Frank Zappa ought to give us some royalties."

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The New York Times

September 29, 1985, Sunday, Late City Final Edition

HEADLINE: ON THE USES OF POWER BY MARRIAGE

BYLINE: By IRVIN MOLOTSKY, Special to the New York Times

BODY: For a while, the Senator expressed puzzlement as to why the committee was meeting, why there were so many well-known witnesses and why so many onlookers were crowded into the hearing room.

Was there a bill under consideration? asked the Senator, J. James Exon, a Democrat from Nebraska.

No, replied the chairman of the Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee, Senator John C. Danforth, a Republican from Missouri.

Then what was the reason for the hearings? Mr. Exon asked.

"The be-all and end-all of everything is not legislation," Mr. Danforth replied.

What Senator Danforth left unsaid was that some of Washington's most powerful, most influential people had provoked such interest that the hearing had, perhaps, become inevitable.

The issue was whether anything could be done about lyrics to rock music that many people considered offensive, and the people who had brought it to the foreground were the wives of many leading men in the Government, in this case wives of six House members, a member of the Cabinet and 10 Senators, some of them on the Commerce Committee.

Parents Music Resource Center

The wives had organized a group, the Parents Music Resource Center, to rally support for their contentions that some rock-and-roll lyrics are sexually explicit, violent, disrespectful of parents and glorifying of drugs and alcohol, and therefore potentially harmful to children.

When they wrote to Stanley M. Gortikov, the president of the Recording Industry Association of America, they left nothing to chance, signing their own names over the typed names of their husbands. For example, the handwriting said Sally D. Danforth; the typescript said Mrs. John C. Danforth.

They got a speedy reply from Mr. Gortikov, who later agreed to ask record makers to put an advisory label on records and tapes with potentially offensive lyrics. But the group says that the use of their husbands' names only got them in the association's door, that after that the issue was decided purely on its merits, including the scheduling of the Congressional hearing.

"Access," said Tipper Gore, wife of Senator Albert Gore Jr., a Tennessee Democrat. "I think that's all we have - access. I think that anyone who would imply more might be wrong."

Mrs. Gore noted that the wives group had been able to draw attention to a problem where others had failed. "The P.T.A., which has 5.6 million members, tried for a year and a half to get people to pay attention and got nowhere," she said. "Because Susan Baker and I were involved, we were able to get doors opened. The record industry answered our phone calls." Susan Baker is the wife of the Treasury Secretary, James A. Baker 3d.

Senator Danforth, in remarks supported by other members of the committee, agreed that the hearing had drawn attention to the issue, but he said he did not immediately see how Congress could pass any law regarding lyrics.

Among the lyrics that the wives group considers offensive are those of "Darling Nikki," sung by Prince on his "Purple Rain" album, and those of "Like a Virgin," sung by Madonna.

The membership of the group is not limited to wives of Congressmen, but it did not recruit any women who serve in Congress. A consultant to the group, the Rev. Jeff Ling, said it was not intended to be a Congressional group but rather a "parents" group. "It is not meant to be exclusive of them," he added. "If women in Congress wanted to join, the doors would be open."

At the Senate hearing, Mrs. Gore and Mrs. Baker answered questions from, among others, Mrs. Gore's husband. In fact, of the 17 Senators on the committee, five were husbands of signers of the letter to Mr. Gortikov.

"All these people have kids or grandkids," Mrs. Gore said of the women's motivation.

She said she and Mrs. Baker had had a lot of luck in winning supporters by participating in radio call-in shows around the country, which they can do by telephone without leaving their homes here. "Don't miss the point because of our access," Mrs. Gore said. "The interest is there." She said the wives had received many small contributions as a result, and a few large ones, including \$5,000 from Mike Love of the Beach Boys, a group that Mrs. Gore says does not sing obscene lyrics despite suggestions by the former Secretary of the Interior, James G. Watt, that the group was not family oriented. (Mr. Watt even tried to have the group barred from the Fourth of July

celebration on the Mall.) When it was suggested that a Congressional supplicant might find it advantageous to donate money to the wife of a Senator, Mrs. Gore said none of the wives had used their husbands' fund-raising machinery.

And what of ambition? The Senate has been a fertile field for raising Presidential aspirations in recent years, and Mrs. Gore's husband is among those who have been mentioned as a possible contender.

"We haven't even considered that question," Mrs. Gore said when asked whether the wives were concerned about helping or possibly hindering their husbands' careers. "I see this as my thing, not my husband's. I don't see this affecting my husband one way or another."

Asked whether Mr. Gore had asked her to get involved in the issue or to avoid it, she said, "Neither, but as it has evolved, he has been sympathetic - as a parent. It is irrelevant to the issue that he is a Senator."

'An Activist Before I Married'

"I was an activist before I married my husband," she said. "I protested the Vietnam War and I worked for civil rights. This is not the wife of a Senator who has suddenly gone nuts."

In addition to Mrs. Baker, Mrs. Danforth and Mrs. Gore, those who signed the letter to the Recording Industry Association of America were:

Georgia Packwood, wife of Senator Bob Packwood, Republican of Oregon; Nancy Thurmond, wife of Senator Strom Thurmond, Republican of South Carolina; B. A. Bensten, wife of Senator Lloyd Bensten, Democrat of Texas; Peatsy Hollings, wife of Senator Ernest F. Hollings, Democrat of South Carolina; Rosemary D. Tribble, wife of Senator Paul S. Tribble Jr., Republican of Virginia; Teresa Heinz, wife of Senator John Heinz, Republican of Pennsylvania; Penny Durenberger, wife of Senator Dave Durenberger, Republican of Minnesota; Jeanne H. Simon, wife of Senator Paul Simon, Democrat of Illinois.

In addition, Sharon Sawyer Archer, wife of Representative Bill Archer, Republican of Texas; Carol Vander Jagt, wife of Representative Guy Vander Jagt, Republican of Michigan; Nancy Schulze, wife of Representative Richard T. Schulze, Republican of Pennsylvania; Chris Downey, wife of Representative Thomas J. Downey, Democrat of Long Island; Ruth Frenzel, wife of Representative Bill Frenzel, Republican of Minnesota, and Olivia Barclay Jones, wife of Representative James R. Jones, Democrat of Oklahoma.

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Chicago Tribune

September 20, 1985, Friday, SPORTS FINAL EDITION

HEADLINE: SENATORS CONSIDER ROCK AND ITS ROLE

BYLINE: By Dorothy Collin, Chicago Tribune

BODY: Raunchy rock lyrics, earnest country singers, wives of powerful men, the farm problem and assorted U.S. senators all came together in the stately marble halls of Capitol Hill Thursday.

Among the highlights:

-- Susan Baker, wife of Treasury Secretary James Baker, spelled out a sexual verb from a rock lyric; the word is unprintable in a family newspaper.

-- Dee Snider, a member of the heavy-metal rock group Twisted Sister, accused Tipper Gore, wife of Sen. Albert Gore (D., Tenn.), of slandering him because she intimated that he was "sexist."

-- Singer Willie Nelson, organizer of Sunday's "Farm Aid" concert, revealed to a packed press conference held by Sen. Alan Dixon (D., Ill.) that he raised a prize hog when he was a boy.

-- Sen. Edward Zorinsky (D., Neb.), caught up in the spirit of a stampede of fellow senators, aides and reporters who were following Nelson, muttered: "What am I doing?"

The day began with a hearing before the Senate Commerce Committee on the content of rock and roll lyrics, an issue given considerable publicity recently partly because it has interested several prominent Washington wives.

Perhaps not coincidentally, some of the women, including Mrs. Gore, are married to members of the Commerce Committee.

Sen. John Danforth (R., Mo.) acknowledged there was "zero" chance legislation would come from the hearing but said, "We want to provide a forum for ventilating the issue, bringing it out in the public domain."

The problem, the senators and witnesses said, is that rock lyrics and images have changed from the days of the Rolling Stones' slightly steamy sentiments.

"The outrageous edge of rock and roll has shifted its focus from Elvis' pelvis to the saw protruding from Blackie Lawless' codpiece on a WASP album," said Mrs. Baker, a founder of Parents Music Resource Center, the group leading a drive to put warning labels on records.

"Rock lyrics have turned from 'I can't get no satisfaction' to 'I'm going to force you at gunpoint to eat me alive,' " Mrs. Baker said.

"Cole Porter's 'The birds do it, the bees do it' can hardly be compared with WASP's 'I (bleep) like beast,' " she said, spelling out the expletive. "The proliferation of songs glorifying rape, sadomasochism, incest, the occult and suicide by a growing number of bands illustrates an escalating trend that is alarming."

To illustrate the problem, witnesses presented rock videos, such as "Hot for Teacher," album covers and a long recitation of some of the rawer lyrics.

The reading ended after Rev. Jeff Ling, a consultant to Parents Music Resource Center, recited a particularly earthy lyric dealing with several bodily functions. Danforth informed him that his time was up.

Singers Frank Zappa, John Denver and Snider presented the case for singers and lyric writers. Zappa, a hero of the counterculture when there was a counterculture, wore a banker's gray suit, short hair flecked with gray and a bald spot.

He said he thought it might be a good idea to distribute printed copies of a record's lyrics to buyers so they would be aware of objectionable material.

But he also said: "I think this whole matter has gotten out of proportion. From the beginning I have sensed it is someone's hobby project."

Denver said he thought the drive against explicit lyrics was based on a foundation of fear. Paraphrasing President Franklin Roosevelt, Denver said, "The only thing they have to fear is fear itself."

Sen. Ernest Hollings (D., S.C.), who called the music in question "porn rock," replied, "President Roosevelt never heard these records."

Denver retorted, "I think the things he heard were far worse."

Zappa and Denver were one thing. Snider--who arrived wearing his rocker uniform of jeans, armless T-shirt and roughly 3 feet of blonde-black, frizzed hair--was another. His appearance left Hollings' mouth hanging open.

Snider informed the senators that he was a father and a Christian and did "not drink, smoke or do drugs."

He contended that the lyrics to "Under the Blade," which have been called examples of sadomasochism and bondage, really were about his guitar player's surgery.

Despite accusing Mrs. Gore, who was present, of slander, he seemed to be doing all right until Gore asked what his fan club's initials, SMF, stood for. The answer was explicit, and unprintable.

After the theater of the rock hearing, the appearance by Willie Nelson and singer Neil Young at a meeting with senators on the Agriculture Committee was tame.

Senators grouped around the singers for pictures before they held a closed-door session to discuss farm problems.

After the meeting, Nelson told of his hog-raising prowess, Young talked about his 2,000-acre spread in California and everyone deplored the plight of the farmer, who was not present.

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The Houston Chronicle

May 14, 1993, Friday, 2 STAR Edition

HEADLINE: Washington

BYLINE: Houston Chronicle News Services

BODY: Aviation chief nominated

President Clinton, ending his quest for a federal aviation administrator, nominated David Hinson, a marketing executive with the nation's No. 2 aircraft manufacturer, for the job.

Since January, Hinson, 59, has served as executive vice president of marketing and business development for the commercial division of Douglas Aircraft Co., manufacturing unit of McDonnell Douglas Corp

He began his civilian aviation career as a pilot with Northwest Airlines in 1958 after three years as a carrier-based Navy fighter pilot.

Sessions parley delayed

Attorney General Janet Reno has postponed a meeting with FBI Director William Sessions to discuss his future until she has the assistance of Philip Heymann, who is awaiting confirmation as deputy attorney general, a Justice Department official said.

It marked the second postponement of the meeting.

The Senate Judiciary Committee has scheduled a hearing Tuesday on the nomination of Heymann, a Harvard law professor who headed the Justice Department's criminal division in the Carter administration.

Mrs. Gore airs concerns

Tipper Gore urged Congress to make sure that mental health and drug and alcohol abuse are covered adequately in any national health care plan, a position echoed by a Republican senator who has been a leading critic of deficit spending.

The vice president's wife, who is an adviser to the White House Task Force on Health Care on mental health issues, complained of "the medical-industrial complex systematically refusing to approach mental health with fairness and justice. "

Mrs. Gore assailed the insurance industry for limiting benefits for mental illness while imposing no comparable restrictions on benefits for serious physical problems.

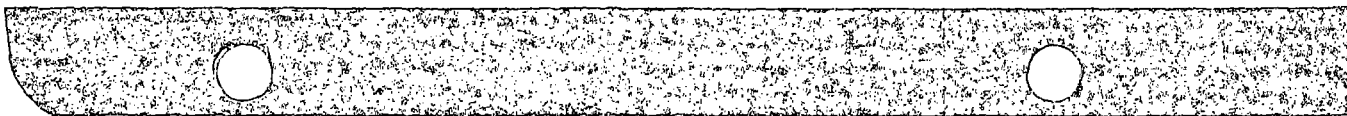
Clinton on TV today

President Clinton's news conference at noon today will be televised by several news outlets.

CBS, CNN, Fox, C-SPAN and NBC had decided by late Thursday to televise the news conference.

ABC had not made a decision.

BARBARA BUSH



The Washington Times

December 11, 1992, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part A; NATION; Pg. A3

HEADLINE: Cold, rainy Christmas pageant

BODY:

With President Bush at the switch, the 18 1/2-foot National Christmas Tree is lighted last night on the Ellipse before the president, actress Lucie Arnaz and Santa (Willard Scott) bid goodbye to the soaked spectators.

Q Press
may ask
her Christmas
week

Tree
Annual
①

you may
remember it was
during this press
around last year
that Mrs. Bush
made her appeal
to the press on
your behalf

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December 2, 1992, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE B1

HEADLINE: The First Lady, in the Holiday Spirit;
Tells Press to Go Easy On Hillary Clinton

BYLINE: Donnie Radcliffe, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

A kinder, gentler Barbara Bush offered her version of peace on Earth and goodwill to her successor yesterday: an appeal to reporters to go easy on Hillary Clinton. At least at the outset.

"I hope you treat her as well as you treated me," Mrs. Bush said at a ceremony to receive the White House Christmas tree. "I mean, give her a break."

When a reporter protested that "we haven't done anything," she said her criticism was of the political cartoons that have depicted Mrs. Clinton as the real power-to-be in the White House.

"Ugly," she said of the portrayals. "It's just not fair. She's going to be just great -- let her do her thing."

Meanwhile, the First Lady did one of her favorite things yesterday when, for the 12th and final time, she rode a cherry picker 38 feet in the air to place a star atop another tree, the official National Christmas Tree standing on the Ellipse behind the White House. Some startled passersby broke into applause when they saw the white-haired woman in the cherry-red suede coat ascend a Colorado blue spruce in the company of grandson Walker Bush, 3, and Pageant of Peace head Joseph Riley.

She started hanging the stars in 1981, when her husband was vice president and Nancy Reagan couldn't make it. Before Mrs. Bush knew it, she'd become as much a tradition as the stars she hung.

"I'm going to be in the Guinness Book of Records," she kidded yesterday.

She got, if not the next best thing, then something arguably close when she was presented with a special National Park Service citation from Director James Ridenour and Regional Director Robert G. Stanton for her part in lighting up the holiday skies.

Earlier, at the day's first ceremony, she received the White House tree, an 18 1/2-foot

Oregon grand fir that will grace the mansion's Blue Room. As is tradition, the tree arrived by horse -drawn wagon driven by the tree's grower, Oregon State Sen. Bob Kintigh of Springfield. With him were his wife, Lynda, and National Christmas Tree Association President Borden Nanney, who were greeted by Mrs. Bush and her granddaughter Marshall Bush, 6.

It was in chatting with reporters that she made her plea on behalf of Mrs. Clinton, and at the same time she softened some harsh cracks she had made about the press two weeks ago when the First Lady -to-be arrived for a White House tour. Referring to the media looking on, Mrs. Bush cautioned Mrs. Clinton to "avoid this crowd like the plague." Yesterday, with many of those same reporters and photographers clustered around her, Mrs. Bush seemed to have undergone a change of heart. If Mrs. Clinton wants "a good time," she said, she was going to tell her to "see the press."

"I'm going to recommend weekly luncheons," she said.

"So there were good times too?" someone asked.

"A lot of good times," she replied.

She denied that yesterday's events were bittersweet in the aftermath of her husband's defeat. "We're really looking forward to heading back home," she said. And she sketched the Bushes' Christmas plans as involving the entire family, both at the White House and Camp David.

Official duties yet to be dispatched include the actual lighting of the National Christmas Tree, scheduled for Dec. 10 at 5 p.m. When the president throws the switch, he'll illuminate the spruce as well as 57 smaller Douglas firs surrounding it representing the 50 states, the District of Columbia and the U.S. territories.

At that event, President Bush will share the spotlight with the Children's Chorus of Maryland; actress Lucie Arnaz; country singer Lee Greenwood; actress Keshia Knight Pulliam; NBC "Today" show weatherman Willard Scott; the cast of Ford's Theatre's "A Christmas Carol"; and the U.S. Coast Guard Band.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, MRS. BUSH, WITH GRANDSON WALKER BUSH AND PAGEANT OF PEACE'S JOSEPH RILEY, PUTS STAR ON THE NATIONAL CHRISTMAS TREE.
LARRY MORRIS

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The Washington Post

December 24, 1991, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE C7; ON THE DIAL

HEADLINE: Merry Music and More

BYLINE: Jeffrey Yorke, Special to The Washington Post

BODY:

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At 7 p.m., the ABC station airs another in the series "Mrs. Bush's Storytime," featuring the First Lady reading "The Ugly Duckling"; Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf reading fables; ABC anchor Peter Jennings, "The Cremation of Sam Magee"; actor Jaleel White reading a Kwanzaa story; and President and Mrs. Bush reading "Potato Pancakes All Around" and " 'Twas the Night Before Christmas." The president and Mrs. Bush return for more storytelling during Christmas Day specials at 9 a.m. and 7 p.m. (WMAL will air the series Sundays at 7:30 a.m. through Feb. 16.).

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Los Angeles Times

December 22, 1991, Sunday, Orange County Edition

SECTION: Business; Part D; Page 5; Column 1; Financial Desk

HEADLINE: TRIMMING TREES HAS 2 MEANINGS IN RECESSION YEAR;
ECONOMY:
ORANGE COUNTY SHOPPERS ARE PICKING LESS EXPENSIVE EVERGREENS FOR
THEIR LIVING ROOMS THIS HOLIDAY.

BYLINE: By ANNE MICHAUD, SPECIAL TO THE TIMES

BODY:

The owners of the Christmas Tree Jamboree lot near Upper Newport Bay don't mean to gloat -- well, maybe just a little -- when they say their timing could not have been better.

The discount lot, which sells no tree for more than \$24.98, opened an Orange County location for the first time this year, just when recession-weary shoppers are looking to trim Christmas expenses without cutting too deeply into tradition.

"We've had three Rolls-Royces pull in here, and lots of Mercedeses and BMWs," said Pete Fust, a tree salesman and sometime folk musician. "They're attracted by our prices. We're offering people a \$25 Christmas."

All around the county, tree lot owners are reporting that the recession Grinch has not exactly stolen Christmas, but he has shrunk it a bit. Christmas revelers are not giving up their trees altogether, but they are spending less for them. That means discount tree lots are doing booming business, but more expensive lots -- which counted in the past on service, quality and tradition to draw crowds -- are eking by.

Smaller trees -- less than 5 feet tall -- are suddenly popular, as are Douglas firs, which can cost \$20 less than a noble fir of the same size. Owners of lots with more expensive trees are telling their salespeople to come down a little on price when talking with customers.

Perhaps those hardest hit are the owners of cut-your-own tree farms. These farms, which grow trees all year, usually charge more because they offer both a fresh tree and a holiday outing for families, who often come armed with camcorders. But tree-buying decisions are turning on price this year.

"People are going for the \$15 trees at Lucky," said Mark Winn, owner of the Olde Tyme Christmas Tree Farm in Orange. He said sales are down 15% from last year, which was not a great year, either. He sold 900 trees last Christmas, and 1,200 the year before.

"Last year, the problem was the war and the beginning of the recession, but let's face it, it's

gotten worse this year," he said. "People are afraid they're not going to have a job."

Winn said he'll lift his own spirits this year by donating uncut trees to charity. He normally sells his Monterey pines for \$5 to \$6 a foot.

A live-tree lot next to Interstate 5 in San Juan Capistrano closed early this season and last week opened only infrequently, at the request of customers. On its trees hung forlorn price tags, marked down for sale.

"Sales were slowing down, so it didn't pay us to stay here and work," said Bill Bathgate, who handles the sales operation as a partner in the San Juan Capistrano family tree business. One tall, long-needle pine was marked down from \$50 to \$33.

Luckily, Bathgate said, the trees will keep and grow until next year. The tree business is a hobby for the retired orange grower. "I'm glad I don't have to make my living this way," he said.

Discount tree lots are finding the recession a bonanza, however. Christmas Tree Jamboree can offer lower prices because the family of one of the partners, Ken Orsow, owns tree-growing acreage in Oregon. The Orsow family, who sold trees in Marin County for 40 years, ventured south to Orange County this year for the first time because they thought that there would be a market for inexpensive trees.

As he was paying for his 6-foot Douglas fir, a customer of Christmas Tree Jamboree said he had seen a comparable trees selling for \$65 to \$75 at a Huntington Beach lot.

"The other lots in this area are high-dollar lots," Christmas Tree Jamboree partner Tim Wiedenkiller said. "For our first year, we've done a little better than we expected."

Home Depot in Costa Mesa also reported heavy tree sales. Its trees are stacked -- no-frills style -- against overturned wooden crates in the parking lot.

"The last two weekends, with six of us out here, as fast as we could write (price) tickets out, people were buying," said salesman Mark Huckenpahler, who works in the garden department. The popular noble firs, which have widely spaced branches that hold many ornaments, are \$22 for 5- to 7-foot specimens at Home Depot. In other lots, they are priced at \$50 or more.

To some people, the noble fir is so much more Christmasy than other trees that they are hard pressed to substitute. The other most common Christmas tree, the Douglas fir, has denser branches, and noble lovers complain that there is not enough room for garlands, lights and tinsel.

"People have gone to a little bit smaller tree just to get their nobles," said Deanne Jensen, a saleswoman for Santa's Tree Land in Costa Mesa.

Karen Heep of Santa Ana, who was shopping for a tree at Home Depot last week, said she was hunting less expensive trees this year. She had stopped by the lot to make sure the trees were fresh before bringing her 14-year-old daughter back to pick one out for their living room.

"People might choose a smaller tree or one that's less expensive, but I wouldn't think people would give up a tree for Christmas," said Heep, who was wearing green wreath earrings. "After this year, I need a tree."

What Do You Know About Christmas Trees?

1. The first recorded Christmas tree retail lot in the United States was set up in 1851 in which city?

- A. Boston
- B. New York
- C. Philadelphia

2. In 1901, W.V. McGalliard planted the first Christmas tree farm just outside which city?

- A. Trenton, N.J.
- B. Baltimore, Md.
- C. Hartford, Conn.

3. Which President owned a Christmas tree farm?

4. Which President set up the first Christmas tree in the White House?

- A. Abraham Lincoln
- B. Ulysses S. Grant
- C. Franklin Pierce

5. Which President established the national Christmas tree lighting ceremony on the White House lawn?

- A. Warren G. Harding
- B. Calvin Coolidge
- C. Woodrow Wilson

6. How many Christmas trees are expected to be sold in the United States in 1991?

- A. 36 million
- B. 29 million
- C. 47 million

7. How many Christmas tree farms are in the United States?

- A. 8,500
- B. 15,000
- C. 6,700

8. The first Christmas tree lot in history was noted in Alsace province, then part of

Germany but now in France, in what year?

- A. 1497
- B. 1601
- C. 1531

9. An acre of Christmas trees:

- A. Produces enough oxygen to supply the needs of 18 people for one year.
- B. Scrubs clean the air polluted by eight automobiles operated for 12 hours.
- C. Both of the above.

10. In order to maintain the freshness of a Christmas tree, it is necessary to:

- A. Slice off about half an inch of the tree trunk before placing it in water.
- B. Put the tree in a container that holds at least one gallon of water, replenishing when needed.
- C. Bring the tree into a partially heated area (basement or porch) the night before decorating.
- D. All of the above.

Christmas Tree Quiz Answers

1. B. The first recorded lot in the United States was set up by a Pennsylvanian named Mark Carr, who hauled two ox sleds loaded with trees from his land in the Catskills to the sidewalks of New York.

2. A.

3. A. In the 1930s, President Roosevelt grew Christmas trees on his estate in Hyde Park, N.Y.

4. C.

5. B. In 1923.

6. A.

7. B.

8. C. Christmas trees were sold in the Strasbourg marketplace and taken into homes where they were set up undecorated for the holidays.

9. C. In addition, a field of Christmas trees, while growing one pound of wood, will remove 1 1/2 pounds of carbon dioxide from the atmosphere and release one pound of oxygen. A swath of Christmas trees 100 feet wide can absorb about six to eight decibels of sound intensity. A greenbelt of Christmas trees 300 yards in width will provide the cooling and air-conditioning effects of an increase in altitude of one mile.

10. D.

Sources: California Christmas Tree Growers and the National Christmas Tree Assn. Inc.)
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SECTION: NATIONAL NEWS; SECTION A; PAGE 06

HEADLINE: Former hostages join Bush at tree lighting; President gives U.N. officials awards

Washington - President Bush joyously saluted five former U.S. hostages on Thursday and proclaimed at a festive Christmas tree-lighting ceremony that "America's prayers were answered when these men came home to us."

The hostages were loudly cheered as Mr. Bush introduced them on stage, one by one, before a crowd of thousands of people on the Ellipse. They were the star attractions, with Mr. Bush, for the annual ceremony to light the national Christmas tree.

Mr. Bush first welcomed the former hostages to the White House, where he said that "all of you have survived an act of unspeakable, uncivilized cruelty.

"We thank God that you are free," Mr. Bush told the men in a ceremony in the East Room, which was gaily decorated for the Christmas season.

The Marine Band's pianist played "I'll Be Home for Christmas."

"Hostage-taking is hell on a human scale, not just for the innocents held captive but for the families they left behind," Mr. Bush said.

The president was joined by Terry Anderson, the Associated Press chief Middle East correspondent, who was the longest held and last freed, Alann Steen, Joseph Cicippio, Thomas Sutherland and Jesse Turner. All were released in the past two months.

Mr. Bush also paid a warm salute to U.N. Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar and the U.N. official's special envoy on hostages, Giandomenico Picco.

Mr. Bush said they "represent the highest in humanitarian ideals."

He presented Mr. Perez de Cuellar with the Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian honor, and gave Mr. Picco a special award for exceptional service. Before presenting the award to Mr. Picco, Mr. Bush said Mr. Anderson had suggested that he do so.

The ceremony was a celebration of the end of the long and painful ordeal of Americans taken captive in Lebanon.

"America's prayers were answered when these men came home to us," Mr. Bush said.

Mr. Bush said the United States had refused to negotiate with the kidnappers and had been proven right.

"This policy was not without risk, and sticking with it was not easy," he said. "We've learned that it worked. It helped end the agony. And I'd like to feel that it helped bring you home."

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Chicago Tribune

December 8, 1991, Sunday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: TEMPO; Pg. 5; ZONE: C; ABOUT WASHINGTON

LENGTH: 691 words

HEADLINE: FTC stages tactical strike against gulf war bracelet firm

BYLINE: By Michael Kilian, Chicago Tribune

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

The Persian Gulf war didn't shower glory on everyone. The Federal Trade Commission has just announced it has won a preliminary injunction against the distributors of those Desert Storm bracelets so popular in the early days of the conflict. The FTC charged that the distributor, Voices for Freedom of Arlington, Va., misrepresented itself as a nonprofit charitable organization and that it failed in its promise to use sales revenue to establish a system for getting messages from the States to troops in the gulf region.

First Lady Barbara Bush was among thousands of people who bought the bracelets as tokens of support for the troops. Costing \$7.95 to \$11.45 each, the nickle-plated copper bracelets first were sold in the fall of 1990 bearing the words "Desert Shield." After the fighting broke out in January, the engraving was changed to "Desert Storm."

Among the complaints made against the bracelet company was that the merchandise was not delivered until long after orders were placed.

The injunction, issued by the U.S. District Court for Eastern Virginia, prohibits the company from identifying itself as a charity or as an organization with ties to the U.S. government.

The court order also froze the outfit's assets.

Though December is one of the busiest months of the Washington social season, the First Family lay low last week in the aftermath of the rather reluctant resignation of White House chief of staff John Sununu. However, the Executive Mansion is expected to be its lively old self this week, starting with Mrs. Bush's unveiling of the White House Christmas decorations Monday morning. From then on, it will be one party after another at the president's house, including Tuesday's White House Congressional Ball, Wednesday's White House Children's Christmas Party and Friday's White House Diplomatic Corps Christmas Tea. The president and Mrs. Bush will light the national Christmas tree Thursday evening on the Ellipse.

A rumor briefly fluttered last week that, because of media hounding of Sununu, no member of the press was going to be invited to any of the Bushes' Christmas parties this year, but the report quickly was shot down. No matter how they've been treated by the newsies, the Bushes always have been socially friendly to the press. Besides, they've been in the capital long enough to know that hell hath no fury like a Washington correspondent not invited to something.

The really hot Washington party this season is not the one with an invitation to the White House. People are searching their mailboxes for missives asking them to drop by the Chicagoesque Morton's restaurant in Georgetown next Sunday, which is where and when the new White House chief of staff, Illinois' own Sam Skinner, is having his Christmas party.

The presidential staff is said to be in particularly high spirits this season, despite the sadness (ha ha) over the mercurial Sununu's departure. Sununu's resignation letter to the president has puzzled many with its reference to the White House as a "fun place to work." Not everyone enjoyed himself or herself so much when he was around. But then, those who ran the Spanish Inquisition probably considered Madrid a "fun place to work" in their day.

How many members of Congress does it take to change a light bulb? Sen. Tim Wirth (D-Colo.) has had an amendment attached to the Federal Facilities Bill that requires the architect of the Capitol to replace all the light fixtures and lamps in the various Senate and House office buildings with more energy-efficient ones.

Wirth is convinced this move will help ease our \$1 billion-a-day federal budget deficit problem. He's figured out (and one can imagine him walking about the corridors of the Capitol, squinting at light fixtures) that his measure will cost taxpayers \$27 million initially, but the energy savings will run to \$4 million a year, so that in seven years, the new lights will have paid for themselves. If the new fixtures last 20 years, the gross savings will come to \$57 million, he said.

How about getting some more energy-efficient members of Congress instead?

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: Departing chief of staff John Sununu said the White House was a "fun place to work." Yeah, right. AP Laserphoto.

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The Boston Globe

December 3, 1991, Tuesday, City Edition

SECTION: NATIONAL/FOREIGN; Pg. 3

HEADLINE: GIVING IT A WHIRL; STORY IN CAPTION

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, President Bush spins a dreidel, one of the traditional gifts of Chanukah, at a celebration of the Jewish festival of lights yesterday in the White House. Bush met with Jewish schoolchildren from Virginia as part of the celebration of the holiday, which began on Sunday night. Bush also received a menorah, and said that the holiday "reminds us of the power of faith and the power of praise."

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The Atlanta Journal and Constitution

December 3, 1991

SECTION: NATIONAL NEWS; SECTION A; PAGE 06

HEADLINE: WASHINGTON IN BRIEF; Fowler saves the government money

BYLINE: By Ernie Freda STAFF WRITER

BODY:

...

Hanukkah at the White House: President Bush celebrated Hanukkah at the White House on Monday, calling the Jewish festival of lights a "reminder of history's first recorded battle for religious freedom." Mr. Bush received a menorah from a group of Jewish schoolchildren from Virginia and played dreidel, a holiday game of tops, with them and Vice President Dan Quayle and Mr. Quayle's wife, Marilyn. The visiting children recited traditional blessings and sang two Hanukkah songs.

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Orlando Sentinel Tribune

December 3, 1991 Tuesday, 3 STAR

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A4

HEADLINE: HOST ON HANUKKAH

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: President Bush, framed by a menorah, a sacred Jewish candelabrum, plays host to a group of children from Washington area Jewish schools. The Monday visit to the Old Executive Office Building marked the beginning of the Jewish holidays of Hanukkah. Today, Bush is the visitor, flying to a Bradenton, Fla., citrus-processing plant.
ASSOCIATED PRESS

Copyright 1990 News World Communications, Inc.
The Washington Times

December 25, 1990, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part A; NATION; Pg. A6

HEADLINE: Troops saluted in message

BODY:

President Bush taped a Christmas message to be broadcast to U.S. troops worldwide. Mr. Bush is spending the Christmas holidays with his family at the presidential retreat at Camp David.

"Merry Christmas and happy holidays to you who are standing watch around the world. Never have I been prouder of our troops. . . .

"We think of you on the snowy fields and runways of Europe, where, thanks to you, millions are celebrating Christmas and Hanukkah openly for the first time in 45 years. We think of you off the coast of the Philippines, in Japan, and in the DMZ in Korea. We think of you in Panama, where lightning success last Christmas ended the reign of a despot and brought peace to a people.

"We think of you in the air, on the high seas, and at bases and embassies around the world, who kept our country untouched and at peace throughout the long winter darkness of the Cold War.

"Back home, some talk of the cost of war, but it is you who understand the price of peace. . . .

"On this Christmas Day, hour by hour, hand in hand, Americans will send their prayers eastward across the ocean and halfway across the world, not only to the town of Bethlehem but to the sands and shores where you stand in harm's way. We're in the Gulf because the world must not reward aggression, because our vital interests are at stake, and because of the brutality and danger of Saddam Hussein. . . .

"Barbara and I spent Thanksgiving with our men and women over there. And when we got back, I spoke to the American people, told them of your bravery, and reminded them why we're there. . . .

"And I told the American people something else, that we want peace, not war, and that I will do my level best to bring you home without a single shot fired. And let me say one other thing. The sacrifices you make will never be forgotten. America is behind you, the world is behind you, and history is behind you. When you come home - and we hope it's soon - you'll be welcomed as what you are: all-American heroes. . . .

"Tonight the Star of Bethlehem and the candles of the menorah will cast their light in American outposts around the world with a timeless message of hope and renewal that radiates to people of all faiths.

"Each of you is precious. Each life is important because it touches so many other lives. And while you may be out of America's sight, rest assured no matter where you serve you will never be out of America's heart.

"Merry Christmas and happy holidays to you all. God keep you and watch over you and God bless America.

Orlando Sentinel Tribune

December 15, 1990 Saturday, VOLUSIA

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A20

HEADLINE: CHRISTMAS TREE LIGHTING PUTS FOCUS ON GULF CRISIS

BODY:

President Bush lit the national Christmas tree with a special welcome for the recently returned hostages and a prayer for those still in the Persian Gulf area. "We feel pride thinking of our young men and women standing strong in the harsh distant deserts and on the waters of the Persian Gulf," the president said. "And we think of their parents and their loved ones . . . and we join them in praying for their safe return." The president was joined at Thursday's celebration around the 35-foot blue spruce by his wife Barbara and several Bush grandchildren. Five of the seven newly released hostages who met with Bush earlier in the day also attended. The national Christmas tree is a living tree transplanted to the Ellipse in 1978. Surrounding the tree are 57 smaller trees representing each state and territory.

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The Boston Globe

December 13, 1990, Thursday, City Edition

SECTION: NATIONAL/FOREIGN; Pg. 3 p

HEADLINE: CHANUKAH HUG ; STORY IN CAPTION

GRAPHIC: PHOTO; President Bush pats schoolboy Benjamin Cooper during a Chanukah ceremony yesterday at the White House with Barbara Bush and Marilyn Quayle.

REUTERS PHOTO

Copyright 1990 News World Communications, Inc.
The Washington Times

December 12, 1990, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part A; NATION; Pg. A3

LENGTH: 670 words

HEADLINE: White House shows spirit

BYLINE: Frank J. Murray; THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BODY:

The Bush White House is in the spirit. The halls are decked and yesterday 308 guests were on the deck, too, watching a performance of "The Nutcracker" with the lady of the house.

These days of Christmas promise an extravaganza that is far from private but no less a family Christmas.

When magician John Ekin welcomed a group of children yesterday by asking which holidays they observed, most raised their hands for Christmas. Others yelled out Kwanza and Hanukkah. The eight-day Jewish festival's start will be observed this morning in a ceremony attended by the Bushes and Vice President Dan Quayle and his wife, Marilyn.

Jewish children will read compositions and Mr. Bush will join them in spinning the top like dreidel before lighting a menorah.

Mr. Bush issued a worldwide Hanukkah greeting yesterday. He will light the Christmas tree on the Ellipse tomorrow at 5 p.m.

Mrs. Bush, who says she wants only peace and expects to get it, insisted, "It is in the Blue Room where magic can be most truly felt."

There she has decorated an 18 1/2-foot tree in the theme of Tchaikovsky's

"The Nutcracker."

The tree is adorned with 45 porcelain dancers and 50 pairs of ballet slippers, including the autographed set given her by the Bolshoi Ballet company. The tree also has 100 four-inch velvet balls with silk flowers, lace and ribbons, and handblown glass ornaments. Its accompaniments include a 45-pound, 3-foot tall gingerbread house, the 22nd annual creation of Chef Hans Raffert.

The personal family tree is with the children's stockings in the upstairs Yellow Oval Room and is visible from the Ellipse.

The excited hostess plans to extend her traditional Christmas stay at Camp David with her five children and 12 grandchildren for several days beyond Dec. 25. For the first time in 23 years, Mr. Bush will stay with the family during the post-Christmas week instead of quail-hunting with the boys in Beeville, Texas.

Before the lights go out Dec. 28, more than 100,000 people will tour lavish decorations that include 47 trees, 54,000 lights and miles of ribbon, while another 3,100 hold coveted invitations to nine holiday parties. The festivities kicked off with Monday's congressional ball, which 750 persons attended.

Last night, despite his flu, Mr. Bush hosted the first of seven receptions for about 350.

Forty-nine choirs and bell-ringer groups will take turns serenading visitors from the grand staircase.

There are red poinsettias and candles in the white colonnade, white poinsettias in the Red Room and pink ones in the Green Room. Wreaths decorate every window.

As the newly decorated White House reopened yesterday to public tours, Mrs. Bush hosted a traditional party for seven busloads of diplomats' children. Although all were invited, none of the children came from the embassies of Kuwait, Iraq or Saudi Arabia.

Looking much the ultimate grandmother sitting amid her flock, Mrs. Bush beamed at the Washington Ballet dancers, who she said, "bring to life this special story as the theme of this year's Christmas at the White House." Last year, she took her grandchildren to the Lisner Auditorium to see "The Nutcracker." A spokeswoman for the dance company said Mrs. Bush plans an encore this year.

In a different spirit, Mr. Bush took time to endorse a Mothers Against Drunk Driving warning against taking the wheel after holiday parties, calling it "a deadly combination."

The White House yule decor also features an 18th century Nativity scene with 47 large figures fashioned of wood and terra cotta. Also on display are Official White House Christmas cards from the Eisenhowers' first in 1953 through a 1990 card that was supposed to be secret until it is mailed next week.

The official card is said to be is an original watercolor painting of the Oval Office by Mark Hampton. Anyone who receives a different card, whose design is still a secret, is on the A-list for the family greeting.

GRAPHIC: Photo, First lady Barbara Bush has decorated an 18 1/2-foot Christmas tree in the White House Blue Room in the theme of Tchaikovsky's "The Nutcracker." The tree is adorned with 45 porcelain dancers and 50 pairs of ballet slippers., By AP

Chicago Tribune -- December 12, 1989, Tuesday, FINAL

HEADLINE: White House doors open to Christmas, Bush style

BYLINE: By Michael Kilian, Chicago Tribune

BODY:

First Lady Barbara Bush announced Monday that she is giving her husband nothing for Christmas - nothing, that is, except "all the love in the world," she said.

As she explained to journalists whom she invited into the White House to show off this year's Christmas decorations, "We don't give presents to each other. We have so much."

This is the first Christmas for the Bushes in the Executive Mansion, and the President's house is really going to be put to the yuletide test. Though the Bushes will spend Christmas Day at nearby Camp David in Maryland and then journey to Texas for a few days, the President and his wife will be in the White House for most of the holiday, and they will have with them no fewer than 22 relatives, 11 of them grandchildren.

Asked what Christmas dinner is going to be like, Mrs. Bush replied, "Chaos."

The grandchildren will fare a bit better than the President under the Christmas tree, however. "There'll be a present for each child," she said.

The White House this holiday season will look somewhat different than it did when the Reagans were in residence, and not just because of all the kids running around. According to chief usher Gary Walters, the 25 Christmas trees the Bushes have installed are more than the Reagans usually had.

The East Room, the principal chamber for entertaining, has only two trees this year; Mrs. Reagan often had nearly two dozen in there. This leaves Mrs. Bush more room for her holiday season parties, which began with Monday night's White House Congressional Ball.

The Bushes' Christmas tree in the family quarters can be seen from the street at the center of the third-floor windows. Mrs. Bush estimated some 9,000 people will be admitted to view the Executive Mansion's Christmas decorations this year.

The official White House tree in the main-floor Oval Blue Room is ablaze with lights and glittery ornaments, and it is decked as well with 80 dolls made by floral designer Nancy Clarke and other staffers. They represent characters from children's books and other literature - Amelia Bedelia, Mary Poppins, the Poky Little Puppy, the Wizard of Oz, etc. - and symbolize the Bushes' concern for family literacy.

The concern ought to extend to the staffers who drew up the summary list of the characters. Charles Dickens' "A Christmas Carol" was spelled "A Cristmas Carol," and author Lewis Carroll was listed as "Lewis Carrol."

Chicago Tribune -- December 10, 1989, Sunday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: TEMPO; Pg. 5; ZONE: C; ABOUT WASHINGTON

BYLINE: By Michael Kilian, Chicago Tribune

BODY:

Two White House guards at the Executive Mansion's north door got a stern finger wag and ladylike chewing out from First Lady Barbara Bush last week, not for letting anyone break in but for letting a member of the First Family break out.

The member was First Dog Millie, who darted out the front door to join her mistress in taking delivery of the official White House Christmas tree, which was being hauled up the drive on a big wagon drawn by two enormous Clydesdales. They were the first horses Millie had ever seen, according to Mrs. Bush, and she feared they might be the last.

Millie, an English springer spaniel, is quite independent. After all, she sleeps on the presidential bed and occasionally takes showers with the boss.

The horses did not frighten Millie, contrary to erroneous news reports apparently concocted by someone not on the scene. In fact, she went up to one of the horses and sniffed a huge hoof, one step of which could turn Millie into a throw rug. More than a little concerned, Mrs. Bush finally scooped Millie up in her arms, remonstrating with the two uniformed guards to be a little more attentive.

The tree, an 18-foot fir from Spartansburg, Pa., went into the oval Blue Room; Millie went back to her quarters; and the guards, one presumes, spent some time in the dog house.

Mrs. Bush, after welcoming the family that brought the tree, was asked her Christmas wish.

"We all have the same one," she said. "For people to be fed. I want no war. I want people to be well."

She paused, then added: "And I don't want my dog to bite people."

Or Clydesdales.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO: Tribune photo by Ernie Cox Jr. First Lady Barbara Bush tries to keep a firm grip on First Dog Millie last week during the arrival of the official White House Christmas tree.

The Washington Post

December 1, 1990, Saturday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE C5

HEADLINE: Reaching for the Star; The First Lady Tops the Christmas Tree

BYLINE: Roxanne Roberts, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

Barbara Bush officially opened this year's installment of a White House Christmas yesterday -- complete with a two-horse open sleigh (okay, a wagon), ghosts of Christmas Past and children with visions of Ninja Turtles dancing in their heads.

Celebrating her 10th year as the National Christmas Tree topper, the First Lady arrived on the Ellipse behind the White House to place a star atop the tree, a live 35-foot Blue Spruce.

She was greeted by her daughter, Dorothy Bush LeBlond, and two grandchildren, Sam and Ellie LeBlond, who brought along their schoolmates to watch the two ride up the hydraulic lift with their grandmother.

"Clap," 6-year-old Sam whispered to his classmates. "Clap."

Sam received a kiss from his grandmother, and his 4-year-old sister rushed up for a hug and twirled in her new red coat -- a gift from the First Lady for Ellie's fourth birthday on Nov. 19.

The First Lady and the two children, along with Joseph Riley, president of the Christmas Pageant of Peace that organizes the National Christmas Tree celebration, then climbed into the lift and began the ride to the top of the tree.

The lift, jerking upward in fits and starts, produced delighted squeals from Sam and Ellie and mock terror from their grandmother. LeBlond, 35 feet below, looked up with a mix of motherly pride and alarm that one more lurch would send her mother and children flying through the air.

"Jump, Sam, jump!" shouted his first-grade classmates from Westbrook Elementary School in Bethesda. Sam grinned and waved.

The lift driver backed the arm and repositioned. The lift shuddered some more and then plowed into the tree. Riley handed the star to Mrs. Bush, who leaned over the edge and just reached the top of the tree.

"Yeah!" squealed the children. Shutters clicked. Applause all around.

The president and First Lady will light the tree in a ceremony Dec. 13.

Earlier, the season of goodwill and photo opportunities kicked off on the North Portico when the First Lady was presented with an 18-foot Fraser fir bound for glory in the Blue Room as the White House Christmas Tree.

The tree, grown on the North Carolina farm of Michael and Bruce Lacey, arrived in a wagon drawn by Fred and Dick, two 2,000-pound Belgian draft horses. "It's beautiful," pronounced Mrs. Bush. "Perfect." The Laceys also provided a tree for the Oval Office that George Bush decorates with homemade cookies he gives to his guests.

When asked her wish for Christmas, the First Lady replied, "We're all wishing for peace. We want our people home." The statement echoed last year's sentiment, which came three weeks before the invasion of Panama: "I want no war. I want people to be well."

Fred and Dick, adorned with jingle bells and little red bows, took all the cameras in stride. This is the fourth trip up the White House driveway for the pair, who spend most of their time at Oxon Hill Farm in Maryland. "We exercise them ahead of time so they're not too prancy," said a National Park Service official.

Nonetheless, First Dog Millie, who last year narrowly escaped an untimely demise under one of the massive hoofs, was nowhere to be seen. There were unconfirmed reports that the best-selling canine was busy negotiating a books-on-tape deal with Milli Vanilli.

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The Washington Times

November 28, 1989, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part B; METROPOLITAN; Pg. B1

LENGTH: 51 words

HEADLINE: THREE TO THE TOP OF THE TREE;
(WILD ART)

BYLINE: Carleton R. Bryant; THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BODY:

First lady Barbara Bush and her granddaughter Marshall Bush, age 3 1/2, accompany Joseph Riley, president of the Christmas Pageant of Peace Inc., on a cherry picker yesterday to the top of the 38-foot-tall National Christmas Tree on the Ellipse. They then topped the tree with the traditional star.

GRAPHIC: Photo, NO CAPTION, By Stephen Crowley/The Washington Times

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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Los Angeles Times

December 19, 1989, Tuesday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 4; Column 2; National Desk

HEADLINE: BUSH SALUTES NATION ON HOLIDAYS

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

President Bush on Monday wished the nation a joyous Hanukkah and a Merry Christmas.

To Jews, who begin celebrating the eight days of Hanukkah at sundown Friday, Bush recalled that the holiday commemorates a great victory won by the Jewish Maccabees in their struggle for religious freedom.

"This year, as Jews around the world pause to observe this festival, all of us can share in the joy of those people who are just beginning to enjoy success in their own struggle for freedom and self-determination," Bush said.

He told Christians that the promise of the first Christmas continues to give a sense of peace and purpose.

"It is daily acts of goodness and generosity, performed time and time again throughout the year, that hold the true meaning of this holy season," Bush said.

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The Washington Post

December 12, 1989, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE D2; WASHINGTON WAYS

HEADLINE: Decking the White House Halls

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Donnie Radcliffe, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

Emphasizing "a family-oriented" Christmas at the White House, Barbara Bush showed off the mansion's dazzling holiday finery yesterday with all the excitement of one who had watched it go up.

And, in fact, she and President Bush did just that when the snow forced a change in plans Friday night, keeping them home rather than at Camp David for the weekend.

"We weren't supposed to be here," she told the first wave of viewers -- the previewing media -- out of an estimated 90,000 people expected to visit the White House in the next two weeks. "But I wouldn't have missed it for the world."

She described returning from Texas to find 40 volunteers from around the country decorating the place with greenery, della Robbia topiaries, poinsettias and hundreds of bows and ornaments. From then on, she said, she and Bush "bounced up and down stairs" throughout the weekend to watch "the process."

"I think we bothered them more than we helped them," she said.

On Saturday night, she said, she and Bush caught everybody in a "fight" with imitation snow. Another time the Bushes invited everybody upstairs to see the family tree -- decorated by "elves" in Mrs. Bush's absence -- in the Yellow Oval Room.

On the State Floor, the volunteers' efforts, coordinated by Nancy Clarke of the White House executive residence staff, produced a winter wonderland of snowy trees glittering with hundreds of tiny lights, trees festooned with imitation fruit and burnished red-gold ribbon, dozens of bright-red poinsettia topiaries and hundreds of red and green ribbons.

In the Blue Room was the 18-foot-tall Fraser fir grown on the Spartansburg, Pa., farm of Duane, Bradley and Meade Berkey, and delivered by horse-drawn wagon to Mrs. Bush last week. By coincidence, it was Franklin Pierce, the 14th president and a forebear of Barbara Pierce Bush, who started the tradition of setting up a Christmas tree in the White House.

"There's sort of a little message in our Christmas -- a family-oriented reading-to-your-children message," the First Lady said of the Blue Room tree, where 80 dolls depicting storybook characters were perched among the branches.

Among the figures, hand-painted and clothed by four White House employees, were Little Red Riding Hood, Pokey Little Puppy, the Tin Man, Scarlett O'Hara and Babar the Elephant, "a favorite" whose stories Mrs. Bush said she knows by heart, having read -- and in some cases sung -- them to her own children.

Some ornaments are historic ones from the White House collection. Some belong to the Bushes -- cookie ornaments that Mrs. Bush made in bygone years, and others were made by the Bushes' longtime housekeeper, Paula Rendon.

Under the tree were scores of children's books, tied with red and green ribbons. Some belong to Mrs. Bush; others will be given away as gifts.

Barbara Bush was in a holiday mood but not a diplomatic one during yesterday's media tour. When UPI correspondent Helen Thomas asked how she felt about her husband being criticized for sending top-level White House aides to China after promising last spring that he wouldn't, the First Lady didn't even reply. Instead, she gave Thomas two raps on the head with her fingers.

Passersby may get a glimpse of the Bushes' private family tree if they know how to spot the Yellow Oval Room from the Ellipse, from which Barbara Bush says the tree is visible.

What nobody but family, staff and friends will see, however, is the newest addition to the Bushes' Christmas decor -- a needlepoint creche that Mrs. Bush calls "the most beautiful thing you ever laid eyes on."

The 54-piece creche, which features a full range of nativity figures up to eight inches tall, was given to her last week in Houston by the St. Martin's Episcopal Church "Saintly Stitchers," of which she is a non-resident member. The Bushes were so intrigued by a similar creche the Stitchers made for the church a few years ago that members vowed to make one for them if George Bush became president.

So great was the interest, according to the Rev. Claude E. Payne, St. Martin's pastor, that everybody wanted to work on it. Finally, Lida Browder, Stitchers chairman, laid down the law: No one could work on the creche for the First Family unless she had completed her kneelers, cushions to protect the knees during prayer.

Said Payne: "We got more kneelers than usual this year."

The Bush clan arrives en masse Friday for 10 days of family togetherness. They'll all be bedded down at the White House until Dec. 22, when they move on to Camp David, where yet another Christmas tree awaits them. They'll open gifts on Christmas morning -- one gift

per child, at Mrs. Bush's request -- and reassemble for Christmas dinner, which the First Lady describes simply as "chaos."

The Bushes launched their holiday social season last night with a Christmas Ball for members of Congress. Vice President Dan Quayle and Marilyn Quayle launched theirs a week ago.

Taking a page out of the Bushes' party book, perhaps, the Quayles have been up to their mistletoe in a series of parties at which legislators, Cabinet members, aides, media and friends from around the country are all mixed together.

The Quayles' tree is an 11-footer from Indiana (where else?) decorated by the family, for the family, with the family ornaments.

And while the Vice President's House may not have Executive Chef Hans Raffert to make a gingerbread house, as he has been doing at the White House for the past 20 years, it does have Marilyn Quayle. She's been making the Quayle kids' gingerbread house for as long as any of them can remember. This year is no different.

Between Christmas and New Year's, the Quayles will go to Colorado to ski. The Bushes will go to Texas so he can (what else?) shoot quail.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, MRS. BUSH WITH ONE OF THE TREES. RAY LUSTIG

The Washington Post

December 15, 1989, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: METRO; PAGE C3

**HEADLINE: 'Points of Light' Adorn National Tree;
President Pushes Button in Annual Ceremony on the Ellipse**

BYLINE: Ruben Castaneda, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

Though she's originally from Southern California and not accustomed to white -- and cold -- Christmases, Leila Zackrison had no problem at all adjusting to the chilly temperatures that she and 12,000 others braved last night at the lighting of the National Christmas Tree on the Ellipse.

"It was a little bit chilly, but it was tolerable," said Zackrison, clad in a heavy overcoat, gloves and earmuffs. "You just have to clap your hands and jump up and move your toes."

And the show, featuring such performers as Marilyn McCoo, Billy Davis Jr., and Loretta Lynn, "was great, except for the microphones," Zackrison said.

That was a problem. At various times, microphones failed on McCoo, Lynn, and Joseph Riley, president of the Christmas Pageant of Peace.

At one point, television weatherman Willard Scott, who dressed as Santa Claus and emceed the program, had Lynn sing into his white beard, which was equipped with a microphone.

"I regret that I have but one beard to give to my country," Scott cracked.

The lighting of the 35-foot tree, a Colorado blue spruce that was transplanted to the Ellipse from a farm in York, Pa., went off without a hitch. Shortly before 6 p.m., President Bush pulled a switch, illuminating the red and blue lights on the tree. A thousand white stars -- meant to represent the thousand points of light Bush referred to in last year's presidential campaign -- also adorned the tree.

In his remarks to the crowd, Bush referred to the dramatic movements toward democracy in Eastern Europe, including the opening of the Berlin Wall. This year, Bush said, people in Eastern Europe and elsewhere are hearing "not just the bells of Christmas, but the bells of freedom."

The president also urged Americans to volunteer to help people less fortunate than themselves.

"This holiday season, reach out to someone where you live," Bush said. "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life includes helping others."

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The Washington Times

December 14, 1989, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part B; METROPOLITAN; FEDERAL REPORT; Pg. B5

LENGTH: 797 words

HEADLINE: Park crew's labor yields spectacular Christmas display

BYLINE: Enrique J. Gonzales; THE WASHINGTON TIMES

BODY:

When President Bush flicks the switch to illuminate the "thousand points of light" on the National Christmas Tree tonight, the credit ought to go to the president's park crew of the National Park Service for the display.

The group of about 35 maintenance workers and groundskeepers each year coordinates the building of the Pageant of Peace exhibit, situated on the northeast corner of the Ellipse.

"I enjoy working here," said park worker Jim Barton, as he set up the pageant walkway on a snowy night this week. "Once you get used to working outdoors, it's hard to go back indoors."

The crew, among other things, helps oversee decoration of the 35-foot living Christmas tree and the 56 smaller trees around it that represent the states, five territories and the District.

The decorations are designed, donated and placed on the large tree by General Electric, the company that has taken care of the lights for 27 years. The president's park crew, though, is charged with transplanting the smaller trees, setting up the walkways, building a stage and maintaining a yule log fire. The smaller trees, transplanted from Western Maryland, are decorated by contributors from the various regions they represent, usually to reflect some aspect of the region's heritage.

"They work a lot of long hours and a lot of weekends," crew manager Audrey Calhoun said of her staff. "Last night [Tuesday], they were out here with headlights, trying to get things done. They're out here trying to move snow around."

The crew must recruit electricians, carpenters, plumbers, masons and other specialists to supplement the skills of the maintenance crews. All told, about 75 workers piece the entire display together.

"This is the major event that the president's park crew does," Ms. Calhoun said. "This is our major one."

The tree, a hearty Colorado blue spruce transplanted from York, Pa., in 1978, has been done up in about 1,800 red lights, 2,500 blue lights, and, of course, 1,000 white stars.

To highlight the stars, a fade mechanism will allow the red lights to dim while the blue lights come into focus, Park Service spokesman Earle Kittleman said.

President Bush will be the first president since President Carter to actually come to the lighting ceremony. President Reagan flicked the switch from the safety of the White House, but a video screen at the site gave event-goers a chance to see him do it.

The Christmas tree lighting, which has taken place on the OMICS; BRIDGE PG B6HD Vienna Coup sets squeeze for 12th trick BY Stephen Goldstein CR THE WASHINGTON TIMES@ Illustrations, NO CAPTION West led the 10 of clubs.

Finding extra tricks is necessary to triumph in a tournament. Glenn Lublin, a Silver Spring expert, used a Vienna Coup to gain his 12th trick after a favorable opening lead gave him 11 tricks.

North pre-empted with three diamonds, and Lublin, South, elected to try for the nine trick no trump game. East timidly passed throughout.

West led the 10 of clubs, trying to find his partner's suit. The effort helped declarer instead, who won his king as East held up his ace. South cashed his king of diamonds, revealing the three-zero split as East pitched a spade.

South led a club to dummy's jack, forcing East's ace. East shifted to a heart which declarer won with his ace as dummy pitched a spade. Declarer cashed his ace of spades, the Vienna Coup, setting up East's king but making the queen of spades a squeeze threat card against him.

The jack of diamonds was finessed and the ace was cashed dropping West's queen as East pitched two more spades. Three more rounds of diamonds were cashed as everyone pitched hearts, leaving the following position with dummy to lead:

The last diamond squeezed East in the black suits. He couldn't pitch the king of spades since dummy's queen would be established. So he threw a club. But declarer cashed his queen of clubs and won the last trick with his four of clubs to make 12 tricks.

On a heart lead, the defenders could have held the contract to three or four no trump, depending on the play. Once declarer got a club lead, however, no defense could have prevented the squeeze or stopped declarer from making 12 tricks.

Quiz question - You hold:

Partner opens one no trump. What call do you make?

Answer - Bid two clubs to ask partner for a four-card major. You intend to reach at least game. If partner bids two diamonds, denying a major, jump to three spades showing a strong hand with five spades and four hearts.

If partner bid two of a major, try for a slam. If your side plays a jump to four diamonds as a "splinter" bid showing a singleton or a void in diamonds with a fit for partner's suit, make that call and leave the rest up to partner. **GRAPHIC: Photo, A member of the president's park crew of the National Park Service carries portion of Pageant of Peace display, which formally opens tonight., By Kevin T. Gilbert/The Washington Times**

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

Copyright 1989 Globe Newspaper Company;
The Boston Globe

December 11, 1989, Monday, City Edition

SECTION: LIVING; Pg. 51 p

LENGTH: 534 words

HEADLINE: Bringing his heart to Symphony Hall;
NAMES AND FACES

BYLINE: By Paul Hirshson, Globe Staff

BODY:

...

FOLLOW THAT HORSE

Two White House guards at the Executive Mansion's north door got a sternfinger wag and ladylike chewing out from Barbara Bush last week - not for letting anyone break in but for letting a member of the first family break out. The member was first dog Millie, who darted out the front door to join her mistress in taking delivery of the official White House Christmas tree, which was being hauled up the drive on a big wagon drawn by two enormous Clydesdales. They were the first horses Millie had ever seen, according to Bush, and she feared they might be the last, the Chicago Tribune reported.

...

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Los Angeles Times

November 28, 1989, Tuesday, Home Edition

SECTION: Part A; Page 4; Column 2; National Desk

LENGTH: 231 words

HEADLINE: MRS. BUSH TAKES A BUMPY RIDE TO CROWN NATIONAL YULE
TREE

BYLINE: From Associated Press

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:

It took two passes in a hydraulic lift, but First Lady Barbara Bush finally got close enough to the top of the national Christmas tree to crown it with a white plastic star Monday.

Mrs. Bush was joined on the somewhat bumpy journey in the hydraulic lift to the top of the 35-foot tree by her 3 1/2-year-old granddaughter, Marshall, daughter of son Marvin and his wife, Margaret, and by Joseph Riley, president of the Christmas Pageant of Peace.

The lift operator left the threesome a few feet short on his first attempt.

Mrs. Bush, who has been topping off the national Christmas tree every November since 1981, signaled to him to lift them higher, and on the second try she and Riley managed to get a silver pole holding the outsized plastic star in place.

Marshall, seasonally garbed in a bright red dress with a red ribbon in her hair, took it all in stride, waving to her mother and preschool classmates on the ground below.

When the ride downward was briefly halted, Marshall called out cheerfully, but insistently: "Hey, when are we going down? Get me down here."

"Perfect," pronounced Mrs. Bush as the white cage finally perched on terra firma. She took Marshall over to shake hands and pose for a picture with the lift operator, National Park Service tree worker Kevin Guard.

"I thought she was coming over to chew me out," Guard said. "She just said thanks."

GRAPHIC: Photo, Crowning TouchIt took two passes in a hydraulic lift, but First Lady Barbara Bush finally got close enough to the top of the national Christmas tree to crown it

with a white star. She was joined on the bumpy journey to the crest of the 35-foot tree by her 3 1/2-year-old granddaughter, Marshall, and Joseph Riley, president of the Christmas Pageant of Peace. When the ride down was briefly halted, Marshall demanded: "Hey, when are we going down? Get me down here." BERNIE BOSTON / Los Angeles Times

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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USA TODAY

November 28, 1989, Tuesday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 1A

HEADLINE: First lady's starring role;
Tops off tree, but due for eye tests today

GRAPHIC: PHOTO; color, Tim Dillon, USA TODAY; Stand alone photo (Barbara Bush, granddaughter Marshall, Joseph Riley)

CUTLINE: UNTRADITIONAL: Barbara Bush Monday is the first first lady to set star on national Christmas tree. With her: granddaughter Marshall, 3 1/2; Joseph Riley, Pageant of Peace. Mrs. Bush visits Mayo Clinic today for eye tests due to Graves disease. (Condition irksome, 4A.)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

Copyright 1989 News World Communications, Inc.
The Washington Times

November 22, 1989, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: Part A; TOP OF THE NEWS; NATION; Pg. A2

LENGTH: 148 words

HEADLINE: Mrs. Bush to place Christmas ornament

BODY:

First lady Barbara Bush will help place the main ornament atop the National Christmas Tree again this year, continuing a ceremonial string she began in 1981 as the vice president's wife.

Mrs. Bush and 3-year-old granddaughter Marshall Bush will ride a hydraulic lift on day to place the ornament atop the 38-foot living tree on the Ellipse across from the White House.

Joseph Riley, president of the Christmas Pageant of Peace Inc., will join in the tree topping.

"This year marks the first time in the pageant's 35-year history that a first lady has helped with this tradition," Mrs. Bush's press office noted in a release.

"They asked her last year if she wanted to continue to do it and she said, 'You bet!'" said press aide Sondra Haley.

President and Mrs. Bush will light the tree Dec. 14, continuing a tradition begun by President Calvin Coolidge in 1923.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

Copyright 1988 The Washington Post
The Washington Post

December 2, 1988, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: METRO; PAGE D3

LENGTH: 1 words

HEADLINE: THE FINISHING TOUCH

BODY:

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, BARBARA BUSH AND JOSEPH H. RILEY, PRESIDENT OF THE CHRISTMAS PAGEANT OF PEACE INC., REACH FROM A CHERRY PICKER TO PUT A TEARDROP ORNAMENT ATOP THE 35-FOOT NATIONAL CHRISTMAS TREE, A BLUE SPRUCE THAT STANDS ON THE ELLIPSE IN FRONT OF THE WHITE HOUSE. IT WAS MRS. BUSH'S EIGHTH TREE-TOPPING CEREMONY. MARGARET THOMAS

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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The Washington Post

November 29, 1983, Tuesday, Final Edition

SECTION: Metro; Metro Scene; B2

LENGTH: 123 words

HEADLINE: Barbara Bush Riding High

BYLINE: JACK EISEN

BODY:

If you'd enjoy seeing Barbara Bush, the adventuresome wife of the vice president, hoisted aloft in a piece of heavy equipment called a "cherry picker," go down to the Ellipse behind the White House at 11 a.m. tomorrow.

Repeating her similar exploit of last year, she will place a 32-inch ornament, resembling a snowflake, atop the 30-foot National Christmas Tree. With her in the cherry picker's bucket will be Joseph H. Riley, president of the Christmas Pageant of Peace Committee. Unsurprisingly, the theme of the pageant, which begins when the tree is lighted at 5 p.m. Dec. 15, will be "Peace."

The tree will be decorated with a silver-and-white garland and 600 five-watt magenta bulbs, donated by the General Electric Co.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

Copyright 1982 The Washington Post
The Washington Post

December 3, 1982, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: Style; E1

LENGTH: 634 words

HEADLINE: The Bauble That Didn't Burst;
Mrs. Bush Spruces Up the Nation's Christmas Tree

BYLINE: By Michael Kernan

BODY:

Barbara Bush got to the Ellipse at exactly 11 yesterday morning. Her job was to put the top bauble on the National Christmas Tree.

The press got there at 10:30 and stood around on green plywood boards so they wouldn't soil the grass.

Frank LaGiusa got there at 10 to talk to the help. He's the one who designed the tree decoration this year, his seventh year, and there was a lot to explain. He is a lighting designer for General Electric, which has been running this show for 20 years.

"The theme is Hope this year," he said. "I started working on it right after the turn-on ceremony for last year's tree."

It will have green lights because Hope is colored green, and gold and white auxiliary lights will flood the tree in alternate 60-second cycles. This is made possible by a cross-fader that LaGiusa invented. Around the main tree, a 35-foot living blue spruce (the National Park Service insists it is only 30 feet, but maybe it grew during the year), are ranged 57 smaller trees, which also will sport white and gold twinkling lights.

This tree has been on duty since 1978. It is the third live one planted here and looks like it will make it. It is rather chubby. (Cut trees used to run 70 feet or higher, but somebody always complained about killing them.) The decorations, which will be put up over the next 10 days, actually are tied to wires so the tree itself doesn't have to do all the work.

The big problem of the morning was to arrange some portable steps so the vice president's wife could climb onto a truck bed and thence into a waist-high cherry-picker pulpit without having to change into slacks. Six people worked on that for an hour. Meanwhile, the bauble, a three-foot structure made of two interlocking diamond shapes, was taken to the top and tested.

LaGiusa himself was inveigled up there so a photographer could take his picture among the tippy-top branches. "I don't like this," he said. "I used to be in the construction business, and I slipped off a plank once in a church, 50 feet up. I even have trouble with stepladders."

One of his best designs was for a tree that had no lights because we turned them out for the two years of the hostage crisis. This one has plenty: a total of 11,575 watts, featuring a blanket of green light caused by 1,500 bulbs (every sixth one a twinkler) plus 500 clear bulbs, 500 gold bulbs and various others. In the past, trees have had dots, spirals, crisscrosses and blotches of light in several colors. This one will be draped in a diamond pattern.

Eleven o'clock. Here comes Mrs. Bush in a bright red dress. The photographers and TV crews stay politely on their green plywood. ("They assigned me to Brazil, but I said I wanted to do this instead," someone mutters.) Deftly, she climbs into the pulpit.

Where is Joseph H. Riley, chairman of the board of National Savings and Trust and president of the sponsoring nonprofit Christmas Pageant of Peace?

Here he is, trotting up at a bankerly pace, stuffing his watch into his vest pocket like the White Rabbit. He leaps nimbly into the pulpit with Mrs. Bush, and they take off, chatting as easily as if they were sitting in the back seat of a limo. With aplomb, she places the bauble. Everyone claps.

And for 20 minutes, they stay up there, exposed against the cold gray sky, talking calmly while one photographer after another is sent aloft in another cherry picker to get an aerial shot. It is surely the most accommodating performance ever seen at one of these prefabricated events. The Secret Service people look extremely nervous.

After all, when President Reagan lights the tree Dec. 16, he will do it by remote control from the White House back door, because the Secret Service doesn't want him roaming around outside at night, not even for a Pageant of Peace.

GRAPHIC: Picture, Barbara Bush and Joseph Riley, elevated by a cherry picker, decorate the National Christmas Tree on the Ellipse. By Joel Richardson -- The Washington Post

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

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Time

December 14, 1981, U.S. Edition

SECTION: PEOPLE; Pg. 60

LENGTH: 97 words

BYLINE: By Claudia Wallis

BODY:

Question: What soars high above a treetop with an open umbrella? Answer: Barbara ("Mary Poppins") Bush. That's the way the Second Lady billed herself after braving high altitude and Washington rain to top the national Christmas tree with a star on the Ellipse south of the White House. To crown the 30-ft. Colorado Spruce, Bush was given a lift in a cherry picker. The task comes with her job, she says: "Vice Presidents' wives go to funerals and top Christmas trees." They do not, however, light the evergreens. On Dec. 17, Ronald Reagan will perform that service.

GRAPHIC: Picture, Bush and tree -- all spruced up for Christmas in the capital, TERRY ASHE

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

gossip mills inside and beyond the Beltway. Lips that were sealed while the Reagans were in power opened up in their wake.

Publicly Barbara Bush pooh-poohed the press stories that surfaced about what many described as her distant relationship with Mrs. Reagan—a woman whose private coldness but skilled public display of warmth (especially before whirring or snapping cameras) amazed even former first lady Betty Ford, who is no novice to the political stage. But friends and family indicate the relationship between Nancy and Bar was far from intimate.

"A wicked little grin comes on her face whenever Nancy Reagan comes up," a White House aide said.

The two got off to a difficult start. Their husbands, after all, had been rivals. In 1980 when Mrs. Bush had to make the switch and work *for* her husband's rival, rather than *against* him, she frankly admitted, "I'll work, but not my heart out." Theirs were different politics: Reagan's conservative ideology versus Bush's compromising moderation. Then there was Nancy's bad-mouthing of George during Iran-Contra, expecting him to be the fall guy for Ronnie. There were the infrequent invitations to the White House. The Bushes and Reagans never dined alone together after Reagan's first year in office, Nancy said. Equally irksome to the Bushes, who have made the thank-you note into an art form, was Reagan's ambivalence toward a George Bush presidency, the reward for eight years of loyalty and good behavior. Though their well-bred Yankee manners stopped the new president and his first lady from grousing, the president's sister, Nancy Ellis, felt no compunction in expressing her sentiments in her hometown newspaper, *The Boston Globe*. The minute the mantle of nominee was handed over to her brother and the incumbent departed New Orleans on the first day of the Republican Convention, Mrs. Ellis wrote this dispatch as a guest columnist: "The president addressed the convention, and we honor the Reagans. What a night for them: It's a love-in. But I am nervous. First comes Mrs. Reagan. She looks beautiful and is touching but does not mention Barbara. I want her to do so; I want her to say how valuable BB [Barbara Bush] has been as a compatriot in politics these last eight years, how BB has stood beside her, or slightly behind her, and what a great first lady BB will make. But no mention of this, and the blue sky changes to a white sky."

Such was Mrs. Ellis's polite way of describing a dampered day.

And so there was a national sigh of relief when the president's helicopter lifted off from the Capitol's backyard on January 20 and took Ron and Nancy off to fashionable Bel Air, blowing a copter storm into the faces of the new tenants of the White House who bade them adieu. Upon arriving in California Ron and Nancy be-moaned the constitutional technicality that cheated Americans of Reagan's leadership for a third term. The Reagans couldn't have been more wrong. Although he was leaving office with high approval ratings, if Reagan had been eligible to run for a third term, 54 percent of the public said they wouldn't have voted for him, according to *Time*.

On the campaign trail reporters had annoyed Mrs. Bush by constantly asking "What kind of first lady will you be?" ✓

Though she hinted at it throughout the campaign, Barbara's answer first got out on the morning of January 19 in inaugural week when some six thousand people filled up the Kennedy Center's three auditoriums—the Concert Hall, the Eisenhower Theater and the Opera House—for a special event honoring Mrs. Bush. Well-dressed party faithful from across the country filed in at fifty dollars apiece to welcome the new first lady and to enjoy the National Symphony Orchestra, the Preservation Hall Jazz Band, the Mora Ariaga Mariachis (starring Bush granddaughter Noelle), the Houston Symphony Orchestra, and other entertainers.

Barbara Bush made the rounds, visiting each hall, taking in a few tunes. She was presented at all three stops by the soon-to-be second lady, Marilyn Quayle, who after a few words of introduction wept with unbelievable emotion each time.

Mrs. Quayle began by telling each of her audiences that she had a tough act to follow up on Observatory Hill, the vice-president's official residence. "When George Bush was elected vice-president of the United States, Barbara Bush became president of the Senate Ladies. We are a very unique group. We're totally nonpartisan," Mrs. Quayle explained. (A spinoff of the Red Cross, the group meets monthly to roll bandages and the like for local hospitals.)

"When Barbara came into our presence as our leader, she didn't just act like a figurehead. She came to our meetings. She took each one of us to her heart. We all became her friends and she helped

all of us who came to Washington without friends, without family, and treated us as her family.

"That's Barbara Bush. She goes beyond herself," Mrs. Quayle continued, her voice choking with emotion.

"To everyone she meets . . . she spurs them on to be better people, and to do better things with their lives . . . and I get weepy when I talk about it." She gulped for breath. (Mrs. Quayle later said that Bar had turned over her own Red Cross apron to her, a kind of passing on of the sacred beanie, "because she knew I wouldn't buy one.") "How wonderful Barbara Bush has been to all of us in the Senate. To our families. To making our lives a little more special. Barbara Bush has done this for people around the country and around the world. Each life she touches she makes a little bit better because she came into their lives."

There was more. Mrs. Quayle went on, her voice trembling. "Barbara's a woman of great character, indomitable spirit. High energy. And a very, very keen wit that she uses to great effect with her friends to bring us all great joy. She's beloved of all the Senate Ladies. In a very short time she will become a most beloved first lady of our nation . . ." As she spoke, tears glistened in Mrs. Quayle's eyes.

The first time Mrs. Quayle gave this introduction—and wept—it was with apparent conviction. The Quayles, after all, had been run through the ringer. Bar had been a big support, it seemed. Marilyn's gratitude would be plausible.

The second time she went through a very similar but slightly reworked version of the same introduction—and wept—the depth of her emotions seemed, well, suspect. It was Bar she was introducing, after all. And Bar had just *heard* her effusive commentary moments before.

By her last performance—all three witnessed only by Mrs. Bush and her entourage, and the small reporting pool herded from auditorium to auditorium—wry jokes about crocodile tears seeped out among the press.

"I think in the next administration we're going to be known as the weeping sisters," Mrs. Bush told one audience, which laughed gently at her reference to Mrs. Quayle's comportment.

It was also at this first-lady event that Mrs. Bush took her first steps toward projecting her own image and making a statement

about who *she* was. After Marilyn's words, Bar stepped out from behind the center-stage podium. Three times she implored her audiences, "I want you all to look at me very closely." The crowds laughed and cheered.

"Please notice the hair," she invited each audience. More laughter and whistles.

"The makeup." The laughter grew louder still.

Then, unbuttoning and opening the jacket to her deep-blue Scaasi suit, she flashed the green and purple rose print lining, matching the print in her bowed silk blouse. "The designer clothes." Three times, one audience of Republicans after another howled in glee.

"I want you to watch me all week," she said, pausing for effect . . . "And remember! You're not going to see it again!"

Of course they would, but on that day she brought the houses down. Videotape rolled. Still photographers shot frame after humorous frame of a winking, grinning, self-deprecating Barbara Bush showing herself off.

It was that simple. The tone was set. The message clear, if unstated. "The subtext of all that is 'I am not Nancy Reagan,'" said Lewis Gould, a historian who specializes in the history of first ladies at the University of Texas at Austin.

Our new First Lady: "Mrs. Not Nancy" is how the fellows over at *The New Republic* cleverly put it.

* * *

In her first one hundred days, the artificial timetable invented by the press to gauge the tone of the new administration, Bar built on that image. She scooted around the country to some forty solo publicity events, visiting the poor, the ill, and the homeless in an effort to capitalize on media attention that inevitably would fade. She had her picture taken reading to minority children. She was pictured holding a baby sick with AIDS. The events were similar in design and staging to her campaign appearances. She oversaw the establishment of the Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy, an organization designed to bring private funds and focus to those family reading programs around the country that succeed. Mrs. Bush made her first public outing on January 31 to Martha's Table, a day-care center and soup kitchen for homeless adults and children in a poor part of Washington, D.C. There were plenty of well-to-do faces that day as more than two dozen report-

ers, photographers, and television technicians were jammed into a press pen set up inside the modest building to witness Mrs. Bush taking her first steps as first lady of the United States. Donning a red apron, Bar joined a shy-looking volunteer at a table set up in the center of a big room in perfect view of the press pen and for ten minutes or so folded a couple of meat and cheese sandwiches while the photographers maniacally documented the moment. Then she moved on to a gathering of kids and read them a story while the journalists watched her and the kids watched the journalists.

Unlike Eleanor Roosevelt, or Rosalynn Carter, or Betty Ford, who took hands-on roles in their husband's administrations, Mrs. Bush prefers not to see the first lady role in substantive terms. "Thank heavens there's no job description," she told a reporter for *USA Today*. "You write it yourself and nobody else, and that's what I'm up to. I love my life. I don't consider it a job."

What Mrs. Bush does do is designed to complement her husband's presidency and generate good publicity for him by creating the image of a person who "cares." "The East Wing [where the first lady's staff works] sets the tone and if the West Wing [the president's side of the White House] doesn't pay enough attention to what that tone is and what's happening, they'll run into problems," Sheila Tate said. Looking back on her own experience, Tate recalled: "They really will, 'cause it'll politicize things so quickly. All of a sudden it looked like the Reagans were very acquisitive and only interested in their own comforts. She was spending money like a drunken sailor. It was very damaging. It took a long time to beat our way out of that hole."

Mrs. Bush's chief of staff, Susan Porter Rose, explained her views of the first lady's role in her spacious office in the East Wing of the White House. She said that Mrs. Bush wants to highlight administration initiatives. "I think she has the general goal of wanting in all ways that she can to help this administration..." Her approach is one that she has first of all thought through in a very conscious way, and it's tied to this very profound belief that he's the elected official and what he thinks about is what matters. It's a principled consideration on her part."

As on the campaign trail, Rose calls the shots for Mrs. Bush. Asked about Barbara Bush's management style, Rose described her as trusting. The two work well together, Rose said. "She's

trusting of me. Now, that's not to say that she doesn't convey how she wants things done, or that she doesn't have definite views about things and a lot of input into things. But she trusts it's going to get done. She trusts she's going to like it. And I think she trusts that it's going to be comfortable for the people we're working with, whether they be the other people on the present staff or whether they be the people that we're working with to set up a trip or an event."

Rose detailed her definition of first lady. "I think as first lady one of the things she does is reflect the human side of this man who has been elected president and reflect their family and their values. Now, what she did on the campaign trail was to reflect the human side of the candidate, and as people meet her, she brings him to them in a lot of ways."

Did the first lady have to have a project? Rose, who previously worked in the White House on Pat Nixon's and Betty Ford's staffs, elaborated: "How the first lady handles her life and what she chooses to do is really her own decision and if someone chooses not to have a project, I think that's entirely up to them. Now in this day and age especially, when I think there's been a greater focus since the sixties on women and their accomplishments, I think that would be harder. But I still think if you had a young woman who had little children or something like that and was shy in personality, I think that person would have to make her own decision about that. But I think most people would see it as such an opportunity to make a difference in something. I think it would be very hard not to have that feeling about it. But I'm not somebody who thinks that expectations ought to be imposed on a first lady."

In Rose's view, "One of the things that's a given in almost every case is that people really do expect and hope that the first lady's going to be a good wife to the president. They like that. People like that. I think they feel more comfortable that the first lady and the president are working together and helping each other and being important parts of each other's lives. And also when they are a family, as they certainly are with the Bushes, a big family, you know, you gotta look out after the family, too."

Are there expectations that the first lady will have an impact on women's issues? Rose didn't think so.

Nor did Mrs. Bush. Though she is not a feminist, Barbara Bush

is admittedly a "woman's woman." She has said, "I really like women . . . and I couldn't *live* without my women friends . . ." Only one of her twenty-two-member staff is a male. She wanted a woman press secretary, "not because I am a chauvinist, but because I think a woman understands a woman better, that's all. For me," she said, and hired a black woman, thirty-seven-year-old Anna Perez. Mrs. Bush is interested in the needs of poor women and women who have been left by their husbands and need job training. She is concerned about the problems facing teenage mothers. But, she said, "I am not going to be one who's speaking out on women's issues, so-called." She makes no connection between these women's needs and what Americans have traditionally come to perceive as women's issues: pay equity, abortion rights, and an equal-rights amendment. Nor has she lent her voice toward shaping a national family policy: a guaranteed work-leave for employed parents after the birth or adoption of a child, for instance, or financial aid for the working poor to obtain quality child care.

After several months in the White House, in an interview in early April Mrs. Bush described her own sense of her role and how it differed from the second lady's. "I think we are doing less foreign countries and will do less than as vice-president. We spent over half our time traveling. A relatively short amount of time, but we went to seventy-eight foreign countries. So I think that life was much more representing your country abroad. Although certainly, I had the president of Costa Rica's wife for lunch yesterday. I had Mrs. Mubarik for tea and Mrs. Shamir tonight. I do see that as a part of it, a very important part of it all on home ground." Because of her previous experience, she said, "I have been thinking globally for a number of years."

On the domestic front as a hostess, she said: "I am not a hands-on first lady as such. I trust [White House social secretary] Laurie Firestone and Gary Walters, who is the head usher. They are wonderful, once we make the decision. Our biggest problems are guest lists [and] trying to merge in people you want to have, and those are *major* problems."

Mrs. Bush also described her role as that of a publicist. "That's much more important for me now," she said in a White House interview. "I would be a hands-on volunteer if I thought it would

do the most good. The truth is, it wouldn't. The most good done by me now is getting out and saying to the people who work for MADD [Mothers Against Drunk Driving] or child help, or drug abuse, or crime prevention, or visiting nurses, or whatever it is, you're doing a wonderful job and we need more of you."

Overall she said she saw the job as "really dealing with people. I ran out and watched the former head of my Secret Service when I was [wife of the] vice-president play horseshoes today. I am a people person. I have a tea at three today; Casey Healey's [her personal aide] mother and grandmother are coming up. I had all these doctors this morning and gave them a tour. Yesterday we had a recording-for-the-blind reception. In the morning I did a press conference for abused children about which we got no press at all. Not one living bit. And I could have told you that, but you have to make the effort. It is too bad because it is really a wonderful program."

Mrs. Bush said she was disappointed by the lack of publicity. "I don't care for me but for them. I cared because they were hopeful. But I see that over and over again. It is just not newsworthy. It is too bad. We had a lot of people who came a long way for that press conference."

As her remarks about her press conference indicate, like a lot of public figures Mrs. Bush wants press attention, but only on her terms—as publicity, not as scrutiny of her actions as a public person. She is aware of the distinction. She once said, "I read an article where Helen Thomas [senior White House correspondent] said, 'We want publicity when we do good works. But we don't want it when we try to go off privately. We can't have it both ways.' Well, maybe that's true. I don't know."

As much as she regretted lack of press coverage that day in April, Mrs. Bush has displayed both amusement and a marked dislike of being in the limelight. Rose said, "I think she's someone who's content with a lower profile. She wants the attention brought to what she's doing rather than to her. Now you can say, well, it's not going to separate and the fact of the matter is that's partly true, but that's still how she feels about it."

After her first visit to Martha's Table, aides later said she was "stunned" and put off by the press attention.

"She's ambivalent about the spotlight on her," her press secretary, Anna Perez, said during the first couple's trip to Canada.

"I don't think she's crazy about it. She doesn't seek it. It's there," her friend Andy Stewart agreed.

Despite her initial efforts to woo select reporters with invitations and lunches up in the family residence, at times Mrs. Bush barely seemed to tolerate the press. Once her first one hundred days were through, Mrs. Bush admitted the rush of events had worn her out and she was going to slow down. "I'm lucky if I get through the day. I don't mean I'm overextended," she told a group of reporters during a roundtable discussion, "but I'm sixty-three years old and I need to be babied a bit. Nobody asks me to do all these things—I do them because I want to. But I have overscheduled myself. I'm not going to go into retirement, I'm just not going to try to do twelve events in one day. That's silly."

Besides, she had already done her most important job: Her image was firmly in place and she could now carefully pick and choose her public events.

"On the foreign trips she really does not want to go off and have a big splashing separate schedule. She wants to do things that, first, countries want her to do and the embassies feel are a good idea. And rather than be out there making a big splash in some way, she wants to complement what [the president's] there to do," Rose explained.

However, it wasn't her desire to complement George that caused a problem. On the contrary, her low-key approach to publicity has created some embarrassing and much-publicized moments. In February 1989, for instance, when Mrs. Bush traveled with her husband to China she didn't want to turn every meeting into a press event, so she brought only her press secretary and no other staff. As Mrs. Bush visited the Forbidden City, ancient home to Chinese emperors, and toured an exhibit about Pu Yi, the last emperor and the subject of Bernardo Bertolucci's film, Chinese security guards pushed and shoved Mrs. Bush's entourage into a door so hard that a White House photographer's jaw was dislocated. "This girl's job is to take my picture, and she got hit," Mrs. Bush scolded the guards at the time. "She works for my husband. Ask them to calm down," press on the scene reported.

Asked about the quality of the advance work (referring to staff groundwork and preparation for the moment-by-moment itinerary of a visiting dignitary), Anna Perez, said, "What advance?"

Reporter Craig Hines of the *Houston Chronicle* suggested to Mrs. Bush that in light of the shoving incident, "the trip seems just a little lightly advanced. Are you happy with that?"

The first lady disagreed. "You're just saying that to be rude because you know I don't want to be advanced."

To some Mrs. Bush seemed almost to be resisting the visibility of her role. "She does have this idea that she can do things the way she did them before, and it just can't be," a senior White House official told a *Washington Post* reporter.

Later Susan Porter Rose said: "I think that's going to have to be just something that kind of evolves in her thinking. You know, she doesn't want the focus on her and she thinks it can happen without anything like that. . . . I think her mind kind of has to adjust to thinking about it in the sense that she just wants to be sure that she is not front and center."

When the Bushes traveled again to London for the NATO summit, reporters sensed that Bar was still resisting media attention. Lois Romano of *The Washington Post* wrote from London:

Media interest in the first lady has been moderate at best—which is the way she seems to prefer it. Choosing low-key cultural and educational activities close to her heart, she gave a pretty good indication here of how she'll handle foreign travel during her White House years.

Even American press interest in her on this trip has been inconsistent, with some events attracting only one or two print reporters. That's a far cry from the Reagan years, when five or six news organizations would send reporters just to cover Nancy.

There has also been a sense here that, mediawise, the first lady does just what she has to do—and no more.

She startled Italian and American reporters in Rome, for instance, when she abruptly cut press queries about her husband's "cautious" attitude on arms control.

To the dismay of her staff, the incident was recorded by a network pool and widely reported at home.

A few days later, during her morning tea with Hannelore Kohl in Bonn, she again showed some impatience with press demands. As the West German chancellor's wife bent over backwards to help photographers, Mrs. Bush asked: "Don't they have enough yet?"

But her staff seemed to realize this week that even for someone who doesn't enjoy coverage, there is room for compromise. After hearing complaints that it was impossible to get near the First Lady in Rome and Brussels, her office began inviting a pool writer to accompany her. And today at Brixton, the First Lady appeared much more willing to pose and talk.

Earlier, in Kennebunkport, Mrs. Bush had a different reaction to her newfound celebrity. She laughed as she described a scene during a walk with her daughter when she and her husband came back for their first visit since the inauguration. "Three women almost drove off the road. They were funny. And Dorothy LeBlond did not help me at all," she began. "A woman came around the back road. Pulled up in the car and said, 'My God. Oh God! MY GOD!! It is you. It IS YOU!!' And Dorothy fell over laughing.

"I thought, 'The poor woman.' She got very embarrassed and Dorothy was screaming with laughter. We were afraid she was going to turn the car around."

Laughing, Mrs. Bush continued. "Then another lady, Japanese, I think, stopped me. Screamed with excitement. Carrying on. Touched me and then we heard her for quite a while.

"Unfortunately, we passed her again later and the Secret Service said, 'You're lucky she's not driving.'"

* * *

Since she moved into the White House, Mrs. Bush's friends said, she has enjoyed sharing her new life. "These, after all, are extraordinary adventures, and she shares them. Half the fun is sharing, from her point of view," Janet Steiger said. "She's very generous about it. She's just always acted in that same fashion."

Shortly after moving into the White House and tapping into the budget provided for the president's family's personal use, Mrs. Bush often invited her friends over for lunch and gave them a tour of her new surroundings. "She frequently has friends over to the White House privately," Steiger said. "As you know, they only publish a guest list for official functions."

Commissioner Steiger described a birthday party Bar threw for women friends of Mrs. Stewart, who just "roams in and out" of the White House. Mrs. Steiger recalled: "Bar took such glee in this. You really would've thought she made [the cake], she was so

enchanted with it. The cake was quite a large cake. And it was a tennis court. It had a sugar-candied racquet, absolutely perfect racquet on the top. It was simply marvellous. The most magnificent time was had by all. Especially Andy."

Not long after the inauguration Susan Porter Rose said: "One of the things I find amusing, and I don't know why it strikes me as amusing but it does, is that she just loves having lunch [with friends] in different nooks and crannies around the White House. I think that is just terrific. I laugh and laugh about that," Bar's chief of staff said. "There's a kind of freedom that goes with it, in the sense that you're there. You know, the obstacles have been removed. You're there. Not that they have spent eight years panting to be there, I don't mean that at all. But here they are; it's theirs to make of it what they can and will. And I think there's a liberation to that."

Mrs. Bush seemed to agree. "I have friends over for lunch almost every day," she said in February 1989. "I want to sit down and show it off. . . . One day Mrs. Stewart and I picked a sunny spot nearly a mile down the end of the hall to lunch just for fun. You can have it anyplace. You can have the solarium. You can have it anyplace your heart desires. We had people, friends, come and spend the first weekend we were here. . . . Then we had friends last weekend at Camp David who came back to the White House with us for the night from Houston just for fun. The social life is all right. 'Cause George Bush keeps us on our toes."

Indeed. During the initial days at the White House the Bushes engaged in a compulsive round of socializing, wooing members of Congress unhappy with the negative tone of the campaign, and journalists as well. The night she was invited to join the Bushes for dinner, Jessica Lee, a White House reporter for *USA Today*, said, "I couldn't get over it, a Washington reporter parking in front of the White House." Ms. Lee is the owner of a rusty blue Datsun sports car, according to *The New York Times* reporter who elicited her quote. Dinner and a tour of the White House, complete with a viewing of a signed draft of the Gettysburg address and the awesome Lincoln bed, became a regular story in the newspaper society pages. (The Bushes finally gave a video tour to ABC's Sam Donaldson and Diane Sawyer, so the public could see it, too.)

* * *

Though Mrs. Bush balances politics with her friends and family, and keeps a close eye on White House goings-on, in conversation

she marvels at life in the White House and prefers to emphasize the softer side of her life. The ease and glamour. The chance to meet the world's most accomplished people. "An enormous perk of the job," Mrs. Bush said. She described a visit by dance impresario Martha Graham, now in her nineties. "There were moments when she talked where [this greatness] all came back. I could see her dancing and she looked like . . . a young girl," Mrs. Bush marveled.

She was also impressed by a rarely seen, softer side of Margaret Thatcher. "It's interesting when you get to know people a little bit more on a personal level. I think you think of Margaret Thatcher one way. When you meet her you're sort of overcome by another side of her. For instance, you know, I have enormous respect for her as a woman who is the head of a world power and very influential in the European Community, which is really a power. But when we went to visit her, I was really overwhelmed by her enormous courtesy and hospitality and the female side came out. . . . She took me upstairs to show me the room herself and said, 'I thought maybe you'd enjoy these books and I thought of you when I saw this.' I thought that was very sensitive and it was a side of Margaret that I don't think others will see and I enjoyed that."

She continued: "You also have a feeling in common with people like that, which is a surprise in a way. Because they have children. They have grandchildren. They can't see them as often as they'd like—you sort of put a wall around your children so that they'll be protected. Anyway, I think you have something in common with them."

Another thing Bar found fascinating was swapping notes with other foreign leaders' wives. After visiting with Mila Mulroney in Canada, Mrs. Bush reported: "We talked about other world leaders and their wives, and we had very different impressions. We had *very* different impressions and I told George, too. He was interested. But it was just fascinating to me. The women that both of us have met with and done things with. Now maybe it makes a difference, too, if you're the wife of the prime minister or the vice-president's wife. Maybe there's a difference in there, who knows? Or maybe it makes a difference if you're from an African country or French-speaking. Or if you're in the Commonwealth. There are a lot of things that could have made a difference. But I was fascinated with the people that I adored [and] she didn't. And people she did, I wasn't too sold on."

The couple also appeared to enjoy state dinners, not necessarily cozy occasions. Mrs. Bush said she had an especially good time at the dinner in June for Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke. "He's what you call a relaxed guest. You know, Australians are very much like Texans, anyway. I don't know why. There's a sort of feeling of continuity there."

That evening Mrs. Bush had especially enjoyed the entertainment. "Leontyne Price just happens to be a favorite of mine and an old friend. During dinner, out of the blue, she broke into song. I can't remember the song that she sang, but the violinists were playing. They didn't play Vienna waltzes for some reason, they played singable songs. And she started to sing—I think I wrote it in my diary—but whatever she sang was—I mean it was so special to have that voice in the middle of dinner singing out. . . . There was a magic about that evening. I don't think the food was any better, but I think just the choice of people. I mean every table looked like they couldn't bear to stand up after dinner; they just wanted to stay where they were."

Since joining the world's power elite, Mrs. Bush has undergone a personal transformation of sorts. Like Kitty Dukakis, who underwent a visual makeover on the campaign trail, Bar *looks* different. She has shed her matronly looks. Despite the off-hand way in which she and her designers dismiss her clothes, she cares a lot about her looks. No different from most American women, she loves looking good. When she bumped into her daughter and two of her girlfriends while walking around the grounds of the Kennebunkport house, the group caught up on inaugural gossip. Today everyone was dressed in jeans. Doro's friends teased Mrs. Bush on how beautiful she looked during inaugural week. "We loved the inauguration," she said to the young women. "I heard you were all there and I saw none of you. It was a wonderful vacation. It was so much fun. You wouldn't have recognized me if you saw me. . . . I had lipstick on and makeup."

"Oh, you looked so glamorous," one of Doro's friends replied. "Scaasi . . ." she drooled teasingly.

Mrs. Bush giggled like a teenager. Then did a little dance. A bit like the twist. "Scaasi! Scaasi! Scaasi!" she laughed delightedly, jittering back and forth. "All Scaasi clothes!" Doro and her

friends roared with laughter then clambered back into their car and took off.

In an interview in Kennebunkport, it became apparent she was extremely sensitive to how Americans were receiving their new first lady. "I look at my mail and try to get the gist of it. To see if it's really not saying, 'Listen, you are a pig and we hate you,'" she said bluntly. "None of them have said that so far."

Contrary to popular belief, Mrs. Bush has been having couturier fittings ever since she was in the vice-president's house. "She has people that she's used through the vice-presidential years, and she still uses them," Susan Porter Rose said. "And she goes up to New York, and they do designs, show her swatches of fabric, and she makes choices." Shopping off the rack went out a long time ago, although she did purchase a "cheap" pair of shoes for the inaugural balls. "I bought twenty-nine-dollar [ones]—I think it was," she said. "Had them dyed to match the dress because I knew I had to give them away. Every inch of my feet told me *never* buy twenty-nine-dollar shoes. Ever! I wore them again for the diplomatic reception. And barely . . . I mean, they are the *worst* shoes you ever knew. But everything I wore had to be given away. The fake pearls. The dress. The stole. The ravishing pocketbook. All go to the Smithsonian."

Mrs. Bush has her own checkbook and always has had. "I never have to ask [George] for money. I have another source I go to," she explained. "Don Rhodes. He handles all our financial things. George said to him, years and years ago, this is what the children get for allowance every month, and whenever Barbara Bush asks you for money, give it to her. Not bad, huh?"

"I heard George say one day—which really shocked me, he might not say that anymore—Bar is really good. She never spends too much money. I have a guilty conscience every day of my life. But I don't buy things unless I really feel I need them. I am getting more spoiled now," she confessed. "I think I shocked Casey [Healey] because I sent her out to buy tennis shoes the other day. I saw some Reeboks, all-white. I like all-white and she brought back two pairs. And I said, 'I will take both.' And she said, 'What?'"

"Now we go to Camp David. Now we are here. Then we go to Maine. And I think I am old enough to have tennis shoes at each place. That's four of them. So I don't have to worry. I bought three bathing suits the other day—they are not lovely. I hate them on skinny, lovely things—there is a lot of fabric."

One of the designers from whom she buys, Arnold Scaasi, has said, "Fashion isn't her main concern at all. She wants to look good and then forget about it." But Bar loves good clothes. Mingling with other guests in the front hall of the White House after a state dinner honoring Australian Prime Minister Bob Hawke, William Draper, administrator of the U.N. Development Programme, joked about a little shopping trip to Scaasi's Bar took his wife, Phyllis, on. Draper laughed as he told the story of how later on Bar asked him if he was still mad at her because of the expense. "It's heavy on the checkbook," Draper said laughing, looking over at his Scaasi-gowned wife.

In contrast to the brittle Nancy, Mrs. Bush has used wit to elude criticism for wearing expensive designer clothing. On the president's first trip to Europe for the NATO summit, Mrs. Bush wore different clothes for every occasion. When a reporter mentioned it, she quipped, "I hoped you'd notice. I killed myself."

Nor has she been criticized for redecorating several rooms at the White House and Camp David with the help of society interior designer Mark Hampton. "You walk into the residence and she says every day, 'Thank God for Nancy Reagan.' She did nothing but compliment Nancy Reagan while she made a lot of changes. Very smart," a former campaign aide said, recalling how the Carters lived with severe structural problems, shunning the federal funds appropriated for White House redecoration rather than deal with the expected political fallout of refurbishing the White House. "Barbara Bush changed three or four major rooms up there without any problem at all because she just kept saying she didn't need to change a thing. That is a masterful political way to handle that situation."

Hampton, who helped Bar decorate the vice-president's residence, said she had done "a general sprucing up" at Camp David. "Anything that Mrs. Bush puts her hand to becomes fun because she's so involved in it," Hampton told *The Washington Post*. Mrs. Bush agreed. "It is fun. And the people are spectacular. I have never known people so dying to take care of your every want. It is a wonderful house. A very happy house. Filled with sunshine and the most beautiful food you ever saw in your life."

CHAPTER THIRTEEN



Life at the White House

I'm way behind in the work I've got to do, and there are so many new people in my life, I've been neglecting old friends. When I retire, I'm going to lobby for a salary for First Ladies, because it's much more of a 24-hour job than anyone would guess.

—BETTY FORD, *The New York Times*, 12/8/74

Before moving into the White House, Mrs. Bush had frequently expressed misgivings about life at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue. "I think how awful it must be for Nancy Reagan not being able to walk around the lawn, having strangers wandering through the downstairs rooms all morning," she told a *New York Times* reporter in 1982. "There are enormous downsides [to being first lady]," she repeated to a group of reporters gathered for a pre-inaugural interview at the vice-president's house. "I think Nancy felt besieged at times. And I think she was criticized for things that she shouldn't have been. I mean, I honestly think that if someone gives you the money, raises the money privately to buy china for the White House, the American public ought to say thank you instead of being critical."

Her son Marvin said, "I think after being in what I would consider the nicest house in Washington, the Observatory—it was a home. It was a big Victorian house—I think she was worried about moving into the White House and feeling like she was in a museum."

Once there, she talked openly about maintaining an open-door policy and stressed the importance of not becoming too isolated. After years in Washington Mrs. Bush has a heightened consciousness of hangers-on and the fawning that come with being in power. "Some of us have been around long enough to know what it means," she said. "I don't know if people tell you the truth."

Nancy Ellis remembered Bar telling her, "'You've got to come and stay, otherwise it will be like being a prisoner here.' I think she keeps herself from being trapped and will continue to do that. . . . I think they will open it up a lot more so they are not sitting up there, just the two of them, on the second floor," Mrs. Ellis said. Mrs. Bush expressed those sentiments herself to a group of reporters who interviewed her over lunch one day in the spring. "I am not going to let him be a prisoner in this house, and we are going to go out and we are going to do things—we're just going to go out. Both of us," she insisted.

Andy Stewart added, "They're such outdoor people. They're such active, do-it-yourself types. I mean she plants the trees, and the bushes, and the gardens, and does all the stuff around. And walks, five or six miles a day, and all that. So that's curtailed. [The other day] we were kidding [that] it will be years before she will drive a car. Isn't that extraordinary for someone who has done everything all her life for herself? I mean, some people are perfectly happy to sit back, and they say the one thing they want when they get older is to have someone drive them around because they can't stand the traffic or something. But not the Bushes."

When she had thought about the prospect of her friend Kitty Dukakis moving on to the White House, Sandy Bakalar had said the one thing she feared most was that she'd lose her old friend. "Do you think that Barbara Bush is going to be able to sustain the relationships that she had?" Bakalar asked. "She is really going to have to give them up—that is a real loss."

Barbara Bush has struggled against that. "The place is different. The role is different. The responsibility, God knows, is different," said Andy Stewart.

"The pressures are not only global, but intergalactic, truthfully," Janet Steiger said. "And there is always this awesome sense that, after all, every word from the mouth of the president of the

United States can go through the entire world. You sort of feel they belong to the world now. It's amazing she can find time to see friends at all," added Steiger, a regular White House guest.

Steiger said there had been times when she felt Bar might have been able to use her friends more. "In general, some of these roles have a real quality of isolation. They are so incredibly demanding. You are so incredibly busy all the time that just taking the time for chitchat with an old friend who knows your kids by name can become a luxury. This is true of an awful lot of people who are close to Bar . . . the same really unbelievable demands. I don't think people understand the scope of those demands. . . . She's had to reach down to friends for all the years I've known her."

Steiger insisted that "one of the more amazing things" about the Bushes is that they never allowed their friendships to drift. "They stay in touch." Still, "There is a difficult role for friends of these incredible people. Everyone is reluctant to impose on them in any way. I think there are times when Bar could've used more of us and more contact and yet you certainly don't want to intrude because you know the incredible demands on her time. So it really is, has been, on their shoulders to stay in touch with everybody. More so than on yours or mine."

Doro said she has talked with her mother's friends about staying in touch. "People are afraid to call," her daughter said. "She can't always see everybody and do everything" but is insistent that her friends stay in contact. Doro recalled a phone call from her god-mother, Betsy Hemingway, who asked: "'Should I call your Mom?' And I said, 'Yes, absolutely. Because first of all, she will feel left out if you don't talk to her about it. And secondly, she would want you to call her.'"

Speaking for herself, Doro said, "Sometimes I think I'm going to tell Mom some stupid trivial thing or something. But she wants to hear all that. She wants that. She doesn't want to be treated any differently. Of course, she is going to be a lot busier always."

Barbara Bush's friends and family say she has tried to keep things the same. "We haven't changed," Mrs. Bush insisted in an interview. "George still takes a shower with the dog."

But circumstances got beyond her control at times. During one of her first days in the White House, Mrs. Bush ventured beyond its gates to walk her dog. She tried to show friends Blair House, where visiting dignitaries stay across from the White House, only

to find it locked, and she was unexpectedly mobbed by reporters who caught her while they were waiting to interview Henry Kissinger. Mrs. Bush said she hoped if she continued with such impromptu stops she could "wear the press out." Millie, her much-maligned spaniel, has helped Mrs. Bush retain a sense of normalcy. "That dog is her security blanket," Mrs. Stewart said. A dog running around the White House chomping on a tennis ball also functions well as an icebreaker and helps cut through protocol pretty quickly. Walking her dog—to whom she talks constantly—enables her to have time to herself and helps provide a balance in a life filled with strangers and shifting political loyalties. "Family, friends, and faith are the three things she holds on to for dear life," one of her White House aides said.

Marvin Bush, who lives ten minutes away in Alexandria, Virginia, also said, "things haven't changed" between him and his parents since they got into the White House. "I don't feel that I've lost them at all because they're the ones who drive the way we feel in this situation. They've made it easy for us. They've created an environment where it's no big deal. I've always been respectful of my parents' time, you know. Maybe it comes from being one of five children. But I make it count."

His mother makes her time count, too. Her friends say one of Barbara Bush's strengths is her ability to focus on, and enjoy, whatever she is doing at the present moment. "She really reaches out. You feel like you just *met* Barbara Bush," said longtime aide and family friend Alixe Glen, now a deputy White House press secretary.

* * *

Lunch and puppies aside, the transition into the White House was harder than the Bushes let on, especially after the grueling campaign. Some of Mrs. Bush's closest friends said they felt she needed more time than she had to adjust and for her role to emerge. "I would have thought that it didn't start off with quite such a bang, that you had several months to sort of ease into it," Mrs. Steiger said. "She told me two weeks before the inaugural, they would hit the ground running with great speed. There wasn't any easing in. The mail was already stacked in huge piles. I don't know if she feels that way. I feel that way."

In fact, Mrs. Bush said she *did* feel that way.

"You know, we were so busy. Even the transition isn't long enough—and yet it is plenty long because it's hard for the former president. . . . You are plotting and planning at getting things ready—plotting is not a nice word but I mean it in the nicest way. We moved in with twenty-eight people [who] stayed for two or three days. I think we were very lucky that way too, because I think other people haven't had that opportunity to hit the ground running."

"She works all the time at her desk. Just the paperwork was unbelievable," Doro said.

"I'm sure she sometimes feels like her life is not her own," Marvin added. He also said he believed his mother, like himself, was not enthralled with the idea of President George Bush. "First, it doesn't take a rocket scientist to see what it does to these people physically. I remember Jimmy Carter. I remember seeing a before and after picture of him, and it just seems like it wears these folks down. . . . She knows that I know that she and I share this quality. So when we're talking, it's like we're *hermano y hermana*, talking about this thing. We're on the same wavelength. I think, deep down, she would've been just as happy if he didn't run, too."

Life in the White House took some adjusting. "She's the type of person who used to do a lot of piddling around the house, and she's organized. She's incredibly organized," Marvin said. "I think that she misses time alone, just being able to run across the city and do whatever she wants to do. You know, you don't have the privacy you did before."

Marvin continued: "I think it is lonely albeit surrounded by humanity every minute of every day. I think it's a very lonely position. . . . You know, if you have an experience and you want to share it with somebody who's been through the same thing, it's a tough position to be in. Because only three or four people are there to share your thoughts and none of them are your best friends."

Mrs. Bush lost a considerable amount of weight those first few months. The change was noticeable though she denied it, even when reporters asked her about it. Explaining it, Bar faced the reality of the White House fishbowl. In early February she admitted she had lost weight but insisted it was excess weight gained on the campaign trail. "I gained thirteen pounds and lost them, but I lost them in the White House running up and down the marble stairs. You spend hours running up and down those stairs," she said. A

month later she invited a small group of reporters to lunch at the White House for a wide-ranging discussion. When a reporter again asked her politely if she had lost weight, Mrs. Bush replied, "Yes. Now do you want to know why?" She then went on to explain that her weight loss, twenty-one pounds, was due to Graves' disease, a thyroid disorder, which she has described as the "biggest challenge" she has faced since her husband took office.

"It was an interesting approach to break this in the residence," said one reporter who was there. "They bring you into their territory. The level of politeness is very high. They're in control."

Frank Murray, a White House correspondent for *The Washington Times*, also viewed the lunch as a "very well-managed way to inform the world that she was sick," rather than releasing the information to the White House press corps at a daily briefing session. "They decided if she talked about enough things and combined it with the puppies, it would blunt the isolation of the medical situation, which on a quiet news day could have been played up."

In an interview at the White House in April, Mrs. Bush said her first few months were pressured. "I thought I lost weight because I was being overworked. Seriously, it wasn't a joke. I honestly thought so. Because we were up at six, going until not too late at night, ten or eleven, but with absolutely *no* time to sit down and read a book. Three hours of mail a night. A lot of reading that I really should do. And it just seemed to me that I was being overworked. Plus, of course, six puppies. It seemed to me that I just didn't have any time alone. But now I have scheduled two tennis games in a week. In the early morning I have been swimming a mile a day."

Mrs. Bush also changed her schedule, in part, she said, "because the doctors told me to, just a little bit." At the time, she added, "We are still getting things under control." She also tried to take it easy, she said, because her new medicine made her lethargic. Or, as she put it: "I was feeling the effects of this new medicine which makes you collapse."

* * *

Beyond adapting to the hectic White House pace and life-style, Mrs. Bush began to see, soon after moving into the White House, the effects the presidency would have on her family. The most visible were changes made for security: the bulletproof glass that

replaced the old leaded windows at the Kennebunkport house. The Secret Service detail that began following the kids after death threats arrived. There were other family considerations, as well. From the start Bar has worried about "the terrible thing politics does to your family," as she put it in 1980 when her husband first sought the presidency. It can either tear you apart or pull you together, George junior once said.

Like the Dukakis siblings, members of the Bush clan said they felt the campaign experience brought them closer than they otherwise might have been. Marvin Bush explained: "Certainly it's made our family more cohesive. I know just among my siblings and myself—having shared the same experience is a valuable part of our relationship. Otherwise, it would have been quite natural for us not to stay in touch with each other."

He elaborated: "My brothers and sister and I, we live in five different states. My Dad's two runs for president really brought us closer together by being able to share the experience. It's like you've been in a war together, and you've shared the good moments and the bad moments."

Disagreements on issues are kept quiet. "George Bush told me abortion is the one issue that no one in his family agrees with him on," a senior campaign aide said after the election. Though he is less apt to say so now, Marvin opened up enough in 1980 to tell a reporter, "Look, I don't always agree with the guy. I don't like his stand on abortion. But he's worked his tail off. He deserves to be president."

George Bush's career has affected his children's lives in other ways, affording them opportunities they might not otherwise have had, and denying them others. "I have enormous worries about that," Mrs. Bush said shortly before the inauguration. "Only because we chose." And their choice has driven what their children can and cannot do.

All of the Bush children had put their lives on hold to join the presidential campaign. Both Bushes have expressed ambivalence about the effect the presidency might have on the lives of their five children and twelve grandchildren. "He was reluctant for me to join the campaign at first," young George said of his dad. "When I told him I was moving from Midland to Washington, I don't think he was real comfortable with the idea. He did not want his desire to be president of the United States to affect my life and what I

was doing in any adverse way. He thought that pulling up stakes and moving my family to Washington was too big a sacrifice to make on his behalf. After I convinced him that this is what I wanted to do and it fit into my life nicely, simply because I had merged my business out of existence basically, then he finally came to terms with it. And then he was helpful in helping me forge a role that enabled me to be very useful to him. But at first he was reluctant."

The Bushes' second son, Jeb, eventually resigned his position as secretary of commerce of Florida in order to campaign. Neil, a Denver oil entrepreneur, took time off. Marvin, a Virginia real-estate developer, took a leave of absence.

After the election the kids scattered again. George junior returned to Texas where he first thought of entering the governor's race, then, dissuaded in part by his mother, bought a baseball team instead. Jeb and Neil returned to Miami and Denver. Months after the election Marvin confessed he was still "paying back" his two partners in Alexandria, Virginia, for the time he was away from work. The Bushes' youngest child, Doro, was the one whose life seemed most permanently altered.

During the campaign Doro frequently left her husband and two children at home in Maine to stump for her father. After the election, she took a job as a special-events coordinator with the Maine Department of Tourism. In August 1989, during the family's annual summer holiday in Maine, the Bushes announced that she had separated from her husband of seven years, Bill LeBlond. "She grew up and he didn't," a White House aide explained.

A shy woman, Doro blossomed on the campaign trail, by all accounts, as she crisscrossed the country for her father. During the campaign Doro, like her mother, referred to herself as "a late bloomer." After the election she confessed to a reporter, "I'm twenty-nine and I still don't know who I want to be."

On a cold February evening in her comfortable home in a cul-de-sac in the tiny town of Cape Elizabeth, Maine, Doro assessed the impact of the campaign and her father's election on her own life. She talked about her family, her father, her husband, and shed some light on Bush family dynamics.

Still trying to come to grips with it all, Doro talked of a recent visit to the White House. "I was down last week and walking through the White House, seeing people react to [my parents]. Or

call him Mr. President, because we don't really—it's like the same deal. You look at these other people who are practically falling back out of their way and stuff and it is like—whoa! Just the importance of it kind of hit me there. Then, seeing my dad in these incredible meetings that go on for hours. Just the magnitude of the job kind of sinking in and seeing what my mom was doing.

"It's not a place I would like to hang out too much, I've decided," she said of the White House. "I will go visit a lot but it is just—I don't know—it's just very serious . . . it is hard to be totally relaxed. . . . I think it will be better to be with them other places to be able to relax and have fun."

Talking in her living room, as her two children were being fed by a nanny and her cat wandered over and around the chintz-covered furniture, Doro described a sheltered girlhood. Her father, whom she spoke of lovingly, was lenient with her, she said. She held a soft spot in her father's heart. She recalled as a little girl asking her father to "tell me about Robin" as he tucked her into bed. "I don't know why—just curious or something—and we would go through this every night. My dad would cry and I would cry and go to bed."

Doro talked about the campaign, her mother, her father's political losses, her parents' relationship, and their relationship with her. She also talked about her husband. "Growing up," the Bushes' daughter said, she "never had any boyfriends." Then at college in Boston she met Billy LeBlond, a quiet young man who now manages his own building company.

"I think my mom was finally glad," Doro said. "She was like, 'Good.' But I didn't really know how to tell my father that I had a boyfriend."

She remembered: "Billy sort of moved into my parents' house one summer. He liked to go to the tennis courts really early in the morning and was living a little further away. So I said, 'Mom, can Billy spend the night?' Because we had like this boys' dormitory upstairs.

"And Mom goes, 'Sure.' And she sort of got to know him. He was really quiet. But he sort of met everybody. And she said to him, 'Now, Bill, anytime you want to stay the night . . .'

"Well, he took her literally. And practically spent every night.

"And my mother said, 'I like that Bill. We both wake up at the same time, which is five A.M. He walks by, and gives me a little sign language. And he is a nice guy,' she'd always say."

Moving upstairs to her bedroom to curl her hair with electric rollers before heading out to dinner, Doro continued chatting. She showed off a picture of her father on her bedroom wall, signed on the back. She picked up a picture of her brothers with the family's housekeeper, Paula Rendon. Then she spoke softly, thoughtfully. "But my family is a hard family to marry into, because nobody is quiet," she confessed. "I'm sure it can be highly intimidating, especially my brothers—as much as I love them. But it is not easy. They're all power kind of guys. . . . It is really hard."

Before taking office George Bush told his offspring that he was concerned they not appear to benefit from his position. Prior to the Republican Convention Bush wrote notes to each of his children advising them to avoid even the appearance of conflict of interest, no matter what opportunities they might sacrifice. Since then, according to Mrs. Bush, they have. "Several of our boys have called their father or talked with White House ethics counselor C. Gordon Gray and have turned down things they've been offered in a business sense," Mrs. Bush said. Early in 1990, the Bushes' third son, Neil, was tied to the savings and loan scandal.

But since George Bush entered office some of his children and extended clan have taken on another role—serving as conduits to the White House from the world beyond the Rose Garden. The president and his wife are people who seek information from a wide range of sources before making decisions, and that includes family members. "That's one thing we are really working very hard on," Mrs. Bush said, "to be sure that we don't see less and less people and get less and less correspondence. That's something both of us feel very strongly about. I know it's hard to be sure you keep open and he feels very strongly about it. He fools everybody by getting on the phone. He stays in touch with about seventy-five people."

Since the election, Bush's eldest son has advised his father on Cabinet choices. According to *U.S. News & World Report*, he warned his father that Texas developers were alarmed at the idea that James Schlesinger might become energy secretary. Young George conceded that he talked to no more than five oilmen about the appointment. "The message wasn't, 'Well, take him or don't take him,' it was: 'There's a rebellion down here. Be careful,'" he told the magazine. Schlesinger was never offered the job.

Similarly, Jeb Bush, Florida's former secretary of commerce, whom some in the family expect to run for governor someday, talks with his father on various issues, including Central America. Shortly after the inauguration Jeb spoke with his father about "the Nicaraguan thing," *U.S. News* has reported. "He spoke of the influx of Nicaraguans to South Florida as a serious problem straining state social services, since some refugees were forced to live in Miami's baseball stadium." Arriving in the Florida Keys for a fishing trip a few days later, Bush said he intended to take another look at immigration law, calling Florida's "increasingly burdensome problem with Nicaraguan refugees a top priority." The magazine also described Jeb's role as more "conveyor than convincer."

Other family members also function as pipelines to the president. Trying to describe a typical family get-together, Nancy Ellis recalled participating in a forum for candidates' relatives during the 1988 race. "I remember being on the program with Mrs. Gore, other relatives . . . and Simon's daughter was saying, 'When Dad and I have dinner, I give him input into Illinois farming, things I see around the country.' It came to me and I thought, 'Jesus, what am I going to say?' And I said, 'When we get together we just shoot the breeze and get caught up on all our friends.' We are so dovetailed in with different people. We talk about them and the funny things that happen. George is liable to say, 'Have you met Roger Porter at the Kennedy School? He is wonderful. Why don't you get him out for Sunday lunch and tell me about him?' He is now the domestic policy adviser at the White House," she said offhandedly.

Like her husband, Mrs. Bush relies on family members for information and understanding of issues and social problems. The family's personalizing of issues—like one son's adoption of a child, or another's drug-pusher neighbor, or finding the right child care for Doro's children—all affect the president's and first lady's thinking. Mrs. Bush mentioned that it was Jeb who changed her views about English being declared the national language. "Because Jeb [whose wife, Columba, is Mexican-born] tells me that to the Hispanic-American, they consider that a racist thing." Jeb also heightened her awareness of the link between expanding local business opportunities and the quality of schools in surrounding areas.

It is not quite clear how in tune the well-off and socially con-

nected Bush offspring are with worlds beyond their own, however. One afternoon during a campaign stop in Chicago, the Bushes' affable third son, Neil, chatted about his mother's life and recalled the period when she was questioning what she had done. He then mused aloud about women and families and said, "You know, I think women in general have a much more difficult time with issues that relate to family and profession. I can't imagine wanting to be a professional woman and also wanting to be responsible for kids. You know what I mean?" he asked ingenuously.

* * *

Though Mrs. Bush says she "tries very hard to stick to the system" and resists being used as a conduit to her husband, she does talk to him when the issue and time seem right. Staff have described the Bushes' as an "easy working relationship." She will often drop by the Oval Office to meet the president's guests. He will spring in on her White House events. For example, when Mrs. Bush announced her Foundation for Family Literacy at a White House lunch in March 1989, the president popped in to make remarks and lend his support to her effort demonstrating the concept of a "thousand points of light," as he put it.

The way Mrs. Bush describes her relationship with her husband, the two operate on a very high level of *politesse*. "George does not make decisions for his family. He has never once said to me, 'I would like you to . . .'" Has he called me regularly with plans for me? Yes. But he does love to go, 'If you are not busy this afternoon, I think it would be great if you did . . .'" And usually it is so much fun I am glad to do it. Sometimes I think, 'Oh, I hope George is not calling me yet again. He's got a finger in every pot.'"

Mrs. Bush passed that along the day after she received a spur-of-the-moment phone call from her husband asking her to entertain Mrs. Arias, the wife of Costa Rica's president. Bar was just on her way out to a museum with Andy Stewart and another pal when the phone rang.

"George called and he said, 'What are you doing this afternoon? It would be helpful if you had Mrs. Arias for tea.'"

"And I said, 'George, I really can't. I'm going to do this [go to the museum] and then I have to do something else. Then I've got

to rest before this dinner tonight'—because I was feeling the effects of this new medicine which makes you collapse.

"And he said, 'Lunch. How about having her for lunch?'"

"And I said, 'If you have the nerve to call her an hour before and then to call our staff and tell them I'm having the president's wife, I'd be delighted.'"

"And she came. The four of us had lunch and everybody smiled at me, so he handled it well." Mrs. Bush described Mrs. Arias as "very interesting. She had an agenda which she gave through the whole lunch. And I wanted to say, 'We love this and keep on talking, but you are wasting it on me because I don't fool around in the government.' But it was really fascinating. She knew exactly what she wanted to say and she took that opportunity to tell us. . . . She's got her own little plan there which I suspect is his. . . . So George exposes me to all sorts of interesting—sort of like the icing on the cake—things. I enjoy that a lot."

As she felt her way around the White House, like Rosalynn Carter, Mrs. Bush continued to operate the way she always has: to go directly to her husband. From her accounts and those of staff, family, and friends, her way is to weigh in at just the right moment. "I know when he is really uptight and I don't bug him when he is really uptight," she said.

Marvin Bush said, "I think privately she knows how to get his attention. I *guarantee* you that she knows which areas she might have more influence in than others. One area she will not influence is foreign policy. It's just not her thing, but when it comes to other issues where she has had more contact than my dad, then I'm sure he'd probably be interested in her thoughts."

He added: "I think my mom has learned a lot. Maybe one of the things is that if you want to be effective as a first lady or as a spouse of a candidate, to maybe internalize some of the things that you think are not going too well and save it for when it matters. If you have something to say to somebody on the campaign, make sure that you don't express your opinion fifty times in a two-hour period, so that when you *do* say something, people pay attention. Make it count."

By the president's own admission, he seeks his wife's advice. Shortly after the election, on a vacation in the Florida Keys, when

asked if he had solicited any advice during the transition, Bush grinned at reporters and pointed to his wife. *The Washington Post* reported: "Barbara raised her eyebrows pointedly as she stood by his side. She then leaned into a microphone to say: 'Just kidding.' Bush, still laughing, responded: 'No, she's not.'"

In the spring of 1988 Bush told David Hoffman of *The Washington Post* that after he had talked about aiding the homeless in a Republican candidates' debate, "Some guy that's all involved in one of these homeless programs wrote Barbara saying, 'I know you care about the homeless, but I listen to your husband [and] he doesn't.' So we got into a big argument. She had been telling me I had to do more, and I think she's right."

When the president met the governors for an education summit in Charlottesville, Virginia, in the fall of 1989 Bar asked her husband to include the spouses in the working sessions.

In Washington, Mrs. Bush is widely viewed as a key behind-the-scenes operator. Some argue her way of advancing her views was in backing certain Cabinet choices. She is credited with urging her husband to promote Louis Sullivan from the presidency of Morehouse College, where she is on the board, to his Cabinet post as secretary of health and human services. When asked why Mrs. Bush didn't speak on issues or explain *her* stands, former campaign adviser Deborah Steelman pointed to Sullivan as an example of Barbara Bush's *modus operandi*: "She can make a Louis Sullivan happen, so why get involved?"

Members of the White House press corps view her as Bush's prime unofficial adviser. "She's a key part of his kitchen cabinet," said the *Tribune's* Tim McNulty. "And his kitchen cabinet is all over the house. He's got kitchen cabinet advisers down in the basement and up in the attic. In Texas and at the Old Executive Office Building. For all that, he keeps everything close-knit."

In the White House Bar got the chance to settle scores from the campaign. One of the areas where she quickly became most active was in expressing opinions on her husband's staff. Bar's friendship with Joanne Kemp reportedly helped ease the way for her husband's onetime rival's appointment to HUD. And although initially turned off by Budget Director Richard Darman's arrogant and condescending style, Bar had a change of mind and helped ease Darman's way into the Bush camp.

Rich Bond, a former top aide, cited "ethics" as an area Mrs.

Bush feels strongly about. That and "the type of people her husband has around him." As on the campaign trail, now in the White House, Mrs. Bush is concerned that her husband's staff keep him well informed. "You want to protect your husband a little bit. But so far, I haven't had to intervene or anything in his life and I hope I won't," Mrs. Bush said in July 1989. "Because I go right to George when I have a problem. And I know people are scared to death of me, and I'm sorry about that. And George says, 'Leave it, let it lie. It's better that way.'"

One White House aide described the attitude of West Wing staff toward Mrs. Bush as one of "healthy respect." There's a fine line of "she won't mess with them if they don't mess with her," the aide said. "She's no fool."

During an interview at the White House she described a scene one morning when she walked by the Oval Office on her way for her early swim. "I saw Dan [Quayle] and George—maybe Sununu and Brent Scowcroft—sitting there talking very seriously. And then I swam, thinking about Oliver North, and I hope that—I know that—Dan Quayle is in on everything, and I hope nobody thinks that they should spare their president or their vice-president things, which I think people did during the Reagan administration. It's such a mistake," she said. "If we've learned nothing else from that horrible time, we've learned that you don't do your president a favor, or your vice-president, by sparing them these things."

Since she's been in the White House Mrs. Bush has also done some Capitol Hill shmoozing of her own. She courted Heather Foley, wife of House Speaker Thomas Foley, inviting her for lunch when her husband was leading a fight against Bush's plan to cut the capital gains tax rate. Mrs. Foley is her husband's unpaid administrative assistant and considered by some to be an extremely influential woman on Capitol Hill. Mrs. Bush has also persuaded the president to support legislation forbidding discrimination against AIDS patients. According to *U.S. News*: "After speaking with Dr. Burton Lee, a family friend and member of the federal AIDS commission, Mrs. Bush convinced her husband that people with AIDS, especially children who have contracted the disease through blood transfusions, must be protected from prejudice—and that concern should take precedence."

Mrs. Bush also sees her role as actively protecting her husband.

After the two returned from a Fourth of July holiday in Kennebunkport, where they were deluged by guests, she said: "I have to really protect George a little bit. You know, you have to give him more peace and quiet. George is very much at home and very much at peace with all his family. But he has to be allowed to go fishing alone or with one adult or two." Talking in a maternal voice, as though she were describing one of her sons, she said: "He took boatloads out because he's so precious and sweet. . . . I've learned I have to protect him—no accepting dinners up there at all . . . because he doesn't want to come in from fishing. Everybody just needs time alone. I know I do. . . . I just learned that George needs—I know I need quiet, but George *really* needs quiet."

* * *

Even though most Americans saw more style than substance in the early days of the Bush administration, when the first polls came out Bar got rave reviews and eclipsed her husband in popularity. Nine months into the new administration 37 percent of people polled by *USA Today* gave her high marks, while just 13 percent gave the president the same grade. In October 1989 *The Wall Street Journal* found the trend continuing. The *Journal* reported: "A number of groups have a more favorable opinion of her personally than they have of her husband's job performance. Among liberals 60 percent have positive views of her, while 50 percent approve of the president's job performance. Among professionals 76 percent have a favorable opinion of her, compared to 62 percent who approve of her husband's performance. While a quarter of black voters disapprove of Mr. Bush's handling of his job, only 15 percent have a negative view of his spouse." And, perhaps most telling, the *Journal* found voters by three to one preferred Mrs. Bush as first lady to Mrs. Reagan.

As those numbers may suggest, one way Mrs. Bush has been especially helpful to the administration has been by creating the impression that—through her—those with more liberal views may have an ear in the White House: especially regarding abortion and gun control. By never saying she actually agreed with her husband's position on abortion, only that she wouldn't talk about how she felt, she kept the possibility open that she was more liberal than her husband. A year after the election, in an NBC interview

with John Cochran, she even resurrected the hated "L-word," calling herself a "liberal" on certain social issues. "The assumptions about her position on abortion are true," one close White House staffer contends.

When asked to identify Barbara Bush's greatest potential assets and liabilities back on the campaign trail, George Bush's campaign press secretary, Sheila Tate, offered: "Her humor and her candor. Her humor was the asset. Her candor was always—I mean, on a campaign would always be—a potential liability. I mean, she's sort of irrepressible."

But as became increasingly evident once she'd moved into the White House, Barbara Bush was more repressible than Tate would have predicted. The CIA chief's wife, the woman who clammed up on the Bush family's opinion of Dan Quayle, turned out to be a remarkably secretive lady. In that, she totally followed her husband's chameleon style.

Barbara Bush admits to what she has dubbed "muzzling" herself ever since her husband was first elected to political office long ago in Texas. In formal interviews she hedges what she says as best she can, often negating in the last part of a sentence what came at the start. When it was pointed out to her, for example, that most other first ladies were frustrated by not being able to speak their minds in the White House, Mrs. Bush replied: "Maybe I lost [that right] years ago and just don't know it, but I don't think that's true."

Since moving into the White House Barbara Bush's public stance on issues has become an integral part of the Bushes' non-committal style, what some perceive as a facility to walk "both sides of an issue," depending on where their political strength lies at the moment. Mrs. Bush, for one, believes strength lies in numbers. Talking one July morning in the White House, Mrs. Bush criticized a *Boston Globe* editorial that took issue with her husband's position on the flag. "They said, 'Now, there goes old President Pander; just because three fourths of the people feel the courts were wrong on the flag, he went along with them,'" she said, repeating their comments. "Well, if three fourths of the people are against it, something is wrong with *The Boston Globe*, in my opinion. I mean, that's what we rule by. The majority rules in

our country. And I suspect that seven eighths of the people are against burning the flag. In fact, probably many more than that."

Mrs. Bush went on. "I think when the people speak, there we are. I mean, that's what our country is all based on."

Perhaps the most telling example of that philosophy has been Mrs. Bush's responses on abortion. Shortly after her husband took office, Mrs. Bush made news in a session with reporters at the White House, telling them she was "grateful" that the U.S. Supreme Court had enabled a New York man, Martin Klein, to obtain an abortion for his comatose wife. Following the advice of his wife's doctors, Klein hoped the procedure would speed her recovery. It was delayed, however, when an anti-abortion supporter challenged Klein's guardianship of his wife. The case dominated the news early in February 1989.

She also told reporters that guns scared her and she was in favor of banning automatic rifles at a point when her husband wasn't. She said that military assault rifles like the one used in a California rampage that left five children dead in the summer of 1988 should "absolutely" be outlawed and that unlike Nancy Reagan, she doesn't own a handgun because "I'm too afraid I'd shoot the wrong person."

Relaxing over an early February weekend in Kennebunkport, Mrs. Bush made even stronger comments on the Klein case in a private interview. Indeed, she *volunteered* them, speaking openly on the issue. "This week it has certainly been very moving with that man," Mrs. Bush said. "I've seen him on television twice—the husband—and it has touched me. He has moved me. . . . He wants to get on with his life and he wants his wife to get well."

Not only had Klein's story captured *her* attention, Mrs. Bush said, but it had captured the *president's* attention as well. "He thought it was outrageous that a husband with a wife in a coma had to go through all that," Mrs. Bush said.

The Klein case was a "perfect example" why her husband supported abortions in the exceptions of rape and incest and when a woman's life was in danger, she said. "That is why he has the exception. A perfect example this very week."

After her comments generated enormous attention, Mrs. Bush spent days backpedaling. On a trip to the Far East later that month, she made it official: Barbara Bush would not speak on issues.

"She's not the one who makes policy. She's not the one who lobbies Congress. She's not the president of the United States. To that extent, her opinions are not the ones that should be the focus," Anna Perez told reporters shortly after the Bushes arrived in Japan for the funeral of Emperor Hirohito.

Asked whether Mrs. Bush was being muzzled, Perez said, "Not that I know of," *The Washington Post* reported.

"What if we think her opinions are important?" veteran UPI correspondent Helen Thomas asked.

"Shame on you," Perez said.

"Shame on me for saying the first lady has a right to an opinion?" Thomas asked.

"It doesn't mean she doesn't have a right to an opinion," countered Perez. "She has a right to express one or not."

Later, in a White House interview, Bar explained: "I've made up my mind. Gun control, abortion, all those sorts of issues that would cause controversy. I'm trying to be a positive force on subjects. I want to be very effective with the homeless and with AIDS, and the way not to do it is to get yourself into controversial issues that will divert you from the things you are really interested in. Half the world is for and half the world is against those particular issues and I am not going to get in them or on them."

Mrs. Bush said she is comfortable not speaking her mind in public. She insisted she doesn't feel muzzled or as if she has lost her freedom of speech. "I think anyone who is controlled or disciplined—anyone—as you get older you think out your answers. You realize you have a responsibility. Sometimes I forget."

She has not had any trouble shying away from a public stance. "Because I have perfect freedom of choice to say what I think at home to my husband, which is really where it counts in my case," she says. "I have no qualms about telling George what I feel and he politely listens."

That, she said, is what makes a good partnership. "I think a good mother and father make a decision about a child behind a closed door and then come out united. You don't want your father coming out and saying you can go to the movies and your mother saying, 'No.' And then having the big thing in front of the children."

Not that the electorate is in search of moviegoing guidance.

"I use the analogy because that's the way I think a very healthy

marriage is. Why come out and air it publicly? Or publicly argue with your husband, if you are going to argue with him? That's why I've chosen a number of issues not to speak on. Because if I say, 'I am not going to speak on one,' everybody says, 'Well, we know how she feels.' But you don't speak on them; you can do it privately. It just makes news.

"If George wanted to make news, all he had to do was say, 'I just don't agree with President Reagan.' We are just not that kind of people. Someone else has to do that. We are not going to."

By the summer of 1989, when the Supreme Court decision on the Webster case reignited the abortion question, Bar no longer took a stand at all distanced from her husband's. During a July Fourth vacation at the Bushes' summer home in Maine, for instance, a reporter asked her if she would comment on the Webster decision. She shook her head no, and after a pause said, "I go with my president."

Despite that answer, her earlier remarks and her husband's change of mind on assault weapons kept the impression of a more liberal Barbara Bush fixed in the minds of some.

Mrs. Bush's reluctance to speak out on issues, especially abortion, is viewed as pragmatic by some Washington insiders but cynically by others. Disappointed feminists criticized Mrs. Bush for failing to endorse their stand at a pro-choice rally held in the spring of 1989 in Washington, D.C. Barbara Bush's name was cited more than once. Comedian Whoopi Goldberg said she hoped the first lady would "look at men and women here and talk to your husband tonight." Writer Gloria Steinem cited Barbara Bush's reticence as an example of the price to be paid by marrying into power, and led protesters in numerous refrains of the chant: "Free Barbara Bush!"

The evening of that march Mrs. Bush told the network news, "That's what America is all about and it's great." Lest her remarks be misinterpreted as taking a pro-choice stance, the White House officially qualified it, explaining that Mrs. Bush did not mean to say she was pro-choice but that it was a "great" exercise of freedom of speech by more than 300,000 women and men. The same could have been said for the other side.

Sheila Tate agrees that a certain caution and self-effacement is common when women reach the White House. "It's an accom-

modation you make to political life," Tate said. "Look at every first lady; they've all had to do it. They get too far out on a limb on an issue and all they do is get grief. You know, 'How dare she? She's not an elected official.' 'What's she doing, going to Cabinet meetings?' 'She's got no business in politics.' 'It's embarrassing that she's been sent to represent the country at a funeral.' 'She's overstepping her bounds.' 'She's in big trouble.' 'She's got the right wing of the party screaming.'" Who needs that? Tate wondered.

"Over time you recognize that's just part of the system," Tate mused. "And it's funny how you and your husband, no matter who you are, over time your views come closer together anyway. In politics it becomes very hard to see in black and white. You always see the shades of gray. And you understand the forces that work on both sides of an issue, and suddenly nothing is simple, I think. You seldom end up being a one- or two-issue person, because you're exposed to all of them, and you agree with what your husband is doing on ten different things and that's what you want. So whatever helps solidify his position is in your interest. You identify so strongly with that. You have to."

Biding time outside the White House gates, some Democrats have watched Mrs. Bush's actions with interest—from both a political and cultural vantage. Wendy Sherman, who managed Mike Dukakis's Washington office during the election, is one. "It depends on whether you believe in Machiavellian conspiracy theories or not," she laughed. "There is one school of thought in Washington that her saying what she did on both the Klein case and the AKA assault weapons allowed the Bush administration to have it both ways. They had Bush being tough and Barbara being soft. And that it was calculated."

"The other theory is that nothing was orchestrated. She spoke out in advance of orchestrating and it did create a problem and so she's going to try and be quiet."

In the view of politically active women like Sherman, who managed Barbara Mikulski's successful bid for the U.S. Senate, Mrs. Bush's actions and response manifest this culture's ambivalence about women in or near power. "In the case of a married woman whose husband is the elected official, Americans seem to both want someone who is loyal to their spouse and at the same time they want someone who is their own person," she said. "Sometimes the two don't go together."

★ ★ ★

Before leaving for the NATO summit in July 1989, Barbara Bush chatted again about her role as first lady. Rested from a July Fourth Kennebunkport vacation, she looked well, despite problems with her eyes caused by her thyroid condition. She wore a jaunty-looking Scaasi day dress—bright blue with bouncing red, yellow, and pink squares all over a three-tiered flounced skirt. This Barbara Bush looked totally different from the matron of yore in Connecticut Yankee shirtwaists. Her hair was stylishly done and swept up off her face. She'd been transformed and looked more vibrant than she had in years.

Mrs. Bush nestled into a plush armchair on the second-floor residence of the White House, sitting beneath a Cézanne painting of Mont Sainte-Victoire. She faced another magnificent Impressionist painting of lilac and green water lilies by Monet, which was given to the White House by Jacqueline Kennedy in her husband's memory. "I have a new dress the color of that painting," Mrs. Bush beamed.

The second-floor family residence is serene: incredibly quiet, and filled with light and soft colors. It is a comfortable, careful arrangement of furniture that fosters an intimate atmosphere, despite the fact that the first family lives in what amounts to an extremely long railroad apartment atop a public museum. Off the path of the visitors, the hardship of making the White House a home is exemplified in a little-known architectural feature: All the second-floor rooms jut off a hallway that runs the length of the White House itself. As Doro said: "The house is actually pretty cozy considering how big it is."

Mrs. Bush and some of her friends believe in the concept of life passages. Andy Stewart, for one, believes her old friend is facing the challenge of her life. "I think things sort of come along when you're ready. Maybe a few years ago she wouldn't have seen as many people or traveled as much. Been in positions of such authority or such responsibility. All the way along, as we all know from Gail Sheehy, there are passages, and they come along . . . when you're ready. But she's ready. She's ready."

But like her son Neil's opinion on working women, some of Mrs. Bush's pronouncements make her seem hopelessly out of touch with the reality of most American women's lives. In an in-

view with National Public Radio correspondent Susan Stamberg in October 1989, Mrs. Bush said those mothers who "opt to work" have to make an added effort to cope.

"And it's hard on you, but you have to put your children first. And I think your boss has to accommodate a little bit. I mean, if you need to go to school to see your child in a school situation, they should make accommodations for it. You'll have to make it so, but that's just a fact of life."

The first lady told Stamberg—married, mother of one son, and a woman who is credited with helping make National Public Radio what it is today—that a woman can't be a bank president and a mother at the same time. "You can't—oh, you can do it—but are you going to give the children the time they need? Now, I'm assuming a bank president has to work like a president of the United States and work fourteen hours a day. If a bank president just works the regular hours, you can do both. But if you're going to work fourteen hours a day, it just isn't fair when you've had children."

Stamberg protested, "But it's such an old-fashioned idea. . . ." Mrs. Bush is old-fashioned, perhaps terribly so, in another area as well. Chatting that day, seven months after her husband took office, she confessed that all her own six pregnancies "were planned." But when it came to talking to her own children about the birds and the bees, Mrs. Bush paused. "I think children know, now. I mean, truthfully. I'm pretty sure they know."

"I never did things like the pill," Mrs. Bush explained. "I never talked to Doro about taking the pill. I'm a little bit old-fashioned about that. First of all, I'm not sure the pill is good for you. I am not convinced yet that—I know that's really old-fashioned—I'm not really sure that it's safe. I don't know that, but I remember when friends of mine took it, they lost pigmentation in their face and I'm not too sure about it yet. But I also think people abuse it badly—overused to. Maybe they don't now, but they used to badly."

Mrs. Bush continued, "We just talked when it came up, and questions did come up. . . . And I also gave her a little book to read. A friend of mine gave me—her daughter a book and said it seemed to solve some of those small problems."

Despite her popularity, Barbara Bush raises the issue of just how relevant a traditional first lady can be to American women. "Today's young women don't have to look up to the first lady," Michelle McQueen wrote in a profile of Mrs. Bush in *The Wall Street Journal*

in October 1989. "They can look up to Pat Schroeder, they can look up to Nancy Kassebaum. The world has changed in that there are a lot more women exercising their own political power."

In July 1989, Barbara Bush seemed to be grappling with that very issue.

Not long before, Nancy Ellis had mailed Mrs. Bush an excerpt from *The Autumn Garden*, a play by Lillian Hellman first produced in New York in March 1951. There, one character said to another: "So at any given moment you're only the sum of your life up to then. There are no big moments you can reach unless you've a pile of smaller moments to stand on. That big hour of decision, the turning point in your life, the someday you've counted on when you'd suddenly wipe out your past mistakes, do the work you'd never done, think the way you'd never thought, have what you'd never had—it just doesn't come suddenly. You've trained yourself for it while you waited—or you've let it all run past you and frittered yourself away."

When asked about Hellman's script, the first lady's review was "I loved it. I loved it."

Did the excerpt describe her? "Oh, I don't think she [Nancy Ellis] sent it describing me. . . . It's just sort of something we all believe. It's a sort of moral philosophy of 'You don't just luck into things, as much as you'd like to think you do. You build step by step, whether it's friendships or whether it's opportunities.' The thing, I think, that Lillian Hellman was saying was 'You may miss opportunities if you haven't built those. . . .' I think that's what it was saying. 'You make your own opportunities really, but don't let it pass you by. Be ready when the moment comes.'"

How did that philosophy apply to her own life?

Mrs. Bush was momentarily baffled. "Well, my opportunity came when I was nineteen and I took it," she laughed. "No, that's not true. You're making me a little ashamed because there's a message I'd like to get across. I'm sort of saying, 'Do what I say, not what I do.'"

Then with uncharacteristic uncertainty Barbara Bush added, "I'm not sure I've built my bricks as well as I should have. I'm not sure of that. . . . But I do believe, 'If you don't use it, you lose it.' So I believe in continuing to build. I think that's important. At my age, maybe I should be thinking more than I [should] about building."

CHAPTER FOURTEEN



First Lady or First Partner?

Why do we want public wives to appear but not to act, to be seen but not heard? In today's climate of sexual equality, many women may feel "oppressed" at the thought of wives who must always appear to be in agreement with their husbands, and are required to do so charmingly and convincingly. . . . But we can't have it both ways. We can't continue to demand the reassurance that public wives provide, and then insist on keeping them out of the "hard news" arena.

—JOANNA BOWEN GILLESPIE.
"The Public Wife as Visual Aid"

The 1988 presidential race reflected the changing realities of American families and changing realities of women's roles. With up to thirteen candidates, voters had the opportunity to see the changes in their own lives and marriages reflected in the country's political leadership. Thirteen different marriages were subjected to the kind of attention that at times matched the intensity and insensitivity devoted to show-business romances. They ran the whole range, the whole gamut. Traditional marriages between a supportive wife and an overachieving husband. Marriages between equally educated partners who shared the same profession. Marriages in which wives adopted issues and causes of their own. Second marriages. And an adulterous marriage—which eliminated one contender from the race.

Faced with this revealing spectrum and with Nancy Reagan very much still in the news, at the start of the race, voters and the press alike began to ask new questions. Could the spouse of a presidential contender be free to pursue her own career, hold her own opinions, and advocate her own causes without fear of

damaging her political partner's prospects? Could she be her own person? What was the appropriate role for a candidate's wife? How did these women really fit in with how Americans elect their president? Beyond providing emotional support to their mates, for all their campaigning, did they get him any more votes?

"The bottom line is, would anyone ever vote for or against your husband because of you? That's a question every candidate's wife asks," said Mary Finch Hoyt, Rosalynn Carter's former press secretary. "They all think they do. Because they all get back that rush. That adrenaline. But would you pick your doctor because you like his wife?"

And yet clearly there was more to the question than that. Republican pollster Linda DiVall argued that the doctor analogy didn't hold. "The problem with the presidency is that there's this innate curiosity that everybody has about the candidate, and by extension the family, and they feel it's their right to get to know everything they possibly can, and part of it is getting to know the spouse," she said.

That interest, of course, has been there for years. What 1988 brought was a new focus on influence.

Several women whose careers and causes could have posed problems for their husbands sprang onto the political stage. Careers weren't the only issues. On the campaign trail these women were repeatedly asked how much influence they had. More important, as the unelected half of the presidential pair, how accountable would they be for that influence?

As *The Washington Post's* David Broder wrote in April 1987:

When marriages are partnerships of independent, able and co-equal people and one of them seeks the presidency, new issues are created for voters, for reporters, and for both spouses. It would be fatuous to suppose that women with years of experience in government and/or clear views on public policy will be of no importance in governments their husbands head. It would be sexist to suggest that they might not be qualified to play some formal or informal role in the administration. But the Constitution did not envisage the presidency as a dual office, and it is not clear what standards or methods are appropriate for ensuring accountability in the unelected half of these modern marriages.

Difficult questions. The array of would-be first ladies this year didn't make them any easier to answer. During this election year there was one woman whose deeply held religious beliefs raised a question about whether she should be watched more closely. There was a woman whose emotional problems, in hindsight, raised questions about whether her husband was a suitable man to be president—and just how much the public had the right to know about a spouse's medical history. Even the traditional woman who ended up in the White House posed her own puzzles. When does old-fashioned reticence shade into concealment? Just how relevant could a traditional woman be to American women? Especially in an era when many more are exercising their own political power, and receiving recognition for accomplishments gained on their own merit.

The 1988 campaign showed that simply being the wife of a presidential contender continued to be a career in itself. Even the wives who had professional careers accommodated their husbands' political needs. Resigning or taking leave from work, they took to the campaign trail full time, and as surrogates virtually doubled the candidates' availability.

In this emotion-driven, issue-lean race, the spinners who looked to tap in to voters emotions most often viewed wives in very traditional, limited roles: as useful pulls on those emotional strings. Some political operatives, reporters, and voters looked at a would-be first lady to uncover her policies and points of view, but the vast majority still expected to hear what she thought about her husband, as if what she said could hold any surprises.

When a wife of a candidate broke out of that mold and started to talk differently, some found her a threat. Consider this letter from a *Chicago Sun-Times* reader named Robert Kuffel who addressed the editor about Kitty Dukakis, "her husband's closest friend and his closest adviser." He wrote: "[That] sent chills down my spine, as it sounds like déjà vu of what we've gone through these past eight years. If 'Iron Mike' is elected president it should be for his ability to govern and not for his spouse. Maybe the official ballot should read Mr. and Mrs. So and So. Remember, voters, we're to elect a president—not his wife, nor his children, nor his parents, not his cat or dog, but him alone."

The fact that so many professional women were involved in the 1988 presidential race raised still other questions that will no doubt return. Should Elizabeth Dole be applauded or condemned for

trading on the perception of conflicted career woman for what was in reality only a slippery power play? Was it fair that Tipper Gore was patronized for her cause, discounted as a crusade? Should Jackie Jackson have received more credit for escaping the confines of a "wifely" niche? Was it disingenuous for Kitty Dukakis to rail against the system?

"The rituals are still so powerful and serve some function," said Ruth Mandel of Rutgers' Eagleton Institute. "When we're not following them, we're hard-pressed to know what to substitute. We still want some of the old things."

But the changes played out in the political arena weren't always as smooth as participants might have liked.

* * *

Most of the less prominent wives shared Elizabeth Dole's view of campaigning as a tremendous opportunity for personal growth and a way to gain influence and power. Even so, some of them joined the chorus that criticized Mrs. Dole for her decision to quit her job.

Hattie Babbitt, in what she affectionately called "her real life," was a Phoenix trial attorney. Through 1987 and 1988 she geared down her law practice as her participation in her husband's campaign geared up. "I practiced law full time through two statewide campaigns and two babies," she said in Iowa before the election. "So I've done that. But frankly, you couldn't do it in a presidential campaign. This is more exciting than practicing law—I've done that for thirteen years."

Hattie said her career echelon could not be compared to Liddy's. "I was disappointed because—though I essentially made the same decision, which was to put my career on hold to participate in the presidential campaign—I wasn't the secretary of transportation. There are lots of lawyers. And more than a few of them can take a deposition as well as I can."

On the trail Hattie said she saw herself functioning much as she did in the courtroom. "I'm a trial lawyer, so what I'm trained to do is argue a case on behalf of a client. I think in many ways what I do for the campaign is to argue the case on behalf of a candidate. I've just got a better client than I usually do. Sometimes my clients are harder to get enthusiastic about."

Perhaps that self-consciously professional view of her role ex-

explains why Hattie was one of the few spouses in the race who said she would not function for voters as a "window on to the candidate." She challenged the credibility of a wife's traditional testimony.

"What consultants want both of us to do is talk more about Bruce as a person," Hattie said one day in the dowdy lobby of the low-budget Kirkwood Hotel, where her husband's Iowa campaign was headquartered. "I really don't want to talk about it in public. I mean, either it feels like it's nobody's business or else it's boring. If you give six speeches a day six days a week, how many times do you want to repeat that? Whereas if one day you're talking about our commitment to providing child care, and the next about unacceptably high levels of lead in drinking water, and what causes mental retardation, those are just more fun to talk about. The consultants may be right, but that's my resistance—it's not really interesting."

Tipper Gore shared that view. "Maybe they want me to be up there giving them softball fluff on him," she said, "but I figure that I'm suspect there. Of course I am going to like the guy. I'm his wife!"

Professionally challenging or not, campaigning is hard work and Hattie Babbitt was one of the most forthcoming of the wives about its rigors. After yet another debate among the Democrats, this one at St. Anselm's College in Goffstown, New Hampshire, Hattie waited as her husband, pinned in by minicams, completed yet another round of interviews. With resignation in her voice, she cracked, "This is about as interesting as a bad cocktail party—with no booze!"

After the campaign was all over she told columnist Joyce Maynard: "I've heard one of the candidates' wives say she loves every minute of the race, and all I can say is, either she's lying or she's wacko. It's just no fun sitting in airports. Having every minute of every day scheduled. Hardly ever getting outdoors except maybe for a photo opportunity: a single run down a ski slope for the press and then back in the high heels again."

"The truth," she said, "is it's more fun ending the day in the same hotel room with my husband, but I'd really rather campaign alone. If I'm not going to be home hugging my children, I'd rather be making speeches myself than standing around getting varicose veins."

* * *

Liddy Dole and Hattie Babbitt, perhaps because they knew what was in it for them, held up well under the stresses of the campaign. Other spouses found the experience much more stressful. Like many women in the late 1980s, these "new" wives found that hands-on juggling of home, career, and family was exaggerated by the demands of the presidential race. Even on the campaign trail it seemed the division of labor between the sexes was expected to operate. Being a candidate's wife meant being a "wife" to the *n*th degree. The campaign demanded a superwife, an icon. An Everywife.

The wife who seemed to have the hardest time was Kitty Dukakis. Even before her emotional problems kicked in, the campaign clearly gave her more conflicts than anyone else.

Dukakis staffers in Iowa remembered days when they'd request Kitty to appear at an event only to find she couldn't get away from her job as director of a Harvard University design project called the Public Space Partnerships Program. "We'd bitch and scream. But she's the wife of a feminist and it would be silly if she didn't [work]," said Barbara Moses, an attorney who quit her job at a San Francisco firm to schedule Dukakis surrogates in Iowa.

Feminist idealism, however, quickly gave way to campaign exigency. As the demands of the race increased, she "commuted" between Boston and Iowa and other primary states. Kitty's time at Harvard decreased. By January 1988 she was down to working just two days a week. Then, by the first week in February, Harvard was out altogether.

To those few reporters who inquired about *her* career, Kitty replied how difficult it was to campaign on a national scale and keep a job. It's hard not to see in her answer a foreshadowing of her later problems. "It's a question psychologically if I can do both," she once said. "Michael manages to shift gears from the campaign trail to the governor's office. I'm not finding that easy to do."

For a while she had tried. After schlepping back and forth across twenty states for the March 8 Super Tuesday sweep, Kitty talked one evening in the basement of a North Side Chicago nightclub as she listened excitedly to final returns pour in. Earlier in the evening a packed crowd had gone wild as she and her husband stood on a stage backed by a wall of video screens stacked six wide

and six tall, beaming an array of early returns and projections. Near midnight, as the network crews rolled up their cables and Mike wrapped up the last interview of the night, she unwound in her stocking feet and smoked a Saratoga.

She cheered out loud when she heard the numbers from Texas, where she had just spent hours in Bush's one-time hometown of Midland, though earning only scant press attention. She shrugged. "You never know if your efforts pay off."

Looking back, Kitty realized the far-ranging itinerary combined with the gamut of issues was unlike anything she'd done before. Looking ahead, she saw a two-week break in April free from primary contests. When asked what she planned to do then, she laughed, thinking perhaps of the staff pinch-hitting for her back at Harvard. "I will be able to spend more time at my job."

Kitty Dukakis was also aware of what she called a "double standard" applied to the female spouses of presidential contenders.

A couple of weeks after Super Tuesday, riding from Chicago to Rockford, Illinois, where she would walk alone and wave to crowds in a St. Patrick's Day parade, Kitty talked about the expectations she felt she faced. The drinking had already started, and her account showed her riding highs and lows, lows that proved hard to pull out of. She said she didn't think any husband of a woman candidate would be expected to do what she and other wives were doing in 1988. "I don't think society ought to force spouses in the political arena to be involved if they don't want to be. We have situations where we have governors' spouses who are working at their own careers and choose not to be that much involved in sensitive areas. As more and more women run for public office their husbands work professionally. . . . You know, clearly we've got a double standard in this country, still. I think if there was a woman running for president, we wouldn't expect her husband to be out there. But that's part of reality. Someday it's going to change."

It's easy to argue that any spouse would do what Kitty and the other female spouses felt they should do. But their only approved public functions, as author Riley said, continued to be largely ceremonial, nonpolitical, secondary. In short, duties traditionally filled by women. Which is why what they did seemed so sexist.

The one male spouse in the 1988 race saw his role rather differently. Only Pat Schroeder's husband, Jim, stood as a counterpoint—and not for long. When his wife decided to make her short-lived exploratory bid for the presidency in 1987, Schroeder, a partner in the Washington law firm of Kaplan, Russin and Vecchi, said he took "sort of an unstructured leave of absence" from his job to help her in her effort. Like his female counterparts, Schroeder got involved in his wife's campaign. Initially, he functioned as the chairman of his wife's exploratory committee, providing far more than emotional support. "We actually moved people into these offices and used some of our space here," he said. "I mean, we had telephones and Xerox machines and some extra space and so we sort of used this as a committee headquarters and, accordingly, I took a lot more time in the effort." Had his wife decided to launch "a real campaign," her husband said, "then you have a different structure, and my role might have been less, or different."

Nevertheless, it appeared unlikely that Schroeder would have taken on a campaign role similar to that of the other candidates' spouses. "I saw my role as schmoozing, meeting people, shaking hands, taking the pulse, asking 'What do you think?,' seeing what was out there," he said. He has avoided playing the surrogate role. In his view, "As a surrogate, the husband is usually not very good. I don't think people care much about husbands. . . . I guess it's just a tradition that we have over the years. We've seen mostly men candidates and therefore people understand that you can't be all over all the time. If the wife shows up, it seems to be acceptable and people accept that, but my feeling was that people wanted to see Pat. Wanted to talk to Pat. And they don't particularly care about me."

Pat Schroeder has said she's never expected her husband to perform like a wife. "What I have done with [my] job that's really quite different from what most politicians do is I have viewed it as my job and not [my family's] job," she told authors Ronna Romney and Beppie Harrison for their book *Momentum: Women in American Politics Now*. "My husband doesn't do thank-you notes, and he doesn't go to Ladies Teas, and he does not go back and campaign and set up housekeeping and smile and do all that, nor do the children. I post the schedule and anything [the family] want[s] to do fine. It's my job and not theirs."

Jim Schroeder described his role similarly. "We have the stereotype that the wife is supposed to campaign for the husband," he explained. "For men, first of all, there are very few. And then a lot of the men have their own careers and perhaps don't even enjoy politics so they don't get involved at all. Other husbands, like myself, we have some political background." He ran unsuccessfully for the Colorado state senate in 1970. "We enjoy politics. We're happy to pitch in and do whatever seems appropriate."

Even though his wife's bid was only exploratory, Schroeder, like Elizabeth Dole, was asked about the spouse's role. Should there be a Pat Schroeder administration, whose shoes would he fill?

"Well, I don't know, maybe I'll play golf with Denis Thatcher," he said. "I never really thought about it, although my initial reaction would be that probably the first time we get a woman as president or vice-president, that the husband is probably going to have to bend over backward and avoid—there might be a tendency to see the husband as more of an influence or a player. I think probably Denis Thatcher, who [gave] his wife money and support, is the role model. From everything I know Margaret Thatcher is her own woman and, you know, Denis is supportive, and he plays golf, and he goes to his clubs, and he basically lets his wife do her job. I think that is probably where I could come down."

If Pat Schroeder did make a presidential bid, her husband's professional life would change, he said, as did the professional lives of his female counterparts. Schroeder, like other spouses, especially attorneys, said he would not be immune from conflicts of interest and disruptions of "family time" and separation. As it was, he remembered being in Thailand on business when "someone came in with the *Herald Tribune* and said, 'Look, your wife is running for President!' That's how I found out."

How did that make him feel at the time?

Schroeder paused and grinned. He said something all the spouses of 1988 presidential contenders said in one form or another. "I thought that maybe I shouldn't be traveling so much."

* * *

In 1988 the question of double standards was fleshed out in yet another way, as shown in the case of the vice-president's wife,

Marilyn Quayle. Perhaps more than any other spouse who came to the forefront in 1988, Mrs. Quayle raised questions not just about career conflicts but about a wife's political influence and accountability for that influence.

An attorney, Mrs. Quayle said she would consider going back to work, or even filling out her husband's vacated Indiana senate seat after he was elected to the vice-presidency. But in keeping with the political reality she faced and potential conflicts of interest, Marilyn Quayle nestled into the low-profile role of second lady to the second man. A job that by her own reckoning is far from full time.

Had she gone back to work, she said, she "would be making a statement." But she found she couldn't pursue the areas that she was "best equipped to work in because in this city that's hard. When given the choice of probably taking a job that may not be as exciting or interesting—I mean I can do trust law—you're sitting behind a desk. If I have a full-time job, I'm not going to be able to travel with Dan around the world, and I have found that very rewarding.

"It is hard," she continued. "I am pulled in many directions emotionally. Should I do this? Or that? What really does fulfill personal ambitions and goals and what utilizes your skills as best they can be used? Where is the line between a traditional role and what I had seen many years ago as what I would be doing with my life? Which is totally different than where I am."

Rutgers scholar Ruth Mandel saw Marilyn Quayle as an interesting case study in women's changing roles. "That marriage symbolizes a kind of 'double image' of some sort," Mandel said. "The woman is highly educated, ambitious, and enjoys fulfilling that part of her energies and her identity. The decision to support her husband's career is perfectly consistent with her values. She can sound like both kinds of people." During the campaign, in her speeches Mrs. Quayle at times sounded as if she were a partner in a law firm. At other times she sounded like the traditional supportive wife. "She's a quick-change artist," Mandel said. "She shows enormous flexibility in shifting from role to role with ease. The image of her shifting from identity to identity and the very ease with which she seems to accomplish it is daunting to others. It discloses what women are up against in this period of transition and change. She's probably the best example."

During the campaign, Mrs. Quayle declared herself an influen-

tial member of her husband's inner circle—to the point that staff on the campaign and afterward complained about her interference. Mrs. Quayle was furious during the campaign with Bush “handlers” (Stu Spencer and Joe Canzeri, in particular) who, she felt, muzzled her husband during the race while he endured “Candidate’s School,” as Rich Bond later described it. “‘We knew we were going to have to script him,’” Canzeri told journalists Witcover and Germond when the race was over. “‘We were continually putting out fires. There was a sense we couldn’t turn him loose on your group [the press].’ In internal discussions,” Witcover and Germond reported in their book on the 1988 campaign, “Quayle had a short attention span. He didn’t want anything on paper. His eyes would glaze over. . . . There was an immaturity, but also a cockiness that he could deal with anything.”

Mrs. Quayle had urged her husband to break loose from those handlers. When the election was long over she singled out Spencer and Canzeri for criticism. “Those one and a half months that those guys were in charge was an aberration in Dan’s career,” she said defensively. She categorized their published remarks to Witcover and Germond as “sour grapes. They knew we didn’t appreciate or didn’t feel they were doing the best job. That’s why . . . we kept bringing in more and more of our own people on board to diminish their influence. . . . Those guys are supposedly professionals. Obviously they weren’t,” she said. Then she added, “Politics doesn’t need these sleazy characters.”

During the campaign, Mrs. Quayle was questioned about her influence over her husband the candidate, a man widely viewed as not up to the vice-presidency. She was also questioned about her own views, especially her religious beliefs.

Mrs. Quayle and her parents have followed the teachings of Colonel Robert Thieme, a Houston-based evangelist who ministers over the airwaves and through mail-order tape cassettes. Thieme appears to maintain an extreme level of control over his cultlike following, according to journalist Garry Wills, who talked with Thieme in the fall of 1989.

In an interview at the vice-president’s residence in August 1989, Mrs. Quayle took issue with published reports that showed, as she saw it, “I was an unbending person who would force religion on others. It was absolutely wrong, totally against my upbringing and what I see as one’s faith.” Mrs. Quayle believes in such biblical

precepts as Noah’s Ark and creationism. She has said she believes creationism should be taught along with evolution in public schools.

When pressed about these beliefs Mrs. Quayle recoiled and refused to elaborate. She maintained that her views are her own and said, “They’re personal. Everyone’s faith is personal. I would never force my faith on anyone. Never have.” In a postelection interview she declined to say whether or not her husband shares those particular beliefs of hers, though she did say that it was “their shared religious views” that in part brought the two together. The Quayles met and married within ten weeks.

She has held to that stance while working to help her husband seek the nation’s second-highest office and continuing to advise him there.

According to Wills, Marilyn Quayle’s behavior is in keeping with Thieme’s teachings. “It is fashionable on the political right to attack some Supreme Court decisions as importing a ‘right to privacy’ into the Constitution,” he wrote in “The Private Ministry of Colonel Thieme,” an October 1989 article published in the magazine *Wigwag*. “But Thieme puts protecting privacy among the first tasks of the state, and respecting privacy among the first duties of a Christian. For him, the government does not exist to guarantee life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness but to protect ‘liberty, privacy, and property.’ The sin he inveighs against most often and ardently is curiosity about other Christians’ behavior. He warns his followers against asking or answering personal questions. He attacks counselors, psychiatric or religious, and refuses to counsel his own people. Right doctrine is the only helpful advice, and anyone wanting guidance should go straight to the one true source: ‘The Bible is the only accurate discernor of what you think.’”

Mrs. Quayle’s religious views were most prominently brought to national attention prior to the vice-presidential debate on October 5, 1988.

The Bush camp felt Mrs. Quayle was “pummeled” in the television interviews that aired then, especially on the morning TV shows—programs not ordinarily known for pummeling their guests. Sheila Tate recalled, “I thought it really crossed the line. I called the executive producer of the *Today* show and complained, and I never do that. I thought they were badgering her on re-

ligious questions. About people related to her who aren't even running for anything. I really thought it was terribly unfair."

But when a wife contributes to her husband's policy making—whether it is open as in the case of Marilyn Quayle, or less detectable as in the case of Barbara Bush—where is that line drawn?

Marilyn Quayle says she is no different from any other Quayle adviser. "I don't talk about what I tell him. I don't talk about what he discusses with me. I acknowledge that we do discuss things, but then no member of his staff had better talk about how they advise him and what they're telling him. It's no different than that."

But of course it is. Marilyn Quayle cannot be fired. Only divorced.

* * *

Political spouses certainly have First Amendment rights and a right to their own lives, but, fairly or not, their actions still affect the public's view of the elected official, their mate. In 1988 political operatives argued that it was helpful to see the spouses because they could flesh out the candidates' biographies. In the ongoing theater of politics in America, the wife provided background information, they said. "Our unconscious assumptions regarding leadership seem to require symbols that 'certify' a leader's respectability, his high moral standards, his appropriateness for public trust—in other words, his 'normalness,'" women's studies scholar Joanna Gillespie has written. "The visible presence of a public figure's wife and family demonstrate a basic civilizing process and that he is committed to civilization's continuity. We read that he is 'domesticated'—channeled sexually and thus not a threat to society." Following that logic, Barbara Bush's effectiveness as a mother and grandmother gives the public assurance that because her husband cares about his own family, he will care about theirs.

There are some grounds for that argument. During the election voters studying Kitty and Bar did learn something. Barbara Bush certainly did not tell voters everything they wanted to know about George Bush. Nevertheless, when compared to Kitty, she showed, so it seemed, that her family was better equipped to endure the rigors of the presidency.

After the election Kitty Dukakis's behavior and psychiatric history with depression opened up disquieting questions that have yet

to be answered. Most disturbing: If Kitty Dukakis's bouts with depression occurred regularly every fall, as her family physician has said, how did the campaign plan to handle it? They hired a professional SWAT team of media handlers. The head of it, Paul Costello, maintains he didn't know about the problem. Another close aide did, but said depression never interfered with Kitty's campaigning.

Mrs. Dukakis's condition raised further questions about where the line of privacy falls for family members of public officials. In June 1989 she shared her thoughts on that issue. "We're electing the highest officeholder of our country. For the most part I feel the public has the right to know everything there is to know about that person. Whether stability is a part of that person's life. All of those things are fair game." However, she didn't feel that reasoning applied to spouses. During the campaign a reporter had once asked Kitty if she had been to a psychiatrist. She said she refused to answer. "That was nobody's goddamned business. I've chosen to speak about it since then. What relevance does that have? What of my medical records? What relevance did that have? So there is a line I think," she said.

In light of Mrs. Dukakis's subsequent behavior, some White House observers argue that her medical history *was* relevant, insofar as her history of substance abuse and depression—which dates back at least to 1974—could affect *her* performance in the White House and, in turn, affect her husband. After the election Kitty admitted that she felt she could not have withstood the strains of the White House.

If her husband knew of her emotional fragility, some asked later, why did he put her under such pressure by seeking the presidency, even if she had urged him to do so?

When Kitty was hospitalized on November 6 for drinking rubbing alcohol, such questions were discussed publicly. Journalists asked psychologists about the possible causes of Mrs. Dukakis's emotional state. Shortly after her hospitalization, four practitioners, none of whom had treated Mrs. Dukakis, talked with *The Boston Globe*. "Her troubles may be tied to her husband's, psychologists say," the headlines in the *Globe* read. One expert was quoted as saying: "When someone is going through all that Michael Dukakis has gone through—with losing the [presidential] election and the state fiscal crisis and now having to inflict all this

pain on people with budget cuts—there has to be some emotional pain.” Another suggested the governor resign to get out of the public eye so he and his wife could work out their problems privately. “I would say to her to get out of the public eye as soon as possible—because being in the public eye puts her under very special stress,” psychologist David Kantor, head of the Kantor Family Institute in Cambridge, told the *Globe*. “I would say to her, ‘Get Michael out of politics and get someplace where you have some privacy to work on this problem together.’”

The article made the governor appear to be a “culprit in her illness,” as *Newsweek* later put it—and prompted the Massachusetts Board of Registration of Psychologists, a body appointed by the governor, to begin an investigation into the remarks, which could have led to revocation of the four practitioners’ licenses.

Politically, the intervention of a Dukakis-appointed board looked awkward. The action also had First Amendment ramifications. The questioning of doctors and psychologists to explain medical, or in this case, psychological conditions, is a standard, if sometimes undesirable, journalistic practice.

* * *

Underneath the phenomenon of the first ladies race lies a bigger question, one that reflects on women’s status in America. Journalist Susan Riley of the *Ottawa Citizen* put it well. “The first question we have to ask ourselves is why, now, are there political wives? . . . Why do we need political wives? Why do we put up with them? Why does society insist on an archetypal wife, an Everywife, a figurehead with no political power but potent symbolic importance? What is the political wife saying about women, about marriage, about the way power is distributed in our society? It sounds as if she is saying that women are status symbols, possessions, mirrors for the men they live with. But aren’t those days gone?”

Evidently not. The public behavior of political wives—and of the first lady—and the public acceptance and expectations of their largely ceremonial, symbolic role say a lot.

Despite herself, Nancy Reagan’s lasting contribution to the advancement of American women was in blowing the lid off the covert way in which political wives, especially first ladies, operate. The silent helpmate pose, perfected by Mrs. Reagan in her first

four years in the White House, and still the ideal, is no longer plausible.

Initially, Nancy tried to keep up the facade. “I watched it very closely these last eight years,” her former press secretary, Sheila Tate, recalled. “Nancy Reagan erred on the side of caution on that. She didn’t want anyone to think she had influence for the first four years. I mean, I sat through hundreds of interviews with her, and I watched the frustration on the part of reporters because she wouldn’t say anything.”

In her first year at the White House Barbara Bush continued to do the same thing. Happy to foster her husband’s ambition, Mrs. Bush publicly appears to be less savvy, less involved, and less ambitious than her friends, family, and staff say she is.

Once her husband left office Mrs. Reagan made up for lost time on that score by publishing her memoirs, *My Turn*. Much of the negative press that followed was a consequence of what many see as Nancy Reagan’s unpleasant personality. But a lot came from what others saw as Mrs. Reagan’s meddlesome role. As Tate points out, “If any first lady starts moving to the policy side, people don’t like her. They really don’t. There’s a very thin line a first lady walks.”

In some reviews, serious questions about the first lady’s role were raised. As R. W. Apple of *The New York Times* asked in his review: “Does the country derive any real benefit from putting an essentially domestic relationship onto such a grand stage? Why do we have a first lady at all?”

There are a couple of answers to that question.

The first lady is, in part, a product of a quirk in the presidential system and peculiarly American attitudes about leaders, according to historian Betty Boyd Caroli. In her book *First Ladies* she points out: The assignment of the president “includes two jobs that are performed by separate individuals in other types of representative governments: a head of state who presides over ceremonial functions, and a head of government who makes major appointments and takes a decisive role in legislation. The American president, charged with both tasks, frequently resorted to sending substitutes on ceremonial and other occasions when a mere physical presence was required. Members of the president’s household made excellent surrogates—they signaled the president’s approval and also his continued control of government. Martha Washington began

what became a tradition when she attended a New York church service while George was ill, and her example inspired her successors. Nearly two hundred years later, Nancy Reagan left her husband's hospital room to return to the White House and announce to guests assembled for a large reception that she was 'the president's stand-in.' Political wives substituted in other ways for their spouses, sometimes maintaining a facade of civility while their husbands feuded. John Quincy Adams observed in 1824 that Andrew Jackson and William Crawford, contenders for the presidency, were avoiding each other socially but 'the ladies have exchanged visits.'"

Caroli points out that the president's living arrangements also increased his wife's role. With both official residence and private quarters combined, it was hard for the wife not to know what her husband was up to. And although it was considered inappropriate for wives to campaign until well into the twentieth century, once they began, they inevitably moved closer to the power circle.

Beyond history, *The Washington Post's* critic Richard Cohen had another answer to that question. In a December 1989 essay he argued that the first lady was largely a media creation. Just another celebrity to fill the needs of celebrity journalism. "Constitutionally hollow positions—First Lady, vice president—are covered as if they were important. The press has made them America's constitutional monarchs: extremely limited powers, almost unlimited coverage. In other countries, these would be 'balcony' positions, and their occupants would wave to the populace on certain holidays. But for the First Lady, and even the vice president, every day is a holiday."

Cohen is right. On the international front no such status is afforded the wife of the German chancellor or husband of the British prime minister. Wives of Russian leaders were widely unknown until Raisa Gorbachev, who may be better known in the United States than in the USSR.

Even when a wife does have status, women in the equivalent position are breaking out of a traditional mold. In France, Danielle Mitterrand, who at sixty-four is the same age as Barbara Bush, speaks openly of her pursuits apart from her husband. "I am the wife of François Mitterrand, and he happens to be president of the republic," she said in an interview with *The Washington Post*. "So I have a broader tribune." Even though she is the president's wife, she said, she has not "lost my right to express myself."

In Spain, Carmen Romero, the forty-two-year-old wife of Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez, the Socialist Workers Party leader elected in 1982, ran and won her own seat in the Spanish Parliament. A former schoolteacher and union organizer, Romero told the Spanish woman's magazine, *Dunia*, before her election on October 29, 1989: "I have struggled to maintain my independence. First with teaching. Then with my professional work. My candidacy is nothing more than a new stage in consonance with the previous one. I know this will cause a lot of friction with those who think I have the obligation to accompany my husband on all his trips. I believe this obligation does not exist."

Romero didn't join her husband on his trip here in the fall of 1989.

The *Post's* Cohen also pointed out another reason why America's first lady continues to have a high profile, especially since 1960—"the approximate year when the first lady became the First Lady . . . would coincide with the election of John F. Kennedy and the emergence of television as the nation's dominant news medium. . . . Among other things, television networks expanded their nightly news shows from 15 minutes to a half-hour. On a slow day, how were they to fill all that time? To the national media, every twitch of the president, vice president and First Lady became news. . . ."

True. The distaff side of the presidency also fits like a glove into White House image making, joining professional public relations to presidential symbols. "Most activities of the First Lady bring her to public events where she reflects the prestige of her husband's high office. The complaint by her staff has been that the West Wing political offices, including the Press Office, have not been sensitive enough to the potential publicity benefits the President can derive from her activities," authors Michael Baruch Grossman and Martha Joynt Kumar wrote in their book *Portraying the President: The White House and the News Media*. Sheila Rabb Weidenfeld, Betty Ford's press secretary, likewise complained in a book she wrote about her White House years that the West Wing failed to appreciate Mrs. Ford's public-relations, ergo political, value.

Not so for Barbara Bush, whose husband campaigned largely on emotions: railing against furloughs and rallying around the flag. Fear of crime and love of family. "Warm fuzzies," in the words of one operative. Wives and other family members—children and

grandchildren—became a key part of the handler's marketing strategy: the soft sell. Flashing images of himself with his family, the candidate tried to show that he cared about voters' families. Unfortunately, the family images of love and security didn't cogently connect with issues like education, jobs, or health care.

As PBS newsman Bill Moyers noted in a television documentary titled *Leading Questions*, broadcast just about a year after the presidential election, politics is now played out on the television screen. In 1988 politicians favored sentimental symbols like the family. Messages emotional enough to stir the heart. Family is easy to invoke, hard to define, and impossible to oppose. Love and togetherness can sell anything, he pointed out. Even stock.

"The monologue of television values becomes the conversation of democracy. . . . It matters not what we *do* about reality that decides the character of a nation—it's how we *feel*. Having won on flags, furloughs, and family, Bush's standing depends on the continuing confession of emotions."

Moyers referred to an interview the Bushes gave to David Frost for broadcast from their summer home in Kennebunkport. Moyers's editors excerpted from that tape a string of snippets of Bush "emoting" at length. "As a country we are emotional," the president said. "We Bushes cry easily." "We feel in our heart." "It was so moving." Moyers ended here.

When it was Mrs. Bush's turn to talk interviewer David Frost spoke with the first lady about her popularity. He gushed, "Don't you feel a real, a tidal wave of love coming your way?" She seemed to. And the explanation she gave was that people liked her because "I don't make any big decisions. I'm trying to say this nicely so I don't hurt my own feelings, but I mean, no Marilyn Monroe am I."

Ceremony and historical precedent aside, this is where first ladies today play their most important public role. Barbara Bush is an image maker for her husband. Bar has developed her own public following, one that has eclipsed her husband's. She is admired for her warmth, caring, and puppies, and not for her political ideas, values, or judgment. Because of that she is a West Wing asset.

Why is Barbara Bush so well liked? In contrast to Kitty Dukakis, who, like so many American women, appeared to be con-

stantly battling with 'who she was,' Barbara Bush seems to know. Her self-image appears rock-solid, secure, and separate from the role she chose to play. Unlike Kitty and several other wives in the 1988 race—Barbara Bush knows the light she basks in is reflected light. She stood out as a woman sure of her place in the political arena and content with it. Of that generation of women who never considered it an effort to wait on, wait for, or wait alongside their husbands, Bar never seemed even to notice her role was limited.

In the midst of her environment, Bar exudes steadfastness and strength. "We've all heard repeatedly of the trials of being a political wife—the lack of privacy, the pressure to be the ideal spouse. Some women—like Nancy Reagan—thrive on it. Others—like Kitty Dukakis—learn to survive it. Bush seems to have risen above it. Being a political spouse hasn't undermined her sense of who she essentially is and likes to be—a mother and a grandmother," Illinois writer Joanne Cleaver wrote in an essay published in the *Chicago Tribune*.

She is funny and she has spunk. In the prescribed banality of public life, Mrs. Bush injects a few hilarious sparks. She kissed back the hand of the man who kissed hers, staid Denis Thatcher's, outside 10 Downing Street. She told New York's Cardinal O'Connor, as his robes became entangled at a formal dinner, "I've got to teach you how to lift your skirt."

She appears genuine and her own person. "Her charm is not that she is concerned about literacy, or that she looks like the mother most of us never had," John Duka wrote in *Vogue* magazine, "Or that, unlike the Dukakis, she abhors public displays of affection, which she calls 'fake.' Barbara Bush just doesn't let herself get pushed around. One could call it a style."

Her "I am who I am" attitude could even be called feminist, after a fashion.

Barbara Bush has taken on her role as professional homemaker to a nation, as Mrs. Thousand Points of Light. She regularly reenacts the model of the ladies' charity. This kind of hands-on volunteer work does good. But more important, it is politically pragmatic, easy to get on TV, and much less expensive than tax-supported social justice. She is lauded for her photo opportunities at a homeless kitchen, or with an AIDS baby. At the same time her husband's administration nixes pamphlets promoting condom use for reducing AIDS, and budgets \$100 million less for educa-

tion than Ronald Reagan did. On the nation's domestic problems, Mrs. Bush at times has seemed to be a victim of *her* class.

In her interview with NPR's Susan Stamberg, Mrs. Bush seemed unaware of the economic pressures most women face. Mrs. Bush said that she had never spent her time as well as when she was home with her children. "I never have been more grateful for the fact that I was lucky enough and fortunate enough to be able to stay home with my children."

Stamberg agreed. "There was a lot of luck and so few now . . . I mean, given inflation and what prices are like . . ."

Mrs. Bush responded, "Well, no, given what we want. We don't want one TV set," referring, she said, not to the single mother who has to work, but women who "choose" to work.

Stamberg came back: "Most people that I hear about where both [partners] work, work because they *must*, simply to pay the rent in a not extravagant house with *one* television set."

"Yes," Mrs. Bush responded. "And that I would say, you have to do. But I know a lot of young women who are *very* successful who opt to work, too."

Though she is admired for her warmth and caring and her grandmotherly ways, Bar's real strength lies in her political know-how, her toughmindedness, her charisma, and her formidable ambition—and in the facade she maintains that politics is a hardball business that mere "wives" sensibly shun. Like many political wives, Bar has in a way been almost smuggled into power alongside her elected husband. Publicly, she carries out her purely decorative, symbolic role, but behind the scenes, as her children and friends say, she's a full partner in the family business of politics.

An ambitious political wife, she appears to be just along for the ride. When questions of policy arise, she deflects them or keeps quiet. "She has plenty of opinions," a former aide says, "but even within the confines of the campaign plane, she'd keep her mouth shut. Because she knows she'll read about it. She'll tell someone who will tell someone and she'll read about it."

Mrs. Bush acknowledges that she is "very candid" with her husband in private about issues that concern her, as well as staff who trouble her. "I tell him what I think, and he tells me what he thinks, and then we are united."

"She is influential. Obviously. If you have a good relationship," Sheila Tate has said.

Using the same kind of logic she applied when not talking about redecorating the White House, or closeting her top-drawer wardrobe, Mrs. Bush correctly points out that she is "not the elected official."

Because she is neither docile nor unintelligent, Barbara Bush has to be especially careful, deceptive perhaps. "I don't mess with George's office and he doesn't mess with my house," she frequently says in an unconvincing self-effacing display. In truth the first lady is a political pro. Few in Washington doubt that Barbara Bush has enormous influence with the president, despite her *pro forma* disclaimers.

Barbara Bush's strength is that of the classic political wife. She has but one goal: getting her husband into office and keeping him happy while there. Hers is a simple "mission," as the Bush family calls their devotion to George Bush's career. There is no room for moral ambiguity or inner confusion with that purpose in mind. Bar's way of life is spun out of Yankee stock, and honed by years in political life. Even the smallest of her efforts and thoughts appears to be directed to that end. When asked about what she put into her published campaign diary, she said, "I'm not going to lie to you; I think about whether it will help him or hurt him politically." She did the same when it came to making her key staff choice: selecting a black woman as her press secretary, the most visible member of her staff. "It is important because George has asked for years in this office to please get minorities and since my office is really *his* office—I mean, we all work for George—I decided I could do what he asked," she explained.

To advance George's career, Bar masks a steely determination behind a self-deprecating wit and self-effacing modesty. She is not an activist, but a volunteer. Like her husband, she has no "vision thing." Accepting the rightness of "the mission," Barbara Bush also accepts without apparent question the limits political life places on wives. Fortunately for her, the American political system is one that rewards appearance rather than reality. As long as Barbara Bush appears to be making Oatmeal Lace Cookies, not public policy, she'll remain an asset to the Oval Office.

The world around Barbara Bush has changed. As one Republican woman said, an outspoken woman is "a problem in our Party." Playing it close to the vest enables Barbara Bush to avoid controversy. By taking a low-key stance Bar can function where it

counts, beyond the realm of the media, and keep her privacy, like Bess Truman, whom she admires—and who entered into almost every decision Harry Truman ever made.

* * *

Traditionally the press has taken a hands-off attitude toward the president's wife and family. But as 1988 showed, these women are players in the presidential sweepstakes. Observers like William Safire, *New York Times* columnist, argue that the most serious question the first lady raises, one he directed to Nancy Reagan, was "Did she, without the knowledge of the President but with her derivative authority, actively interfere with the political workings of the Administration?"

The question is more basic than that: The first lady answers to her husband, but does she ever answer to his electorate?

Though publicly shunning politics and refusing to talk issues on the campaign trail, Mrs. Bush confessed in interviews, "I talk privately about it." Her posture affords her a much-needed private life, yet puts her on a tightrope. She admits to advising her husband in certain areas, but when asked about it she insists such matters are private. Uncertain of where to find guidelines when questioning the president's family about their influence, reporters back off.

In her 1975 book, *The Power Lovers*, reporter Myra MacPherson of *The Washington Post* questioned such behavior. She wondered: "The question is should we have different regulations for different types of political wives? Should a wife who acts as a lieutenant or auxiliary politician for her husband and has untold private influence in his decision making be as liable to criticism as the officeholder? Can a wife and family of a political leader skip back and forth between a public figure one day and private citizen the next?"

The first lady's is an ill-defined role, without constitutional power. But as Carolyn Heilbrun pointed out in her book *Writing a Woman's Life*: "The true representation of power is not of a big man beating a smaller man or a woman. Power is the ability to take one's place in whatever discourse is essential to action and the right to have one's part matter. This is true in the Pentagon, in marriage, in friendship, and in politics."

In the end the American public may never know if they elected

a team into the White House. Ultimately, as Barbara Bush shows, private influence or power so far remains unaccountable.

Barbara Bush may also be the last first lady of her kind: a throwback. An old-fashioned woman playing a role in a way very much at odds with how most American women live their lives. Paradoxically, by taking such a low-key profile Mrs. Bush may open the way for another woman to go another way. "Can't you just see a Hattie Babbitt or a Liddy Dole leaving the White House each morning with her briefcase?" Irene Natividad said with a grin when the 1988 race kicked off.

After she left the White House, Nancy Reagan said she thought it would be a shame to give up the opportunity to be first lady. "I believe if a future first lady thinks she can have a career outside the White House, she will be shortchanging her husband and herself. She would miss so much of the experience and joy and the satisfaction of the job. It would be a terrible personal loss to pass that up . . . because you might think you have something else better to do."

Natividad didn't quite agree with that analysis but conceded that it might be difficult for the first lady to continue with a professional career while in the White House. She told a reporter at the beginning of the race: "If they aren't going to allow her to have her own career, then they ought to pay her. The traditional role of the first lady has to be rethought; I think the American public should be aware of what they exact from these women."

Given the rigors of presidential campaigning, it's hard to imagine a spouse sustaining a professional career all the way to the White House door. But there are spouses of potential presidential contenders—the economist wife of Texas Senator Phil Gramm or New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley's wife, a university professor—who may have to make the choice. Regardless, it is likely the public will see more issue-talking professional surrogates on the trail and a growing recognition of these women as the political partners that many are and always have been—a fact more and more historians are beginning to document. The difficulty today, as 1988 painfully showed, is that some women are still "in between." They yearn to be recognized as full partners in the political process yet find themselves confined to the realm of political image-making.

Kitty Dukakis once said, "If I wanted to be taken seriously, then I had to be serious about the work I was doing."

But for a political wife to be taken seriously means the public has to recognize her as a player and hold her accountable for whatever influence she wields. It means recognizing overt, not covert, power. Barbara Bush may not be willing to accept that new definition of first lady. Kitty Dukakis wasn't quite ready. But with more Liddy Doles and Jim Schroeders on the campaign trail, the phenomenon of "first partner" is unavoidably on the horizon.

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