

The Associated Press

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May 16, 1979, Wednesday, PM cycle

SECTION: Washington Dateline

LENGTH: 330 words

BYLINE: By JANET STAIHAR, Associated Press Writer

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: Mental Health

BODY: Congress is turning a sympathetic ear to President Carter's new multi-million dollar proposal to improve the nation's mental health care services.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D-Mass., said he welcome the legislation and his Human Resources health subcommittee will begin hearings May 24.

The chairman of the House Commerce health subcommittee, Henry A. Waxman, D-Calif., is also planning hearings.

Kennedy said in a statement that, while "it is hard to predict if the bill will pass this year, ... I will do everything to make that possible."

Waxman said he thinks the proposal will receive a "sympathetic" hearing in his subcommittee, but he still wants to look closely at the specific recommendations.

Both Kennedy and Waxman praised first lady Rosalynn Carter, at her husband's side as the proposal was announced Tuesday, for her efforts in promoting mental health care advances. She is expected to be the administration's chief lobbyist on Capitol Hill for the measure.

In announcing the bill, Carter said 20 million to 32 million Americans will need some form of mental health services, and that "substantial numbers of Americans" do not have access to high quality care at reasonable cost.

Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Joseph A. Califano Jr., said the bill's main aims are to:

Improve services for the 1.5 million chronically mentally ill, moving as many as possible from large institutions to small community facilities.

Grant money to link mental health programs to the health care system as a whole. Califano said 54 percent of those who seek help for mental problems go to general health practitioners.

Improve services for the poor, minorities and many in rural areas.

Califano said that although the bill would cost \$99.1 million the first year, spending would increase only about \$70 million because other, unrelated mental health programs have been consolidated and their budgets reduced.

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February 8, 1979, Thursday, Final Edition

SECTION: First Section; A2

LENGTH: 630 words

HEADLINE: A First Lady's Quiet Plea on the Hill

BYLINE: By Victor Cohn, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY: Testifying on behalf of millions who could use emotional help, Rosalynn Carter quietly told a Senate subcommittee yesterday: "Everybody has a mental problem."

"All of us," said the First Lady, who has seen her own family touched by marital discord, can be affected by emotional upsets as the result of "marital problems... unemployment... drug abuse" or other events.

And asked by Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.) if she thinks Americans today face more stresses than they once did, she said: "I'm sure there are stresses. I'm sure that my children have more things to contend with than I had."

With her comments, the First Lady thus followed her own advice to "people who have had a mental health problem" to "speak out," because it helps other people with problems feel "it's all right," rather than feel a shameful stigma.

Her son Chip and daughter-in-law Caron announced last November that they were separating and Mrs. Carter had said little about her feelings until yesterday's admissions.

Making the first appearance by a First Lady before a congressional body since Eleanor Roosevelt, Mrs. Carter spoke softly and feelingly for the emotionally ill she herself has seen and touched in her years working for them -- and in harder and louder tones on the need for more money to attack the problem.

Senate health subcommittee Chairman Edward M. Kennedy, agreeing fully with her aims, said that federal "funding for basic research has grown impressively" since the early 1960s.

It was then, the Massachusetts Democrat noted, that his brother, President John F. Kennedy, "called attention to the non-system of mental health care."

"I have to take issue with you, Senator," on dollars for research and prevention, Mrs. Carter replied. Until 1967, she said, research funds did increase, but since then they have been cut in half in real dollars by inflation.

Then she argued for the recommendations of the President's Commission on Mental Health, of which she was de facto head.

She also gave the subcommittee a statement strongly defending the additional monies allotted mental health in her husband's otherwise austere fiscal 1980 budget, which either cuts or holds level most other health programs.

Mental health programs would get \$633 million in 1980, up \$59 million or 10.2 percent, from the 1979 figure. With money already added to the 1979 budget, "this will make a total of more than \$100 million in new funds as a result" of the influence of Mrs. Carter's commission, a federal health official reported.

No senator asked her how she felt about mental health getting one of the few sizeable increases among all federal programs.

But she said in her prepared statement, in a part she did not read or touch on: "People often ask me how I justify pressing for more funds for mental health when there are so many problems facing the nation. It is easy for me to remind them that our mental health problems are serious -- and that we have endured years of neglect of the mentally ill -- and that no other problem facing society touches so many families or leaves them so vulnerable."

Among the mental health commission's 117 recommendations, she saw three "main priorities":

Broadening the national network of community mental health centers -- local treatment units -- into a "community mental health system" with more capacity to help underserved populations. This includes the chronically ill who are too often "dumped" out of mental hospitals into communities unprepared to support them.

Developing new ways to finance mental care, including private and public insurance coverage.

Research into the still too little understood causes of mental illness and retardation, and possible treatments.

GRAPHIC: Picture 1 & 2, Kennedy escorts Mrs. Carter to subcommittee hearing, where she said that "all of us" can be affected by emotional upsets. By James K. W. Atherton -- The Washington Post

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February 2, 1979, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: First Section; On Capitol Hill; A4

LENGTH: 80 words

BYLINE: Richard L. Lyons

BODY: The first trip to Capitol Hill by a First Lady as a witness in nearly 40 years will be taken by Rosalynn Carter Wednesday when she testifies before Sen. Edward M. Kennedy's (D-Mass.) health subcommittee in support of increased appropriations for federal mental health programs.

Eleanor Roosevelt testified on "Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens" (Okies) in 1940 and two years later on the migration of people to work in war plants.

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Abstracts

The New York Times

BYLINE: BY MARJORIE HUNTER

SECTION: Page 1, Column 4

DATE: February 8, 1979, Thursday

ABSTRACT: Rosalynn Carter, as honorary chmn of President's Council on Mental Health, pleads for mentally ill in testimony before Senate Health and Scientific Research subcommittee. Mrs Carter's appearance is first by President's wife at committee hearing since Eleanor Roosevelt in '40's. Subcommittee chmn Sen Edward M Kennedy praises Mrs Carter's testimony. Mrs Carter calls efforts to 'remove the stigma' of mental illness a major goal. Concedes that '80 budget has less mental health outlays than commission had requested. Urges that national mental health insurance program, if adopted, should include mental health care, but declines to debate proposals for such broad insurance. Rosalynn Carter photo (M).

SUBJECT: 308; ADVISORY BODIES; BUDGET; HEALTH INSURANCE; INSURANCE; MENTAL HEALTH AND DISORDERS; GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES

ORGANIZATION: SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON HEALTH AND SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH (HUMAN RESOUR; CONGRESS (RELATIONS WITH EXECUTIVE BRANCH); EXECUTIVE-CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS; CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE RELATIONS; CONGRESSIONAL-PRESIDENTIAL RELATIONS; PRESIDENTIAL-CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS

NAME: CARTER, JIMMY (PRES); KENNEDY, EDWARD M (SEN); ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO (MRS) (1884-1962); CARTER, JIMMY (MRS); CARTER, ROSALYNN

GEOGRAPHIC: UNITED STATES

GRAPHIC: Illustrations: Photograph

LENGTH: 119 words

Hers

Abigail McCarthy

PEOPLE seem to be puzzled by Rosalynn Carter. I grant that, if you follow her activities in press and media, there seem to be two Rosalynns. In the past few days we have read and heard of the First Lady much in the mold of her predecessors. She is going on a cross-country tour to highlight volunteer efforts in urban areas; she has written an article in a current woman's publication saying, among other things, that without volunteers, "we'd be a nation without a soul." She has been a gracious White House hostess to the King of Morocco. She has been on television, poised and pretty, faultlessly fending off loaded questions about the religious cults.

But there is the other Rosalynn Carter, who seems to exercise more power than any First Lady has ever had before. She attends Cabinet meetings. She has visited heads of state and discussed substantive issues with foreign ministers as her husband's representative. She takes strong stands — publicly — in defense of Administration policies, at one time admonishing the press, at another urging an audience to boycott industries which fail to follow the President's guidelines to fight inflation. People she has been thought to find disloyal have disappeared from staff.

And she takes surprising initiative. It was her idea, I one national correspondent when he asked w. President was inviting influential members of the press to a series of informal, off-the-record dinners. "I was amazed at the candor of the discussion over dinner," said one senior reporter, "and now that you mention it, yes, she did join in — not assertively because she's ladylike, you know — but strongly, and on the most sensitive policy issues."

For some reason people seem to find the idea of this second Rosalynn surprising. I don't really see why. She seems to me very much the Rosalynn she promised to be during her husband's Presidential campaign. And she seems true to the strong strain in American culture which produced her.

I first met Rosalynn Carter in 1976, when one of my editors thought it would be interesting if I had a series of "conversations with" the wives of the candidates running in the primaries. It was during the New Hampshire primary that we met at La Guardia Airport for breakfast and a long talk before we had to catch noon planes — she to Atlanta, I to Washington. It struck me then that there were two things different about her. She campaigned alone in areas where her husband was yet to go — "to make him known. I talk issues," she said. "Jimmy trusts me absolutely for that." (Evidently he still does.)

The other was that she had a working wife's concept of the women's movement. Others had said "equal pay for equal work"; she said it thinking of Southern women leaving factories in the early morning to face a day of taking care of families after working all night. But she was uncomprehending about the feminists who stress personal fulfillment. I think she still is — the concept is foreign to her.

"I had one like that the other day," she said to me of such a feminist. "She couldn't understand how I could do this for a man, you know — all this work and I was not the candidate myself! There'll be plenty of of unities for me and I'll have my identity if Ji is President."

When I started to puzzle about the strength and subdued passion of Rosalynn Carter which troubles people today, I was reminded of Ellen Glasgow's novel of the 30's, "Vein of Iron" — a very different story, but a story about the kind of Americans from



Montage by Michelle Norwitz

Rosalynn Carter is a product of a strong strain in American culture

which Rosalynn Carter sprang. "Sometimes," a character in that novel said, "I think we always live where we're born." This I think is true of the Carters, and especially of Rosalynn. She is of the rural small-town South, a South poor too much of its history, a South of hardworking people welded together by a kind of cultural isolation, forged in character by a Bible Christianity of personal morality, a South in which people are very clear about their identity. The Vein of Iron is what binds a family together and to its forebears — the power to do what she deems necessary for her own.

Her gentleness of manner, combined with assurance and determination, are characteristic of the breed of women who helped defeated men rebuild a region. Hers is a South "where everybody knows you" and where women — liberated from the more confining aspect of household and child care either by close-knit families or domestic help — are traditionally full participants in family business and community projects. It is not a many-layered society. Life revolves around the family and the church.

When Rosalynn Carter went back to Plains — much against her will, because she had liked her life as a Navy officer's wife away from a rather over-

whelming extended family in a narrow community — she quite naturally went to work at her husband's side in the family business. She also fostered her ambition, because it was hers too — and the conviction that theirs was a destiny outside Plains.

In that environment Rosalynn became a very private person, I think, inwardly keeping herself to her self. In a place where "everyone knows you" privacy and reserve are maintained by a charm of manner extended to everyone, but intimacy is kept for the very few. Jimmy Carter is sometimes effusive and unguarded; Rosalynn, never. Her eye and her heart are single. She knows her goal; she centers on her husband's welfare. If there is a dark side to that, it lies in its intensity. She has a sense of reality rooted in the concrete, alert to dangers, attuned to her husband's needs. When he was plunged into depression by an electoral defeat, his sister, Ruth, brought him religious experience, but Rosalynn gave him Amy. Her security lies in the life they have shared and in the patriarchal Christianity that sustains their marriage.

She knows her value like the virtuous woman of the Old Testament who sets her hand to strong things so that her husband can sit "honorable in the gates." Of that woman, the Bible said "The heart of her husband trusted in her," and that is her power.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

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OUR SEARCH REQUEST IS:
ROSALYNN CARTER AND DATE(AFT 6/1/78 AND BEF 12/1/78)

NUMBER OF STORIES FOUND WITH YOUR REQUEST THROUGH:
LEVEL 1... 227 The Associated Press

Associated Press.

November 21, 1978, AM cycle

Dozens of leading politicians and prominent people in the United States issued unknowing endorsements of the cult leader who ordered the Guyana killings and mass suicide.

The letters helped the cult get into Guyana and stay there.

Among those who sent letters of praise to the cult leader, the Rev. Jim Jones, were first lady Rosalynn Carter and Vice President Walter Mondale.

Many of those quoted in the documents said they couldn't remember talking to Jones, writing letters for him or making speeches about him or his church.

Jones, who also apparently committed suicide, used the references for himself and his Peoples Temple both to establish his colony in Guyana and then stave off allegations of mistreatment and brutality.

The Guyanese government released the papers Monday, with shock still reistering over the deaths of Jones and more than 400 sect members in a murder-suicide pact Saturday after the slayings of Rep. Leo Ryan, D-Calif., and four others at a airstrip near the settlement.

Minister of State Christopher Nascimento said he didn't want to embarrass any of the purported letter writers but Guyana wanted to show why it had permitted the Peoples Temple to settle there.

The attack on Ryan's group and the mass suicide made it appear "we allowed a bunch of crazies into Guyana." Nascimento said, "but in fact, the Rev. Jones presented references of the highest caliber."

Jones wrote to Mrs. Carter on March 17, 1977, saying he had missed meeting evanaclist Ruth Carter Stapleton, President Carter's sister, during her trip to San Francisco. He also said that after a trip to Cuba, he found the country was "badly in need of the hospital equipment."

Mrs. Carter, in a handwritten note on White House stationery, wrote to Jones on April 11, 1977, saying: "Dear Jim, Thank you for your letter. I enjoyed being with you during the campaign - and do hope you can meet Ruth soon. Your comments about Cuba are helpful. I hope your suggestion can be acted on the near future. Sincerely, signed Roslynn Carter."

Asked about the note today, Mrs. Carter told reporters in Washington, "I just saw him one time. He had written during the campaign and said he wanted to help us, so when I went to San Francisco to open the Carter headquarters, he was there."

She said the only exchange of letters with Jones she could recall was the one made public Monday.

Mondale, who was not available for comment, is quoted in the excerpts as saving. "I am grateful... for... the work of the Peoples Temple Christian Church in defending the First Amendment guarantees of freedom of the Press, in managing the drug program and in running the ranch for handicapped children."

And Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Joseph Califano is quoted as saying, "Your commitment and compassion, your humanitarian principles and your interest in protecting individual liberty and freedom have made an outstanding contribution to furthering the cause of human dignity."

Califano's office said the secretary did not remember the letter and the office could not find it in its files.

Include

OUR SEARCH REQUEST IS:

DONNIE RADCLIFFE AND ROSALYNN CARTER AND PUBLICATION (WASHINGTON POST) AND
DATE(AFT 1/1/78 AND BEF 1/1/79)

NUMBER OF STORIES FOUND WITH YOUR REQUEST THROUGH: 1 - 25

1978 The Washington Post

October 6, 1978, Friday, Final Edition

HEADLINE: First Lady's Advice

BYLINE: By Donnie Radcliffe

Rosalynn Carter, confiding that "some of my best friends are presidents" (but without mentioning any names), had some questions and answers for a new president Wednesday night.

Some concerned what Carter termed "the personal life" of Copley News Service's Marguerite Sullivan, being sworn in as the 50th president of the Washington Press Club in ceremonies at the Sheraton-Carlton Hotel. They were things, the first lady said, that are "very important" to being a president.

"For instance," inquired Carter in a role reversal that had 400 journalists looking on while she conducted the questioning, "Do you have a brother?"

"Will your daughter go to public school?"

"Does your mother speak Swahili?"

"Will the rest of the family write books about you?"

Sullivan would almost certainly "learn a lot," Carter assured her, "and I'm in a very good position to give you some advice." Which she promptly set about doing:

Don't worry about polls - "but if you do don't admit it."

Don't hesitate to have an image made "lately this has worked wonders."

Don't evade important questions vital to the country, even if they are difficult.

"For example," Carter elaborated, "Are you and Miss Lillian still locked in a struggle for Jimmy's attention?"

"What would you do if Amy married a Republican?"

"Is it really possible for you to live a normal family life?"

Not only possible, said Carter, answering her own questions, but she and her husband live one all the time. To prove it, she recounted how "Jimmy picks me up at the airport in his helicopter when I come home from trips . . . sometimes we entertain foreign visitors at our country retreat . . . we have a nice home close to our offices. . . and our children have friends in just like normal children, or they can play with their bodyguards."

Joan Mondale shared receiving-line honors with Sullivan and Copley News' publisher Helen Copley.

HEADLINE: East Wing Shake-Up;
Press Aide Anderson To Leave in East Wing Shake-Up;
Press Aide Anderson 'Not Asked to Stay'

BYLINE: By Donnie Radcliffe

Rosalynn Carter's deputy press secretary said yesterday she is resigning from her \$29,500-a-year job. But Ann Anderson, 42, also disclosed that the position disappears in a major reorganization of the First Lady's East Wing staff, and that she was not asked to stay.

Anderson, who came to the White House with the Carters, said the slot she fills will be restructured to provide a new position in the scheduling and press advance areas. The reshuffle is the first step in a more vigorous and visible use of Mrs. Carter in the congressional election campaigns and her own public projects, according to Mary Hoyt, press secretary to Mrs. Carter.

Under the plan, two new positions in scheduling and press advance will be substituted for slots now held by Anderson and Mrs. Carter's appointments secretary, Jane Fenderson. The latter, however, will shift into another new position as coordinator evaluating the First Lady's communities projects. Mrs. Carter's personal assistant, Madeline MacBean, will take over appointments chores.

"There will be a lot more traveling, a lot more overtime and weekend work. Even if it were something I felt qualified to do, it just seemed to me it was the time to move," said Anderson.

She said she had not been offered a chance to stay on the staff, and that under the proposed reorganization there was no area where her particular skills and experience seemed to fit.

Mary Hoyt denied that Anderson's resignation from a job that is being eliminated, in effect, amounted to being fired.

"That is not the case," said Hoyt. "Ann has known for some time about this reorganization and this is just the logical time to do it. She is very good at her speciality and I wouldn't dream of offering her a position as a scheduler. She is going to find another job with all our support and help."

Hoyt said the entire East Wing staff of 18 will be geared to help Mrs. Carter focus attention on her communities project, an effort that calls for private rather than government initiative in solving problems of the elderly, the unemployed and the mentally ill.

Hoyt said the First Lady expects to devote three days each week to social and ceremonial duties and two days to public projects. One of those days almost certainly will take her out of town. She has already set aside a dozen days in September and October to campaign for Congressional candidates. After the November elections, she is planning a cross-country tour focusing on her projects. That schedule already extends into 1979.

Hoyt said President Carter's recently-hired image builder Jerry Rafshoon "had nothing to do" with the reshuffling of Mrs. Carter's staff.

"Ever since the President's Commission on Mental Health delivered its report, Mrs. Carter has been planning her future activities. The reorganization is the results of hours and hours of planning."

Anderson's departure from Mrs. Carter's staff is the second in as many months and at least the seventh since the Carters moved into the White House. Barbara Inebeck, press ad-extensive travels prevented her devoting as much time to her five-year-old son as she felt she should.

Heinebeck was the third and latest black to leave the staff. Christopher Bates, an information specialist in Hoyt's press office, went to the Agriculture Department last year, as did Angla Corley, a former assistant to the director of Mrs. Carter's projects, Cathy Cade.

Others who have left Mrs. Carter's staff were Coates Redmon, former East Wing writer; Rick Hutton, former Carter family appointments secretary, and Helen Dougherty, former head of the First Lady's correspondence. Redmon left after persistent rumors of unhappiness over disparity between West and East Wing pay scales and Hutton and Dougherty due to personality clashes with members of Mrs. Carter's staff.

Hoyt said her assistant, Faith Collins, will assume the title of deputy press secretary along with some of Anderson's duties. Paul Costello, who took Heinebeck's place, will become assistant press secretary, handling some press advance work.

In the new scheduling office, Nancy Jordan, estranged wife of Carter aid Hamilton Jordan, will work as a full-time volunteer. Hoyt said there are no current plans to place her on the payroll.

Hoyt said Mrs. Carter approved the final organization plan and had been involved in its development. There was no effort to coordinate the first lady's communities project with members of President Carter's domestic staff, sometimes thought to have neglected the effort. But Hoyt indicated that the new system would offer better dialogue opportunities with the West Wing "because our responsibilities here will be more defined."

Hoyt, who has been the target of criticism in some media circles for her handling of Mrs. Carter's public presence, said the reorganization "will give me a better chance to be more responsible to the press because a lot of my coordination efforts will be handled in a different way."

Anderson worked with Hoyt at the Peace Corps in the mid-1960s and again in the Muskie presidential campaign. She was a reporter at the Nashville Tennessean when she met her husband, author Patrick Anderson, a former Carter speechwriter. They have two children.

She dismissed any hint of a rift. "Mary Hoyt and I are friends. I always enjoyed working with her."

RAPHIC: Picture, Ann Anderson, by Tom Allen - The Washington Post

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June 25, 1978, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: Style; K1

LENGTH: 5340 words

HEADLINE: Have You Heard What They're Not Saying About Rosalynn?; The First Lady, in Search of an Image; Rosalynn Carter, Seeking an Image; Why Aren't They Talking About Her?; If She's Not the New Eleanor Roosevelt, Who Is She?

BYLINE: By Sally Quinn

BODY: "Jimmy." Please unleash Rosalynn! She has a great grasp, an ability to humanize and she can bring attention to a program. Why is she in the background when she can be in the forefront?"

Liz Carpenter's fantasy plea to Jimmy Carter.

SHE SAT PERFECTLY still at the head table waiting to be introduced. Only her fingers, twisting back and forth, and her occasional gulps of water indicated her nervousness.

In her pale peach Calvin Klein shirtwaist, she looked elegant and delicate, a pretty matron any old-fashioned gentleman would want to protect.

She did not look like the top adviser to the president of the United States, the most powerful woman in the world, the first woman vice president, all of which she was touted as being back when Plains first moved to Pennsylvania Avenue.

She didn't act like a great power broker either.

She stood to address the National Press Club of Washington last week, the first first lady to do so since Eleanor Roosevelt 40 years ago.

"Today," she began in her whispery southern voice, "I'm not nearly as nervous as the first time I came here with Jimmy and he announced he was running for the presidency."

The purpose of the speech, according to her press secretary, Mary Hoyt, was to present Rosalynn Carter's philosophy of the role of a first lady and to explain what special project she hoped to embrace in her years in the White House.

But the speech, which was written, as most of her speeches are, by Hoyt with Rosalynn Carter's corrections and additions, seemed to many in attendance vague and unstructured. She talked about the traditional social role of the first lady, about her own interests in mental health, the elderly and how she hoped to encourage "the caring people" to serve on committees and programs "even in the most prosaic ways."

Rosalynn Carter seemed uncomfortable, her delivery hesitant. She stumbled over an occasional word, lost her place and was noticeably relieved when the speech was over.

Then an amazing grace overtook her.

As she took questions from the audience for the next half hour, a different woman emerged. A bright, relaxed competent woman, funny and disarming.

The audience was allowed a rare glimpse of the real first lady, not the "steel magnolia" of instant legend.

She giggled a lot, she told anecdotes, she made fun of herself. She took a few mischievous digs at the press and she handled the questions, some of them quite idiotic, with style and wit.

At one point she was asked if there was any time for President and Mrs. Carter to just sit back and enjoy themselves.

"I hope so," she answered. "We do enjoy weekends at Camp David. We take our briefcases . . ." and she paused, looked shyly out at the audience, giggled again . . . and confessed, "but we don't ever open them. And we do enjoy evenings at home, too. Jimmy, for the first four or five months, would go back to the Oval Office after dinner. But he stopped that way last spring and we do have evenings together with the family. We swim, we watch movies and listen to Amy play her violin." Another giggle. "It's a family. We enjoy it."

The disarmed audience gave her a hearty round of applause.

Finally, when someone asked her whether dancing with members of the press at the White House was different from dancing with real people, she paused for a moment, laughed and replied. "Since so many people say the president and his wife are not real people, I think we could get along beautifully."

Rosalynn Carter has a problem. Her image. She doesn't have one. The question is: Why?

Speculation about why is a major topic around Washington both among worried Carter staffers and seasoned first lady watchers.

And there isn't anybody who doesn't have an opinion on where it's all going wrong.

The answer, based on dozens of interviews with those both in and out of the administration has to do with the fact that Rosalynn Carter was falsely advertised to begin with as a powerful political influence over her husband. It has to do with her own lack of clarity about the nature of her role. It has to do with the disdainful attitude of some of the president's own staff toward her side of the White House (the East Wing), with the ineffectuality of her own staff and the lack of cooperation between the East and West Wings. And finally, it has to do with the obvious problems of being, still, a stranger in another town.

In the simplest terms, the problem seems to be this: Rosalynn Carter sees her role in the White House as assisting the president, rather than just assuming the role of first lady.

Despite repeated denials from Carter staffers and friends that there is no White House attempt to "package" Rosalynn Carter, she is, nevertheless, being packaged.

During the campaign, as a political morsel for the vocal feminist contingent in the Carter camp, Carter and "the boys" (Hamilton Jordan and Jody Powell) decided that Mrs. Carter should be presented as a tough, strong, firm, independent woman rather than the shy, natural, soft woman she is. They portrayed her to the press and the public as the first working first lady, the most powerful and influential adviser to the president, the first woman vice president, as it were, the next Eleanor Roosevelt. They informed the public that she would hold regular press conferences like the president, that she would take on substantive projects of her own and see them through. They were trying to package her.

And they're still doing it. As late as three weeks ago members of Carter's staff fed a story to The New York Times saying that she was "even more influential than Eleanor Roosevelt."

Carter's staff put Rosalynn Carter in that position. And Rosalynn Carter, of course, trying to help out and do the right thing, went along with it. She tried to act serious, tough and determined, like the steel magnolia image that had been sold, when, in fact, she was a wife and mother dedicated to her family, only unsure of herself as a politician.

What have not been promoted are the natural, spontaneous aspects of her personality that were so effective during the campaign and the other day at the National Press Club.

As a result, most of the time she ends up looking like a cold, humorless robot instead of what she really is.

Partly because her "toughness" has been misinterpreted. What toughness can be found in her character is simply her natural fierce protectiveness of her family against any outside threat, including those to her husband's political career. Her Influence

Probably one of the most puzzling aspects of Rosalynn Carter's role as first lady to the public is the original promotion of her, which promised a much more influential role.

Well, it just ain't so. According to many who have worked closely with the president, Rosalynn Carter has exactly as much influence on Jimmy Carter as the average married woman has on her husband. Which is not to be sneezed at, but hardly to be feared. And, as has often been pointed out, why should she? It was, after all, her husband who was elected.

"I am disappointed in her altogether," says feminist Gloria Steinem. "I try to be reasonable because of the initial comparison with Eleanor Roosevelt. That made the problem. She has a lot in common with Patricia Nixon. That determination that people are out there trying to get us so we're going to stick together and see it through. She's very thin-skinned, like the Nixons.

"I don't know a single reporter in Washington who feels they know Rosalynn," says NBC producer and People magazine correspondent Clare Crawford. "She's all but disappeared from the face of the earth. In an attempt to prove that she is not a housewife but that she is Jimmy's intellectual equal, she now has the newsworthiness of the undersecretary of commerce."

"Rosalynn wants to do what she's supposed to do," says a White House correspondent who has covered the Carters for several years. "In this case she doesn't know what she's supposed to do and nobody will tell her.

"Jimmy," he says, "does what he damn well pleases. She occasionally sprinkles his mind with a little wisdom that makes sense. And Rosalynn thinks that's just fine. Her influence, whatever, it may be, is impressionistic. There is no difference from any other Southern marriage. It's my opinion she doesn't have much impact on him politically. However, the kind of woman and the nest she builds certainly does."

One former staffer feels that, as in most marriages where the man has all the power, the woman feels free to criticize him while he is very careful to be supportive and encouraging of her little projects.

"She criticizes Jimmy all the time," says this person. "It's become almost a cliché. But he's very supportive of her. Almost

worshipful. She can do no wrong. It would have to be a major blunder on her part for him to criticize her."

The White House often points to the weekly luncheons Rosalynn Carterr has with the president in the Oval Office as an example of her influence on the president.

However, Rosalynn Carter's own explanation of her weekly meetings with her husband, more than anything else, substantiates a growing feeling that she is not the most powerful, or influential adviser the president has. On the contrary, she is hardly one at all.

In her speech at the National Press Club she said, "When Jimmy and I first came to Washington, every night I was trying to sneak in a question - or ask him about something a decision had to be made about. And it just didn't work that way. Every time he got relaxed, I would spring some big decision at him." Finally, she said, he suggested that she come to have lunch with him once a week like Vice President Mondale. "It's a very important meeting to me," she said.

There is one area in which Rosalynn Carter does have influence over the president and that is the one area in which she is somewhat knowledgeable, mental health. Having worked on it in Georgia and having been honorary chairman in the Mental Health Commission this past year, she is in a position to advise. For instance, HEW had recommended that the Community Health Program be funded a certain amount of money and OMB refused the request. HEW appealed and got nowhere. Then, through Tom Bryant, chairman of the President's Commission on Mental Health, and a close adviser of Rosalynn Carter's she got in the act, called OMB head McIntire over. She overruled him. He changed his decision after he met with her.

She has now gotten a commitment of \$500 million to supplement the Mental Health Report by appealing to her husband. Her Role

One reason why Rosalynn Carter has made so little impact and has such a fuzzy image is that she has taken on one project after another, then dropped it and gone on to something else. The only one she has concentrated on is mental health and even that has fizzled out since the Mental Health Report was issued earlier this spring.

One former staffer has this to say. "If you choose mental health as your talisman then you've got to go with it; it's too heavy a subject to speak out, and then drop it."

"My experience with the mental health commission is that the story got out in an interesting way," says Tom Bryant. "It had a whale of an impact on the mental-health community. But I don't think that the public is overly aware of Rosalynn's involvement.

Mental health is not a sexy topic. Rosalynn is a very complicated. She sees herself more involved with her husband across the board, but I think her strongest suit is mental health. Those are building blocks, and if done right, in two or three years people can say, "That lady had impact."

"I don't know why it's so difficult for people to expect this stereotype approach that she should have one project," says Mary Hoyt. "That a single project is an image. She has many interests and they all fit neatly together. But it isn't easy. People are frustrated because they all want her to have a slogan, a title, a name for a project. But it's broader and deeper than that. I don't know if she ever even thinks about it (the fuzziness of her image).

"She has been doing many fragmented projects. Now she's going to try to turn people on across the country to help each other. That seems like a neat, understandable thing to us here because we've been talking to her about it."

"But how do you make that effective?" Hoyt rolls her eyes and throws her hands up in the air in an air of resignation. "It will, well, EVOLVE. Maybe that's not a nice way to discuss a role, But that's the way it is."

"Rosalynn has the same problem as the president," says a person who has worked closely with Rosalynn Carter for a long time, both in Georgia and in the White House.

"They themselves are kind of fuzzy about what they are all about. So it's hard to present them in a clear positive way; she is interested in a lot of things, she never really goes through with them. It's like projectus interruptus."

"The reason Rosalynn loses interest in her projects is because everything she does in her life is for Jimmy, trying to make him look good. If you don't have the passive yourself to see the job through then it doesn't get done. She is deeply passionate about one thing. Her husband."

Gloria Steinem says, "She never appears to say anything separate from him. More than any other president's wife I have seen there is no independent thought or phrasing separate from his."

Someone who has occasionally sat in on Rosalynn Carter's staff meetings says that no matter what she is talking about she always prefaces her remarks with "Jimmy thinks and Jimmy feels and Jimmy says" as though she is simply parroting what he tells her to do. "It gets on your nerves," says this staffer.

"I don't think that she should worry about her image too much," says Barry Jagoda, Carter's media man. "But she should

set out to do what she and her husband think she should do. To be as strong and effective as possible."

Rosalynn Carter is beginning to be unfavorably compared with other first ladies, many of whom, whether or not they had an impact, at least had a clear image.

Jackie Kennedy was known for her chic, her taste, her style and her redecoration of the White House.

Lady Bird Johnson had beautification. Patricia Nixon, though hardly dynamic, chose volunteerism and struck with it, projecting the role of housewife and helpmate. Betty Ford was known for her candor, her courage in coping with her breast cancer, her outspoken support for ERA. But when one mentions the name of Rosalynn Carter, many people draw a blank.

Now she is even being unfavorably compared to the wife of the vice president, normally a figure in Washington with not so high a profile at all.

Joan Mondale is more identifiable than Rosalynn Carter. And, too, she has chosen as her press secretary-adviser, Bess Abell, who worked for Lady Bird Johnson and knows the town, and Joan Mondale has listened to her advice.

"Joan Mondale," says someone who has worked closely with Rosalynn Carter and observed Mondale as well, "is a creature of this city and so is Bess. She knows where to press the levers. She doesn't do things halfway. She's not trying to create an image as much as she is trying to do a job. She has chosen one thing, the arts, and stuck with it. And she's created her own identity, which is totally separate from Fritz. Yet by doing so she has been a true asset to him, rather than just a helpmate."

"Lady Bird Johnson," says former Johnson staffer who worked intimately with her and knows Rosalynn Carter fairly well, too, "fairly of all chose two pros. Liz Carpenter and Bess Abell, and she listened to them. Secondly, she chose a project, beautification, that was specific, clear, easily understandable and that people could relate to."

"At no time," says a former East Wing staffer, "was anything dramatic attempted to underscore her projects, and if you do them in a spotty way there will be a limited amount of coverage. The whole world is hardly waiting for Rosalynn's next pronouncement on mental health the way they were for Betty Ford's next remarks for instance."

"You've got to have a base or a concept to work with, a direction," says Sheila Weidenfeld, Betty Ford's former press secretary.

"Let's face it," says Mary Hoyt, "what Rosalynn is doing is an extension of the president."

But that can sometimes produce meager results. According to one former staffer, Rosalynn Carter's South American trip had little impact because South American leaders treated "her exactly as they would any wife of an American president": politely and nothing more, with some macho types reportedly grumpy that the president himself had not come.

"I'm no expert on what the role of the first lady should be," says Bob Strauss, Carter's special counsel on inflation and Washington expert. "But there are several things I do know about with respect to Rosalynn Carter. She can do just about anything she sets out to do, very well and very effectively. She's an able, wise and talented person. There are very subtle and not so subtle areas where she plays a significant role. But I would agree that there is a larger role she could play on the national scene." The West Wing

Both inside the immediate White House staff and outside, tales of woe on the image front were rife, even among those most powerful in the government, even those who are pro the president and the first lady. Not one person out of more than 30 interviewed failed to recognize that there was a serious problem not only with Rosalynn Carter's image but with the president's as well. As usual, nobody wants to be quoted on the record. Their jobs depend on it.

From the interviews, the following picture emerges:

One of the reasons why Rosalynn Carter has not made much of an impact as first lady is a lack of coordination with and support from the West Wing of the White House, the president's domain, whose press operation is run by Jody Powell. Partly this is because "the boys" Jody and Hamilton Jordan, have never had a great rapport with Rosalynn Carter. Partly because they don't get along with her staff, partly because they have not been directed by the president to get involved and partly because there is so much infighting and indecision going on in Powell's press office that they don't have time. But the main reason is that Carter himself is something less than a liberated man. He basically sees his wife as wife, mother, hostess. Nor have Powell and Jordan been known for their advanced attitudes about women.

None of them appears to realize that the East Wing of the White House, the first lady's side, is or could be a very important asset to them and the president. Powell is so frustrated in his dealings with Mary Hoyt that he has hinted several times recently that he believes that she will be fired. He has even gone so far as to suggest that he would like to see a man in that job because he would be easier to relate to.

The West Wing is apparently disgusted with the whole East Wing operation. Jody Powell is upset that Jerry Rafshoon, Carter's media man during the campaign, will be coming to the White House next week as head of communications. The two have never gotten along and Powell is afraid Rafshoon will usurp some of his power. Already Barry Jagoda has begun answering to Rafshoon rather than Powell, and Rosalynn Carter has expressed a hope that Rafshoon will be able to solve the image problem where Powell could not.

"I think," says a Carter intimate who is very close to Rafshoon, "that Jerry will be able to give Rosalynn and her staff direction, in terms of her role. He is the only one who can do it. She trusts him entirely.

Rafshoon himself, aware of the delicacy of his situation, could not be reached for comment under any circumstances.

Jody Powell refused to comment, as well.

"The relationship between Rosalynn's staff and Jimmy's staff, particularly Jody and Ham, is hate. Hate. Kill. Kill," says one former staffer with a wry laugh. "It's sad because it always seemed to me that Mary wanted Jody's good will and advice."

Mary is an uptown sophisticated lady. The fellows are put off by this. She looks so fixed up. These guys are not used to that."

"The East and West Wings have got to be coordinated," says a Carter administration type who has been around Washington for years and has worked with Rosalynn Carter, Hoyt and Powell. "Everybody has got to be singing out of the same hymn book. Then you can say. 'This month we're pushing health insurance' or 'This is get tough with the Russians months.' Otherwise the picture of the government does not come into focus."

"The problem," says a White House television reporter, "is Carter. He is not a totally liberated person. He wants Rosalynn to be active but he wants her to fill a certain role and no more. He wants to be proud of the little woman."

A powerful woman White House correspondent says, "Women don't play an important role in the policy-making in the Carter administration. The West Wing has never wanted to have anything to do with the first lady. They treat the East Wing with disdain. The impact of women is not strongly felt in a Georgia White House."

"Jody and Hamilton do not get along terribly well with Rosalynn," says a White House correspondent who has covered the Carters for several years. "Their primary motivation with her is to keep her pleased, to avoid making her unhappy at the risk of World War III. Otherwise she could make their lives miserable.

But they don't feel that way about Mary Hoyt or the rest of the staff. They just don't pay any attention to them.

"I think Rosalynn Carter came in with tremendous potential and the desire of Americans to see her be a very visible, hard-working, precedent-breaking first lady," says Liz Carpenter, former press secretary to Lady Bird Johnson when LBJ was President.

"If some timid soul in the West Wing, some underling, has the idea that America's first ladies must be consigned to the background, let them read the history and know that the ones who were substantive were those whose deeds were sometimes shocking, sometimes consciousness-raising, always courageous. We need Rosalynn Carter out rallying for us every hour of the day."

And Hoyt says, "Maybe now that Rafshoon is coming there will be more cooperation than there has been. There really has been very little. The East Wing

"Rosalynn Carter works harder than any first lady I have known and she's very serious," says UPI White House bureau chief Helen Thomas. "But communicating what she's done is where the breakdown is. I don't think it's her style to dramatize or capture the limelight. But she's very dedicated. She's just not projecting. Why? That's the \$64,000 question."

"I have a view that the press people working for Rosalynn are virtually worthless," says a male staffer in Carter's press operation.

"It's ridiculous that such a spectacular woman as Rosalynn has such a limp image. But every time we send an idea over the transom they 'eeeeek' like they're seen a mouse. Press people can be obstacles and Mary is a tremendous obstacle. She is political and frightened and she's always looking over her shoulder. She never seizes an opportunity. She's mistrustful of everyone. In my view that whole operation could be the greatest possible resource for the president, and it's not. The first family is the greatest resource we have. I just told Jody I couldn't work with her or the staff and he said, 'I know what you mean.' However I sense that Rosalynn really trusts Mary Hoyt. So to some extent it's an attack on Rosalynn because, of her choice of Mary."

"I think we've been too separate from the West Wing," is all Hoyt will say, guardedly, not wanting to seem too critical. "So some of us go to the weekly staff meetings over there. I think this new Carter reorganization will be helpful."

"There's never been anybody who worked harder, was more compassionate and understanding," says Rick Hutto, Rosalynn Carter's former appointments secretary who quit last fall, "but

she never had her own staff really, until the general campaign, and I think her staff would understand her more if they'd been with her as long as the president's has."

A Carter staffer who has worked closely with Rosalynn Carter on mental health as well as other issues says simply. "If the mental health program doesn't work for Rosalynn then I would blame it on Mary. Mary puts up a wall around Rosalynn that is hard to penetrate. It boggles me what her motivation is. But Mary Hoyt writes Rosalynn's mental health speeches as well as her others and often doesn't even ask the experts for advice or outside help. I know of several occasions when she has been offered material and never used it. What Mary uses as her resources I don't know. It's not my job to tell her what she should or shouldn't write."

"We have Kathy Cade who is the director of projects and issues and she does general research," says Hoyt about Rosalynn Carter's speeches. "Then, if we need specific research on something like mental health we'll ask Tom Bryant."

Since Coates Redmon quit as speech-writer, Hoyt has been writing all of Rosalynn Carter's speeches. A West Wing press staffer has said that Rafshoon's top priority will be to find a speechwriter for Rosalynn.

"During the campaign when Mrs Carter was talking about issues and about her husband, she almost always spoke extemporaneously," says Hoyt, "and I think she's at her best when she's extemporaneous."

"But she feels more secure with a text. It's rare though that she's given a speech she doesn't change herself. She deviates a great deal."

"There are so many political points that could be made by the family," says a former staffer who admires Rosalynn Carter. "But nobody knows anything about them, especially the human side of Rosalynn. People don't even hear about her natural spontaneous side. They don't hear about when she walks into a staff meeting and asks 'Que Pasa?' after her Spanish lesson, or how she runs around upstairs in the family quarters in blue jeans and a campaign T-shirt, how she makes fun of herself playing the violin and jokes about how Amy says she is so awful at it, missing notes all the time. They don't tell about how she finished playing tennis one day and just jumped into the White House pool with all her tennis clothes on."

"Mary's whole attitude is don't rock the boat, don't make major blunders and you'll survive. But maybe Rosalynn is telling her this, saying I want no profile, I don't want to be in the paper all the time. But I doubt it."

"I do feel," says another former staffer of the first lady's, "that Rosalynn is not being presented as well as she could be . . . But Mary does her job well. It's difficult to get a handle on Rosalynn. And she's not accessible to her staff, except for Madeline Macbean, her personal assistant who came with her from Georgia. When I needed her I could get her but you couldn't just sit around and chat."

"I think Mrs. Carter defies packaging," says Hoyt. "We spend a lot of time around here responding to this first lady. Which is different. She likes what she is doing. And she can't understand why people aren't more interested in her mental health projects."

"People have drifted away from it," admits Hoyt. "But if it's dull to sit in a meeting for eight hours and listen to the problems of the mentally ill, so be it. It's not dramatic. But I don't know who decreed that everything a first lady does has to be dramatic." Washington

There are those who feel that one of the reasons that Rosalynn Carter, and Jimmy Carter for that matter, have had such image problems, found it so hard to get their message across, is that they and most of their staff are just not familiar with Washington, with the jargon, the mores, the attitudes and, most importantly, the people. And they still don't understand the press.

"She's a very determined, very intelligent, politically caring lady," says Rosalynn Carter's former speech writer, Coates Redmon, who quit in disillusion six months ago. "So the question is this. If you want to have an impact and you have a big staff behind you and a president who is supportive, how could you not have an impact?"

"It may be that here are these people coming here cold, having been here three times in their lives and they move into the power house. There's a freak-out potential. There must be a sense of disorientation that may account for the way she deals with her issues."

"Washington is an overpowering place. It takes years to know your way around. But time is skipping by. My feeling is that Joan Mondale's advantage over Rosalynn is that she has a total understanding of her environment. That's got to matter."

"Look at Joan Mondale, for instance," says one Carter staffer, "she knows everybody, she can walk into a room and call people by their names. She knows how things work, where the bodies are buried. She knows the totems and taboos. That's got to give her a confidence the Carters have never had."

"Rosalynn has not had many of the experiences and the exposure of Washington that she had in Georgia," says Peter Bourne, the

president's special assistant for health issues. "She had flexibility as a governor's wife to pick up and do what she wanted to do. It's incredibly hard to do anything spontaneously from the White House because you set everything in motion. But she just doesn't get much publicity here and I don't know why."

"They're both very naive in this respect," says a former staffer. "They believe that they're right with God. And if what they're doing is right everything will work out for the best. But the problem is that things don't work that way in the real world."

Someone who has known both Carters "since before it was even chic to go to Plains," and is now a member, though distant, of the administration, said he had finally figured out what it was that has bothered him when he has been around Rosalynn Carter, particularly at Washington functions.

"I see a look in Rosalynn's eyes," he says, "that you see in foreigners who don't speak English very well. They find themselves involved in a slangy conversation and they begin to nod and smile and laugh very animatedly and suddenly you realize that they don't understand half of what is being said. That's the feeling you get with Rosalynn. You begin to realize that she's over her head."

About a month ago, Rosalynn Carter was the guest speaker at a gathering of the Foundations Council at the Shoreham Americana Hotel.

She was even more nervous than she was at the National Press Club.

However, at one point she broke away from her rather turgid text to talk about a visit she had just made to a local halfway house. Again she came alive and the audience immediately warmed to her.

During this spontaneous moment, she remarked that there was such a spirit of cooperation in Washington and with a certain innocent amazement at her own influence, confided to the audience that "I don't believe that I've asked one single person to help me and been turned down."

The audience howled with laughter and it was moments before she understood why they were laughing.

But it didn't take her long.

Carefully and deliberately placed right up there in her speech at the National Press Club was a line Rosalynn Carter used, looking up confidently from her text and playing it for all it was worth.

"I pick up the White House phone at any hour of the day or night and frequently ask the advice and counsel of experts in any field," she told them, this time with a conscious innocence in her voice. "I do it often . . ." Pause for effect . . . "And nobody ever turns me down."

Once again the audience laughed with delight as the first lady stood beaming, obviously at ease, for once, with the pleasures of power.

GRAPHIC: Illustration, no caption, by Vint Lawrence for The Washington Post; Picture 1, "At one point she was asked if there was any time for President and Mrs Carter to just sit back and enjoy themselves. 'I hope so,' she answered."; Picture 2, Rosalynn Carter paints at D.C. General Hospital. AP

The Associated Press

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DATELINE: WASHINGTON

KEYWORD: Rosalynn- Mental Health

BODY: Rosalynn Carter announced on Thursday an \$18 million demonstration housing program for the chronically mentally ill.

Mrs. Carter, honorary chairwoman of the president's Commission on Mental Health, unveiled the plan at a joint appearance with Patricia Roberts Harris, secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

Under the program, states may submit plans showing how the money could be used to help the mentally ill live in the community after they are released from mental institutions.

"Through this program we can break the stifling struggle which chronically mentally ill live in the community after they are released from mental institutions.

"Through this program we can break the stifling struggle which chronically mentally ill persons are confronted with when they are released from the imprisoning conditions of mental institutions," Mrs. Carter said.

Some Surprises as First Lady

It turns out that Rosalynn Carter isn't "the steel magnolia" that people were expecting. Underneath: a woman who has a clear sense of mission but whose husband comes first.

If Jimmy Carter remains a mystery to millions of Americans, his wife Rosalynn has developed into something of a surprise herself.

After nearly a year in the White House, Rosalynn has demonstrated that she will be an activist First Lady—but not the reincarnation of Eleanor Roosevelt that many expected.

During the 1976 election campaign, Carter's wife was popularly depicted as the "steel magnolia"—a woman who cloaked great shrewdness and determination with a facade of Southern charm, the real power behind the throne. But while her influence in the Oval Office still is believed to be considerable, she wields that power so subtly and privately that the impact is hard to measure.

The real Rosalynn Carter is a First Lady who carries out a demanding schedule of official duties and personal commitments but who takes great pains to stay in step with her husband in both his official and family roles.

As Rosalynn puts it: "We co-ordinate. I wouldn't go out and plan something rash."

On the road. On the Carters' planned world tour, whenever it takes place, the President's wife will have her own itinerary at each stop. She will meet with top health officials, receive briefings on the status of women in the various countries and then prepare a report on the sessions for the President.

Such low-key methods are typical of Rosalynn's approach—a quiet style carefully designed to get things done without embarrassing or overshadowing her husband. In this fashion, since Inauguration Day she has:

- Traveled to 12 American cities and nine foreign countries as an official representative of the President. Most recently, she toured the Texas-Mexico border on November 3 with Carmen Romano de López Portillo, wife of Mexico's President, and visited New Orleans.

- Become closely involved in the President's Commission on Mental Health, of which she is honorary chairman. She has called discrimination against the mentally ill "a national disgrace" and pledged "an all-out personal drive to help create a new national philosophy about mental health and to help bring mental illness out of the closet."

- Sponsored a White House round ta-

ble designed to focus attention on needs of the elderly.

- Returned to the political stump to speak for Democratic candidates. Her most recent outings have been to support gubernatorial nominees in New Jersey and Virginia. Although she has pretty much conquered a profound shyness that hampered her early in her husband's political career, she remains nervous about public appearances and still goes into the ladies' room to rehearse before she delivers a speech.

- Entertained more than a dozen foreign leaders at state dinners. At the Carter White House, no hard liquor is served, only wine. In contrast to parties given by Gerald Ford, there is no dancing into the wee hours of the morning. There is another difference, too: At official welcoming ceremonies, Rosalynn and the wife of the visiting dignitary now share the reviewing stand instead of following previous protocol and being relegated to a place in the crowd.

The stark contrast between the First Lady's

subdued style and the take-charge attitude that many people had expected has led to criticism of her effectiveness. That came out early when Rosalynn's first major overseas trip, a tour of seven Caribbean and Latin-American nations last June, was derided in advance. Some political analysts expressed doubts as to whether Latin officials concerned with "machismo" would pay any attention to a woman.

"I think I can give them some sense of Jimmy—some sense of his feeling toward the world and his foreign policy," she countered. Most observers agreed after the trip that she had done precisely that, and gave her generally high marks for the journey.

But the First Lady has made no attempt to emulate Eleanor Roosevelt, who toured coal mines, slums and war zones while her husband held the White House.

"I've read that I've tried to be like Eleanor Roosevelt, but that's absolutely false," says Rosalynn. "She was a great person, but I've never ever tried to pattern what I do after what she did. I've been doing the things I think are important, and I've not tried to copy anybody."

The First Lady's next major project will be an effort to build what she calls "a more caring society." Explains Rosalynn: "It applies to neighborhoods, cities, rural areas. Growing up in Plains, when there was illness or trouble, people cared and let you know it and helped



Presiding at a public hearing on mental health, Rosalynn Carter devotes time to a subject she believes is crucial.

out during a crisis. I want to start working on a program of getting people working together in communities and caring more about each other."

Rosalynn's official day usually begins at about 9:15 a.m. in her East Wing office of the White House, where she has a 17-member staff. She spends part of each day attending to private correspondence, reading the same news summary sent to the President, arranging the White House social calendar, considering invitations for personal appearances, working on her favorite projects of mental health and the elderly, and scanning summaries of the 2,000 or so letters she receives weekly.

The First Lady often writes comments in the margins of staff reports, signing them simply "R." Memos from the President come addressed to "Ros." She always refers to her husband as "Jimmy," never as "the President."

...s a Style of Her Own



Meeting foreign dignitaries is a key role for the First Lady, here with wife of Mexican President López Portillo in Juárez November 3.

Aides describe Rosalynn as "highly discreet" in everything she does—a quality she demands of her own staff. Pet peeves: people who are late or who fail to get directly to the point in conversation—exactly the things that annoy her husband.

Efforts of the President's wife on behalf of the equal-rights amendment probably reflect, as much as her activity, how she operates. By telephone and letter, Rosalynn has contacted dozens of legislators in States considering the amendment. But when asked by reporters whom the First Lady reached, her press secretary replied: "She really believes she can destroy her effectiveness if she goes to the public. She thinks it should be done privately." Rosalynn's sense of privacy redoubles when it comes to her family life out of the view. She makes certain that there is no breach in rigid security that marks the Carters' "off duty" hours. Friends and staff members say the intimate relationship existing between the President and his wife of 31 years is obvious to everyone. "You can't surround them and not know how they are," says one White House aide. "They have antennae-like abilities to know what the other is feeling."

Outside the office, Rosalynn keeps up her Spanish lessons and shares a violin class with daughter Amy. She also still balances the family checkbook and has the final sign-off on the couple's income-tax return.

Like her husband, Rosalynn has fallen in love with Camp David, the secluded

presidential retreat in the Maryland mountains. There, she changes into blue jeans for walks in the woods and enjoys swims in the heated outdoor pool. Evenings are spent bowling with Amy, reading in front of the fire and watching movies.

Life with Jimmy. The First Lady has learned to laugh at news reports of how she exercises influence over the President. One myth she knocks down: that she can change Carter's assessment of a world leader with a few choice words of her own.

Says Rosalynn: "Jimmy and I argue and debate the issues all the time—what is happening and are we going about it in the right way. We are very close together philosophically. We do have differences, but it's usually when I don't understand something or when he doesn't understand how I feel."

In fact, the evidence is that the Carters disagree on very little. And when they do differ, she will be the last one to let anyone know about it.

A close friend explains: "She thinks that to go into detail on issues they discuss is like telling the world what they talk about when they go to bed at night. She is a traditional woman in many ways."

Traditional or not, Rosalynn Carter clearly is one President's wife who insists on following her own instincts in how to play the role of the nation's First Lady.

This article was prepared by Associate Editor Patricia Avery.



Helping out on the campaign trail is something the President's wife learned to do for her husband. Now she is widely sought to lend a hand to other Democratic candidates.

Talk to Kathy

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The Washington Post

May 20, 1977, Friday, Final Edition

HEADLINE: First Lady's Breakfast

BYLINE: By Donnie Radcliffe

Rosalynn Carter, who with her husband has spent the spring getting acquainted with Washington's influential, made a pilgrimage yesterday to yet another bastion of power, the 700-member Congressional Club.

The occasion was the annual First Lady's Breakfast, a tradition almost as old as the 69-year-old club and an event a President's wife dare not miss if she knows what's good for the President (as John Kennedy did in 1963 when he substituted for his wife, Jacqueline).

"I'm really overwhelmed," Rosalynn Carter told the record crowd of 1,000 at the Shorham Americana which included spouses of the Vice President, Supreme Court Justices, the Cabinet, U.S. senators and representatives and actress Elizabeth Taylor, who in her remote corner of the room was as besieged by autograph-hounds as the First Lady.

Taylor's reservation, through her hostess, Jermaine Magnuson of Washington, had reached the committee late and cost her a "choice" table, according to cochairman Mae Guyer of Ohio.

And compared to her White House predecessors, Rosalynn Carter's acceptance had taken longer than Guyer thought customary. "She's not been a congressional wife, so she doesn't know anything about the club," said Guyer, who told of calling the White House in January "several times . . . We were getting anxious to hear."

The hotel's Regency Ballroom was decorated with paper versions of Georgia's state flower, the Cherokee rose, against a bright green-and-white color scheme. "Carter campaign colors," the First Lady noted with satisfaction.

Introduced by club president Doris McClory of Illinois, the First Lady presented checks for \$500 each to the D.C. Chapter of Recordings for the Blind and the Mental Health Program of the District. In return, she received a needlepoint rendition of the White House, a serenade by singer Tony Bennett and protection from inquiring reporters at a pre-breakfast VIP reception.

In 1974, reporters attending the reception questioned then-First Lady Pat Nixon about Watergate and, according to Guyer, "We were very embarrassed about that." Since then, the press has been barred from the reception in an effort to protect the First Lady from being "put on the spot."

Yesterday's breakfast, at \$12.50 a ticket, cost \$2.50 less than in 1976 and was made possible because "We had a little extra left over from last year," said Guyer. "We don't expect to make money."

GRAPHIC: Picture, First Lady Rosalynn Carter with Doris McClory and Joan Mondale at yesterday's breakfast held for Carter by the Congressional Club. By Harry Naltchayan - The Washington Post

HEADLINE: Rosalynn Carter Takes Up Cause of Nation's 22 Million Elderly

BYLINE: By Donnie Radcliffe, Washington Post Staff Writer

Rosalynn Carter, who a month ago launched a program to focus attention on the nation's mentally disabled, yesterday began an effort to help with the problems of the nation's 22 million elderly.

"A society that cares is the most important thing," the President's wife said yesterday, concluding the first of what she sees as a series of White House round-table discussions on problems of the aging. "I know if we work together we can do something worthwhile," she said.

Using much the same procedure she did a month ago with members of the President's Committee on Mental Retardation, she sought recommendations from 23 experts on aging on such questions as mandatory retirement, health care, housing and nutritional needs.

She not only got them - in five-minutes bursts, carefully clocked by an aide seated behind her - but some others she may not have anticipated.

"There is a need at the highest levels of government for a prominent, national advocate of the elderly to stimulate greater national awareness of their problems," said Bert Seldman, director of the AFL-CIO's Department of Social Security.

He proposed that she expand upon the task she had undertaken by setting up the meeting and that she become, in effect, "a national ombudsman" for the 22 million Americans over 65.

Rep. Claude Pepper (D-Fla.), chairman of the House Select Committee on Aging, saw the advocacy role from another perspective.

"For too long the elderly have suffered the indignity of a confused and confusing bureaucracy, the indignity of mandatory retirement, the indignity of a system which favors costly and often needless institutionalization, the indignity of nursing homes which are too often tinderboxes and the indignity of stereotypes which dictate that to be old is to be feeble-minded and worthless," said Pepper, at 76 the senior among his fellow conferees and therefore first to commence the discussions.

He invited the First Lady to put pressure on his congressional colleagues "to bring legislation (benefiting the elderly) to the floor out of committee where it reclines." "You are suggesting that I lobby the Congress?" She asked Pepper, who had told her that as committee chairman he would "welcome" her counsel. "I'm willing to do that. I do understand how important the programs are," she said.

Later, the First Lady expressed satisfaction that the discussion had "been a start," although she said there had been no way to invite everyone concerned with topics under discussion.

"From this I'll get a focus on what to do," she said, adding that she had no time limit because "I've got four years . . . I wanted to start now, but the goals are long-range."

HEADLINE: Mrs. Carter Begins Fulfilling Her Pledge;
Launches Campaign to Aid Elderly, Mentally Disabled

BYLINE: By Donnie Radcliffe, Washington Post Staff Writer

husband's position and a determination the White House will be "a place that people can turn to for help," Rosalynn Carter set out yesterday to focus attention on two fields of particular concern to her - the elderly and the mentally disabled - and the problems unique to each.

It was her first major move toward keeping some campaign promises of her own.

In a mid-morning address to 1,100 delegates to the 27th Annual Conference of the National Council on Aging, the First Lady announced a May 10 "roundtable" discussion on the aging at the White House, which she called "a first step" in her campaign pledge "to help personally."

Reading excerpts from four of the 3,060 letters she receives weekly on such subjects, she said their elderly authors represented old people everywhere who "struggle to stay warm, have decent clothes, decent clothes food to eat, try to pay their bills and not be a burden to anybody."

She told of inviting representatives and experts from 17 lay and professional groups "to discuss the problems and also to seek solutions. I know there are many programs already for the elderly but the concern I have is that these programs do not reach the people they are supposed to reach."

She said she will seek greater coordination through "an agenda for channeling information about valid programs. I am determined that the White House will be a place that people can turn to for help. I am determined that the White House will be open and available for help."

Later, at the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, she participated in a meeting of the President's Committee on Mental Retardation, exhorting its 25 members to provide specific recommendations that could provide a basis for legislation her husband may propose.

She wanted recommendations on how to help families of the mentally retarded through programs similar to those offered families of alcoholics. She called for suggestions on training professionals to work with those families, ways to dispel the stigma of retardation and illness, and ideas on educating the public to "understanding and acceptance."

She had a word of advice, while she was at it. Knowing from experience that "if you give Jimmy specific, brief, understandable recommendations," the likelihood of results was better than if he is presented "reams" of text.

She wanted some answers herself, she indicated during presentations by heads of the committee's seven task forces.

"It distresses me to see funds cut," she told Dr. Cecil B. Jacobson, head of research and prevention. "I don't think we had enough in the first place."

"I don't think that's the major problem," Jacobson replied. "I think the major problem is in applying what we already know."

Eunice Kennedy Shriver, a special guest at the session, said later that Rosalynn Carter had made "a good point but she didn't get a very good answer. In fact, less than \$2 million, goes into research on prematurity . . . Research and reproductive biology are important for prevention (of mental retardation) but nobody is really very interested."

HEW Secretary Joseph A. Califano Jr., however, was hopeful that "the next few years are going to mean to the handicapped and retarded some turmoil but the kind of progress the blacks made in 1960."

As for Rosalynn Carter, Califano, who is automatically chairman of the committee, which was established in 1966, was equally optimistic.

"It may be the best thing that's happened in this area isn't the direct election of Jimmy Carter," he said, "but the indirect election of Rosalynn Carter. "

GRAPHIC: Picture, HEW Secretary Califano joins the First Lady at meeting of President's Committee on Mental Retardation. By Ellsworth Davis - The 1977 The Washington Post

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April 6, 1977, Wednesday, Final Edition

LEADLINE: A Low-Key Debut Appearance by the First Lady

BYLINE: By Donnie Radcliffe

Some in the crowd had waited 45 minutes in the rain and considered themselves lucky, at that. The 600 tickets to Rosalynn Carter's debut appearance yesterday before the 2,200 member Woman's National Democratic Club had been snapped for four weeks earlier like the proverbial hotcakes.

"It was very important for me to see her," said a drenched but smiling Ann Robbins, struggling to get out of her rain-soaked coat. "The last time was at a campaign tea and then we had to give the tickets away to anyone to come."

But by the time Robbins reached Carter, wearing her Inaugural turquoise wool dress as she stood between WNDC President Mary Lou Friedman and special events chairman Gerry Komer, all the things she had planned to tell the First Lady were lost in pure and simple awe. "I could only think to say 'I'm deeply moved,'" said Robbins, "and then I promptly went back (to the dining room) and spilled punch all over me."

It was that kind of a day in that strictly partisan crowd for whom superlatives would come easy, criticism difficult. Advance billing of

Rosalynn Carter's maiden address to the group (many of whom could remember only too vividly one of her activist predecessors, Eleanor Roosevelt) had left little doubt that it would be important. Said the April edition of The WNDC News: "Our newest Honorary President will make what is expected to be a major statement on plans for mental health care."

Instead, "I feel like I'm campaigning again," Carter began, looking out upon a sea of faces eager for a glimpse and hint of where her programs on mental health and the elderly will be headed in the months ahead. "One thing I've had to adjust to is that my influence, no matter what I say, goes across the country," she said, paraphrasing to some ears her oft-repeated campaign statement of how as governor's wife, she began to realize how influential she could be.

Rather than be specific about her own programs, she solicited support from her audience on those of Jimmy Carter. Warning of "great and powerful forces of opposition" to his forthcoming energy policy, and "concern" for his human rights stand, she said "the point is that to succeed we need your help - it's your responsibility as much as ours."

Later, after she had gone, taking with her the club's third annual Democratic Woman of the year award that included not just a citation but a specially designed scarf by Alexandria dress shop owner Frankie Welch, enthusiasm was polite and warm. Even so, there seemed to be an undercurrent of disappointment.

"She was very good to review for us the projects she shares with the President," said Mary Lou Friedman.

"What could she say? She couldn't say anything about policy?" asked Florence Donahue. "She was asking people to stand up for what we believe in."

"I loved her," said Sue Groth who saw nothing new in Carter's description of her own programs but thought that, too, all right because "I wouldn't have wanted her to make up something."

Another prominent Democrat, accustomed to the specifics the Club's biweekly featured luncheon speakers traditionally adhere to, suggested the occasion's "set-up" may have proved inhibiting for the First Lady.

Said a club spokesperson who had been under the impression that Carter's speech would be newsworthy: "Apparently some decision was made later that she would hold off now and simply voice her interest." 1977 The Washington Post

April 5, 1977, Tuesday, Final Edition

HEADLINE: A Different Kind of Tea

BYLINE: By Donnie Radcliffe

Rosalynn Carter turned a White House tea for Jihan Sadat of Egypt into an open forum yesterday, leading the discussion by a half dozen experts in their fields on a variety of social problems confronting both the United States and Egypt.

At the end, proving perhaps that Rosalynn Carter might be able to leave the "party" out of a White House tea but never Jimmy Carter out of a White House concert turned up to hear 11-year-old pianist Ana-maria Vera. He sat between two First Ladies, holding Mrs. Carter's hand much of the time, to hear the young artist perform a recital of selections from Chopin and Scarlatti.

"I have all kinds of favorites (musical artists). They change everyday. Today you're my favorite," he told the youngster, who gave her first recital at age 5 and most recently appeared as guest soloist with Arthur Fielder at the Kennedy Center.

If it was a highly successful ending it had also been a disarmingly informal guests were seated in a semi-circle in the Blue Room behind small tables with namecards prominently displayed.

"Your interests and my interests are the same," she told Egypt's First Lady, hesitating slightly over how to address her. (Am I supposed to say 'Madame'? asked Carter. "Just call me Jihan," replied the visitor).

For 45 minutes, men and women prominent in the area of women's rights, the handicapped, medical research and technology brought the two women up to date on advances in their respective fields.

John Sharon, president of Children's Hospital National Medical Center, told of work to develop a vaccine to cure an infant bone disease which he said he understood afflicts 30 per cent of the children in Egypt.

Dr. Estelle Ramey, Georgetown University endocrinologist and a leading feminist, told of three particular areas where she has been active: opening up medical schools to more women, providing science scholarships to women and assisting centers for "beaten wives".

"Beaten?" asked Jihan Sadat, herself a leading feminist.

Ramey's explanation, that they were often economically deprived women who had no place to go except for the few centers in some regions of the country, drew further questioning from Sadat.

"How do you help, by giving money or by teaching handicapped? Why don't you let them depend on themselves by teaching them something?"

The problem was somewhat more complex, Ramey said, explaining how some battered wives "feel they may deserve to be beaten - there is no sense of self at all. And the tragedy is that their sons probably grow up to beat their own wives."

It was a subject that visibly affected Sadat, who suggested a counseling program for the husband, as well, similar, she indicated, to a program in Egypt where "we bring the husband in and in a very kind way teach him how to be kind."

Ramey replied that in the United States two problems prevailed, one concerning the urgency of "emergency" aspects, the other "social services." "The children of those families often have a very high incidence of mental disorders, from neuroses to psychoses."

But it was Dr. Henry Viscardi, chairman of the White House Conference on Handicapped Individuals, whose work may have been of greatest interest to Sadat,

known for her efforts on behalf of the handicapped. Born without legs and a self-described "charity patient" until age 7, he told of never being able to stand until he was 23, when he was first fitted with artificial legs.

"In any other land, I might never have been able to be a learned man," he said. "Your interest, Jihan, is appreciated. A man without limbs who sits in Cairo has the same aspirations that I do."

Sadat responded, proposing exchange visits between the handicapped of both countries - "If that is possible I would be very well pleased," she said. It was an idea Rosalynn Carter quickly endorsed as "something else I'm doing - an exchange program between our states and foreign countries. I think it is a great idea to include handicapped individuals in that exchange."

Later, when the discussions had ended, Carter told her guests, who also included Joan Mondale, the National Gallery of Art's J. Carter Brown and Dr. Esin Atil, curator of Islamic Art at the Freer Gallery, that it was "the kind of tea I like - I feel I learned something and I feel that she (Mrs. Sadat) learned, too."

In the morning, Carter met briefly with a group of Asian leaders touring the United States under sponsorship of the League of Women Voters' Overseas Education Fund.

Sitting with them in the White House Library, she suddenly found herself being lobbied - against removal of U.S. troops in Korea and for passage of a congressional bill that would provide authorization for \$5.2 billion to three international lending institutions.

"The Communists are all around us," said Somsri Kantamala of Thailand's Ministry of Interior, in urging U.S. presence in Korea. "We need American moral support. We can fight by ourselves, but we think of you as being the big brother of the free world."

The First Lady listened politely, said the views of her guests were helpful but gave no indication of her personal opinions.

"We didn't expect this," Kantamala said later of the exchange, "so I took this opportunity to say what I think."

Said Press Secretary Mary Hoyt later, "Mrs. Carter would appreciate that kind of forthrightness. It takes it out of purely coffee-talk and makes it something meaningful."

CORRECTION-DATE: April 6, 1977, Wednesday, Final Edition

CORRECTION:

Children's Hospital National Medical Center is working to develop a vaccine to cure infant diarrhea, not bone disease, as reported in yesterday's editions. The Post regrets the error.

GRAPHIC: Picture, Jihan Sadat of Egypt arriving for tea with Rosalynn Carter.
By Ellsworth Davis - The Washington Post

1977 The Washington Post

March 25, 1977, Friday, Final Edition

HEADLINE: First Lady Shops in New York

BYLINE: By Donnie Radcliffe

They were singing the First Lady's praises yesterday along New York's Seventh Avenue, the same place where only two months before they had been voicing some doubts about her 6-year-old Inaugural Ball gown, in particular, and her fashion taste, in general.

Rosalynn Carter, you see, had just bought her spring and summer wardrobe. It was like music to the ears of the hard-pressed International Ladies money in the bank to at least four New York design houses.

In six hours on Wednesday, the First Lady had bought a couple of coats, again that many suits, several daytime dresses and at least two gowns for evening. And if she caught some designers by surprise - "The White House called just hours before she arrived," said a spokesman for designer Jerry Silverman - the ILGWU had been prepared.

In fact, the ILGWU's president, Sol Chaikin, during what a spokesman called "just a friendly visit" to President Carter on March 15, set the trip in motion when he expressed the hope that Rosalynn Carter might like to visit Seventh Avenue sometime.

"That's where it all began," according to Evelyn DuBrow, the ILGWU's legislative director, who, with executive vice president Wilbur Daniels and assistant president Gus Tyler, was waiting for the First Lady Wednesday when she arrived at Silverman's showrooms.

Chaikin, himself, couldn't join them since he was hospitalized for minor surgery but his wife represented him, accompanying Rosalyn Carter, her sister-in-law Ruth Carter Stapleton and the First Lady's personal assistant, Madeline MacBean, on their swift fashion rounds.

Badly hit by what DuBrow called "the penetration of imports - 89 per cent of the garments sold in the United States today are imports," the ILGWU has been losing members steadily as domestic production has dropped.

"We wanted to indicate," DuBrow said of Rosalynn Carter's Wednesday visit, "that we were encouraging Americans everywhere to buy union-made clothing."

Said a spokesman for Sol Chaikin yesterday in New York: "It (the Carter visit) was a tremendous boost for the industry."

It was also a tremendous boost (if not necessarily in money, certainly in publicity) for some individual designers. At Silverman where the First Lady made selections "right off the rack," according to sales manager Eli Lehman, she ordered several articles in the imitation suede fabric, Ultra-suede, (three-piece suit, coat and jumper), plus a pencil-striped suit with crepe de chine shirt.

At Dominic Rompolo, who designed her Inaugural wardrobe and also added a wrap to update her ball gown, she selected six items. Among them were an all-white matte jersey floor-length dress and coat, a long "Rosalynn green" matte jersey gown, a linen jumper in banana yellow, a cotton apricot and white-striped daytime dress and another in "peanut" and white.

At Abe Schrader, she chose a navy-blue coat, aqua dress and four-piece navy linen suit with vest.

She also looked at sketches at Kasper.

"She knows pretty well what she wants and what she likes," said Rompolo.

From Seventh Avenue came indications of a welcome truce. Said Halston, who only two months ago had accused the Carters of accomplishing "a real putdown" of

HAC - stay away from red - NR / power
emissary for the fashion industry

he fashion industry by their low-key treatment: "I think it was very gracious and very nice of Mrs. Carter to go to Seventh Avenue and be supportive of our industry."

Equally positive was 1976 Coty Award-winning Mary McFadden, who called it "important" that the First Lady had made the visit.

GRAPHIC: Pictures 1 and 2, First Lady Rosalyn Carter went shopping along New York's Seventh Avenue to buy her spring and summer wardrobe. Her purchases included a pinstriped suit and white crepe dress from Jerry Silverman.

ROSALYNN'S AGENDA IN THE WHITE HOUSE

By Kandy Stroud



"My philosophy is that you do what you have to do."

She has no mandate, no prescribed powers, and only a limited budget for staff. Yet just two months after moving into the White House, Rosalynn Carter, 49, is convinced that she can "make a difference." As she puts it: "I just know when Jimmy was Governor there were so many things I could do that I worried about my priorities. You know, if I was doing the most important thing, I feel the same way about this. There's no end to what I can do in the White House."

Her agenda in the White House reflects her own personal temperament, which was formed in an all-work-little-play girlhood in Georgia, as well as the feminist temper of the times. If her first breathless weeks in the White House are any clue, she may become the most activist First Lady since Eleanor Roosevelt, whose public years she has thoroughly studied. Rosalynn has taken as her special interest the needs of the people she believes are "underserved" by Government, especially the mentally and emotionally ill, and the cause of human rights—especially women's rights. Just as Mrs.

Roosevelt was called "the Assistant President," Rosalynn Carter could also have an impact on the making of national policy, advising on her husband's programs as well as advocating her own, sometimes sitting in on Cabinet meetings and pushing legislation she supports.

"I think she inherently understands she's in a position where she can electrify people and generate excitement," says Mary King, an old Carter friend who is now deputy director of ACTION, the Government's volunteer agency. "She wants to do something national in impact and realizes she's in a position to use that influence to do good. She has never said this, but I have always felt that in her heart she believes the Lord has put her in a unique situation where she could get

things done. She thinks she has powers and does not think they come from her."

Mrs. Carter has already displayed her considerable powers. Largely hidden from public view, she has established an arduous daily routine. She usually spends eight hours at her Chippendale mahogany kneehole desk surrounded by fresh flowers, four "in" and "out" boxes and Amy's pink-and-blue gingham "tooth-fairy pillow," which she has tucked off an empty bookshelf in her yellow-and-apricot East Wing office. Starting at 9:30 A.M., she makes telephone calls to gather information from experts in the field of mental health, has meetings with her staff, answers heaps of mail, and lobbies for the Equal Rights Amendment. Allowing a half-hour for lunch

with Jimmy in the family dining room and a half-hour at 4:30 to do homework or play with Amy, she sometimes leaves her office as late as 6:30. Consequently, there are evenings when she goes straight from work to the theater in her office clothes. One night, when the President decided at the last minute to go see Hal Holbrook in "Mark Twain Tonight!" at the Kennedy Center, Rosalynn sat in the Presidential box in the beige Ultrasuede jumper and navy blouse she had been wearing all day.

If the Carters are home for the evening, Rosalynn takes her battered black Samsonite attaché case back to the family quarters and works until the President finishes in the Oval Office. They retire about 11 P.M. Even dinners are working sessions. One evening, Zbigniew Brzezinski, White House adviser on national security, came over for a light supper to brief the Carter family and some staff members. Rosalynn found it so fascinating she told friends she thought it was too bad the discussion couldn't have been on public television.

Tuesday and Thursday mornings, she presides over a 45-minute staff meeting in her conference room around a highly polished oval table, sur-

Kandy Stroud, who has been covering the Carter family for the past year, adapted this article from a chapter of her new book, "How Jimmy Won."

rounded by green leather chairs. Staffers claim she guides those meetings decisively, making speedy decisions. "She knows exactly what she wants," says Ann Anderson, her deputy press secretary. She goes around the table eliciting opinions and information from her team of 16 women and two men, and sometimes gales of laughter can be heard peeling down the red-carpeted halls. "It's really nice to work with her," says one staff member who, like many others, calls her "Rosalynn." "She's businesslike, but very informal. I looked up from my desk one morning and she was just standing there. . . . If she wants something, she'll just walk right down the hall instead of phoning."

Most afternoons, she is plagued with meetings—with the budget office, with the legal counsel, with the chief usher, Rex Scouten, and the housekeeping staff, with her son Chip about his projects, with her project planners. Rosalynn occasionally works on Saturdays, too. On one weekend, she spent the day at a mental-health conference and managed to have lunch with the wife of a friend who had been hospitalized. She's no time-waster.

She has also embarked on a program of extracurricular studies. From 9 until noon on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Fridays, she takes Spanish lessons in the solarium, to become fluent for several Latin American trips she plans to take during the next four years. And every Tuesday night at 7 P.M., she and her husband take a refresher speed-reading course so they can cope with the mountains of reading that confront them daily.

If she has found plenty to do as First Lady, Rosalynn has at least been relieved of one wifely duty. For 25 years, she sprang out of bed at dawn and fixed her husband a hearty breakfast—coffee, grits, eggs, toast, juice. But Jimmy discovered recently that he has little time for breakfast and, what's more, does not really like it. "He has just orange juice," she says. "In fact, he told me during the campaign that he enjoyed his mornings so much more because he didn't have to eat the big breakfast I used to fix for him. I wish I had known that 25 years ago."

It is, of course, Rosalynn Carter's special working partnership with her husband that will define her role and determine her effectiveness as First Lady. But she also comes to the White House with confidence, experience and some definite plans. She clearly plans to be the guiding force behind the new President's Commission on Mental Health, to lobby for the Equal Rights Amendment, to encourage more volunteering among Americans and help for the aging.

"She'll do what she did as First Lady of Georgia," the President predicts. "She probed to see how she could be of service to the people. She involved herself in programs to combat alcoholism and drug abuse. . . . She took the initiative in mental retardation. She'd come to me and say, 'This is what we need to do.' Then she'd come back to me with a description of what was necessary. And that's what we implemented. It was innovative and workable." Asked if he would try to silence Rosalynn if she were as outspoken as Betty Ford, he smiled. "If I did, it probably wouldn't do any good."

Like Eleanor Roosevelt, who traveled widely, Rosalynn plans to serve as roving ambassador for her husband. She has already stood in for him at the inauguration of President José López Portillo of Mexico and is expected to fly to Latin America to promote some cultural and student exchange programs. Rosalynn also intends to take a half-dozen trips within the United States in the next three months to visit hospitals and nursing homes and attend mental-health hearings.

Rosalynn Carter's first priority, clearly, is improving the delivery of mental-health services in this country. Her first week in the White House was

a fellow-board member from Blue Earth, Minn. "She is interested in prisoners who receive inadequate mental care," said Mrs. Schotzko later. "And she said, because she's from a rural area, she wants to see more facilities . . . in rural communities. . . ."

Less than two weeks later, with Rosalynn standing by his side, Carter signed an executive order creating the President's Commission on Mental Health. The commission is charged with trying to identify the nation's mental health needs. It will assess the quality of existing services, estimate the nation's mental-health needs over the next quarter-century and try to identify what research the Government should support in both the prevention and treatment of mental illness and mental retardation.

Dr. Thomas Bryant, a friend of the Carter's who has been president of the Drug-Abuse Council since 1971, was appointed executive director. (Ironically, Rosalynn could not be designated chairman because Presidents are prohibited from appointing close relatives to civilian positions. "So," said Rosalynn with a twinkle, "I am going to be a very active honorary chairperson.") She promised to work on the commission every week in its offices

voted for the amendment, it passed, 26-24, and Rosalynn was credited with breaking the tie.

The White House received 50 critical phone calls and Townsend was plagued with hate mail, but Rosalynn persisted in her low-key telephone campaign. She and Jimmy both phoned several North Carolina legislators urging them to vote for the E.R.A. there, but with less success. The amendment was defeated on March 1.

After another surge of critical calls and some anti-E.R.A. picketing in front of the White House, Mrs. Carter stopped announcing all her activities on behalf of the E.R.A. Nevertheless, she ordered her projects director, Kathy Cade, to meet with representatives from ERAmerica, a coalition of 120 groups supporting ratification, as well as Senator Bayh, Mary Brooks of the League of Women Voters, Roz Baker of the National Education Association, and Presidential aides Midge Costanza and Mark Siegel, to discuss strategy for passage of the E.R.A. The President and Mrs. Carter are said to be quietly reassessing their ratification strategy and may go beyond the personal, last-minute lobbying of the past two months. For the moment, however, Mrs. Carter plans to limit herself to phone calls.

After only two months in the White House, the 'steel magnolia' with the soft drawl promises to be the most active First Lady in decades.

spent discussing her plan for the President's Commission on Mental Health with Dr. Peter Bourne, a special assistant to the President and close friend of the family. She asked him to find out how Presidential commissions were formed and which ones had been successful in the past. She also wanted Bourne to arrange an inspection trip to the National Institute of Health in Bethesda, Md., so she could study what research was being done. "She wants to help those who cannot either afford mental health or those who are in remote areas where services are not available," explains Bourne. "She is also worried about adolescents who are usually reluctant to go to a place called a 'mental-health center.' She wants to see mental-health services available in the marketplace."

A few days later, on Feb. 5, Rosalynn quietly slipped out of the White House to attend a board meeting of the National Association for Mental Health in Arlington, Va. The meeting was completely closed to the press; not even a pool reporter was permitted inside. "She wanted to be here like the rest of us," one board member said. "She didn't make a speech or anything. She just listened and took notes and voted on the issues." After the meeting, Rosalynn lingered to talk to the other participants. She discussed the concept of what she calls "the underserved" with Judy Schotzko,

in the Executive Office Building. She will attend mental-health hearings around the country and help to raise private money to supplement the commission's small budget.

Rosalynn's second priority in the White House is passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. Although she did not publicly work for the E.R.A. in Georgia except to wear an "E.R.A.-YES" button, she's now actively campaigning for passage of the amendment, as is the President.

"She'll speak softly and carry a big stick," says Mary Hoyt, her press secretary. Two days before the Inauguration, Jan. 18, Rosalynn learned that the Indiana State Senate was tied, 25-25, on the E.R.A. On the advice of Senator Birch Bayh, she phoned W. Wayne Townsend, an Indiana State Senator who had supported the amendment but now seemed to be wavering. Rosalynn was not the first Carter to lobby Townsend; Carter's daughter-in-law had been dispatched to Indiana two weeks before to talk to him. "There was no high pressure," Townsend recalls. Rosalynn was "very sweet and pleasant. She talked about . . . Judy Langford's trip out here to lobby for E.R.A. and other things, and she said she hoped I'd vote for the amendment. Of course, she didn't convince me; I was planning to vote for it anyway."

That afternoon, when Townsend

Rosalynn Carter has already identified but not yet acted on her third and fourth priorities: help for the aging and encouragement of "volunteerism." She plans to meet later this spring with Ellen Sulzberger Straus, founder of Call to Action, a national citizen complaint service, and will probably become involved with ACTION, the volunteer Government agency that encompasses the Peace Corps, VISTA, and Foster Grandparents. "The volunteerism Rosalynn is talking about is 'simple citizen participation,'" explains Mrs. Straus. "She's interested in people joining together to bring about social change outside the pay system and she wants to provide the leadership. Rosalynn, I think, wants to emphasize that programs can work if implemented by people helping people. Like her husband, she wants to see that people really care about each other again. We've lost that."

As First Lady of Georgia, Rosalynn did a great deal of volunteer work in the mental-health field, and she will attempt to revitalize the "service" concept nationally. She feels very strongly about it, as she explained to an audience in Bakesfield, Calif., last October: "Aside from doing everything possible to provide programs for people who are seriously ill, I want to do everything humanly possible to help create a more caring society so that we can begin to counter the painful loneliness and sense of helplessness which has engulfed too many of our people."

The public is already familiar with Mrs. Carter's public self, the no-nonsense, 1950's housewife with the circle pin, drip-dry suits and short per-

(Continued on Page 58)

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IN STONEY, BATHURST, N.S.W. FROM 1981 TO 1984

Rosalynn

Continued from Page 20

manent wave. They feel they understand this woman of clear purpose, deep religious faith and accomplishment. She is, of course, all of these things, but she's much more complex.

There's the "steel-magnolia," a tough, shrewd power-behind-the-throne, ambitious both for herself and her husband. And there's the woman of the soft drawl, shy, yet overtly affectionate, a giggler who allows herself to weep publicly if the occasion merits it. She has a great deal of Southern charm, but she can also be blunt with reporters, blast her mother-in-law or scream with rage when Jimmy turns up the music too loud. "She may be soft-spoken, but people tend to underestimate her," explains Jody Powell. "If you've ever been on the opposite side in a dispute, you've made a very serious mistake."

What is surprising for someone who seems so comfortable in most social situations, is that Rosalynn Carter is basically a loner. She has few intimate women friends with the exception of her childhood chum, Ruth Stapleton, Carter's evangelist sister; Edna Langford, the mother of her daughter-in-law, Judy; and Madeline MacBean, her assistant. "I've never had time for friends," Rosalynn told me. "I've always worked too hard. Besides, I never was one for coffee klatches...." Jimmy Carter is her best friend.

At the same time, she is seen as a self-contained, basically happy woman with a very stable personality. "She is the most put-together woman I know," says Mary Hoyt. "She knows exactly who she is and what she wants."

As there is little artificial about Rosalynn Carter, neither is there much room for levity or leisure. During the campaign, she spent more than five weeks in Florida, but never paused for a swim or sunbath (she's allergic to sun, pollen, dust, dogs—"everything"). She isn't interested in most forms of exercise, but instead tries to maintain her vigor by swallowing multi-vitamins. She has never smoked and drinks only occasionally, usually a glass of wine, which is all she serves at White House dinners.

Rosalynn Carter was not always the self-confident political wife she is today. "You

wouldn't believe her a few years ago; she was painfully withdrawn," says Lehman Franklin, a friend of the Carters from Statesville, Ga. Her life has been a series of struggles, overcoming poverty, her own introversion, her small-town background. "My philosophy is that you do what you have to do," she has said; and her life attests to that credo. It's a story of personal growth and a strong marriage.

It began when Jimmy decided to leave the Navy and return to Plains to take over the family peanut business after his father died in 1953. Rosalynn had resisted the move. After a dreary childhood in Plains, spent looking after her three siblings while her mother worked, Rosalynn was enjoying the glamour of a naval officer's life: the travel, the independence, her distance from a domineering mother and mother-in-law. She now sees the return to Plains differently: "I think the relationship [with Jimmy] really started when we returned to Plains," she says. She became an integral part of the family business, and, for the first time in their marriage, felt indispensable, needed and involved: "As the business developed, Jimmy would come to me and say, 'Does this work; should we continue to do this in the business. . . . Are we making any money on that?' And I could advise him."

Author James Dickey says of Southern women, "They're very loving and very affectionate but they really think their men are dependent upon them. If their man is brilliant, they think he's brilliant because they've helped him be brilliant. Basically they think their men are weak and could never have gotten anywhere without their help."

To some extent, Rosalynn seems to have felt this way about Jimmy's political career. She recalls when he was elected for the first time, as a State Senator, in Georgia in 1962. "I had to manage their business three months a year when Jimmy was away in the State Legislature. And I felt very, very important, because he couldn't have done it at all if I hadn't managed the business."

Nor does she give Jimmy the entire credit for winning his gubernatorial race in 1970. He decided, in that campaign,

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A high-contrast, black and white photograph of a person's face, heavily shadowed and grainy. A bright, curved object, possibly a pipe or cigarette, is visible near the mouth. The image is framed by a thick black border.

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that he needed her to go out and campaign for him, despite her painful shyness. And she did, stumping the state with the entire family. To her way of thinking, she and her family were an integral part of his victory. "We've always worked together on everything. And we've always had a tremendous sense of accomplishment, like when Jimmy got elected Governor. . . . It was not that Jimmy got elected Governor. It was that we all did. . . ."

Once Jimmy became Governor, she was confronted with a whole new set of problems—running a million-dollar mansion, directing a staff of 14, entertaining for hundreds of people every week. But she also realized she could use her platform as Governor's wife to accomplish things she wanted. She immediately made mental health her main priority, perhaps because she knew two members of Carter's family who had been institutionalized for mental problems.

She had also been struck, while campaigning in the gubernatorial race, by the frequent questions people kept directing at her: "What will he [Carter] do to help me with my retarded son if he's elected Governor?" or "I have a child with an emotional problem. Where can I get help for him?" Rosalynn recalls asking her husband about it one night: "Jimmy, why do they tell me all about their problems?" she wondered. "Because," he said, "you might be the only person they ever see who may be close to somebody who can help them."

As Georgia's First Lady, Rosalynn not only attended mental-health hearings all over the state and helped to spearhead the opening of 136 new mental-health centers, but she also worked as an ordinary volunteer at the Georgia Regional Hospital in Atlanta, selling candy in the gift shop, giving shampoos, visiting patients on the wards and making follow-up calls to patients who had been released. "She never thought of herself as something special," recalls a fellow volunteer. "She'd do anything for patients." She even played touch football with them. "There was only one thing I couldn't get her to do," says Barbara Sugarman, Georgia's Director of Volunteer Services. "She had learned the hula in Hawaii and really knew how to do it, so I asked her to perform for the talent show one year, but she talked Jimmy into reading 'Twas the night

before Christmas' instead."

Even after her husband left the Governor's office in 1974, Rosalynn continued to attend meetings of the National Association for Mental Health. She was appointed a member of its board last June.

Most friends agree that Jimmy's running for President was what stretched Rosalynn's capabilities and talents to their fullest. Few could believe the way retiring Rosalynn set about campaigning, conquering her initial diffidence with willpower and some loving encouragement from Jimmy. With her determination to see her husband President, she searched out hardhats on construction projects, canvassed restaurant kitchens, senior-citizen homes and airport waiting rooms for votes. She never let a hand go by. She campaigned alone, maintaining the same back-breaking schedule as her husband, beginning with 4:30 A.M. factory shift changes and often ending at midnight.

She became a seasoned politician, steady and unflappable. Last fall, appearing on "Meet the Press," a TV show that has broken lesser mortals, Rosalynn fielded a barrage of questions on Carter's issues, his ethnic purity gaffe, and his statements in the Playboy interview with the aplomb of Scarlett O'Hara. Afterward, Senator Fritz Hollings of South Carolina commented to a friend that it was "the best political performance under fire that I've ever seen." She was equally impressive narrating Aaron Copland's "A Lincoln Portrait" last fall before an audience of 2,000 in Washington's Constitution Hall, with Leonard Bernstein conducting a full symphony orchestra. Rosalynn had read neither the score nor the text until dress rehearsal, but though her knees were quaking, she never missed a downbeat. Making her way through a sea of accolades afterward, she whispered to me, "Can you believe I did that?"

Rosalynn also enjoyed her reputation as Carter's personal campaign adviser. "I have very strong opinions about everything. And I always let Jimmy know how I feel," she says. "He doesn't always react well to everything. But there are very few things Jimmy decides that we don't talk about." Carter admits this himself. "She operates independently from me. . . . She helps form my positions because she has a sensitive way of understanding what other people feel. Also, she is able to get a much more



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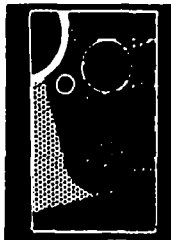
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frank and unbiased expression of criticism from people than I can. They can approach Rosalynn and say, 'I think Jimmy ought to do this,' or, 'He's hurting himself when he fails to do this.' So in every possible way she's a full partner or better. . . ."

The fierce devotion between them is rather unusual for a couple who've been married for 30 years. They hold hands constantly, even in church, sit with their knees touching, think nothing of kissing in public. His feeling for her was never more evident than the morning after the third debate last fall when the two of them made a joint appearance in Virginia. Rosalynn had been traveling all over the country for the past several weeks lionizing Jimmy Carter. On the stump, Rosalynn always gave the speech her all, but that morning was different. She was showing off for Jimmy, who had never heard the speech before but was paying no attention. He was going over notes with a man sitting next to him.

"I've known him all my life," she said. Suddenly Jimmy looked up.

"I think his background is so important, the fact that he's a farmer, he's worked for a living. The fact that he's a businessman is so important. I worked. The children worked. I kept the books. We worked hard. We scrimped and saved to make the business a success." Jimmy was listening intently.

"When he was Governor, he abolished 278 of 300 agencies. He got the phone company to check how much waste there was and he saved \$800 just on the phone bills. . . . Jimmy Carter knows human beings in this country. And Jimmy has never had any hint of scandal in his business or personal life." Tears were beginning to trickle down Carter's face. He brushed them away and, as she finished, sprang to the lectern to thank her, kissing her and squeezing her so hard he lifted her off the ground. "That's beautiful," he whispered. "Beautiful. . . ." Carter stepped up to the microphone with his arm around Rosalynn. "How many of you would like to have Rosalynn as First Lady?" he asked. The crowd roared its approval. Carter's face radiated contentment. "So would I," he said.

In this, Jimmy Carter got what he wanted. And in the White House, with her drive and closeness to Jimmy, Rosalynn is likely to get much of what she wants, too. ■



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Continued on Page 5, Column 1

Son of Mrs. Gandhi Is Reported Unhurt in Shooting Attack

By WILLIAM BORDERS

Special to The New York Times

NEW DELHI, Tuesday, March 15—Sanjay Gandhi, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's 30-year-old son, escaped injury last night when shots were fired at his jeep during a campaign tour, the Government-controlled news agency here reported this morning.

Mr. Gandhi's security guard returned the fire, but the attackers managed to escape under cover of darkness, the agency said.

Mr. Gandhi, who was one of his mother's closest advisers during the year and a half of stern emergency rule in India, is a controversial figure. Widely regarded as a symbol of governmental excesses in that period, he had himself become an issue in the parliamentary election campaign, with opposition candidates all over the country attacking him and the influential role he has played, which they describe as "extraconstitutional."

It was reported that three of the five shots that were fired at Mr. Gandhi hit the side of the vehicle in which he was riding, at the end of a day of campaigning in the rural area, 300 miles southeast of here, from which he is seeking election to Parliament.

With the election scheduled for tomorrow, yesterday was the last day of campaigning in the area, where Mr. Gandhi has been following an arduous schedule

Continued on Page 10, Column 2

ADOPTED persons thinking of seeking out your natural parents: Read *Twice Born: Memoirs of an Adopted Daughter* by Betty Jean Lifton first. Now a Penguin paperback—Advt.

because of mounting controversy over the project.

In an open letter "to the citizens of New York City" that appears as an advertisement on page 16 of today's New York Times, the 68-year-old publisher and former Ambassador to Britain expressed misgivings over "a host of misconceptions" that he said had arisen since the project was announced last November.

"At this juncture," he declared, "unless there is overwhelming approval by the trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and those responsible in civic affairs in New York City, I will drop the project in relation to the Metropolitan Museum

which has branches at the University of Pennsylvania and the University of Southern California, has to have been part of the proposed southwest wing of the museum, originally scheduled to house galleries for Western European and 20th-century art. Mr. Annenberg had offered \$20 million for construction and another \$20 million to operate the center over a 10-year period.

The center had been projected as a joining of a school of communications with a museum, a development that its proponents said would have far-reaching implications for the educational role of museums. It was to use films, television,

Continued on Page 42, Column 4

Democrats and 94 Republicans voted to retain the amendment.

In the New York delegation, five Republicans—Jack Kemp, Norman H. Lent, Donald J. Mitchell, William F. Walsh and John W. Wyder—opposed repeal. All New Jersey Representatives voted for repeal and Ronald A. Sarasin, Republican, was the only Connecticut member to oppose it.

In the major test vote in the Senate today, an amendment by Senator Byrd was rejected, 45 to 28. It would have continued imports of Rhodesian chrome until the President could certify that all

Continued on Page 2, Column 3

INSIDE

Changed Drug Law Sought

The Carter Administration asked Congress to remove criminal penalties for marijuana use and said it was examining its position on cocaine. Page 15.

Fannie Lou Hamer Dies

Fannie Lou Hamer, a sharecropper on a Mississippi plantation who became a nationally known advocate of civil rights, died at the age of 60. Page 40.

Financing for City U.

Mayor Beame's office is planning to shift the start of City University's fiscal year from January to April to help close the city's budget deficit. Page 40.

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Mrs. Carter Sees Role Widening

By JAMES T. WOOTEN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, March 14—About a month ago, when someone asked Rosalynn Carter if she thought she could wield any real power as the honorary head of a Presidential commission, she responded haltingly, hesitantly, a bit uncertain of her words.

"I think," she said, pausing to consider them carefully, "I think that if I want to, I can—and I intend to."

The moment passed quickly, but it may have provided a casual benchmark for measuring the impact of life in the White House on the President's soft-spoken wife.

He had been in office not quite a month that day, and the considerable weight and privilege of her own role seemed vague to her, certainly not as clearly defined as they appeared to be today when she talked at length about her new world, its possibilities, its problems and the new style she has decreed for social events in the old mansion.

"It's really kind of funny to me to see people kind of squirm because we don't serve liquor in the White House," she

Continued on Page 28, Column 1



The New York Times

Rosalynn Carter during interview at the White House yesterday.

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MRS. CARTER SEES HER ROLE WIDENING

Continued From Page 1

said in an interview in her office in the East Wing. "I kind of enjoy it. It doesn't bother me at all.

"I don't object to anybody drinking. They can drink if they want to, but if I don't want to serve liquor in the White House, I don't have to do it, and I don't want to do it."

Painfully shy when Mr. Carter first ran for public office—a seat in the Georgia Senate—15 years ago, the growth of his wife's public personality has matched the pace of his success. Similarly, her ease with the arbitrary power of her position seems to have increased at a rate equal to his own—neither faster nor slower, almost always in step.

"You learn from the things that you do and from the things that you see," she said. And in the 53 days since the Carters moved into the White House, she has done and seen a great deal.

"You can't believe how many things," she said, recounting four state dinners and the press of a daily schedule that includes other public appearances and such personal projects as her honorary chairmanship of the President's Commission on Mental Health and a new program for the exchange of American and foreign visitors.

Still, she said, when her husband finishes his term, she will be quite happy to return to their rambling brick house on Woodland Drive in Plains, Ga., the village where they met and married nearly 31 years ago.

Theirs has been a good relationship, she said, built not only on sharing and respect but on a mutual encouragement for individual achievement as well.

Two Years of Travel

For example, she said, when he asked her to be the bookkeeper for the family's peanut business 23 years ago, "he just assumed that I could do it." She went on: "So, I would never say, 'I can't do this.' I did it, and it's just because he had confidence in me. He thought I could do it and he—or he knew I could do it, and so I did it.

"I think that's how you develop confidence, because I decided that I could do those books and I got to be a good bookkeeper. I almost got my C.P.A. license, but then Jimmy ran for Governor and I stopped keeping books."

"We all knew that we would campaign," she said, speaking of her three



Edward J. Thompson with his wife, Katherine, at their home in Clinton, Mass., yesterday

President to Stay Overnight With 'Typical Family'

WASHINGTON, March 14 (UPI)—President Carter will stay at the home of an official of a beer distributing company and his family in Clinton, Mass., after attending a town hall meeting there Wednesday night, the White House said today.

Rex Granum, White House deputy press secretary, said that the host would be Edward J. Thompson. He and his wife Katherine, both Democrats, whom Mr. Carter has not yet met, were not active in his Presidential campaign.

There have been reports the President planned to stay at the home of Eva Hester, Democratic national committeewoman who ran unsuccessfully against Lieut. Gov. Thomas O'Neill Jr., son of the House Speaker, but changed hosts after a protest from Mr. O'Neill.

Mr. Granum said that Mr. Thompson, 56 years old, was office manager for the Burke Distributing Company, a beer distributor in Needham, Mass. He has a

is a lifelong resident of Clinton, a mill town 35 miles northwest of Boston, of 13,500 persons, mostly Democrats of Irish descent.

"We're staunch Democrats," said Mrs. Thompson as she protested politely over the telephone that she had little time to talk because she wanted to get the house ready for her guest.

"He is so busy at work, my husband has no time for political or social activities," she said.

"I'm not a fund raiser," said Mr. Thompson. "That's what did it."

The Thompsons have five grandchildren. Four of their eight children still live at home. Three are married, and one, Patrick, is a junior at Indiana University.

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assumed that I could do it." She went on: "So, I would never say, 'I can't do this.' I did it, and it's just because he had confidence in me. He thought I could do it and he—or he knew I could do it, and so I did it.

"I think that's how you develop confidence, because I decided that I could do those books and I got to be a good book-keeper. I almost got my C.P.A. license, but then Jimmy ran for Governor and I stopped keeping books."

"We all knew that we would campaign," she said, speaking of her three sons and herself. "You know, Jimmy never said, 'I want you to go do this and go do that—we just—it was just an understanding that we would all do it."

"And it was hard, yeah. I had to make myself do that. I couldn't—I hated to make speeches, but I think as you do these things, you develop a confidence and you learn."

After Mr. Carter's four years as Governor of Georgia, from 1971 until 1975, his wife went back to Plains to what she likes to call "my home and things."

She stayed about six weeks before beginning almost two years of constant travel as her husband's Presidential campaign surrogate.

"But that's something—we always knew that when we got home, we would be campaigning," she said.

As a result of her gypsy discipline—she once made appearances in seven cities in a single day—she acquired the experience and the knowledge of national problems and issues that is now useful to her in discussing them with the President.

"I argue and debate with Jimmy all the time about the issues or the way I see things, all about what he's doing," she said, but she declined to say precisely what they disagreed on.

For Those Who Need It

It was difficult to ascertain in her conversation today any possible point of contention between her and the President.

From subject to subject, answer to answer, her words, like her campaign speeches, seemed echoes of her husband's, rather nonideological but with a certain sense of conservatism.

Addressing herself to the nation's welfare system, for instance, Mrs. Carter said, "I can understand why people feel the way they do about the Government taking our money for taxes and giving it—you know, just throwing it away."

Then, quickly, as her husband would, she added that of course there must be welfare for those who need it.

"Some way, we have to get it across to the public that it can work, that there is a need for it and—some way to cut down on the abuses of it," she said.

She supports the recent increases in salary for members of Congress, she said, because—as the President has said—it is "better to pay good men to serve so that they will not have, or be tempted to accept, monies that they shouldn't accept."

Still, she added, using the contrapuntal rhetoric so familiar in her husband's speeches, "the ethics code must go along" with the pay rise.

Responding to a question about the

secretary, said that the host would be Edward J. Thompson. He and his wife Katherine, both Democrats, whom Mr. Carter has no yet met, were not active in his Presidential campaign.

There have been reports the President planned to stay at the home of Eva Hester, Democratic national committeewoman who ran unsuccessfully against Lieut. Gov. Thomas O'Neill Jr., son of the House Speaker, but changed hosts after a protest from Mr. O'Neill.

Mr. Granum said that Mr. Thompson, 56 years old, was office manager for the Burke Distributing Company, a beer distributor in Randolph, Mass. He has a bachelor of science degree in accounting from Bentley College in Boston.

The Thompsons are Roman Catholics and the parents of eight children, ranging in age from 14 to 28. They are described as a "typical family."

'Average American Family'

CLINTON, Mass., March 14 (AP)—Mr. and Mrs. Edward J. Thompson were notified yesterday that they had been selected as hosts to Mr. Carter on his first "meet-the-people" trip since taking office in January.

"Just the average American family," said Mr. Thompson who, like his wife,

criticism directed at Mr. Carter's use of the term "defensible orders" during the recent visit of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin of Israel, Mrs. Carter took the same position that the President has taken.

"I'll tell you what Jimmy told me," she said. "I said, 'Jimmy, some people say you talk first and think later.' And he said, 'They don't know how much I think.'"

"He just thinks that you need to be open with the American people. That's what he said all during the campaign—that he thinks we've conducted our doings in private, in secret, for too long, and that he thinks that people need to know what's going on. He thinks very, very carefully before he says any of those things."

"But the reason people react is because it's different and they don't—they think, 'Well, he must have slipped up and said that, because nobody's said that before.' It's because it's different. But he doesn't slip up. He knows what he's saying."

Mrs. Carter said she tried to "get Amy off to school every day" before heading to her pleasant office on the second floor of the East Wing of the White House. At times, she said, she picks up reading material and returns to her desk in the residential quarters to work alone.

The President usually lunches in his office, but the dinner hour is a family affair with Amy, the 9-year-old, always present. Two of the Carters' three sons, Chip and Jeff, and their wives are usually there, too.

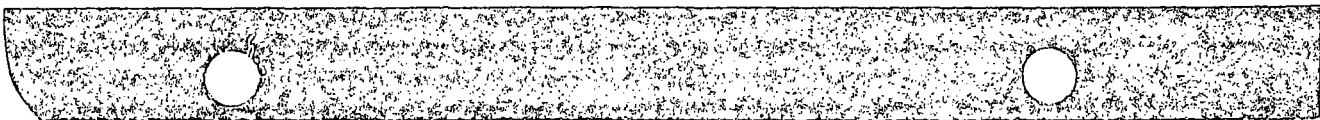
Except, of course, on those nights when the State Dining Room is ablaze with another dinner for another foreign dignitary who discovers that Rosalynn Smith Carter has decided and declared that there shall be no liquor served in the White House.

But is there liquor upstairs, she was asked.

"Well," she said, smiling slightly, "a little bit."

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FICHE: 6 ITEM NO: 1022-B; 1022-C
SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS CLASS NUMBER: Y4.P84/10:98-29
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ANALYTIC RECORD ACCESSION NUMBER: 0424600 CIS ACCESSION NUMBER:
84-H621-21.7

DATE: Additional PAGE(S):Testimony, p. 12-128.
WITNESSES: Barnes, Michael D. (Rep, D-Md), p. 12-20.; Mikulski, Barbara A. (Rep, D-Md), p. 15-20.; Kaptur, Marcy (Rep, D-Ohio), p. 17-20.; Hoyer, Steny H. (Rep, D-Md), p. 18-20.; Jackson, Jacqueline p. 21-24.; Mondale, Joan A. both wives of former Pres candidates, p. 24-32.; Ter Wisscha, Glennis member, Willmar Eight, p. 25-32.; Keyes, Martha former Rep, Kans; spokesperson for former Pres candidate Hart, p. 32-37.; Reder, Nancy chairperson, Natl Committee on Pay Equity, p. 69-82.; Brown, Quincalee exec dir, Amer Assn of Univ Women, p. 77-82.; Koole, Florine asst to exec vp, Communications Workers of Amer, p. 105-110.; Johnson, Sonia candidate for Pres, Citizens Party, p. 110-113.; McCarthy, Leo T. Lt Gov, Calif, p. 120-124.; Oberstar, James L. (Rep, D-Minn), p. 124-128.; Bates, Jim (Rep, D-Calif), p. 127-128.;

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22908 CIS ACCESSION NUMBER: 80-S401-45 NUMBER OF ANALYTICS: 2
TITLE: Art in Architecture.
SOURCE: Sept. 25, 1979 CONGRESSIONAL SESSION: 96-1 iii+65 p +
FICHE: 3 ITEM NO: 1037-A
SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS CLASS NUMBER: Y4.G74/9:Ar7/3
MONTHLY CATALOG NUMBER: 80-13248. LC CARD NUMBER: 80-601303
DOCUMENT TYPE: HEARING
JOURNAL ANNOUNCEMENT: 8005

ANALYTIC RECORD ACCESSION NUMBER: 0312908 CIS ACCESSION NUMBER:
80-S401-45.1

DATE: Program Support PAGE(S):Testimony.
WITNESSES: Mondale, Joan A. Chairperson, Fed Council on the Arts and the Humanities, p. 2-6.; Segal, George sculptor, p. 6-8.; Benjamin, Lloyd assoc art history prof, Univ of Ark, Little Rock, p. 8-14.;

1/3/3

303184 CIS ACCESSION NUMBER: 80-H341-63 NUMBER OF ANALYTICS: 10
TITLE: Field Hearings on the Reauthorization of the National Foundation for the Arts and the Humanities Act and the Museum Services Act.
SOURCE: Feb. 16, Mar. 3, 24, 31, 1980 CONGRESSIONAL SESSION: 96-2 xi+1151 p. il +
FICHE: 14 ITEM NO: 1015
SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS CLASS NUMBER: Y4.Ed8/1:N21f/6
MONTHLY CATALOG NUMBER: 80-26674. LC CARD NUMBER: 80-603320
DOCUMENT TYPE: HEARING
JOURNAL ANNOUNCEMENT: 8012

ANALYTIC RECORD ACCESSION NUMBER: 0303184 CIS ACCESSION NUMBER:
80-H341-63.5

DATE: Michigan PAGE(S):Testimony.

WITNESSES: Hudson, Joseph L., Jr. bd chm, J L Hudson Co; representing Arts Commission of the City of Detroit, p. 232-233.; Mondale, Joan A. Honorary Chairperson, Fed Council on the Arts and the Humanities, p. 233-235.; Murphy, Walter T. p. 235-248.; Dennard, Brazeal W. both representing Detroit Symphony Orchestra, p. 243-248.; DiChiera, David pres, Opera Amer; member, exec committee, Amer Arts Alliance; pres and gen dir, Mich Opera Theatre, p. 244-248.; Faxon, Jack State sen, Mich, p. 248-286.; Scott, E. Ray exec dir, Mich Council for the Arts, p. 256-286.; Turk, Thomas L. pres, Mich Assn of Community Arts Agencies, p. 279-286.; Eadie, John W. chm, Mich Council for the Humanities, p. 312-341.; Hutton, Carroll M. educ dept, United Auto Workers, p. 324-341.;

1/3/4

300608 CIS ACCESSION NUMBER: 80-H141-28 NUMBER OF ANALYTICS: 8

TITLE: Arts and the Older American.

SOURCE: Feb. 7, 1980 CONGRESSIONAL SESSION: 96-2 iv+128 p +

FICHE: 4 ITEM NO: 1009

SUPERINTENDENT OF DOCUMENTS CLASS NUMBER: Y4.Ag4/2:Ar7

MONTHLY CATALOG NUMBER: 80-19324. LC CARD NUMBER: 80-602078

DOCUMENT TYPE: HEARING

JOURNAL ANNOUNCEMENT: 8007

ANALYTIC RECORD ACCESSION NUMBER: 0300608 CIS ACCESSION NUMBER: 80-H141-28.1

DATE: Feb. 7, 1980. PAGE(S):p. 5-8.

WITNESSES: Mondale, Joan A. Honorary Chm, Fed Council on the Arts and Humanities.;

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December 17, 1982, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: Style; Personalities; F4

LENGTH: 460 words

BYLINE: Eve M. Ferguson

KEYWORD: PERSON

BODY: Attorney Roy Cohn, a prosecutor of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, who were executed in 1953 for giving the secret of the atom bomb to the Soviets, defended the 30-year-old case against them before a House Judiciary subcommittee yesterday.

The Rosenbergs' son, Michael Meeropol, asked the committee to investigate the case on the grounds the anticommunist hysteria of the early 1950s, tagged "The McCarthy Era" for Sen. Joseph McCarthy's anticommunism movement, made a fair trial impossible.

"No one blames a son for trying to vindicate a parent," said Cohn, who was chief counsel for McCarthy's committee. "But his early childhood during the events makes him about as helpful a witness as Patricia Nixon would about Watergate."

The subcommittee on criminal justice has not agreed to Meeropol's request, but called five witnesses to testify about the case. Chairman John Conyers (D-Mich.) said they would help the committee in consideration of a measure to reinstate the death penalty in the federal criminal code.

Cohn's testimony got heated at times, particularly with Rep. George Crockett (D-Mich.), who called the attorney McCarthy's "right-hand man as far as most of the witch hunts were concerned."

Comedian Bob Hope checked into New York Hospital Wednesday for treatment of a recurrent eye problem. The 79-year-old entertainer has been warned by doctors to slow his pace, according to his publicist, Ken Kantor.

Kantor added, "But he says this won't stop him from accepting the invitation to entertain the U.S Marines in Beirut during the Christmas holiday if his doctors permit it."

Joan Mondale, wife of former vice president Walter Mondale, charged that President "Reagan's appointees are hostile to the arts" and said in January's House and Garden that when the administration couldn't keep Congress from voting arts funding, it froze the money instead.

Mondale, former chairman for the Federal Council on Arts and Humanities, said, "The greatest damage has come from the administration's not spending what Congress has appropriated . . . Much of the money has been frozen; grants have been held back. Since Richard Nixon impounded appropriated funds he did not want to spend, a law has been passed requiring the executive to act upon Congress' decisions, but enforcing it is a slow, awkward process."

In the same article, Andrew Heiskell, head of the President's Committee on the Arts and Humanities, said, "The problem with federal funding is that it is not personal, it turns into a conversation between auditors. I like the idea of a Des Moines business supporting a Des Moines ballet company, of Des Moines citizens helping to raise money for a local chamber music group, and then attending its performances."

GRAPHIC: Picture, Roy Cohn; by Harry Naltchayan

BETTY FORD

U.S. News & World Report

December 27, 1976 / January 3, 1977

SECTION: Pg. 63

HEADLINE: PHOTO REPORT; As The First Family Says Farewell To White House

BODY:

THE "NATURAL LOOK" of flowers and shrubs—that is the main effect achieved by President Ford and the First Lady for their last Christmas in the Whites House.

For the Fords, the holiday season is a time for personal farewells to friends and to much of official Washington.

Parties for members of Congress, reporters and children of diplomats are being interspersed with private luncheons and dinners with old acquaintances. It's all part of a nostalgic departure from the nation's highest office.

At the same time, the First Family made a special effort to turn the Executive Mansion into a holiday treat for visitors. Special candlelight tours were arranged for the handicapped and older citizens. Open house for the public at large was set for December 22-23.

In unveiling the White House Christmas tree, the First Lady announced that the inspiration behind the Yuletide decorations was "the spirit of love that is Christmas." To emphasize that very theme, she placed two turtledoves on the tree.

Simplicity is the hallmark of decorations that turned the White House into a bower of greens and flowers. The centerpiece is a 20-foot balsam fir adorned with 2,500 handmade flowers, including the official flower from each of the 50 States. Under the tree are Bicentennial gifts from individual Americans.

Gone is the department-store look of some previous White House Christmases. In its place are natural arrangements of holly, juniper, cedar, boxwood, bayberry, fern and spruce arranged on tables, mantelpieces and wall sconces.

The Fords planned to spend the holiday skiing at Vail, Colo., with members of their family.

At a ball held for members of Congress before they left, President Ford told his former colleagues that his 25 years in Congress were the happiest for him and Betty. "We missed it," he said. "We miss it now."

GRAPHIC: President Ford with Boy Scout Keith Baker and Girl Scout Janice Sween after lighting national Christmas tree near White House.

Chicago
Trib

7/11/23

Still candid and caring

Fueled by her instinctive honesty,
Betty Ford stands by her mission

By Carl Sferrazza Anthony

It was a quick, sweet spot in time, after Vietnam and Watergate, before AIDS and hostage-taking; there were mood rings, Bicentennial everything and a summer's worth of shark anxiety because of a movie. One woman took the national stage for 30 months with personal honesty, letting it all hang out from the White House window, the only first lady to go to Studio 54, the famous '70s disco.

Today, the streaked auburn bubble is a short, softer blond. She is model slim. Long gone are her signature '70s scarves. Betty Ford turned 75 on April 8, but there was no Diamond Jubilee gala. With her husband's 80th birthday, their 45th anniversary and son Steve's marriage also this year, she said she "put my foot down" and stopped the former president's plan for her large birthday dinner. "I remember when I thought 30 was over the hill. Forty was harder to address. By then, you've got to be an adult. . . . It's just one more year in which every day is a celebration. I don't expect to stop doing anything."

Her fame today derives less from her life in the White House and more from the Betty Ford Center, an alcohol- and drug-treatment facility that she helped found in 1982 in Palm Springs, Calif. Although she is interested in current political issues, the center remains her priority.

hopes he will win the presidency. But when he did make that run in 1976, Betty Ford kept talking.

Americans want their first lady to be both queen and commoner. What made Ford particularly successful was her connection to her public. After she revealed that she had breast cancer and the press chronicled her mastectomy, there were reports of thousands of women seeking checkups and mammograms.

On "60 Minutes" she said that she wouldn't be surprised if her daughter had an affair. Asked how often she slept with her husband, she quipped, "As often as possible." Whether pondering if her kids had smoked pot or mentioning that she'd once seen a psychiatrist, it was never public relations, just a casual chat one might have over the phone with a pal.

Says Smithsonian Institution political history curator Edith Mayo: "She helped restore the public's faith in the presidency as an institution by creating an atmosphere of honesty. Her discussion of previously taboo social issues helped defuse them. Sanctioning open discussion removed the stigma so that Americans could deal with such topics realistically in their own lives."

Now, as when she was first lady, people are conscious of her legend. At public events, the awe and deference descends upon her. But Ford always was aware of her human failings, particularly alcoholism.



Betty Ford: "The center has my name"

Her fame today derives less from her life in the White House and more from the Betty Ford Center, an alcohol- and drug-treatment facility that she helped found in 1982 in Palm Springs, Calif. Although she is interested in current political issues, the center remains her priority.

"The center has my name on it. I feel responsible that we have the best programs that we can possibly provide. It's not filled with rich and famous celebrities paying a lot of money. . . . It's a very moderate cost to attend . . . and the percentage of celebrities is probably only one-tenth of 1 percent."

She cautiously advises the famous who undergo treatment. "It's their right to talk about it, but we recommend they not say, 'I've been to Betty Ford and I'm fixed.' It's just the first kick in the pants that you've got to do something about your life and lifestyle. One of our first patients said, 'I'm going to get a tan and learn how to drink socially.' Well, you can get the tan."

In the furor of Watergate, 20 years ago, her husband, Gerald, took an oath making him the only appointed vice president upon the resignation of his predecessor, Spiro Agnew. Suddenly this self-described "little person from Virginia" found herself a celebrity.

"Just before Barbara Walters interviewed me, I said, 'Please don't ask political questions.' The lights came on and her first question was, 'What do you think of the Supreme Court decision on Roe vs. Wade?' [the ruling that legalized abortion in 1973]. I said I was positively glad the decision took abortion out of the backwoods and into the hospital, where it belonged. From then on, I probably established myself as rather outspoken. I try to be a little more subtle these days. I try."

Eight months later, her husband took an oath making him the only man to become president upon the resignation of his predecessor. Fate spared her the national campaign for the post, which still forbids the wife from saying exactly what she thinks if she

topics realistic in their own lives."

Now, as when she was first lady, people are conscious of her legend. At public events, the awe and deference descends upon her. But Ford always was aware of her human failings, particularly alcoholism.

She reflects. "I realized how preoccupied I had been about whether drinks would be served at social events." She often attended three or four events a night with alcohol served at all of them. If someone dropped by, a drink was offered. "It wasn't to get high. It was the times, the perception of alcohol as a vital social part of a gathering." When her husband was a congressman, he was gone so frequently, she recalls, "I was often alone." She would invite a neighbor in for a cocktail or have one at night when she watched television. "Since we perceive there to be an extra layer of expectation for the political wife, it was a stressful situation. Alcohol or drugs can be a release valve for stress."

Robert Johnston, a Washington training specialist working with substance-abuse programs says that within his field, Ford's 1978 admission of alcohol and prescription-drug addiction was a turning point.

"She brought it into the mainstream, de-stigmatized it. . . . Young people who are alcoholic may not remember her as first lady, but there are services available to them that wouldn't be there were it not for Mrs. Ford."

"She's the boss," says Betty Ford Center president John T. Schwarzlose, who has worked with her since the center opened. "Her personality sets the standards and tone." Ford works, attends meetings and counsels many patients there. It remains one of the country's lowest-cost facilities (\$8,000 for the 28-day stay) because Ford "wants to make sure the Cleveland cabdriver gets treatment equal to the Beverly Hills lawyer." Ten percent of the patients are covered by a "scholarship" she established. "Mrs. Ford goes out and raises the money so that the unemployed or uninsured can get help," says Schwarzlose.

The coverage includes travel and accommodations for someone significant to a patient to participate in a required family program that Ford initiated. "It shows them how to regain their own life and live, rather than being so involved in the patient's life," Ford says. Without her own family's group therapy while she

Betty Ford: "The center is my i

'Women have more sexually related problems, often abuse, more physical problems in relationship to their alcoholism.'

sought treatment at Long Beach Naval Hospital, her recovery "would have been much more difficult. . . . They had to learn that they could no longer be co-dependent in trying to help me," Ford said.

Her family ties remain strong. Son Michael is associate dean of students at Wake Forest University in Winston-Salem, N.C.; Jack Ford owns a chain of informational kiosks and lives near San Diego; Steve Ford lives in Santa Monica, Calif., and is host of the television program "Secret Service"; Susan is a homemaker in Tulsa. Schwarzlose only half-jokes, "It's a good thing her family lives some distance. The center is her focus."

Recently, Ford's concern has focused on maintaining the standards of treatment, as many insurance companies have eliminated or cut the length of coverage from the usual 21 to 28 days. "Five days is really detox. It becomes a revolving door. In six months, you're back. In 14-day programs you can't cover in depth the emotional problems that are involved. Treatment works at a high success rate. . . . About 50 percent of the hospital patients have an alcohol or drug-related problem underlying a health problem—a broken leg, boating accident, bad livers, digestive tracts, throat. The whole body is affected. With prevention and moderate cost treatment, health care is more cost-effective."

It is a point she lobbied at the

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White House.

In March, Betty Ford went to see Hillary Clinton. It was a business meeting about how treatment can best be covered by the health-care reform effort headed by the first lady. Ford found Clinton "courteous, charming, able, attractive. . . . We met in her office and settled down, explaining what we're hoping she'll endorse when she takes health reform to the Hill. It was a business meeting. She asks good questions. She picked one of the most important and demanding roles she possibly could."

Mayo sees a link between what Ford said beginning in 1974 and what Clinton does in 1993: "Her candid approach made it acceptable for subsequent first ladies to speak openly on difficult subjects confronting the American public in contemporary life. Mrs. Ford's support for women's rights and passage of the [Equal Rights Amendment] made such advocacy less shocking and paved the way for an openly activist first lady such as Hillary Clinton."

"There are no longer any Little Women," Ford contends. The ERA, recently placed on the Iowa ballot and defeated, was the legislation Betty Ford lobbied for as first lady. She thinks such legislation "is still very viable" because "the glass ceiling is still there. It would be good for women's rights to be protected by the Constitution. . . . We're not at the point where there's comparable pay for comparable work." Men are changing too, she says, "because of their wife being in the workplace," and a young man's "view of women will be formed by what his mother is like. If she was an activist, he's likely to . . . respect [that]."

"We have quite a few women now in the Cabinet to represent the country," Ford says. "It's progress. It's still not 50 percent, the ratio of women to men."

At the Betty Ford Center, about 50 percent of the patients are women and there is a special program for just them. "Betty has been so upfront about specific problem and stigmas attached to women," Schwarzlose said.

Treatment originally was designed

around men, says Ford, and that "didn't fit the problems women encountered. A woman was supposed to drink but not have a drinking problem . . . the one who looks after everyone else, the nurturing, caring backbone of the family. Women have more sexually related problems, often abuse, more physical problems in relationship to their alcoholism. They often start drinking later in life, which telescopes it all . . . together quickly."

Not long after the center opened, Ford became sensitive to a new problem many drug users faced: AIDS. "We have HIV-positive patients. We have everybody understand what it's about. We all have to." In 1985, when no president had yet talked about, let alone lent his name to AIDS projects, Betty Ford spoke out. "I believed in it. It's very important. I had great concern for these people who were trying to get recognition of the extent of the problem. If I could in any way, by being a part of it, help, it was the right thing to do. And I still do support it." The first recipient of AIDS Project L.A.'s "Commitment to Life" award in 1985, she still appears at AIDS fundraising walks. At the 1992 Republican National Convention, Betty Ford was one of only a few to wear a red ribbon, symbol of AIDS awareness.

Now Ford lives with one standing commitment. Even when she's with her family in Colorado, every month she returns to Palm Springs, back to the center bearing her name, to speak to the patients, people like her. "I'm just one more woman who has had this problem," she opens her talk to the patients. "If during my treatment, I had been regarded as a first lady, I would not be here today, doing well." ■

NYT
12/8

The 38th First Lady:
not a robot at all

Forward day by day



The First Family shortly after Ford was sworn in: From the left, John, Steven, Mrs. Ford, the President, Susan, daughter-in-law Gayle and her husband, Michael.

By Jane Howard

Pretty surreal, all this. Look at them. He has the hardest job in the world. She is recovering from radical surgery for cancer. He will be 62 in July, she 57 in April, but there they are beaming on the balcony of their new house, like carefree juniors at a prom. Tennessee Ernie, also surnamed Ford, is serenading them below. Television cameras whirl as he sings "Anniversary Waltz"—hardly a tune to make liberals hark back to the days of Camelot, but an apt one all the same. Elizabeth Bloomer married Gerald Rudolph Ford Jr. 26 years ago Oct. 15, and was a dancer before she ever heard of him.

More than three decades ago, she danced on the stage of Carnegie Hall, in the troupe of the exalted Martha Graham, but it's been a good while since she has appeared in leotards. Now her style is more ballroom: tangos and waltzes. When the Prime Minister of Israel protested, as the music began after a September state dinner in his honor, that he didn't know how to dance, his hostess reassured him: "That's all right, I used to teach dance. I'll teach you now." She did, too.

Nobody thought she would take so readily to White House life, this 38th First Lady of the Land. She publicly hoped not long ago that her husband would at last retire from Congress, so that they could have some long-postponed, nonpolitical time

to themselves. "Alone at Last!" she wrote in wistful jest across the back of a snapshot of the two of them, taken at Disney World in Florida just after the Miami convention hall had rung with shouts for "FOUR MORE YEARS!" of Richard Nixon and Spiro Agnew.

On the night 14 months later when Gerald Ford was named to replace Agnew, he asked a neighbor to "see if you can get some food in Mommy's tummy." Mommy, whose lifelong dream all this most assuredly was not, sighed and said, "Well, if they just wind me up and point me in the right direction, I'll be there."

But she rallied. The way things turned out she wasn't a robot at all. She was more like Cinderella. Onstage again, after 26 years of wifely obscurity and motherly sacrifice, it was as if she were picking up where she left off when she said good-bye to Martha Graham. "It's her turn now, bless her heart," said one of Mrs. Ford's friends, "and now that she doesn't have to worry about things like whether the beds are made, she's loving it." After a while, she even got used to the omnipresence of Secret Service agents, grim-faced companions charged with shielding her from all external harm. Not cancer, though. Cancer was beyond them.

Two hours before Betty Ford checked into Bethesda Naval Hospital, she had Mrs. Lyndon Johnson and her daughters to tea so they could see the house they used to live in. They had no idea where their hostess was going next. "We were stunned when we found out," Lynda Robb said later. So was everybody else. The next morning's announcement that Mrs. Ford's right breast had been found malignant and removed shook the nation as much as any event (Continued on Page 64)

Jane Howard, author of "A Different Woman" and "Please Touch: A Guided Tour of the Human Potential," is a visiting lecturer at the Iowa Writers' Workshop of the University of Iowa.



In the costume of a clown, 17-year-old Elizabeth Bloomer (photo from right), who would one day become Mrs. Gerald Ford, poses with her 1945 graduating class at the Cella Travis Dance Studio in Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Betty Ford

Continued from Page 36

since Watergate. "I was astonished how much I cared," wrote a male historian from Iowa. "I was as shocked as I'd earlier been by the Revelations, the Resignations and the Pardon."

In less than two months, Betty Ford had unobtrusively become a myth. "She seems to have just what it takes," observed Marshall McLuhan, who is skilled at observing such matters, "to make people feel at home in the world again. Something about her makes us feel rooted and secure—a feeling we haven't had in a while. And her cancer has been a catharsis for everybody. Cancer isn't just a disease, you know: it's a speeded-up, hotted-up, intensified form of life. Our life-style creates the ideal climate for it. All of us play Russian roulette with cancer, whether we have it or not."

"Maybe my having it," Mrs. Ford muses, "was a blessing in disguise." Maybe so. If she achieved nothing else during her husband's Administration, the light her trouble has shed on a dark subject would be contribution enough. The Cancer Society had been one of Betty Ford's causes before the disease struck her. Causes have always meant more to her than card-playing luncheons. No man in the 81st Congress had a more energetically public-spirited wife than Jerry Ford. Her interests ranged from the International Club, not a favorite among Midwesterners, to fashion shows. "Don't ever say no if you're asked to model in a style show," she once cautioned another Republican wife, "because the Democrats always pitch in. We must, too." She knew a thing or two about Democrats. Her social life had centered on, but by no means been confined to, the elephant-filled living rooms of the Grand Old Party's Chowder & Marching Society. "I've often been tempted to split my ticket," she said a while ago—not an admission you'd expect from the wife of the House Minority Leader.

During her televised serenade, Mrs. Ford wore a convalescent's bathrobe. She was smiling, and her reddish hair was well-coiffed, but her

face looked worn. The tendons on her throat protruded. She looked for all the world like the most ordinary of women, the sort you might find lined up with a loaded cart at a supermarket's checkout counter, or bringing a stuffed toy to the brand-new baby across the street. In many ways, she is ordinary, well-schooled in the Midwestern arts of assuaging and consoling. Her thank-you notes are prompt and heartfelt. Nice gestures come naturally. "I think I ought to call Pat," she told one friend just before Nixon resigned, "to tell her we aren't all just waiting in the wings for them to move out."

"Betty Ford was nice to me," recalls the ex-wife of one controversial Senator, "when other people weren't."



Betty Ford with doll.

But she's not just nice." No. The merely nice bypass the truth when it makes them or anyone else edgy, and that's something Betty Ford doesn't do. She never has. "I just don't know how to lie," she has told reporters. When the President promised "straight talk among friends" in his inaugural address, he was speaking at least as much for his wife, whose low-key candor quickly surpassed his own. She was full of surprises, this kindly matron from Michigan. It turned out she supported the Equal Rights Amendment, of all prickly issues, and had been divorced, and thought there might be a time to abort (in cases of rape and incest, say) as well as a time to refrain from aborting. She saw no reason why women shouldn't be priests

or Presidents, and further reckoned, when someone asked, that her children probably at some point must have tried marijuana.

When Tennessee Ernie came to the line "Angels were singing a hymn to your charms," the First Couple kissed each other as if they meant it. They need no workshops in nonverbal communication, these two. "Isn't it nice the way they touch each other?" asks a Congressman's widow who has known the Fords for decades. "They hold hands whether or not anybody's looking. Their lutes are in tune." Not to say that there isn't occasional discord. "She gave me a hard time about a couple of things," the President told newsmen after one evening's visit to Bethesda, "so she must be feeling better."

"I don't hesitate to tell him when I disagree with something he's done or said," Mrs. Ford said, "unless he looks as if he's had a hard day. When he looks that way, I wait. You get so you notice things like that. A sense of timing is pretty important if you love somebody." And there was the business about their bed. One bed. As soon as the Fords moved into the White House, she let it slip that, contrary to custom, she and her husband meant to sleep, as they always had, not only in the same room but under the same blanket. This morsel of homey news was generally regarded as cheering, "but one woman wrote in," the First Lady laughed, "to say she thought it was disgraceful!"

She was showing me around that very bedroom in what one veteran Washingtonian calls "the world's most elegant railroad flat." Here were the weights her husband lifts to keep in shape, there the hated Exercycle he must now use in place of the swimming pool they left behind in Alexandria, there a picture of his mother as a young woman, there one of their only daughter, Susan, as a baby. Upstairs was the billiard room, from which the clonking noise had recently been muffled with a new rug. ("At first," she said, "we thought it might be Lincoln's ghost.") Downstairs, in plain sight, was the Oval Office where her husband was working. "It's funny, but I see a lot more of him now than I did before we got here," she said. "I can call him whenever anything important happens and he'll come right up—but I'm

not the sort of wife who tends to do that."

"Jerry's a morning person," she said, "and I'm not at all, so sometimes I ask him if he'll flick on the light just as he leaves, to wake me up. When we moved in here and he did that one morning, the light he flicked on was a chandelier!" And she told how vexed she had been, just after they moved, not to find the atlas. "What do you mean it's in storage?" she recalled asking. "How can I get along without an atlas and a globe?"

On a coffee table were *Celebrity Register*—not a book she probably read much before she moved in—and an issue of *Town & Country*. She also had a copy of a book I had written and sent, in which she graciously asked for an autograph. Even more graciously, she agreed to fetch some White House stationery and on it wish a happy 12th birthday to my nephew, in a hand amateur graphologists later pronounced "conventional, but determined." (My nephew thought it was terrific.)

Except for summer dance sessions at Bennington in Vermont, Betty Ford never went to college, but her mind is curious and well-informed. When she and Mrs. Hale Boggs accompanied their husbands on an official visit to China, they insisted on having their own separate briefing session "because we didn't want to get it all second-hand from the men," Mrs. Boggs says, "or to arrive there and have nothing to say but 'Oh, we just adore Chinese walls.'" Betty was just fascinated with everything.

"Jerry's always turned to Betty for the sensitive point of view," an old friend says. "He's often said she was the smart one when it came to politics because she sees the forest instead of the trees." "She's no dummy," adds another friend. "She's smart enough to have raised four children to be a credit to them, and have a husband who's still in love with her after all these years. In this day and age, I call that not only smart but practically brilliant."

In China, acupuncture especially interested Mrs. Ford. She figured it might help her neck. A pinched neck nerve, before cancer, was her severest medical problem. It had nagged for years, causing chronic pain at the base of her skull. There had been talk of surgery, but that talk

made her shudder. "The incision would have to be made through the mouth," she said, "and chances would only be 50-50. Acupuncture might be much easier. In China, I watched eight different acupuncture operations, including one for an ovarian cyst where the girl drank tea the whole time."

"Would you like some iced tea now?" Try though Mrs. Ford did to make this encounter natural, it was uphill work. You don't just drop in at the White House. You first make a dozen or so logistical phone calls and then, when you arrive at the gates, you are quizzed, all but X-rayed, photographed, bedecked with a plastic badge and passed upstairs by a string of pert aides who probably mean to be disarming, but who I kept thinking were going to thank me for flying TWA. Spontaneous it isn't, not even in the Ford Administration. The Hotel Europa in Belfast is easier to get into, and the Vatican might be more cozy.

The simplest event on Betty Ford's schedule must now be orchestrated like an audience with an emperor. In East Wing argot, even a quick hello to a Salvation Army fashion luncheon in a Washington hotel ballroom becomes a "Drop-by," with mimeographed instructions to be gone over in a three-car motorcade: "12:55, down 20 steps. Turn right. 12:58, remarks. Press opportunity. 1:03, conclude remarks 1:05, up the same 20 steps. Depart."

If she walks into such a scene with her husband, a hand plays "Hail to the Chief." If she arrives alone, she must affect delight at the opening strains of "Betty Coed Has Lips of Red" or, in homage to the President's alma mater, "Hail to the Victors." The Fords are victors, all right, without ever having fought a Presidential battle. One of her size 6 gowns will one day hang in the Smithsonian, along with those of Dolley Madison, Mary Todd Lincoln, Eleanor Roosevelt and all the rest. Her name will automatically topple Golda's or Coretta's or Ethel's or one of the other stand-bys from the next annual list of Most Admired Women.

"Kings and queens have always focused people's feelings," says the anthropologist Margaret Mead, "and since we're not very far from a monarchy, the President's wife, whoever she is, has little

choice, but to attract as much attention as possible." Maybe Richard Nixon had something when he called her "a woman of children." Washington, Mrs. Ford became First Lady, it was not that we were all dealing with a new, dependent, dependent on her for her part. But it was not, she had to learn to become an icon.

There's a souvenir shop at the corner of F and 15th Streets in Washington that still features postcards of the Nixons — he grinning, she tight-lipped—but it won't be long. The icon machine works fast. Back on Crown View Drive in Alexandria, the Fords' former neighbors are already busy laminating their clippings of the peculiar time when Secret Service agents and big-name newscasters walked among them. Crown View Drive, if it could somehow be shrunk and freeze-dried, would make a perfect diorama for some future museum of suburbia. Only the Virginia license plates in its driveways distinguish it from streets on the outskirts of Houston or St. Paul or either Portland. Its mortgages are held by decent citizens who seem now out of a John Updike novel now one by Sinclair Lewis. They prefer homemade cookies and even homemade ice cubes to the store-bought kind, and never weary of telling how wholesome, natural and, most of all, how normal a family they lost when the Fords moved away. The way they say "normal," it sounds exotic.

The Fords do personify that threatened species, the nuclear family. It is chic and in some quarters thrilling to foretell the doom of such families, but even Simone de Beauvoir, in all her wisdom, cannot think how to replace them. While they last, they transfix and reassure us. To the televised adventures of the Waltons, the Bunkers and the Louds, we now can add those of the newly mythologized Fords, about whom no folksy bulletin is too trivial to broadcast. We crave, or some of us do, to hear how Steve, that rascal, once picked his mother up and carried her all over the Crown View house, a house which had no dining room, and how he and his older brothers ("all male chauvinists," their mother supposes) discolored their laundry by mixing jeans in with underwear. Those boys! Steve, who is 18, wears

jeans, a shirt and drives a yellow jeep, and needed to work for a year on a Utah ranch before beginning college. Michael, at 24 the oldest, is the divorcee's student. And Mrs. Bushnell, whose new bride, Gayle, looks blond enough, and the 19th enough to have been a Ford by birth. ("I know about all the rumors that Gayle's pregnant," the First Lady says, "but those rumors are news to Gayle and Mike. Oh, well, I guess Julie and Tricia never had a moment's freedom from that sort of speculation, either.") Was it Mike who told how "Dad always taught us to be good stewards of our bodies," or was it his brother John? Jack, as the second son is called, is 22 and learning to be a forester at the University of Utah. "He's a deep, thoughtful person," his mother says, "who likes to spend a whole day by himself in the wilderness. All our children were brought up to think independently, the way I was myself."

"I was the third child and only girl, spoiled as perhaps we spoil Susan. Her brothers don't, though. They're very protective, they want to know what she's up to and with whom. Sometimes they've asked, 'Is she still going out with that . . . ?'" Susan, the most relaxed White House daughter since Caroline Kennedy, seems to be taking the advice of Alice Roosevelt Longworth, who also moved in at age 17. Mrs. Longworth sent Susan a message to "just have a hell of a good time while you're there."

Susan is. Apart from giving up babysitting, which she often did in Alexandria, she leads as normal a high-school senior's life as any 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue resident could hope to, and will have her class's senior prom at the White House. She denies that the family's move has changed anybody. Mrs. Ford, she said fondly toward the end of one state dinner, is "still the same old Mother." Only briefly was Susan called on to replace the First Lady at affairs of state. At one white-tie reception during her mother's convalescence, when there were hundreds of diplomatic hands to be shaken, the girl stood gamely by her father and shook them with such aplomb that a photographer remarked, "Susan, you're wonderful!"

"That," said the President, "is the way she was brought up."

"Don't you take all the

with some reason. In the years when his children were growing, Ford was "away right much," as a family friend tells it, obliged to go off 200 nights a year to help keep Republicans in Congress. "I like to travel, too," Mrs. Ford says, "but not the way Jerry does it. He feels he's got to go up and down as many times as the airplane can stop." Even when he was home, they were sometimes expected at official functions as many as 14 nights in a row.

"But Betty's a good egg," as a friend says. "It's fun to razz her. The last place she'd ever want to be is on a pedestal." At birthday parties in those days, there were joke presents, like funny bathing suits and the alarm clock Mrs. Ford once got, tied to a string, to twit her for her unpunctuality. There was that holiday at Disney World, after the convention, and a lot of afternoons watching the Superbowl with friends. "They were over here to see the Dolphins cream the Vikings," recalls Barbara MacGregor, wife of the former Minnesota Congressman who managed Nixon's 1972 campaign. "Jerry'd just as soon have watched the game at home, but Betty wanted to come. Oh, we've all had some wonderful times. Don't you think she's adorable?"

Sometimes there were sorties, never for very long, to Caribbean beaches, and once to Hawaii. Always the family had its two-week Christmas reunion at its condominium in Vail, Colo. In the Fords' case, the bromidic old joke—"my wife likes the seashore and I like the mountains so we compromise and go to the seashore"—is reversed. That's not the way Betty Ford was raised. Her generation's credo was: If he likes the mountains, go to the mountains. If he's a politician and you don't much care for politics, smile.

Smile she did, but she also ate and drank too much, gaining 20 pounds. Later, she dieted off not only those 20 but another 10 as well, becoming so thin that one alarmed friend kept bringing over an Adelle Davis potion called Pep-Up. "Pep was what Betty needed, all right," a neighbor remembers. "It must have been very rough for her all those years, with Jerry gone so much and four kids pulling her in four different directions. They had a housekeeper five days a

(Continued on Page 86)

Some of the doctors were her own. The pinched, neck nerve wouldn't go away. It kept her on tranquilizers and off the slopes at Vail. "I tried skiing with a whiplash collar on, and it wasn't so bad there on the mountain, where I always had to be watching out for icy slopes and moguls, but the next day it would hurt terribly." Thinking the tension might be psychosomatic, she sought the help of a new kind of doctor.

"I saw my psychiatrist once a week, at the most, for a period of a year and a half. I didn't lie on a couch or anything like that, I'd just sit and talk, and it seemed to help, too. After all, if you have an abscessed tooth, you go to the dentist, don't you? This was during the time when Jerry was away so much, and I needed a sounding board to talk to. Somebody had to tell me what that doctor did: that I shouldn't just live for my husband and children but ought to do something for myself, too."

She tried. She signed up for modern-dance lessons and did what she could to avoid metaphorical moguls at home. When the children provoked her, she mixed discipline with affection. "I tried to remember how, when I was their age, I'd pull the same wool over my parents' eyes." An ashtray-emptier by nature, she recalls "a sort of turning point in my child-rearing philosophy when the boys were little and ran their toy cars all over a favorite coffee table I didn't want scratched. I decided it wasn't worth it to worry over that—you can always buy new furniture, but you can't replace your children."

Not one for vivid syntax, Mrs. Ford volunteers that her favorite tea, for all the efforts of a brother to convert her to more exotic brews, is Lipton's. Her favorite flower is the Peace Rose, and the hymn that stirs her most is "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," especially when sung by the Mormon Tabernacle Choir. (A number of the Fords' best friends seem to be Latter-Day Saints.) Her own faith, low church Episcopal with no incense, runs deep and strong.

"I have a son who thought he was an agnostic," she says

—as bemusing a notion, to the First Lady, as if the lad had toyed with a career in haruspication. The morning doesn't go by but what Betty Ford spends at least 20 minutes studying that day's recommended scriptural passage in a pamphlet called "Forward Day by Day." Most mornings the passage is apt enough. On Sept. 27, for example, the eve of her radical mastectomy, the verse was "Thou has turned my laments into dancing." The next day it read "Be strong and take courage." But on Aug. 9, when she became First Lady, the verse must have given her pause. What it said, in the prose of the Living Bible she prefers to the King James version, was from Psalms 39:1: "I will keep a muzzle on my mouth." A muzzled mouth is simply not her style.

"That's what I've found most refreshing about her," says Nancy Hanks, chairman of the National Endowment of the Arts, who has been conferring with Mrs. Ford about projects she might officially support, particularly those involving underprivileged and handicapped children. "Her approach is solid and very American, without being in the least provincial. Her style is not to teach people to love and revere American arts and crafts, but to show them, by her own example, how important these things are. And whenever I mention something she's not well-versed in, like regional differences in pottery, or weaving, she'll stop me and say, 'Now just a minute, what in the world are those differences?' She's never for a moment pretentious. What she thinks, she says."

Representative Shirley Chisholm, whom few would regard as a likely soul sister of the First Lady, commends Mrs. Ford for her candor, as do such disparate others as Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, who says, "I like her very much," and the syndicated household hints columnist, Heloise. Heloise, who gets hundreds of thousands of letters a year from housewives, reports that of late her mail has included a deal of praise for the new President's wife. "The gals love the way she comes out and says what she thinks. They feel as if she's their next-door neighbor, just one of the bunch. She doesn't seem a bit stuck-up. And she's done a world of good being so frank about her cancer."

Only the hopelessly genteel



"Like carefree juniors at a prom": President and Mrs. Ford (top), celebrating their 26th wedding anniversary as she recovers from a mastectomy, greet a Grand Ole Opry singer from a White House balcony. Above, the couple walk down a hallway in the Presidential suite at Bethesda Naval Hospital shortly after Mrs. Ford underwent surgery.

take issue with that. Margaret Mead, not exactly one of Heloise's "gals," welcomes the attention Mrs. Ford's mastectomy has brought to what until recently was a furtive secret sorority. Jacqueline Susann, who wrote four best-selling novels in the 12 years she lived after having the same operation, may have

been the last victim to regard breast cancer as a shameful "social disease."

Knowing sympathy rushed to Mrs. Ford from Marvella Bayh, the Indiana Senator's wife who had been crusading since her own mastectomy, and from Alice Longworth, who before she turned 90, cheerfully called herself the

not to hide her news, nice though it wasn't.

"That's the part that's just thrilled her," says Mrs. Ford's good friend Peggy Whyte. "I talked to her when she was still in the hospital, and I've never heard her bubble so in all the years I've known her. To think that her misfortune is helping other women just makes her feel very beholden—she says she can really sense all those waves of prayers." Many of the prayers have been secular, in the form of what Betty Friedan calls "the energy and power of the women's movement. She's done so much good for the movement, speaking out as she has for things like the Equal Rights Amendment, I hope some of our strength can flow back to her."

Nobody opposes the E.R.A. more fervently than Phyllis Schlafly, whose Illinois-based campaign against the amendment Mrs. Ford can certainly have made no easier. "She doesn't seem to realize," Mrs. Schlafly protests, "that if the amendment were to pass, we'd have coeducational washrooms, and girls like her own daughter would have to be drafted." But the First Lady realizes these facts very well. She and her personal assistant, Nancy Howe, discuss them often. "They've had coed facilities in the Far East for years," Mrs. Howe says, "and rape is a lot less common there than it is in our prudish societies."

"And if men have to serve in the military," says Mrs. Ford, "I don't see why women shouldn't too, the way they do in Israel. Why, if this had been an issue in my own time, I'd probably have been the first to enlist."

She might have, at that. It was scarcely less startling for her to leave Grand Rapids to go to New York and become a John Robert Powers model, which she was for a while and, worse yet, a dancer. If it hadn't been for her mother, she might have made dance a lifelong career. Hedi Pope, in whose Alexandria modern dance studio Mrs. Ford enrolled, says that "even having had four children, she was still the best student in my classes. I could see how she might once have been very

promising. But a dance career means total immersion or nothing. Those gals who go to New York to dance seriously have to forget about everything else. It must have been a huge decision for her to make."

It must have indeed, with Martha Graham on one hand encouraging her to stay, and Hortense Bloomer on the other saying what nice showers and weddings other girls her age were having back in Michigan. Her mentor and her mother didn't actually wage an outright tug-of-war for young Betty's future, but they might as well have. Mrs. Bloomer won, in any case, and her daughter came home, in what must have been more a trudge than a pirouette. Before long she had a wedding of her own, but not to Gerald Ford. The bridegroom's name that time was William Warren.

"We've just giggled and giggled about that," says Nancy Howe, who seldom is far from the First Lady's side. "When somebody wanted to know what the date of her first wedding was, she couldn't remember for the life of her. That's how little it mattered." That five-year marriage, such as it was, ended emotionally long before the divorce was official. "It taught me," says Mrs. Ford, "that there are some people you just can't change."

Resuming her maiden name, she taught dance to handicapped and black children, coordinated fashions for a Grand Rapids department store called Herpolzheimer's, and took up with the dazzling blond—bachelor—lawyer—and former star center for Michigan's football team. Their wedding had to wait until just before November. Jerry Ford was running for Congress and wasn't sure how voters might feel about his marrying a divorced ex-dancer.

All First Ladies get a lot of mail. Even those who just smile ornamentally and keep out of the way can expect a couple of thousand letters in a routine week. They also get a good many phone calls. Phones in the East Wing don't ring, though, they chime. Their ladylike two-tone chime belies what, in Mrs. Ford's case, can be an angry urgency at the other end. If today she says mildly that we all ought to fight inflation by eating less beef, or buy cheaper cuts of it anyway,

you can be sure that tomorrow plenty of cattlemen in places like Montana will dial 202-456-1414 to register their ire.

Answering such calls is one of the tasks of the First Lady's staff of 28, a dedicated lot who usually lunch, if at all, from vending machines in the White House basement. Some of them plan state dinners, some keep schedules, some juggle the incessant pleas of the press. Nine work full-time to answer her mail, much of it, by necessity, with form letters. "They think she's magic, they think she's Santa Claus," says Tom McCoy, who has been analyzing First Ladies' mail since the days of Mamie Eisenhower. "Sometimes they write to say their child is dying, sometimes just to say they wish she'd drop by for coffee. Oh, there are just all kinds of requests."

And all kinds of answers. How nice that you're having a rummage sale. Here is a steel engraving of the White House for your auction. How thoughtful of you to share your original song (or poem) with the Fords. Here is your autographed picture, complete with pawprint of Shan, the First Cat of the Land. Happy birthday, if you're 80 or older. Happy anniversary, if you've been together for at least 25 years. Mrs. Ford is pleased to hear that you share her views (or, interested that you don't) on abortion, or marijuana, or psychiatry, or the E.R.A.

Lately, a task force of volunteers has helped mail out thanks for some 50,000 messages wishing the First Lady a quick recovery. These wishes, it would seem, are being granted. "She's had occasional transitory letdowns, like all cancer patients," says Dr. William M. Lukash, the White House physician, "but I'm optimistic. Her surgery was highly successful, and she has a really 'up' attitude, an extraordinary determination to carry on."

"I feel great," Mrs. Ford said on the phone one recent morning, and she sounded it. "Probably it helped that I stayed in the hospital a full two weeks, until the scans were clear and I'd been through all the tests. Jerry was traveling then and didn't want me to leave Bethesda till he was back, and when I did come home, I wasn't even wearing a bandage."

A chemotherapy regimen obliges her to take four pills each day one week out of every six. Three times every day she stops whatever she's

doing for a five-minute ritual of exercises to insure full mobility for her right arm and shoulder. "It's a stretching, circling, lariat-type motion," Mrs. Ford says. "Being right-handed probably makes things easier, too." The pinched neck nerve has given her no recent trouble.

On weekends at Camp David, "a very relaxing spot where it's almost impossible to think about work," she goes for long walks with Liberty, the family's new golden retriever. She gave up plans to go with the President to Japan, but both the seashore and the mountains are on their calendar for this month. They will go to Martinique to meet with the President of France and later, of course, to Colorado for the traditional Christmas reunion.

Every week she does more. "Betty had pizza and beer along with everyone else when she dropped by here the other day," an Alexandria neighbor says, "and her face looked radiant, but I thought she seemed too thin." Dr. Lukash, however, isn't worried; he reports that the First Lady's weight is holding steady between 105 and 110 pounds. "Oh, I clean my plate," she says. "I even manage liver and onions, a favorite of Jerry's. I'm not especially fond of." At the November state dinner for the Chancellor of Austria, she finally corraled her husband upstairs from the dance floor at 1 A.M., "not because I was tired, but he was." At seven the next morning, she was up for a meeting with her staff.

"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," Mrs. Ford says. "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." Diplomatically, she declines to say which of her predecessors most inspire her, "because now that I realize what they've had to put up with, I have new respect and admiration for every one of them."

Nor will she ponder aloud about the business of being an icon. Whatever the public may think, that's not how she sees herself. "I just hope to leave my mark as a very human person interested in America as a country and in its people particularly. I don't feel that because I'm First Lady I'm any different from what I was before. It can happen to anyone. After all, it has happened to anyone." ■

Mrs. Ford Tells News Parley She's Busy and Happy

By JOHN HERBERS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 4—"I have found it is a very busy life," Betty Ford said. "I'm very happy. Everyone has been so generous and warm."

It was the kind of statement that First Ladies are expected to make after their first few weeks in the White House. The difference was that Mrs. Ford was seated in the formal dining room under a large portrait of Lincoln, facing klieg lights and 150 reporters and photographers, including a good portion of the foreign press.

No one could remember when a President's wife had agreed before to a full-fledged White House news conference. Her predecessors favored more informal meetings with reporters in the living quarters of the East Wing.

But Mrs. Ford has let it be known that she intends to be an active First Lady with interests centering on the arts and children, and she opened

Cougar-Hunting Curb Asked

SANTA FE, N. M., Sept. 4 (UPI)—A suit filed in District Court here seeks to invalidate the State Game Commission's liberal hunting season for cougars in New Mexico. The Central Clearing House, a Santa Fe environmental organization, and Donald Campbell, a business consultant for the Club, filed the suit yesterday against the commission and the State Game and Fish Department.

the conference with a statement that she wanted to answer all the questions that had been piling up about her views on life and what role she would be playing in her husband's Administration.

She wore a gold dress with open collar and scarf and sat on a gold upholstered chair before a mahogany table that bore a small bouquet of multi-colored flowers. She seemed a little nervous as reporters asked such questions as "How would you like to be remembered?"

"In a very kind way," she replied. "As a constructive wife of the President."

But she also let it be known that she had no intention of being noncontroversial as she made the following remarks:

"She said that she would campaign for ratification of the equal rights amendment for women by the state legislatures, adding that her husband had once joked with her about 'equal rights' for women but was now an advocate of the proposed constitutional amendment.

"Asked about Mr. Ford's plan to run in 1976 for a full four-year term as President, she refused to commit herself as to whether she thought the plan was wise, but said, 'I'll be happy to campaign — and for guess who?'"

"On the politically sensitive issue of abortion, she was asked whether she was closer to the views of Senator James L. Buckley, Conservative-Republican of New York, who opposes legalized abortion, or Vice-Presidential-nominee Nel-

son A. Rockefeller, who favored legalized abortion when he was Governor of New York. "Definitely Rockefeller," she replied.

Mrs. Ford was not flustered by questions that are invariably asked of First Ladies.

Asked what women can do to stop future wars, she said, "They can always enlist." After the laughter died down she added, "By becoming active in politics."

Surprised by Son

Asked if she agreed with the statement by her 22-year-old son Jack that he was "disturbed" over the disclosure that President Ford intended to run in 1976, Mrs. Ford said, "I was very surprised at my son's statement."

Asked to describe her family's dinner table conversations about granting amnesty to Vietnam draft evaders and deserters—the President has come out for conditional amnesty—she said, "We had a rather deep discussion, and points were made on all sides," but she indicated that her husband had already made up his mind at that point.

Asked how her family could retain its "normality" in the White House, she said that she thought that would not be very difficult, even though her husband had made one change—he no longer prepares his own breakfast because of "the good service he is getting in the upstairs dining room."

FORD PAY-RISE PLAN SCORED IN CONGRESS

WASHINGTON, Sept. 4 (UPI)—Fight intensified today over President Ford's proposal to defer a raise for 3.5 million Federal workers as part of the battle against inflation.

The chairmen of the Senate and House Civil Service Committees, which have jurisdiction over Government pay increases, both announced their opposition to Mr. Ford's proposal.

Mr. Ford has urged a three-month delay in a 5.52 per cent pay rise for 1.3 million white-collar workers and 2.2 million military personnel. He said the action would cut Federal spending by \$700-million. If either the House or Senate

approves a resolution to delay the deferral, the would be killed.

Representative Dulski, upstate New York Democrat who is chairman of the House Civil Service Committee, issued a statement that the pay postpone "There are many start cutting costs priving government a single-digit pay they fight doubt," Mr. Dulski called a committee Sept. 19 to discuss plan.

Senator Gale, Wyoming Democrat, the Senate voted to fight McGee said he legislation to block proposal so the take effect.

income tax evasion—resignation, three years on probation and a \$10,000 fine—was too lenient.

Ford Sees 'Open' Hearing

In short, the Gallup survey suggested that Mr. Ford's designation to succeed Mr. Agnew as Vice President had posed no particular political difficulties for President Nixon but had done little, if anything, to diminish the distrust of his Administration produced by the Watergate investigation and the Agnew scandal.

Meanwhile, Mr. Ford said he hoped and expected that the Congressional hearings on his confirmation would be "the most open and in-depth" ever held by Congress.

The Gallup organization, based in Princeton, N.J., interviewed 730 adults in representative communities across the country yesterday, one day after Mr. Ford was nominated and three days after Mr. Agnew surrendered his office and pleaded no contest to charges of failing to report \$29,500 of income in 1967, when he was Governor of Maryland. The margin of error for a telephone survey of this size is four percentage points.

Specifically, the questions asked in the special survey

Continued on Page 13, Column 1

by JOSEPH DURSO

Special to The New York Times

OAKLAND, Calif., Oct. 14

—In the longest and maybe the loosest game in the 70-year history of the World Series, the New York Mets scored four runs in the 12th inning today to defeat the Oakland A's, 10-7, and tie the Series at one game apiece.

It was a wild game that filled a record 4 hours 13 minutes of a Sunday afternoon in Oakland-Alameda County Stadium with capers, errors, rallies and sun-lost fly balls.

Eleven pitchers worked in the debris, matching a World Series record. Vida Blue was knocked out by the Mets. Jerry Koosman was knocked

out by the A's. Yogi Berra was almost thrown out by the umpires. Tug McGraw went six adventurous innings in relief. Mike Andrews made two errors that treated the Mets to three runs in the 12th. And Willie Mays fell twice, but batted home the lead run once in a game that each side won and lost several times.

Along the way, Oakland

Jets Win; Giants Lose

Three field goals by Bobby Howfield helped the Jets defeat the New England Patriots, 9-7, yesterday at Foxboro, Mass. At Yale Bowl the Giants were beaten by the Washington Redskins, 21-3. Details on Page 43.

took a 2-0 lead in the first inning and couldn't hold it. The Mets took the lead with four in the sixth and couldn't hold it. The A's scored twice with two down in the ninth for a last-minute reprieve—but couldn't hold it. And the Mets finally scrounged their final four runs in the 12th and simply held on for dear life.

By then, many in the crowd of 49,151 were streaming home, probably to be safely away from the stadium in case somebody tied the game again in the bottom of the 12th. But nobody did, and so the teams headed for New York, where they will play

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ed Strategy

The New York Times reported two weeks ago that a similar "national security" wiretap on Morton Halperin, a former colleague of Mr. Lake at the Council, had remained in force after he, too, had severed his ties to the Government and had become the head of Senator Muskie's campaign committee on the military budget.

Both men have said that, during the time they were under surveillance by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, they discussed Mr. Muskie's campaign strategy over the telephone with other members of the Senator's staff.

Although neither man can recall any specific conversations on the tapped phones with Senator Muskie himself, Mr. Lake said it was possible that he might have spoken with the Senator from his home by telephone at some point during the two-month period.

Total of 17

He added, however, that any one listening to his conversations with other campaign officials at the least could have anticipated "some of the speeches he [Senator Muskie] was going to make."

Until it became apparent in mid-March of 1972 that Senator Muskie's bid for the Democratic Presidential nomination was

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More Housing Funds Predicted for City

By MARTIN TOLCHIN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 14

James T. Lynn, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, has said that New York City, because of its unique position, could expect to be an exception to the Nixon Administration's housing proposal to gradually replace Federally supported new construction and

rehabilitation with housing al-

lowances for lower-income families.

"New York City is a special case," Mr. Lynn said in an interview. "New York City can't be looked at solely as a housing problem, but as a total urban development challenge."

The Federal goals, he said, included reversing the exodus from the city on the part of middle-income families, lessening the competition between

residential and commercial builders, easing the housing shortage and stemming deterioration and decay.

Consequently, New York City can expect some type of new construction and rehabilitation, in addition to the housing allowance program, Mr. Lynn said yesterday.

Over the next five years, combined funds for Model Cities, urban renewal, water and sewage treatment and other H.U.D. programs for New York City under the proposed Better Communities Act would increase by one-third, to \$149-million annually, Mr. Lynn said. For the next two years, however, the city will receive a 10 per cent reduction in these funds, because in 1972 they were artificially inflated by a

Continued on Page 33, Column 4

Mrs. Ford Is Calm Despite the Hubbub; Opposes Her Husband's Running in 1976

By MARJORIE HUNTER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 14 — Mrs. Gerald R. Ford said today that she did not want her husband to run for President or Vice President in 1976.

"Three years will be fine, but no more," the wife of the new Vice-Presidential nominee said quietly. "But, of course, Jerry is the boss in this family."

The quiet of the Fords' small corner of Virginia suburbia has been shattered in the two days since President Nixon chose the House Republican leader as the successor to former Vice President Spiro T. Agnew.

Workmen were installing a new telephone line in the brick and clapboard house. Secret Service agents were camped on the lawn and in a temporary headquarters truck out front. Sightseers craned their necks from passing automobiles.

But Betty Ford, a petite brute who once considered making modern dance her lifetime career, was as calm as the eye of a hurricane as she sat in her sunny living room, seemingly oblivious to the clamor all around her.

"My voice is losing me," she apologized, a little huskily. "Usually, they say it's your

Continued on Page 8, Column 2



Mrs. Gerald R. Ford at her home in suburban Virginia

The New York Times/George Tames

Slaying of Musician Alarms West Siders

By PRANAY GUPTA

In the last four years, Stephanie Digby, a young woman who lives on the Upper West Side, has been mugged three times in front of her home and her apartment and car have been broken into on several occasions. Once, while standing at her window, she said, she saw a gang of youths attack a girl as a crowd watched, but no one bothered to help.

So yesterday, when she learned about the murder on Saturday of George Howard Hodge, a 42-year-old musician who lived in the Lincoln Towers apartment complex on West End Avenue, Miss Digby was not surprised. She was just more frightened than usual.

The police reported that Mr. Hodge and his wife,

Beverly Donna, had returned to their 14th-floor apartment at 165 West End Avenue at about 1:30 A.M. Saturday and had discovered two masked intruders near their bedroom. The couple were beaten, bound and gagged, the police said, and after Mrs. Hodge was left unconscious in the bedroom her husband was killed by a blow to the head with a blunt instrument. The assailants escaped.

"I am tired of this violence," Miss Digby said. "I'm tired of being frightened. I'm tired of looking over my shoulder and I am extremely sick of being scared."

That violence and crime plague the Upper West Side, from about 60th Street to Columbia University from

Continued on Page 73, Column 1

Mrs. Ford, Calm Despite Hubbub, Opposes Race in '76

Continued From Page 1, Col. 1
right hand that gets sore from receiving lines. Me, it's my voice."

If her husband is confirmed by Congress, she said, the Fords will continue to live in the house they built 19 years ago in Alexandria, just across the Potomac from Washington.

"We talked it over with the children and decided this was home," she said. "Actually, the house is like an accordion; it bulges out when we're all here and contracts when most of us are away."

Their garage, she said, will be remodeled to accommodate the Secret Service agents, who moved to Mr. Ford's side just seconds after his appointment Friday at the White House.

As Second Lady, Mrs. Ford said, she would "like to do something for the arts, if they need me anywhere."

A dancer since the age of 8 and a dance instructor when she was just 14, Betty Ford was with the Martha Graham modern dance group in New York City in the late 1930's and early 1940's.

Gave Up Dancing

"Martha Graham once told me she wanted me to keep on dancing, but she told me I would have to completely dedicate myself to it and give up everything else," Mrs. Ford said. "After thinking it over for a long time and talking to mother about it, I decided to go home."

Home was Grand Rapids, Mich., and it was there, in 1948, that she married one of the town's eligible bachelors and onetime University of Michigan football star, Jerry Ford. He was 35, she was 30.

"Sometimes I look back and wonder what it would have been like if I had kept on dancing," she said. "Actually, I'm glad I did what I did. Politics is Jerry's life, and I like it, too."

For nearly 25 years, the entire span of her husband's career in Congress, Betty Ford has found herself playing a double role—as housewife and House wife.

"That's what we call ourselves, House wives," she said, referring to the various Congressional and Republican clubs to which she belongs. "Somehow, I always end up being program chairman."

She has campaigned for her husband in every election, she

said, "but not to the extent that many wives do. 'Jerry feels I should be home with the children because he's away so much,' she added.

The oldest, Michael, 23, is a divinity student at Gordon Theological Seminary in Wenham, Mass.; John, 21, a student at Utah State University; Steven, 17, a high school student, and Susan, 16, a student at a girls' school in nearby Bethesda, Md.

While Mrs. Ford considers her husband the boss of the family, she has had to be the disciplinarian because of his frequent trips away for speeches and other Republican functions.

"It's not like saying to the kids, 'Wait until daddy gets

home,' because daddy might not be home for three days," she said, smiling. "I've had to train myself to make the decisions."

She cooks, but only because she has to. The Fords have no live-in maid. Her favorite hobby now is gardening, both flowers and vegetables, in the back yard.

Until nine years ago she was an avid golfer and skier. But she gave up both sports—and her dancing as well—because of a pinched nerve in her neck. She still swims, however, in the family pool.

One of the best dressed of the Congressional wives, she still wears a size 10. Weight is no problem. In fact, she some-

times has trouble keeping from being underweight.

"I'm sure I've lost three pounds since Friday," she said. "It's been a terribly exciting time for all of us."

On Friday night, as the reception following President's Nixon's announcement of his choice for Vice President was nearing an end, the President put his arm around Betty Ford. "It's all yours," he said, smiling.

"Mr. President," Mrs. Ford said, "I don't know whether you're offering congratulations or condolences."

The President laughed. "Well," he said, "at least the pay is better."

Supplies



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LADY BIRD JOHNSON

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June 18, 1993, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE G2

LENGTH: 519 words

HEADLINE: TV Preview; Lady Bird, The Mellow Rose of Texas

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Sarah Booth Conroy, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY: In 1965, it seemed as if Congress was about to recess without passing Lady Bird Johnson's Highway Beautification Act. President Johnson called in his Cabinet and cronies. He told them that he loved his wife. That Mrs. Johnson wanted the bill passed. And that he intended she and the country should have it. Johnson was a clever and astute politician -- and so was Mrs. Johnson. She had, and still has, her own strong constituency, earned by good works.

Fittingly, a tribute by Congress to that First Lady begins an hour-long documentary, "The Story of Lady Bird Johnson," at 10 tonight on Channel 26. The story is told by Mrs. Johnson; Liz Carpenter, her adept staff director; George Christian, presidential press secretary; and others -- unfortunately not always identified when they speak. Charles Guggenheim wrote and directed the program; Grace Guggenheim produced it. The viewer's reaction will be what a nice woman, what a pleasant television biography.

Claudia Alta Taylor, as she was born on Dec. 22, 1912, was an un-elected but very active worker for the nation. The 1963-69 First Lady was 22 when she came to town in 1934, bride of a congressional aide.

Family photographs of Karnack, Tex., show an idyllic and bucolic childhood, marred when she was 5 by the death of her mother. The footage hints of a domineering father, a good preparation for her husband.

Sometimes in her own movie footage and in her own words, her years as a caryatid to his career are brought to life: giving tours to constituents; learning dress and demeanor;

living in a tiny apartment until her tears convinced her husband that they should have a house; and, as the vice president's wife, standing in for Jacqueline Kennedy.

Her last contribution to LBJ's political life was to persuade him to leave the presidency in 1969, when he was unable to solve the conflicts of the Vietnam War. She also gave him the graceful words: "I will not seek, and I will not accept" a second presidential term.

Neglected in this portrayal are her accomplishments as a businesswoman, radio station owner, founder and preserver of the family fortune -- no small achievement in her difficult life.

Lady Bird Johnson is neither a lily of the field nor a hothouse rose. She might be likened better to a sturdy magnolia tree, well able to stand the winds of public life.

The Texas woman, in the custom of her times, was self-effacing and soft-spoken. "I never tried to lose my Southern accent," she once told me. Not enough can be said about her nurture of nature, but the documentary does credit her efforts in Washington and the nation's parks. The film rightly points to her advocacy of the Head Start program, which resulted in adoption of that key part of Johnson's Great Society program.

As she says, "Being married to the president of the United States, somebody was going to listen to what you said, so you better try to think hard about saying something that was both good and true and that you had your heart in."

She might have added that you can accomplish a great deal -- if you don't mind giving others the credit.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, LADY BIRD JOHNSON: A SOFT-SPOKEN CRUSADER AND AN ASTUTE POLITICIAN.

TYPE: REVIEW

SUBJECT: TELEVISION; FIRST LADY

NAMED-PERSONS: LADY BIRD JOHNSON

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April 29, 1988, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE G1

LENGTH: 780 words

HEADLINE: Lady Bird Johnson, Blooming Still; A Day of Tributes to a Legacy of Beauty

BYLINE: Sarah Booth Conroy, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY: When Lady Bird Johnson left Texas to come up to Washington for her Diamond Jubilee, she told her folks: "Call me if it rains, so I can give thanks."

More compliments than raindrops fell around the good gardener yesterday as the nation celebrated her 75th year. Still, enough rain fell on the rose garden she had tended at the White House that the congressional gold medal presentation by President Reagan had to be moved inside to the East Room.

Mrs. Johnson, speaking in her soft low voice with her natural rhythm that sometimes sounds like hymn singing, told an East Room full of friends that the medal is "a salute to all those people all over this great land who are working to preserve and to enhance the natural beauty of America."

And the clouds moved, and the sun sparkled and the raindrops on the flowers she planted in the capital turned into diamonds for Lady Bird Johnson's jubilee.

Majority Leader Jim Wright (D-Tex.) told the best Lady Bird story on the House floor.

He recalled that once all of Congress had been invited by the president and Mrs. Johnson to a gala "Salute to Congress." But that day Lyndon Johnson sent word to the congressmen that they needn't come to the party until they'd passed the highway beautification act sponsored by the first lady. So the wives in party dresses sat waiting in the House's family gallery until the bill was finally passed at 12:51 a.m. Oct. 8, 1965.

At the Capitol earlier Mrs. Johnson, in a Southern-lady navy blue dress with pearls, sat in a House full of kinfolk. Her daughters were there: Lynda Bird Robb with husband Charles Robb, a senatorial candidate; Luci Turpin and her husband Ian Turpin plus their children, and friends ranging from actress Helen Hayes to decorator Bob Waldron to

author Liz Carpenter and publicist Bess Abell. Texas congressmen -- and a few from Alabama where she was born -- told stories about her kindness to freshman members of Congress and their wives, her accomplishments as a humanitarian, businesswoman, first lady, environmentalist and hostess.

Rep. Lindy Boggs (D-La.) spoke of her admiration for the way Mrs. Johnson had juggled working in her husband's office with volunteering at her daughters' schools, helping with relief to the poor and still managing to be included in the "sessions with the boys."

The congressional ceremony had everything from the Naval Academy Glee Club to the Joint Armed Forces Color Guard to seven speeches, all before lunch. After lunch, starting a half hour late, the Senate had about as many speeches, but no singing, unless you count Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd's oration, which included a poem.

Byrd said Mrs. Johnson's efforts, like the scent of roses, would linger. And he added, "It is not for every man or woman to engrave his name or her name upon a plate of bronze or to build ... a great shaft of granite, but it is within the reach of every man and woman to so live that they might plant an ever blooming flower in the breast of all whom they meet. Lady Bird Johnson has planted that flower." Sen. Robert Dole (R-Kan.) said that when he came to Washington in 1961 it was "still a sleepy Southern town. It only had one Chinese restaurant, no Kennedy Center and no Bloomingdale's. But in 1963, Mrs. Johnson initiated a remarkable transformation. Every time I look out my office window, I see tulips, flowering trees, a magnificent feast to life. Her gift keeps on giving."

Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.), apparently unscheduled, signaled Byrd for a chance to speak. He paid tribute to her for her work in beautification, but also (as did several others) lauded her work in promoting the Head Start program. And then he said, "in the 1960s, as first lady, she was very kind to my mother and my family." Mrs. Johnson, sitting in the Senate gallery, nodded her thanks to him.

Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.), who had proposed the gold medal (the only one ever awarded a former first lady, according to first ladies historian Carl Sferrazza Anthony), spoke of the many roles of Mrs. Johnson: "a wife, a mother, a pioneering and successful businesswoman, a political counselor, and a private citizen who has continued to contribute ... President Johnson won some major battles in the war on poverty -- and he was helped by a first lady who traveled over 200,000 miles across this land to muster support for those programs."

And Mrs. Johnson put her hands up to her eyes.

Some 600 people from Washington, Texas, Utah and other states attended the two-day event and gave amounts from \$ 125 to \$ 10,000 to make up a million-dollar endowment for the National Wildflower Research Center in Austin, Tex., founded by Mrs. Johnson.

JACKIE KENNEDY

Newsday

November 23, 1988, Wednesday, ALL EDITIONS

SECTION: PART II; JFK 25 YEARS LATER; Pg. 2

HEADLINE: A Portrait Of Jackie;

She has moved from first lady to independent working woman, aloof from the public, yet a celebrity of legendary proportions

SERIES: JFK 25 YEARS LATER. 3rd in a series

BYLINE: By Susan Brenna

Just 31 years old when she entered the White House, Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy was the last of the pre-feminist first ladies. Lady Bird Johnson, who held the post at the dawn of the women's movement, had her highway beautification campaign, and every first lady thereafter was forced to adopt an appropriately progressive civic cause. Mental health. Drugs. Literacy.

But Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy (now Onassis), trained from birth to be an accomplished rider, graceful conversationalist and pretty lady, presided over a world where becoming the perfect wife and mother was considered to be the pinnacle of womanhood. She was not supposed to advise her husband on race relations. She was not expected to understand the Cuban missile crisis. She was, in her own eyes and in the view of others, expected to dress like a princess, host fabulous parties, speak Spanish to Spanish diplomats and French to the French, and hire an upright English nanny for her children. And that's what she did.

She was born to the Bouvier family of old but thinning wealth, riding in East Hampton horse shows by age 5 in her custom-made derby, ascot and jodhpurs. Her schools were all private, and she barely finished college, transferring out of Vassar to George Washington University her senior year because she essentially had lost interest in higher education.

BODY:

She was not a barnstorming political wife. In fact, she barely campaigned at all, because it tired and bored her. She did not even vote until she cast her first vote for Jack Kennedy. And after he died, she refused to vote in the next presidential election. Her vote, she explained, had always been his.

Living in the White House, she spent much of her time buying clothes, thinking about clothes and designing clothes. One year she spent more money on clothing than her husband earned as president. She even had a maid who ironed her stockings.

Today, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis is a single working woman. Three days a week she commutes by taxi or hired limousine to her office at the Doubleday publishing house. She gets her own coffee, presents her own books at meetings, and signs her own authors. When she visits her veteran hairdresser Kenneth these days for her twice-monthly coloring and styling, she hefts along a Hermes tote stuffed with galleys.

In 25 years she has changed from a photogenic cipher, a powerful man's adornment, to a woman who lavishly enjoys her independence (by the accounts of those who know her well). As she has changed, so have American women.

"The whole world has changed since the Kennedys," says Letitia Baldrige, once Mrs. Kennedy's White House social secretary and now an authority on etiquette.

Considering the limitations of her personality and breeding, many have speculated whether Mrs. Onassis could succeed today in repeating her immense popularity as a first lady.

Doris Kearns Goodwin, a Kennedy family biographer and a guest at the Caroline Kennedy-Edwin Schlossberg nuptials in the summer of 1986, recalls watching a joint questioning session involving all the Democratic presidential candidates' wives during the past primary season. She says, "It's hard to imagine Jacqueline ever wanting to go to that sort of thing. But twenty years ago, that wouldn't have been a problem.

"Remember, she had little children in the White House. That would be a reason people might accept a first lady who didn't run around campaigning" or involving herself in other public projects. Nonetheless, says Goodwin, "She really is a role model from the past."

Says Baldrige, "The charm and social grace and hospitality and style of Mrs. Kennedy would be welcomed and would excite the public in any era. But the women's movement has changed the role of the first lady."

It's strange now to watch Mrs. Kennedy's televised 1962 "Tour of the White House." The tour was filmed while the first lady was in the midst of her drive to renovate the White House, to bring to it the glory of French vermeil candelabra and satin draperies and antiques that had once been the possession of presidents past. In the film she seems so young, hardly removed from the girl who society columnist Cholly Knickerbocker named "Debutante of the Year" in 1947. Her voice is soft and girlish as she strides through her "pretty rooms" with perfect but utterly stiff school-girlish posture. She seems more a figurine than a person.

Yet, she has always seemed to be something other than a simple flesh and blood person. Her public is divided into two groups. There are those who think of her as a woman who surmounted inexpressible tragedies with her dignity, and also her precious children intact. To those people, she is awesome.

Then there are those too young to remember her in her moment of greatest pain. They know only the tabloid Jackie of nightclubs and Greek yachts and multiple famous escorts. Like that other exalted female of her peak era in the early '60s, Marilyn Monroe, she has evolved into a pop-culture icon, almost a cartoon figure. Discos have been named for "Jackie O." Warhol did her portrait. Post-baby boomers, still in their cribs the day the young widow veiled in black trailed her husband's funeral cortege through Washington, admire her fame, her attitude and her skill at marrying big and rich.

"I want to be Jackie Onassis
I want to wear a pair of dark sunglasses
I want to be Jackie Onassis, oh yeah, oh yeah.
I want bodyguards all around
I'm anxious to avoid an autograph hound
I want to be Jackie Onassis, oh yeah, oh yeah."

So goes the song by Human Sexual Response in which tabloid Jackie is immortalized.

If this hurts her, she does not complain, at least not in public. In this age of the salable celebrity, there is no other figure of such stature who conducts herself with quite the aloof dignity Mrs. Onassis possesses. Even Princess Di occasionally does BBC interviews. Mrs. Onassis does none.

She leads not quite a normal life these days, but one that has a routine to it. She lives in the same 15-room Fifth Avenue apartment that she moved to from Washington just months after John F. Kennedy was assassinated. She had to leave Washington, she said in a rare 1978 talk with a researcher for the Lyndon Baines Johnson Presidential Library, because she could not bear the sight of the home she had shared with the president. "Even driving around Washington," she said, "I'd try to drive a way where I couldn't see the White House." Although she received frequent invitations to state dinners, she said, "It was just too painful for me to go back to that place."

Five years ago, on the 20th anniversary of JFK's killing, members of the Kennedy clan gathered by his grave at Arlington National Cemetery. His widow took a solitary walk along the beach at Martha's Vineyard.

With both her children now grown - Caroline a law school graduate and the mother of a daughter, Rose; John in his last year at New York University law school - she has been able to relax her obsession with shielding her children from intrusive strangers, as well as from the clamorous, troubled young Kennedy cousins. Now she has her own schedule to cling to, spending three days a week at the Doubleday job and leaving town each weekend for either her home in New Jersey hunt country or the secluded estate she built by the sea on Martha's Vineyard.

"She's always loved to travel, she's always loved the country and her riding, and the tastes she has now are pretty much the tastes she has developed over the years," says Mabel (Muffie) Brandon, a celebrated Washington hostess who also worked on a book with Mrs. Onassis. "She's a voracious reader and has a wide knowledge of literature."

She has no financial need for a job, being the beneficiary of a \$ 10 million Kennedy trust and \$ 20 million from the Onassis estate. She was persuaded to go to work by Letitia Baldrige after husband Aristotle Onassis' death in 1975. Baldrige felt her old employer seemed to be at odds, not content to simply shop and lunch.

In her profession, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis is not above using her celebrity when she needs to. It was her personal persuasion that convinced reclusive Michael Jackson to sign with Doubleday for his best-selling autobiography. Although Mrs. Onassis snagged the book, say Doubleday associates, the actual editing was done by a colleague. Mrs. Onassis handles fewer books than most senior editors in the trade division, and those chiefly deal with artistic or historical subjects. Her latest published project is a coffee table book on Fred Astaire.

She has her peccadillos. When she hires a private car, no chauffeur can drive her more than once. She does not want anyone knowing the addresses she frequents.

She sees a shiatsu acupuncturist for tension relief and has never been broken of her cigarette-smoking habit. She jogs in Central Park along the reservoir and keeps a high-powered telescope in a front room of her Fifth Avenue apartment that she uses not for

stargazing, but for people-watching down below. She is also a devoted bird-watcher.

She entertains only at small dinners in her apartment. Her co-host for those evenings, as well as her frequent escort, is Belgian-born financier Maurice Tempelsman. Tempelsman is married but estranged from his wife. But even if he were to become free, friends doubt that Mrs. Onassis would marry again. Having dealt with two difficult husbands, the first a womanizer and constant political campaigner who spent little time with his wife, the second a much older and often contentious man who resented her extravagant shopping, she feels happier being her own accountant and keeper.

With close friends, she is warm and sometimes even silly. "She's full of humor and great fun," says Muffie Brandon. But the widow of two strong-willed men is wrapped in a translucent shell of her own design, one that allows her to be on display and yet remain utterly mysterious. Her Bouvier family cousin, John H. Davis, calls her *modus operandi* a mix of "steel and style," everything on her own terms.

"She's the most famous woman in the world, and yet nobody knows anything about her," says one of her biographers, Stephen Birmingham, who chronicles the American aristocracy.

It's a privacy that otherwise forward New Yorkers almost unanimously respect (with the exception of the paparazzi). Author Dominick Dunne has named her as the single individual he is most eager to interview, but to approach her is out of the question, he says. "I never would! I just admire her too much for the way she chose to live her life out of the limelight, and has succeeded at doing so, creating an aura of such respect about her."

An associate at Doubleday says, "I'm as starry-eyed as anybody here. People really are a little bit in awe of her, but they try to hide it for her benefit." And rather than acting imperious toward them, Mrs. Onassis "goes out of her way in the opposite direction, not wanting to interrupt conversations, going out of her way to be polite and unassuming."

Although she has lent her name and, at times, her presence to the struggle to preserve New York landmarks and other causes in the last two decades, she has never lent her breathy voice. Unlike most modern public figures, there is almost no archival record of Mrs. Onassis speaking, for she never, ever gives interviews. "And we've certainly had many requests lately," says Nancy Tuckerman, her shield and friend from their days at Miss Porter's School.

To most Americans Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy Onassis remains a soundless image, a pair of wide dark eyes, now edged with pinpoint wrinkles, and that instinctive rotoravure smile. Still, people are hungry to hear her. The "Tour of the White House with Jacqueline Kennedy" is one of the most requested viewing selections among visitors to the Museum of Broadcasting.

Friends such as Doris Kearns Goodwin believe that in her 60th year Mrs. Onassis has at times considered breaking her silence, speaking out on issues that concern her.

"But the habits of a lifetime are set. I think maybe even if she wanted to break out of her shell a little bit and be a little bit more public, she might think: 'If I do it this once, then maybe I'll have to do it twelve more times.' I'm not sure that it is possible to become more publicly open and not fall right into 'Live at Five' and the rest of it. Maybe it is, but how

would she know ahead of time?"

Arguing the opposite is Stephen Birmingham, who continues to encounter Mrs. Onassis at various New York charitable functions such as the Literary Lions fund raiser at the New York Public Library this month.

"She manages her celebrity just fine as it is," Birmingham says. "There is always the question of will she or won't she show up, which is very clever on her part. Everyone gasps when she walks in, even if she only stays three minutes. She always makes an entrance."

Doubleday could probably guarantee itself a Michael Jack son-beating best-seller, should they be able to convince their most celebrated editor to commit her own life to paper. She did write a book once with her sister, Lee, about their post-collegiate travels in Europe.

But friends believe Mrs. Onassis will never reveal herself on the page again.

Still, she has an obvious literary talent, which suggests that to her authors, she is a sensitive editor. She contributed an essay to Look magazine on the first anniversary of President Kennedy's assassination. It could have been mawkish. Instead, it was executed with grace.

"Now I think that I should have known that he was magic all along. I did know it - but I should have guessed it could not last," she wrote. "I should have known that it was asking too much to dream that I might have grown old with him and see our children grow up together.

So now he is a legend when he would have preferred to be a man."

Friday: The next generation of Kennedys

GRAPHIC: 1) Photo by Mark Shaw Collection/Photo Researchers-A photo of Jacqueline Kennedy, candidate's wife, above, was part of a Life magazine essay on her 'cultured, quiet, unpolitical' life at home in Georgetown while her husband was out campaigning. 2) Photo by George Silk, Life Magazine [COPYRIGHT] Time Inc.-Above: First lady on Inauguration Day, 1961, with Pat Nixon; Mamie Eisenhower; and Lady Bird Johnson. 3) Photo by Lisa Larsen, Life Magazine [COPYRIGHT] Time Inc.-Jackie and John at their wedding reception in Newport, R.I., 1953. 4) Photo by Morgan/Globe Photos-As a young girl, Jacqueline Bouvier, at Belmont Park Racetrack in 1939, was trained to be an accomplished rider. She continues to ride and often spends weekends at her home in New Jersey hunt country. 5) Photo by Alfred Eisenstaedt/Life Magazine [COPYRIGHT] Time Inc.-Jacqueline, working at Viking Press in New York in 1977. She's now an editor at Doubleday, where she works three days a week. 6) Photo by Adam Scull/Globe Photos-Jacqueline with frequent escort, above, Belgian-born financier Maurice Tempelsman, who is estranged from his wife. 7) Photo by [COPYRIGHT] Ron Galella-At right, in 1971 with second husband, Greek shipping magnate Onassis. 8) UPI Photo-In 1983, proud single parent with her son, John Jr., and daughter, Caroline, and their uncle Sen. Edward Kennedy, in 1983. 9) AP Photo-On the 20th anniversary of JFK's assassination, his widow takes a solitary walk along the beach at Hyannisport, Mass., as members of the Kennedy clan gathered by his grave at Arlington National Cemetery. 10) Color Cover Photo by Sygma/Allan Tannenbaum-Jacqueline Kennedy

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Life

July, 1989

SECTION: COVER; Pg. 72

LENGTH: 188 words

HEADLINE: Happy (60th) Birthday Jackie

BODY: Sunday, July 28, 1929, was a scorcher along the eastern seaboard of the United States, and the following day The New York Times reported "record throngs at local beaches." For weekend enjoyment, many people were reading Erich Maria Remarque's All Quiet on the Western Front or watching Lucky Star, with Janet Gaynor and Charles Farrell "in their first talking picture." At Yankee Stadium, Babe Ruth hit a 12th-inning home run to beat the St. Louis Browns. General Motors was selling at \$69.50 a share, but three months later it would be down to \$7.50. In Southampton toward the tip of Long Island, a gathering of prominent residents attended a series of luncheons and parties to raise money for a hospital. Their names were listed in the Times on Monday, and it is possible that those of Jack and Janet Bouvier, who had been married a year earlier in the social event of the season, might have been among them but for the fact that Janet was at a nearby private hospital giving birth to an eight-pound daughter. Her parents decided to name her Jacqueline. What follows is her life in photographs, one taken each year.

GRAPHIC: Picture 1, HAPPY BIRTHDAY JACKIE HER 60 YEARS IN PHOTOGRAPHS descColor cover: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., Cover photograph by RPM; Picture 2, NO CAPTION descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., BERT & RICHARD MORGAN; Picture 3, NO CAPTION descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, John F. Kennedy., LISA LARSEN; Picture 4, (1) Jacqueline Bouvier was to become one of the world's most photographed women. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., MAGNUM PHOTOS; Picture 5, (2) She lived in a large duplex apartment on Park Avenue in New York City -- she is shown in Central Park with her dog Hootchie -- and summered on Long Island. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., MAGNUM PHOTOS; Picture 6, (3) Her mother gave birth to a second daughter, Caroline Lee. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, Janet Bouvier., UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS; Picture 7, (4) Dressed for the occasion, she attended a horse show with both parents; she would become an accomplished competitor. descBlack and white: Janet Bouvier, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, Jack Bouvier., UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS; Picture 8, Horses, along

with her family, friends and a long procession of other dogs (5-13), were to dominate her childhood -- one marred only by the divorce of her parents in 1940. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., BERT & RICHARD MORGAN; Picture 9, See above. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., LADIES' HOME JOURNAL; Picture 10, See above. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., BERT & RICHARD MORGAN; Picture 11, See above. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., MORGAN STUDIO/GLOBE PHOTOS; Picture 12, See above. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., AP/LADIES' HOME JOURNAL; Picture 13, See above. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, others., UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS; Picture 14, See above. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., MORGAN STUDIO/GLOBE PHOTOS; Picture 15, See above. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, others., BERT & RICHARD MORGAN; Picture 16,

See above. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., BERT & RICHARD MORGAN; Picture 17, (14) Black Jack and the Major, father and grandfather, showed up to watch Jackie at a horse show. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, father Jack Bouvier and grandfather., NATURAL; Picture 18, (15-16) At Miss Porter's School, she rode in a horse-drawn sleigh and, along with two classmates, she vamped for the camera, a dark-haired Veronica Lake. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis on sleigh., PHOTO COPIED BY MARTHA STANITZ, COURTESY MISS PORTER'S SCHOOL; Picture 19, See above. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, others., PETER BRENNAN; Picture 20, (17) Here she is, Miss America. Having graduated, she made her debut at two Newport coming-out parties and was named Deb of the Year by Oleg Cassini. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., MAGNUM PHOTOS; Picture 21, (18) She entered Vassar, had her own wheels and descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., LLOYD PAULEY/PROVIDENCE JOURNAL-BULLETIN; Picture 22, (19), still acting saucy, made her first trip through Europe. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., MAGNUM PHOTOS; Picture 23, (20) Liking it, she joined the Smith College Junior Year Abroad program, studying in France. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, others., UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS; Picture 24, (21) Returning, she graduated from George Washington University. A month earlier she had attended a dinner party in Georgetown at which she was introduced to a young Massachusetts congressman, John F. Kennedy, who later claimed to have "leaned over the asparagus and asked her for a date." descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., GLOBE PHOTOS; Picture 25, (22) She summered in Europe with sister Lee and the two wrote about their adventures in a book, One Special Summer, published in 1974. Later in 1951 she became engaged to John Husted, an investment banker, then landed a job as an inquiring photographer in Washington, D.C. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., NO CREDIT; Picture 26, (23) Her newspaper work placed her conveniently close to Kennedy, who had shown a good deal of interest, and Husted was a goner. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS; Picture 27, (24) On September 12, 1953, Jackie married John Fitzgerald Kennedy in Newport, R.I., attended by 14 ushers and 10 bridesmaids. He was 36, she 24. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS; Picture 28,

(25) A worried Jackie accompanied her husband to Cornell Medical Center in Manhattan before he underwent back surgery. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, John F. Kennedy, others., AP; Picture 29, (26) When she participated in one of the legendary Kennedy family touch football games in Washington, D.C., Jackie broke her right ankle and announced her permanent retirement. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis on crutches., UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS; Picture 30, (27) She attended the '56 Democratic convention while in the final months of her second pregnancy, which, like her first, ended with no issue. Her husband's name was placed in nomination as Vice President, but he lost, thus avoiding losing in an Eisenhower landslide. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., HOWARD SOCHUREK; Picture 31, (28) Caroline Kennedy, born the day after Thanksgiving in 1957, was christened by Richard Cardinal Cushing as her parents beamed. descBlack and white: John F. Kennedy, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, Caroline Kennedy, Richard Cardinal Cushing., AP; Picture 32, (29) This was a happy period, with a husband, child and home in Georgetown. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, Caroline Kennedy., NINA LEEN; Picture 33, (30) There was time for Hyannis Port and frolicking in the surf with Caroline during the early summer of '59. The major event of the next summer was the Democratic convention and her husband's nomination. Four months later John Jr. was born. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, Caroline Kennedy., MARK SHAW COLLECTION/PHOTO RESEARCHERS; Picture 34, (31) In the bitter cold on January 20, 1961, Jackie and Jack rode to the White House after the inaugural ceremonies. descBlack and white: John F. Kennedy, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., PAUL SCHUTZER; Picture 35, (32) "I intend to make this a grand house," said Jackie of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, and she did, although it took more than a year. Here she shows off a candelabrum from the James Monroe period. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., ED CLARK; Picture 36, (33) As First Lady she was called upon to perform -- with style -- a variety of duties, such as christening a U.S. submarine. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., BILL EPPRIDGE; Picture 37, (34) The Kennedy Camelot ended abruptly, tragically. She flew to Dallas with her husband, was beside him when he was assassinated and three days later attended his funeral in Washington with her brother-in-law, Robert Kennedy. An era was over. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, Robert F. Kennedy., UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS; Picture 38, (35) Starting a new life, Jackie sold her Georgetown house because it was becoming a tourist attraction. She also became a familiar sight at such ski resorts as Stowe and Aspen and that summer traveled to England with the children. descColor: Caroline Kennedy, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, John F. Kennedy Jr., AP; Picture 39, (36) She began to appear at public functions with a variety of gentlemen, and she leased a house in Bernardsville, N.J., fox-hunting country, but on her birthday, she stayed at the Kennedy compound in Hyannis Port. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS; Picture 40, (37) Jackie took the kids to Hawaii, where John Jr. was burned when he fell into a cookout pit and had to be flown to Honolulu. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, others., N.Y. DAILY NEWS; Picture 41, (38) On a trip to Cambodia, Jackie got an almost-too-close look at a Republican mascot. descColor: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, elephant trunk, others., EMPIRE NEWS/BLACK STAR; Picture 42, (39) Accompanied by brother-in-law Ted, she visited Aristotle Onassis in August, then returned in October

with a cadre of Kennedys to say, "I do," reportedly receiving \$1.5 million for each word. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, Aristotle Onassis, others., UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS; Picture 43, (40) On consecutive birthdays, Ari gave her a 40-carat diamond ring and descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., A.P.I.S., PARIS; Picture 44, (41) told a bikinied Jackie on Skorpios he would buy her "the best yacht in the world." descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., GAMMA-LIAISON; Picture 45, (42) Jackie and her children had dinner with the Nixon family at the White House, her first visit there since 1963. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., RON GALELLA; Picture 46, (43) A sticky lawsuit developed with paparazzo Ron Galella, whom Jackie wanted kept at bay. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS; Picture 47, (44) When Caroline lost Secret Service protection at 16, Jackie hired her own guards. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., ELIO SORCI; Picture 48, (45) Ari died, and how much money Jackie received, only the IRS knew for sure. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, others., UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS; Picture 49, (46) Viking Press signed her on as a \$238-a-week consultant. She attended a Frank Sinatra concert, after which Ol' Blue Eyes escorted her to the 21 Club. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, Frank Sinatra., AP; Picture 50, (47) Jackie was seen with artist William Katz at the Parsons School of Design, setting off rumors of romance. Author Philip Roth, for one, denied he was a suitor. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS; Picture 51, (48) Jackie resigned from Viking because it intended to publish a novel in which Ted Kennedy, elected President, was assassinated. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., AP; Picture 52, (49) Big year. She became an associate editor at Doubleday, bought 375 acres of Martha's Vineyard for \$1.15 million, watched John graduate from Exeter and threw a combined 21st and 18th birthday party for her children. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., RON GALELLA; Picture 53, (50) She spent her own birthday aboard a yacht off the Maine coast, companions unidentified. descBlack and white: Edward Kennedy, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS; Picture 54, (51) It wasn't romance, just an evening out with pal Mike Nichols. descBlack and white: Mike Nichols, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., DAVID MCGOUGH/DMI; Picture 55, (52) Former First Lady greeted future First Lady Barbara Bush in a year when 17 paintings Jackie bought in India were mistakenly thrown out but saved by alert sanitation men. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, Barbara Bush., BOB SERATING; Picture 56, (53) When John graduated from Brown, mother and sister were there, Caroline playing paparazzo herself. Jackie was promoted to full editor at Doubleday and was instrumental in handling an eventual best-seller, Michael Jackson's 1988 autobiography. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, Caroline Kennedy., JOHN FORASTE/GAMMA-LIAISON; Picture 57, (54) Testifying at a hearing, she supported landmark status for certain Manhattan buildings. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., JOHN CARL D'ANNIBALE; Picture 58, (55) She appeared with Gloria Steinem at the Academy of Arts and Letters in New York. descBlack and white: Gloria Steinem, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS; Picture 59, (56) Wedding bells rang for Caroline, who married Edwin Schlossberg, and niece Maria Shriver, who married muscleman Arnold Schwarzenegger. descColor: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, John F. Kennedy Jr., CHARLES KRUPA/AP;

Picture 60, (57) Jackie chatted with Kitty Dukakis at the dedication of a park at Harvard to honor JFK. descColor: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, Kitty Dukakis., UPI/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS; Picture 61, (58) Attempting to stay fit and incognito, she was caught circling the Central Park reservoir. And she became a grandmother when Caroline gave birth to daughter Rose. descBlack and white: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis., PAUL ADAO/OUTLINE PRESS; Picture 62, (59) Jackie dined with Maurice Tempelsman, a diamond merchant, who is her long-standing escort. In May, John graduated from NYU Law School. So that's it, Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy Onassis. Congratulations on July 28 from all of us at LIFE. descColor: Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis, Maurice Tempelsman., BRIAN QUIGLEY

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

MAINE EISENHOWER

BESS TRUMAN