

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	To Stephen Joel Trachtenberg from Hillary Rodham Clinton (1 page)	06/17/1997	Personal Misfile
002. letter	To Hillary Rodham Clinton from Stephen Joel Trachtenberg (1 page)	06/09/1997	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Melanne Verveer
OA/Box Number: 20036

FOLDER TITLE:

HRC

2013-0534-S

ry1569

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
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HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

Home: Governor's Mansion
1800 Center Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72206

Business: Rose Law Firm
120 East Fourth Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

**PROFESSIONAL
EXPERIENCE:**

02/01/77 - Rose Law Firm, Little Rock, Arkansas, Partner specializing in litigation

09/79 - 01/80 University of Arkansas of Little Rock School of Law, Little Rock, Arkansas, Lecturer in Law

08/74 - 02/77 University of Arkansas School of Law, Fayetteville, Arkansas, Assistant Professor of Law; Director, University of Arkansas Legal Aid Clinic.

01/74 - 08/74 Impeachment Inquiry Staff, Judiciary Committee, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., Counsel

06/73 - 01/74 Children's Defense Fund, Cambridge, Massachusetts and Washington, D.C., and Carnegie Council on Children, New Haven, Connecticut.

**REPRESENTATIVE
PUBLIC AND
PROFESSIONAL
SERVICE:**

Chair, Board of Directors, Children's Defense Fund, Washington, D.C., 1986 -; Member, Board of Directors, 1976 -

Board of Directors, National Center on Education and the Economy, 1987 -

Co-Chair for Implementation, Commission on Skills of the American Workforce, 1991 -

Chair, American Bar Association Commission on Women in the Profession; 1987 - 1991

Board of Directors, Children's Television Workshop, 1989 -

Board of Directors, Wal-Mart Stores, Inc., 1986 -

Board of Directors, TCBY Enterprises, Inc. ("The Country's Best Yogurt"), 1989 -

Board of Directors, Lafarge Corporation, 1990 -

Board of Directors, Southern Development Bancorporation, 1986 -

Board of Directors, Public/Private Ventures, 1990 -

Board of Directors, National Alliance of Business Center for Excellence in Education, 1990 -

Board of Directors, "I Have a Dream" Foundation, 1988 -

Board of Directors, Arkansas Children's Hospital, 1988 -

Board of Directors, New Futures for Little Rock Youth, 1988 -

Board of Directors, Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, 1988 -

Board of Directors, Child Care Action Campaign, New York, New York, 1986 -

Member, Commission on Quality Education, Southern Regional Education Board, 1984 -

Yale Law School Executive Committee, New Haven, Connecticut, 1983 - 1988; Treasurer, 1987 - 1988

Member, Youth and America's Future: The William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship, 1986 - 1988

Chair, Board of Directors, New World Foundation, New York, New York, 1987 - 88; Member, Board of Directors, 1983 - 88

Chair, Arkansas Education Standards Committee, 1983-84

Southern Governors Association Task Force on Infant Mortality, 1984-85

Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families, Founder, President and Member of Board of Directors, 1977-1984

Chair, Legal Services Corporation, Washington, D.C., 1978-1980; Member, Board of Directors, 1977-1981

Chair, Arkansas Rural Health Committee, 1979-1980

American Bar Association; American Trial Lawyers Association; Arkansas Bar Association; and Arkansas Trial Lawyers Association; Pulaski County Bar Association; Arkansas Association of Women Lawyers

The Fellows, American Bar Foundation, 1990 -

HONORS AND
AWARDS:

The National Law Journal, "Profiles in Power, The 100 Most Influential Lawyers in America," 1988 and 1991

Directors' Choice Award, National Women's Economic Alliance Foundation, 1991

Paul Harris Fellow, recognizing service above self, Rotary Club of Little Rock, 1991

The Best Lawyers in America, 1987, 1989-1990, 1991-1992

Gayle Pettus Pontz Award, Woman's Law Student Association, University of Arkansas at Fayetteville, "for outstanding excellence and achievement in the legal profession," 1989

Esquire Magazine Register, "The Best of the New Generation, Men and Women Under Forty Who Are Changing America," December, 1984

Honorary Doctor of Laws Degrees from the University of Arkansas at Little Rock, 1985, and Arkansas College, Batesville, Arkansas, 1988

Friend of Pediatrics, Arkansas Chapter, American Academy of Pediatrics, 1988

Pulaski County Bar Association Lawyer Citizen Award, 1987

Who's Who in American Law

The World Who's Who of Women

Arkansas Woman of the Year, 1983

Arkansas Honor Young Mother of the Year, 1984

Arkansas Press Broadcasters Newsmaker of the Year, 1984

Phi Delta Kappa Award for Outstanding Layman of the Year for Contributions to Education, 1984

Phi Kappa Phi Honors Lecture, University of Arkansas at Little Rock, 1984

American Association of University Women, Honorary Membership, 1984

Delta Kappa Gamma Society for Women Educators, Honorary Membership, 1985

Arkansas Bar Association and Arkansas Bar Foundation Award: "To recognize outstanding achievements as a lawyer and role model." 1985

Honorary Life Member, The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi

PUBLICATIONS:

"Teacher Education: Of the People, By the People and For the People," in Beyond the Looking Glass: Papers from a National Symposium on Teacher Education Policies, Practices, and Research, March, 1985 and in Journal of Teacher Education, January-February, 1985

"Children's Rights: A Legal Perspective," Children's Rights, Teachers College Press, New York, 1979

Book review of All Our Children in "Public Welfare," Winter, 1978

"Children's Policies: Abandonment and Neglect," Yale Law Journal, June, 1977

Handbook on Legal Rights for Arkansas Women, 1976 and 1987 editions

"Children Under the Law," Harvard Educational Review, January, 1974

EDUCATION:

Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts, B.A. with High Honors, 1969; Durant Scholar; President, College Government; Vida Dutton Scudder Scholarship for Graduate Studies

Yale Law School, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, J.D., 1973; Barristers' Union Prize Trial; Director, Barristers' Union; Board of Editors, Yale Review of Law and Social Action; Yale Legal Services; Special Program in Law and Psychiatry sponsored by Yale Law School, the Yale Child Study Center and the Yale Medical School; Research Assistant for Professor Joseph Goldstein for book he co-authored with Drs. Anna Freud and Al Solnit, Beyond the Best Interests of the Child



Draft - Rosenblatt

I imagine that every First Lady of this country develops, creates and figures out much of her public role, as she moves through the experience of her husband's presidency. But for me, in many ways the past is prologue. While I acknowledge that being First Lady of Arkansas is different from being the AMERICA'S FIRST LADY, I have to believe there are some real similarities in how one might approach the position. So I encourage those who want to have an idea of how I might conduct myself as America's First lady to talk to people about how I conducted myself as Arkansas's First Lady.

As I surely understood in Arkansas, being First Lady is a public role. There are no closed doors. There are no secret strategy sessions. Much of the power is in being public. A public role affords one the "spotlight." How one directs and leverages that "spotlight" for the common good is the critical question.

There are times in the life of this country, when certain issues must be a priority. It is no accident, that I have focused attention on the problems confronting children and families and how we begin to address those problems. The American family is in crisis today. It demands the "spotlight" now.

There is no question that the President governs but I believe the First Lady can be an important advocate for the issues which strike at the very core of what we believe and how we live in this country. Her voice is one which can command attention and that in itself is valuable.

For twenty years I have been a voice for children and families. In Arkansas, I was a voice for educational reform. Across this country, I have been speaking to and working with the business and corporate community about the need for retraining and skills building among our young people and adults. In my mind, to be an effective voice primarily requires the political and common sense to know when and where and how loud or how soft one's voice needs to be to get a message across.

It does seem to me that there is inherent in the position of First Lady, at any time in history, the sorting through of the difficulties between what is possible, what is appropriate and what must get done. There are few straight lines. There are no direct routes and in the 90's, there is no national view of who or what a First lady must be and do.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

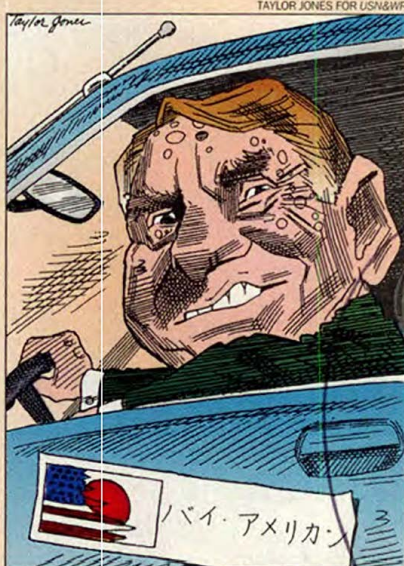
WASHINGTON WHISPERS

KEMP rates as early favorite in '96 GOP sweepstakes

NORTH KOREA sends another Scud cargo to Iran, Syria

PEROT'S campaign: Is his \$60 million ad blitz tax deductible?

■ **Early line.** Here, as seen by key Republican insiders, is the early line on the GOP field for 1996—regardless of the fate of the Bush-Quayle ticket. Housing Secretary **Jack Kemp**: rated the very early front-runner because of what many consider his enlightened brand of conservatism and his new willingness to avoid arcane issues such as the gold standard. Vice President **Dan Quayle**: shored up his Republican base during the campaign, but if the Republicans lose the White House, he may be tainted by his close association with Bush. Texas Sen. **Phil Gramm**: gets high grades for party loyalty, but his keynote speech at the convention flopped, and he reminds too many Republican stalwarts of Lyndon Johnson. Defense Secretary **Dick Cheney**: smart, respected and acceptable to most of the party's many factions, but some think he's too low-key and too willing to rest on his gulf-war laurels. Former Education Secretary **William Bennett**: has Ross Perot's outspoken independence but not his money. Massachusetts Gov. **William Weld**: has shrewdly positioned himself as a conservative on economic issues and a liberal on social issues, "a great combination for the yuppies." White House Chief of Staff **James Baker**: His campaign performance dashed high hopes that he is a miracle worker—even if Bush stages a comeback. Joint Chiefs Chairman **Colin Powell**: His political independence notwithstanding, he would make an appealing vice presidential nominee or even a long-shot No. 1. **Pat Buchanan**: hurt himself with his offensive performance at the GOP convention but remains eager for the next battle. **Pat Robertson**: will try to take over the GOP at the grass roots, but his fundamentalist message won't sell nationwide. **George Bush**: Even if he loses this time, he won't be there in '96.



Ford CEO Harold "Red" Poling
A stall in any language

■ **Promises, promises.** At least one top American auto-industry executive believes that the Japanese are stalling on the "action plan" worked out during President Bush's trip to Tokyo last January to almost double their purchases of U.S.-made auto parts. **Harold "Red" Poling**, Ford's CEO, believes that if the Japanese intended to buy all the parts they promised to buy, more of the orders would be coming in by now. But Poling says that with some exceptions, the orders are simply not there. Answering critics who charge that U.S. marketing efforts in Japan have been halfhearted and too American-oriented, Poling adds: "We [at Ford] have been very aggressive in trying to get some of that business. We have made presentations to [their auto companies] in Japanese and with Japanese literature." He anticipates that Tokyo will blame the purchasing shortfall on a "weak domestic economy." Japanese officials say it is too early to judge an increase that is not due to take effect until 1994.

■ **On its way.** Another North Korean ship loaded with missiles is on its way to the Middle East. U.S. intelligence reports that the vessel, carrying a cargo of as many as 100 of the latest models of Scud ground-to-ground missiles, left North Korea in late October and is expected to dock at the Persian Gulf port of Bandar Abbas in Iran by the end of this month. Half of the cargo is bound for the Iranian military and the other half will be shipped overland to Syria. Last year, when a North Korean freighter loaded with a cargo of missiles sailed for Syria, it mysteriously developed mechanical trouble and was forced to return home. However, a second similarly laden vessel managed to make it to Iran in March after eluding a U.S. Navy blockade.

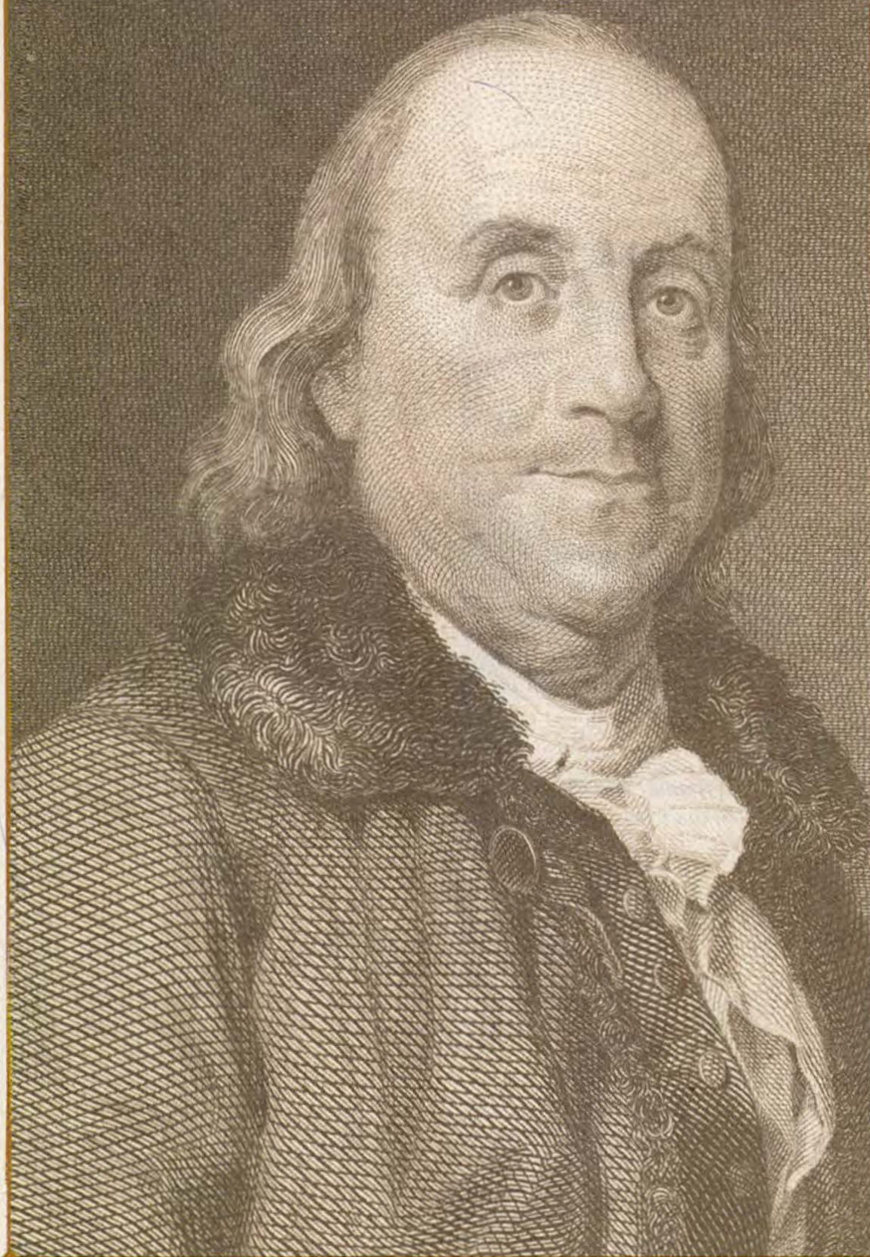
■ **The real Hillary?** Sources close to the Clinton campaign say that Hillary Clinton has privately asked for briefings on the confirmation process and procedures on Capitol Hill and in the executive branch for getting key personnel placed in federal offices. Until recently, say the sources, she played a low-key public role in her husband's race for the White House. But that will end if Clinton wins the presidency this week. "She will make Nancy Reagan look like a shrinking violet," ventures one strategist familiar with the Clinton campaign deliberations.

■ **Poor Perot.** Is the more than \$60 million Ross Perot spent on his record television ad blitz tax deductible? One far-out theory is that since Perot—who by one estimate may have earned as much as \$143 million last year—was looking for a new job, he could try to write off some of his expenses as the cost of seeking new employment. A former ranking official of the Internal Revenue Service speculates that if the Texan wins, he could at least try to deduct expenditures equal to the \$800,000 in total salary he would be entitled to receive as president. However, an IRS spokesman says even that minimal deduction would be disallowed: "Campaign expenses are not tax deductible at any level, whether you're running for dog catcher or president."

EDITED BY CHARLES FENYVESI

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11/5/92

Bringing her own style to the changing of the guard

No blueprint exists for how new first ladies establish themselves in the White House.

"The usual transition procedure for first ladies is that there isn't any," says presidential historian Lewis Gould.

But then, Hillary Clinton probably wouldn't follow such a plan anyway. She's a new breed; probably a groundbreaker.

As the nation's first baby-boom generation professional to become a

White House spouse, she's sure to break many a precedent at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

In the case of handing over the nation's first ladyship, though, the rules are waiting to be written.

"Each transition is treated on an ad hoc basis," says career protocol officer Patrick Daly, who's been on hand for the arrival of every new first family since 1969.

Aide Joyce Kravitz said Wednesday that Clinton was "resting" and

hadn't yet scheduled meetings with Barbara Bush's staff to discuss the transition.

In coming days, though, Clinton will start building a team that will likely look like a small business: at least two dozen specialists ranging from administrative helpers to press deputies, policy advisers, social secretaries and schedulers.

"What usually happens," Gould says, "is the outgoing first lady and the incoming first lady meet for a

visit, and the outgoing first lady says, 'This is going to be a lot more work than you realize.' And that's about it."

Gould repeats the widely held expectation that Clinton will want to have a larger public role in her husband's presidency than previous first ladies.

This time, Gould says, "we're in uncharted territory. Mrs. Clinton will want to go for policy impact."

— Marilyn Greene

HILLARY CLINTON

First lady of a new generation is ready to share the spotlight

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

In the final frantic days of the presidential campaign, when the pace took a physical toll and Bill Clinton's voice failed, Hillary Clinton re-emerged.

In striking stump speeches reminiscent of the early days of the campaign when she promised cheering voters, "Elect him and you get me," Hillary Clinton took to the microphone and leveled fiercely partisan attacks on her husband's opponents.

They were the kind of speeches that prompt supporters to chant "Bill-uh-ry, Bill-uh-ry" at rallies and encourage residents of Little Rock to display bumper stickers declaring: "Put Hillary in the White House."

Now, the nation has done that, and it will have a unique woman assuming her place as the nation's first lady.

But the question is: Can Hillary Clinton define the role or will the intense tradition of the role — as chief hostess and first wife — define her?

A liberal representative of the baby-boomer generation, mother and political wife, she's also an accomplished lawyer and a nationally renowned expert on children's issues.

Unlike Barbara Bush and many first ladies before her, she is a feminist who has never been a homemaker. What she has been, openly and from the start of Bill Clinton's political life, is her husband's No. 1 adviser.

But what voters in Arkansas embraced, the nation historically has been reluctant to accept. First ladies, like Nancy Reagan and Rosalynn Carter were criticized for seeming to manage their husbands.

Hillary Clinton understands that.

In Arkansas, voters long ago stopped questioning their first lady with a career, she says in a special edition of *Newsweek* out today.

"But the presidential election is a whole different arena in which a lot of these things are being played out for the first time," she says.

Early in the campaign, Bill Clinton said he'd like to appoint his wife to a top administration position, possibly a Cabinet post. But when polls showed that made voters skittish, she insisted she would simply be "a voice for children" in the White House.

“

Bill Clinton is his own best counsel. But Hillary is obviously his closest adviser. He trusts her judgment more than anyone else. Bill's lucky to have a woman like her by his side.

”

— John Wesley Hall,
Little Rock lawyer

Now, with the campaign behind her, "she has the upper hand in defining her role," says Penn State historian Tim Blessing, an authority on first ladies. "She can be the nation's first conscience, or she can be the nation's first hostess."

But Betsey Wright, a long-time aide to the governor, says Clinton won't appoint his wife to a high post. To do so wouldn't be in Bill Clinton's best interest, she jokes, because "that would relegate her to just one area" when she's so knowledgeable on so many topics.

Wright downplays expectations that Hillary Clinton will try to radically alter the role of first lady, saying: "You're going to get the traditional first lady who is the major hostess for the White House" and the mother of a 12-year-old daughter, Chelsea.

"And then you're going to get in the package a woman who has a long-time record on children's issues," including as chairwoman of the board of the Children's Defense Fund, which advocates children's legal rights, Wright says. "Bill may ask her to head a commission or a task force."

But in a recent interview, Hillary Clinton dismissed that idea. Without offering specifics, she said she planned to help implement her husband's domestic agenda. But "I'm sick of commissions," she said.

Friends say whatever she does — the woman who helped reform Arkansas' education system and has twice been named among the nation's

USA Today
11/5/92

1-3



By Bob Pearson, Agence France-Presse
TOGETHER AS A TEAM: Bill Clinton and wife Hillary embrace during a rally Wednesday at the Old State House in Little Rock.

top 100 lawyers — it will surely be something substantive.

Hillary Clinton "is going to completely redefine the role of the first lady," predicts John Wesley Hall, a Little Rock lawyer. "Having her just sitting in the role of being just the president's emissary ... would be a real letdown for her."

He and other friends say Hillary Clinton will likely continue as her husband's top adviser.

"Bill Clinton is his own best counsel," Wesley Hall says. "But Hillary is obviously his closest adviser. He trusts her judgment more than anyone else. Bill's lucky to have a woman like her by his side."

Supporters may think so, but Hillary Clinton's detractors say the nation better watch out.

Conservatives worry that because of her legal background, she will handpick federal judges who will legislate liberal agendas from the bench.

"She had to conceal a lot of her more outrageous feminist remarks during the campaign," says conservative activist Phyllis Schlafly. "I don't

know how the American people are going to like it once they see it."

Voters did recoil several times:

► In January, when Hillary Clinton quipped she wasn't just "standing by her man" in a *60 Minutes* interview on her husband's marital fidelity.

► In March, when she said she "could have stayed home, baked cookies and had teas" in response to charges concerning her law firm.

Her approval ratings went down in the polls, but rebounded after Republican attacks at their convention. When Ross Perot entered the race, "there was simply so much going on that Hillary disappeared in the confusion," Blessing says.

In January, she'll surely be back in the spotlight after her husband, who predicts she'll be "one of the greatest first ladies in the history of this republic," is inaugurated.

That may be the plan. What remains to be seen is how she'll execute it and how the nation will respond to first lady of a new generation.

THE PRESIDENT'S PARTNER

The First Lady in the
Twentieth Century

MYRA G. GUTIN

CONTRIBUTIONS IN WOMEN'S STUDIES, NUMBER 105



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However, few people and relatively few scholars have looked beyond the glitter and pomp of the White House to critically analyze the office of First Lady.

The term First Lady is relatively new. *The Dictionary of American History* notes that it was first applied to Lucy Webb Hayes upon her husband's inauguration in 1877, but it did not come into general use until 1911. At that time, Charles F. Nirdlinger's play about Dolly Madison, *The First Lady of the Land*, was produced, and the new designation for the president's wife was popularized.⁴

The First Lady occupies a unique position. She is not an elected official, she draws no salary, and there is no written description of her duties. Indeed, she has no status in official Washington. *The Congressional Directory* (first published in 1834), a guide listing the names of all of the people working in official Washington, did not mention the First Lady until the edition of March 1965.⁵ The first acknowledgment of a member of the First Lady's staff actually preceded that of the First Lady by twelve years, when Mary Jane McCaffree was listed as Acting Secretary to the Wife of the President in 1953.⁶ Today the First Lady finds herself performing the functions of White House hostess, occasional presidential surrogate, campaigner, and advocate for certain positions or causes. She is often viewed as a visible symbol of her husband's administration. There is nothing a First Lady must do, but much she is expected to accomplish.

Those who study First Ladies realize that there is a major problem inherent within the topic. There is no standard methodology for studying these women. In the past (and even currently), books about First Ladies were either "kiss-and-tell" treatises or general biographical studies. More ambitious writers attempted to examine the lives of all the First Ladies chronologically. As Lewis L. Gould has observed, to study all the First Ladies is to study all of American history.⁷ The resulting works were often too lacking in detail or perspective to be of much use. Moreover, change has not occurred chronologically in the First Lady's role. In an article entitled "First Ladies," Gould suggests a new approach and looks at presidential wives as political celebrities.⁸

It is the contention of this book that communication may offer the best vantage point from which to scrutinize the First Lady of the United States. By analyzing the communication activities of the President's wife—the speeches, radio and television broadcasts, interviews, press conferences, and magazine and newspaper articles written by the First Lady—one is able to best understand and appreciate the changes that have taken place over sixty years. There is no dearth of material about the First Lady, but none of it evaluates the First Ladies' perceptions of their responsibilities as communicators or the impact of their actions.

A systematic evaluation of the twelve First Ladies since suffrage shows that these presidential wives have assumed one of three distinct stances as public communicators. Florence Harding, Grace Coolidge, Bess Truman, and Mamie Eisenhower perceived their role in strictly ceremonial terms. These social hostesses and ceremonial presences had extremely limited contact with the public, and devoted little if any thought to communicating their ideas to the country.

former First Lady remained a political power in the Democratic Party, strongly advocating the candidacy of Adlai Stevenson in 1952, 1956, and 1960. In 1961, President John F. Kennedy appointed her to preside over the Commission on the Status of Women.

In 1960 Mrs. Roosevelt was diagnosed as having aplastic anemia, a fatal blood disease. She died on November 7, 1962, at the age of seventy-eight.

MAJOR COMMUNICATION ACTIVITIES OF THE FIRST LADY

More than any other First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt understood the value of communication, and was in constant contact with the American people. She maintained this communication for a number of reasons. She believed that her husband's programs would benefit the country, and she wanted to demonstrate her support and encourage participation. She hoped to demonstrate that individual people were a priority in the Roosevelt administration (especially during the Depression). She also hoped to publicize her own projects and concerns.

To this end, there were countless trips, lectures, radio broadcasts, speeches, press conferences, books, magazine articles, and her daily newspaper column. Few people ever wondered about Eleanor Roosevelt's opinion on a given topic, as she expressed her feelings repeatedly.

Perhaps she was not as facile and smooth as her husband, but Eleanor Roosevelt was a masterful communicator, taking advantage of every opportunity to educate her audience as she discussed her program for a better America.

Advocacy

The Depression and World II were probably responsible in part for Mrs. Roosevelt's activism, but it is likely that her own sense of social justice and compassion would have galvanized her into action under any circumstances. The ubiquitous Mrs. Roosevelt was interested in any endeavor that could improve the human condition.

The First Lady became a clearinghouse for those who felt they had no other recourse but to write the President's wife, and to this end Mrs. Roosevelt carried on a voluminous correspondence with various government departments and agencies. The First Lady sought to redress grievances between citizens and the government, and she enjoyed a high rate of effectiveness.

Mrs. Roosevelt had no single project or cause; she was devoted to solving an infinite number of problems and publicizing or lending her support to many successful endeavors.

This volume will not attempt to describe the dozens of projects and causes that filled Eleanor Roosevelt's days. Instead, it will focus on three of the concerns to which Mrs. Roosevelt devoted the full measure of her communication efforts in both a quantitative and qualitative sense. The rights of blacks, subsistence

Mrs. Roosevelt's greatest contribution to blacks may have been "the example and leadership which she provided in her personal conduct as a citizen and First Lady."³⁵ In 1936 contralto Marian Anderson had been invited to the White House to sing for the President and Mrs. Roosevelt. Three years later, Miss Anderson was denied access to the Daughters of the American Revolution's (DAR's) Constitution Hall because she was black. The DAR's behavior enraged many people, including Eleanor Roosevelt, a DAR member, who declared in her February 28, 1939, newspaper column, "To remain as a member implies approval of that action, and therefore I am resigning."³⁶ Mrs. Roosevelt's action was almost universally applauded.

Franklin Roosevelt's record of appointing blacks to high office "exceeded those of all previous Presidents combined. Blacks scored significant gains throughout the 1930's which must be credited to the influence of the New Deal" and at least partly to the influence of Eleanor Roosevelt.³⁷

Perhaps no area of the country felt the effects of the Depression as keenly as Appalachia. The mines had been closed for years, and poverty, disease, and misery were widespread. At the suggestion of the American Friends Service Committee, Mrs. Roosevelt visited the depressed mining villages in the vicinity of Morgantown, West Virginia, in the autumn of 1933. She saw adults and children living in squalor; she saw the faces of desperate, defeated people who had lost the hope of a decent life.

Appalled and distressed, the First Lady conveyed her impressions to the President, who felt that this area would be ideal for the first subsistence farmstead project. Franklin Roosevelt had long been interested in decentralization and agricultural planning, and had endorsed a bill to relocate destitute families to small farmsteads.³⁸ The newly created agency, the Subsistence Farmstead Division of the National Industrial Recovery Act "would buy the land, build the houses, acquire the livestock and farm machinery, bring in roads, water, and utilities, and then arrange to sell to the homesteaders over a period of thirty years,"³⁹ Arthurdale, near Reedsville, West Virginia, was selected as the site of the first farmstead.

Mrs. Roosevelt was intimately involved with Arthurdale from its inception. She was optimistic about its potential, served on the executive and population committees, and chaired the committee on admissions.⁴⁰

Despite her enthusiasm and obvious concern, Mrs. Roosevelt committed a number of costly blunders. She had the cottages for the miners redesigned at two to three times the original cost because they were inadequate for West Virginia winters, and then insisted that the new houses have all the modern conveniences and be adequately furnished. Unfortunately the redesigned living units were self-defeating; the unemployed miners could not afford the upkeep of the expensive houses.

Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, who was responsible for the administration of the subsistence farmstead division, complained to the President that Mrs. Roosevelt had no concept of cost-effectiveness. The President ac-

farmsteads, and World War II (the inspection trip to the Southwest Pacific and the Office of Civilian Defense or OCD) found their way into Mrs. Roosevelt's speeches, radio broadcasts, magazine articles, press conferences, and "My Day" column more than any other topics.²⁸

Eleanor Roosevelt was more persistently concerned with the rights of blacks than with any other issue.²⁹ The First Lady felt that discrimination was a moral issue, and she attempted to bring the plight of the blacks to the attention of her husband, his cabinet, and the American people.

Always more pro-black than her husband, hers was a lonely crusade.³⁰ Franklin Roosevelt was not insensitive or opposed to seeking more advantages for blacks, but it was never one of his priorities. Also, two of Roosevelt's top aides were Southerners and not overly sympathetic to the problem.

Mrs. Roosevelt utilized a number of strategies in attempting to further the black cause. Her initial attempts centered on the New Deal, which she felt should treat blacks on an equal basis with whites.³¹ The First Lady sought and was successful in obtaining employment for blacks in the NYA (National Youth Administration), the FERA (Federal Emergency Relief Administration), and the WPA (Works Progress Administration).

Mrs. Roosevelt became friendly with Walter White of the NAACP and Mary McLeod Bethune, who directed the NYA's Division of Negro Affairs. Often the First Lady functioned as an intermediary, raising White and Bethune's concerns about legislation with the President. A particularly good example of this was a proposed federal antilynching bill in 1934. Blacks were almost exclusively the victims of lynchings and Walter White was a strong proponent of the antilynching measure. He tried to no avail to arrange a meeting with the President. In desperation he spoke with Mrs. Roosevelt, who was sympathetic to the bill and arranged the desired meeting. Roosevelt was not opposed to the bill, he explained to White, but he had to work with Congress and, as most of the major committees were chaired by Southerners, he had to be judicious in supporting certain controversial issues; he could not alienate these men.³²

The President's lack of support did not end the efforts of White and Mrs. Roosevelt. The former continued to bombard the White House with letters, telegrams, and telephone calls urging presidential backing for the bill. White asked Mrs. Roosevelt to deliver a radio broadcast against lynching, but the First Lady could not comply. She told White that "the President felt it would raise unnecessary antagonism toward the measure and [had] asked that she wait until later."³³ She left memoranda for her husband and spoke to him about the legislation, but the best she could elicit from him was a tepid endorsement. The bill never came up for a vote.

Mrs. Roosevelt spoke extensively to both white and black audiences on the topics of discrimination and equality. The First Lady adopted two approaches in her speeches. She reproached white audiences and told them that they bore a moral responsibility for black problems. To blacks, "she stressed that the responsibility was as much theirs as the white man's."³⁴

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knowledge his wife's lack of fiscal responsibility, and told the Secretary of the Interior, "My Missus, unlike most women, hasn't any sense about money at all."⁴¹ Still, the President allowed Mrs. Roosevelt to continue her involvement with Arthurdale.

The criticism could not dampen her enthusiasm nor dim her high hopes for Arthurdale, and while there were many subsistence farmsteads, Arthurdale was always Mrs. Roosevelt's pet project. She donated her own money to the undertaking, and visited the relocated miners and their families for years. Unfortunately, poor planning, poor management, and the continued failure of Mrs. Roosevelt and the government to provide employment for the citizens of Arthurdale made the project a continuous drain on resources.

Arthurdale was liquidated in 1942 at an estimated loss of over two million dollars in federal funds.⁴² Mrs. Roosevelt had always viewed Arthurdale in humanitarian terms, for she believed that the farmsteads could restore dignity and a source of self-worth to the destitute.⁴³ Years later she acknowledged that mistakes had been made, but still felt that people had been helped by the farmstead project.

All Mrs. Roosevelt's White House years were crowded with activity, and the war years, 1941 through 1945, were no exception. It was during this time that the First Lady rendered two services of note, serving as the Assistant Director of the Office of Civilian Defense (OCD), and visiting American combat troops stationed in the Southwest Pacific.

Her service in the Office of Civilian Defense represented two firsts for Eleanor Roosevelt. The job she accepted was the only government position she held during her husband's presidency. OCD also turned out to be Mrs. Roosevelt's only major failure as First Lady.

In May 1941, President Roosevelt established the Office of Civilian Defense and appointed Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia of New York to head it. Mrs. Roosevelt was interested in the mobilization of volunteers and the use of women and young people in the defense effort, but she was wary of becoming involved with the new agency.⁴⁴ She feared that her involvement with OCD would provide an avenue for criticism of Franklin. Despite her misgivings, in September 1941 Mrs. Roosevelt was officially appointed Assistant Director of the OCD, in charge of volunteer participation and community organization.

The First Lady was appalled by the situation she found at OCD. There was little organization and Mayor La Guardia was "interested in whether there were good fire engines, but he was not interested in the other side of OCD morale building," she wrote.⁴⁵ With her customary efficiency, Mrs. Roosevelt began the process of setting up objectives and goals for OCD. There were to be nutrition, physical fitness, and child welfare programs to build up the home front.

Her speeches and newspaper column urged people to become active in the work of OCD. Her radio broadcasts during this period were devoted to discussions of morale and what people at home could do to aid the war effort.

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The bombing of Pearl Harbor changed the tempo of OCD's work. In a radio message the evening of December 7, 1941, Mrs. Roosevelt exhorted her listeners: "We must go about our daily business more determined than ever to do the ordinary things. . . . [W]hen we find a way to do anything more in our communities to help others to build morale, to give a feeling of security, we do it."⁴⁶ OCD's pre-Pearl Harbor programs would continue, but now there were more pressing concerns. Cities and towns hurriedly assembled plans for dealing with bombings and evacuations.

Despite the seeming timeliness of its work, OCD was a failure. La Guardia had mismanaged the agency, but Mrs. Roosevelt was also to blame for many of its problems. She had a naive conception of defense, concentrating on its social-work aspects rather than the real work of community protection.⁴⁷ She had also made the mistake of appointing a number of her friends to positions within the organization for which they did not have the necessary background and experience.

Newspapers and members of Congress criticized Mrs. Roosevelt unmercifully, and in February 1942 she finally resigned because "she knew that she had lost her effectiveness."⁴⁸ Later, the First Lady wrote, "As long as I held a government position, even as a volunteer, I offered a way to get at the President and in war time it is not politically wise to attack the President."⁴⁹ OCD was Mrs. Roosevelt's most spectacular failure, but perhaps no one could have saved the organization; six months after she resigned, OCD was abandoned.

Mrs. Roosevelt wrote in *This I Remember* that the President was responsible for the idea of her traveling to the Pacific to visit American troops. Her husband, said the First Lady, was concerned about the lack of visitors to that part of the world.⁵⁰

Mrs. Roosevelt had visited American troops stationed in Great Britain in 1942, but this trip would be longer in duration and would visit areas of recent combat. Carrying letters from Franklin to the Pacific commanders, the First Lady set out alone for the Pacific theatre. From Hawaii, Mrs. Roosevelt flew to Noumea to meet with Admiral William Halsey, Commander of the Pacific Fleet. Halsey was not glad to see her. "I think the trouble I give far outweighs the momentary interest it may give the boys to see me," she wrote to her husband.⁵¹ She received a cool reception, but she had a job to do, and she began the task of inspecting hospitals, visiting service clubs, and talking to the men.

One can only imagine what wounded soldiers in hospitals felt when they opened their eyes and found Mrs. Roosevelt standing over them. An officer who escorted the First Lady through hospitals in Australia found her approach to be both motherly and kind. He wrote later, "Maybe it sounds funny, but she left behind her many a tough battle-torn GI blowing his nose and swearing at the cold he had recently picked up."⁵²

She walked down miles of hospital corridors, and her stoicism and strong resolve kept her from tears. That resolve almost failed her when she saw troops in full battle dress leaving for combat areas. Her voice quavered, but she re-

have positive consequences. Still, reporters sought to protect the First Lady when she made a statement that might elicit unfavorable comment. On one occasion Mrs. Roosevelt responded, "What you don't understand is that perhaps I am making these statements on purpose to arouse controversy and thereby get the topics talked about and so get people to thinking about them."⁹⁸ Reporters and the American public never knew when Mrs. Roosevelt was representing her own opinion or the President's on a topic.

Another extraordinary facet of her press relations was the access that Mrs. Roosevelt permitted newswomen. An astonished Bess Furman noted that Mrs. Roosevelt befriended reporters, inviting them to lunch at the White House and to travel with her in a White House limousine.⁹⁹ The First Lady invited reporters to accompany her on some of her travels and "telephoned them when she was in inaccessible spots so that they could get their stories on the wire."¹⁰⁰ Perhaps most extraordinary of all, reporters could telephone Mrs. Roosevelt at the White House to solicit her views.¹⁰¹

Eleanor Roosevelt's press relations stand as a watermark in the history of press relations between a First Lady and the fourth estate. Characterized by candor and total access, the relationship benefitted both parties. Mrs. Roosevelt aired her views, and newspaperwomen were afforded a chance to further legitimize their work by covering a controversial and newsworthy public figure.

FACTORS THAT INFLUENCED THE FIRST LADY'S PERFORMANCE AS PUBLIC COMMUNICATOR

Their relationship was responsible in large measure for Eleanor Roosevelt's becoming an active communicator. To serve Franklin and her own needs, she had to have a visible public presence. She was called on to express the President's pride in a successful New Deal project or his disappointment at a failed legislative initiative. Franklin encouraged her in this enterprise, and Eleanor traveled the country as his eyes, his ears, and sometimes his voice. To a lesser but still important extent, Mrs. Roosevelt's input into presidential decision making contributed to her assuming an active public role.

Relationship With Her Husband

Mrs. Roosevelt wrote that she and Franklin were young and inexperienced when they decided to marry. "I was sure I was really in love . . . and yet I know now that it was years before I understood what being in love was or what loving really meant."¹⁰²

The Roosevelt marriage survived the disclosure of Franklin's infidelity, but it underwent dramatic changes. Elliott Roosevelt comments that after this episode, his mother "was willing to have him [Franklin] as a partner in public life, not ever again as a husband."¹⁰³ Eleanor became an independent woman with a life

of her own. The marriage became a partnership in the truest sense of the word, for Franklin encouraged Eleanor to share his activities and public life.

In the White House, Mrs. Roosevelt's primary motivation was to help those who could not help themselves. Sometimes, however, she was unrelenting in pressuring her husband for ideas or for legislative or financial remedies for a problem. A number of people who knew her felt that Eleanor had a propensity to nag and lacked a sense of humor.¹⁰⁴ Anna Roosevelt Boettinger noted her mother cross-examining the President during a White House dinner, and said jokingly (but with some truth), "Mother, can't you see you are giving Father indigestion?"¹⁰⁵

After Franklin's death, Eleanor offered this assessment of the role she had played in her husband's life: "I think I sometimes acted as a spur, even though the spurring was not always wanted or welcome. I was one of those who served his purposes."¹⁰⁶

Access to Presidential Decision Making

The Roosevelts were such a well-known political team that by the time they entered the White House, the phrase "Eleanor and I" was known over the entire country.¹⁰⁷

Mrs. Roosevelt always denied that she had any influence with the President beyond that of a regular petitioner, and protested "that a President's wife does not see him enough to tell him what to do."¹⁰⁸ This was simply untrue. The First Lady wielded considerable influence with her husband, and her opinions and beliefs were reflected in New Deal programs, legislation and government appointments. The First Lady "was generally credited with responsibility for the creation of the NYA, the surplus food program for relief clients, the arts and crafts section of WPA and resettlement and community projects such as Arthurdale."¹⁰⁹

Occasionally Mrs. Roosevelt revealed her hand. A good example of this occurred in the summer of 1938. On August 8, the President was holding a news conference which the First Lady attended. At times he seemed lost for words, and Mrs. Roosevelt prompted him with a word or phrase.¹¹⁰ The following day, Mrs. Roosevelt's column "My Day" contained some of the identical figures of speech and ideas used by the President in his press conference. Writing in the *New York Times*, Arthur Krock pointed out that Mrs. Roosevelt had always been scrupulously fair in giving credit for borrowed ideas and expressions, yet gave none here.¹¹¹ "The inference he drew was that she gave no credit [in her column] because none was due"; the thoughts were her own.¹¹² It was clear that the First Lady had access to presidential decision making.

In later years Mrs. Roosevelt admitted that she had discussed many issues with her husband, and she remarked, "Well, you don't just sit at meals and look at each other."¹¹³ Despite having access, the First Lady was often frustrated by the President's sense of political necessity. Rarely if ever could she make

of her time on official duties.⁶⁵ Unlike other First Ladies, the time expended did not trouble or annoy Mrs. Johnson, and she commented, "I knew a unique page out of a long life and interesting official duties."⁶⁶

APPROACHES TO COMMUNICATION

Preparation for Speaking

Mrs. Johnson characterized her early political speaking as "brief, scared, personal, on the Lyndon I knew—not on issues."⁶⁷ Shy and nervous before audiences, Mrs. Johnson spoke rapidly, her vocal pitch rising, "and the words . . . rolling out one after the other."⁶⁸

In an attempt to improve her oral skills, Mrs. Johnson began studying with a speech teacher. She learned to relax and "how to organize material and how to sit and stand on the speaker's platform."⁶⁹

Preparation of Texts

According to her staff director and press secretary Liz Carpenter, the writing of Mrs. Johnson's speeches was occasionally a cooperative effort, but most often the result of a collaboration between herself and the First Lady.⁷⁰

In planning a speech, Mrs. Johnson would ask Carpenter to analyze her prospective audience. "Who am I looking at?" she would ask. The First Lady wanted to know three or four things about her listeners.

Mrs. Johnson would read background material and briefing papers, or would just think about her topic, and then she and Carpenter would discuss the speech. Carpenter would jot down certain phrases used by Mrs. Johnson as they spoke.

Later, Carpenter would "marry phrases" and weave together a speech. Mrs. Johnson would edit the draft and make additions, corrections, and deletions. Mrs. Johnson characterized this phase of preparation as "all very hard work."⁷¹

Occasionally Carpenter would consult experts in various government agencies to provide facts and figures. Sometimes these agencies would send the First Lady "suggested remarks" she could give on a topic or even drafts of entire speeches. Presidential speechwriters occasionally contributed ideas and drafts for speeches. Sharon Francis, a member of the First Lady's staff, wrote many of Mrs. Johnson's speeches on beautification.⁷² Liz Carpenter, however, was the First Lady's primary ghostwriter.

Communication Style and Delivery

Lady Bird Johnson's speeches were not inspirational or moving, but were well-reasoned, carefully worded attempts to educate. The First Lady became known for her descriptive style. Carpenter said that one of Mrs. Johnson's English teachers was responsible for this trait in the First Lady's oral and written dis-

course. The teacher advised the young Lady Bird never to use the same word or phrase twice within a speech, and to utilize descriptive adjectives whenever possible. According to Carpenter, this training made Mrs. Johnson a wordsmith, and she favored the use of metaphors, "non-trite" words, and active verbs. Mrs. Johnson devoted a great deal of practice time to every speech, "whether . . . five minutes or thirty minutes."⁷³

Press Relations

A journalism major, Lady Bird Johnson understood the needs of the working press. According to Carpenter, "She knew the language of the trade, the difference between an A.M. and P.M. deadline, that it was better to be accessible than evasive."⁷⁴ Moreover, Mrs. Johnson genuinely liked the newswomen who covered her activities.

The First Lady appointed her old friend, the former Executive Assistant to the Vice President, Elizabeth S. ("Liz") Carpenter to the position of Staff Director and Press Secretary to the First Lady. Carpenter's appointment was historic in that she was the first professional newswoman to direct a First Lady's East Wing press operation.

Experienced and knowledgeable, Mrs. Carpenter assured the First Lady efficient press relations. The new press secretary solicited advice on running the press office from former press colleagues. Their advice essentially consisted of three suggestions: "Never lie. Tell us that you can't tell us, but don't lie. Return our phone calls. Don't resent our intrusion. It's our job to know where the First Lady is and what she is doing."⁷⁵ Carpenter never saw her role as shielding the First Lady from the press, but rather saw herself as "a person hired to accommodate the representatives of public curiosity."⁷⁶

Mrs. Johnson did not hold press conferences. Carpenter felt that they put the First Lady on guard and made her say things that sounded unnatural.⁷⁷ Instead, Carpenter held occasional press briefings; there were always briefings prior to one of the First Lady's trips, and reporters knew that Carpenter would call them if a story came up.⁷⁸ Marie Smith of the *Washington Post* said, "We know Liz will call us if there is a story and if she calls us, there is a story."⁷⁹ In addition, Carpenter arranged interviews and distributed press releases, schedules, and texts of the First Lady's speeches. Always accessible, she averaged 150 telephone calls per day from the press.⁸⁰

The press gave the First Lady uniformly excellent reviews. Nan Robertson of the *New York Times* wrote: "The First Lady . . . has an instinctive sense of public relations polished during nearly 28 years in public life. . . . [S]he is sympathetic to reporters' problems and needs."⁸¹ Mrs. Johnson's relationship with reporters was cordial, and she enjoyed efficient and productive press relations.

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Once again Mrs. Ford publicly explained a troubling personal problem. Her statement that she was addicted to pain medication and alcohol was featured prominently in the print and electronic media. With the help of the professional staff at Long Beach and the emotional support of her family, Betty Ford conquered her twin addictions.

Mrs. Ford was so grateful for the help she had received at Long Beach that she decided to aid others with drug and alcohol problems. In 1983 the Betty Ford Center for the treatment of chemical abuse opened its doors. Mrs. Ford is President and takes an active role in both fund-raising and counseling. Betty and Gerald Ford, busy and involved in a variety of activities, continue to reside in California.

MAJOR COMMUNICATION ACTIVITIES OF THE FIRST LADY

Betty Ford blossomed into an active public communicator in the White House. She became an independent advocate for women's rights and a number of other politically charged and unpopular issues. She also served as Gerald Ford's political surrogate, making appearances and campaigning for her husband.

Like Eleanor Roosevelt and Lady Bird Johnson, Betty Ford understood the importance of sharing her ideas and concerns with a national audience. She traveled the country giving almost one hundred speeches, speaking to the press, and using television appearances to dramatize her support for various causes.

Her attempts to communicate were generally successful, and Mrs. Gerald P. Ford was perceived as Betty Ford, an independent person, an advocate of many measures.

Advocacy

Mrs. Ford wrote that when she first arrived at the White House, she was asked "What is your program going to be?"³⁰ Betty Ford did not confine her support to the traditional First Lady concerns such as the Girl Scouts or the Heart Association. Neither did she embrace sustained formal projects or programs such as subsistence farmsteads or national beautification. Instead, Mrs. Ford endorsed several causes in which she became personally involved and took strong stands on a number of political issues. Ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment and women's concerns were her major focus. In addition, she was enthusiastic about raising the country's consciousness about cancer. However, the new First Lady also spoke out on abortion, marijuana legalization, and other emotionally charged issues.

Mrs. Ford's opinions on women's rights had been formulated during many years. She expressed a middle-of-the-road philosophy, arguing that women who wanted to remain at home should be permitted to do so. She noted that being a housewife and mother was a responsible job. She also supported women's right

to work if that was their choice. Regardless of what they chose, she felt "women ought to have equal rights, equal social security, equal opportunities for education, an equal chance to establish credit."³¹

Mrs. Ford told the author that her interest in ERA and women's issues predated her husband's presidency.³² Ron Nessen, Gerald Ford's press secretary, wrote that her support was genuine, and not an act to create a chic media image by selecting an issue that was timely; Sheila Weidenfeld, Mrs. Ford's press secretary, concurs in this opinion.³³ The First Lady left no doubt that she strongly supported ERA when she told her first White House news conference that she would campaign for passage of the measure.³⁴

Early in 1975, Mrs. Ford began telephoning legislators in states where ERA had come up for a vote (Illinois, Missouri, North Dakota, Georgia, Nevada, and Arizona) to demonstrate her support and to bolster their stand on the proposed amendment. Her actions met with almost immediate criticism from the more conservative sections of the country. Mrs. Ford was unperturbed, and vowed to continue her lobbying efforts.³⁵

The First Lady's mail expressed strong opposition to her stand, running three to one against her support of ERA.³⁶ Mrs. Ford was undeterred and noted, "It's those who are against [ERA] who are doing the writing. Those who are for it sit back and say 'Good for her—push on.'"³⁷ By the end of February, her mail began to turn around, and Mrs. Ford seemed to be at least partly vindicated.

Mrs. Ford used other strategies in encouraging support of ERA. She continued to telephone state legislators, sent telegrams of encouragement to organizations supporting the amendment, and appeared on national television to proclaim her views. In her "60 Minutes" interview she said: "I feel that the E.R.A. ought to pass in our bicentennial year. . . . [W]hat could be greater than that?"³⁸

On October 25, 1975, the First Lady addressed the International Women's Year Congress. The speech she delivered was her major policy address on ERA and women's issues. Mrs. Ford felt that this was the most important speech of her White House tenure.³⁹ She commented, "It was important because I was not only speaking to the more activist as far as the liberated woman is concerned, but I was also speaking to the homemakers and I had to prepare very carefully to make sure that it balanced out."⁴⁰ The speech represented an effort to unite ideologically militant and less militant women. In her remarks Mrs. Ford said: "The Equal Rights Amendment when ratified will not be an instant solution to women's problems. It will help knock down those restrictions that have locked women into old stereotypes of behavior and opportunity. It will help open up more options for women. But it is only a beginning."⁴¹

She was grateful, said Mrs. Ford, that women now had the option to leave their homes and seek employment in the marketplace. Many women, however, were required or elected to remain at home, and their contributions to American life should not be denigrated: "We have to take the 'just' out of 'just a housewife' and show our pride in having made the home and family our life's work."⁴²

Mrs. Ford's support for equal rights was not solely of a rhetorical nature. The

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First Lady was a vocal advocate of women in government, and prevailed upon her husband to appoint qualified women to positions within his administration.

Betty Ford was a strong advocate of ERA during the Ford administration; she continued to send telegrams, make telephone calls, and support women whenever possible. Much to her chagrin, ERA was not ratified during her tenure as First Lady, but even after leaving the White House she remained active and committed to its passage. In November 1981 Mrs. Ford expressed disappointment that Nancy Reagan opposed ERA.⁴³ Later that year, Betty Ford served as Honorary National Chairman of the ERA Countdown Committee.

Mrs. Ford gave a number of speeches on cancer, and on several occasions presented American Cancer Society awards. In her discourses on the disease, Mrs. Ford urged Americans to have regular medical checkups and to take advantage of available cancer detection tests. Lending credibility and emotion to her cancer-related speeches, the First Lady referred to her own experiences. Receiving the American Cancer Society's Communicator of Hope Award, she said: "Breast cancer is such a personal and emotional experience for any woman. . . . Fortunately, I had the advantage of being married to a very fine man and having our lovely children. They helped me through the difficulties I had to face in life."⁴⁴

Mrs. Ford might have done more than give speeches to raise the country's consciousness about cancer, but she chose not to. Perhaps she did not want to be too strongly identified with cancer, or possibly her experience had made her reluctant because it caused her to confront her own mortality. Sheila Weidenfeld recalled a conversation during 1976 when Mrs. Ford told her angrily: "I'm sick of the cancer thing. . . . I hate the thought that every time people look at me they clutch their bosoms."⁴⁵ Another Ford staff member speculates that the First Lady shied away from more cancer-related activities "because she didn't want to be reminded of her close call."⁴⁶

It is interesting to note that Mrs. Ford is strongly identified with ERA and cancer, yet she only devoted a total of ten speeches, less than 10 percent of her total discourse, to these two topics. One may assume that her pronouncements were dramatic and made an impression on the public, and that her other communication activities (in the case of ERA, telephone calls, telegrams, and other shorter statements) sustained this perception.

Mrs. Ford also expressed her support for the arts, opera, drama, and especially dance during the Ford administration. A warm and motherly woman, Mrs. Ford voiced concern for mentally retarded Americans and children, especially those receiving treatment at Washington's Hospital for Sick Children. Mrs. Ford did not initiate any program to bolster these potential projects, but rather gave a single speech or made a short statement on each.

Mrs. Ford shared her opinions on emotionally charged issues with the American people. The Supreme Court decision on abortion was "a great, great decision," according to Mrs. Ford. It would move abortion from the backwoods to hospitals where it belonged.⁴⁷ She favored lighter sentences for marijuana

speakers. Mrs. Ford did little speaking during her husband's brief tenure as Vice President.

Communication Style and Delivery

Betty Ford's speeches differ from those of her predecessors; her talk is characterized by informality, warmth, and folksiness. Her discourses were not stylistically complex. She did not quote from outside sources frequently. Phrasing was simple; the First Lady said what was on her mind without equivocation or guile. Frances "Kay" Pullen served as her primary speech-writer.

Mrs. Ford enjoyed speaking, though she admitted to stage fright and a preference for having a speech text in front of her "in case I go blind, deaf and dumb and I can read it. I know it's like a security blanket."⁷⁰ In time the First Lady became a good extemporaneous speaker and was able to speak from "talking points," topic outlines for speeches.

The First Lady was especially sensitive to the mood of her listeners, and said, "I think being able to detect the reaction of your audience as to whether you ought to continue . . . maybe delete something then jump to something else or add a little something is important."⁷¹ Weidenfeld added, "She's a great ad-libber."⁷²

Press Relations

Betty Ford made a conscious decision to be more accessible to the press than her predecessor, Pat Nixon. Mrs. Ford said: "I did [decide to be more accessible to reporters] because . . . many stories had been written about Mrs. Nixon . . . referring to her as 'Pat, the unavailable.' They were unkind stories . . . and naturally, I was going to try and benefit from those criticisms of her."⁷³

Initially, Helen McCain Smith, Mrs. Nixon's press liaison, performed Mrs. Ford's press chores. In October 1974, Mrs. Ford appointed Sheila Rabb Weidenfeld, a television producer, to be her new press secretary. Weidenfeld felt that it was the job of the First Lady's press secretary "to communicate the human side of the First Lady and the First Family."⁷⁴

Weidenfeld explained that she did not have Mrs. Ford hold regularly scheduled press conferences because she did not want to overexpose the First Lady, and because Mrs. Ford "got too nervous. . . . She would not have done that well."⁷⁵ Still, Mrs. Ford saw reporters and answered their questions at various ceremonial or political events on a regular basis, and her press secretary attempted to answer additional press queries if possible.

Reporters sincerely liked Mrs. Ford, and enjoyed her "shoot from the hip" style. Helen Thomas commented, "She enchanted reporters from the outset with her frankness and strong stands on controversial issues."⁷⁶ Another Ford staff member noted that reporters loved the First Lady "because she was always good for a colorful quote."⁷⁷

Mrs. Ford enjoyed the company of reporters, and described her press relations as being effective and pleasant. She commented: "I enjoyed the press. . . . We kidded a lot back and forth. . . . I was willing to accept a certain amount of criticism. . . . [T]hey . . . were surprised . . . to have me not beat around the bush and come right out and answer their questions."⁷⁸

Betty Ford saw the press as an ally to help her publicize her causes. She liked and respected reporters, and in turn she enjoyed exceptionally good press notices.

FACTORS THAT INFLUENCED THE FIRST LADY'S PERFORMANCE AS PUBLIC COMMUNICATOR

Relationship with Her Husband

By all accounts the Fords have and always have had a very happy marriage. It has been a traditional marriage: Jerry established himself in politics and Betty raised the children. Betty admitted to being resentful of her husband's unending travel, but this did not seem to diminish her love and support of him.⁷⁹ She trusted him implicitly and she told an interviewer, "I have perfect faith in my husband."⁸⁰ A longtime aide to Gerald Ford writes that Mrs. Ford's trust was well placed, and comments that Ford "was as devoted to his wife as he was career oriented."⁸¹

The Fords respected each other's opinions. Betty Ford had always spoken her mind; her candor in the White House did not startle Gerald Ford. To his credit, Gerald Ford never attempted to muzzle his wife, even when her views caused him political problems.⁸²

Mrs. Ford was not afraid to tell her husband what she thought, but tried to temper her remarks with consideration and love. She told a reporter, "I don't hesitate to tell him when I disagree with something he's done or said."⁸³ One of Gerald Ford's associates felt that Betty was one of the few people who could tell the President when he was not making sense.⁸⁴

Access to Presidential Decision Making

Betty Ford influenced her husband's thinking on a variety of issues and topics during his administration. Mrs. Ford said that she and her husband had always discussed the pros and cons of various issues, "and occasionally I did step in and say, 'You know, I don't believe it'll work that way.'"⁸⁵ She went on to say that when Gerald Ford was President, the couple would have extended dialogues and exchange ideas on a given topic: "Once he went back to the Oval Office and went into a cabinet meeting for a discussion and a decision, how much of what I said was carried back, I'll never know, but I think probably more than I suspect."⁸⁶

Mrs. Ford used "pillow talk" to advance her ideas.⁸⁷ When the President came home to the White House residential quarters, the First Lady might

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regrets if he loses because I'm doing everything I can possibly do."¹⁵ His wife's efforts were rewarded when Jimmy Carter was elected, defeating Gerald Ford by a vote of 40,830,763 to 39,147,793.¹⁶

The White House was a bittersweet experience for the Carters. Mrs. Carter received plaudits for her work in mental health, but was sharply criticized for attending cabinet meetings and engaging in statecraft during a trip to Latin America. Her husband's presidency began with a sense of optimism but trouble began when he announced efforts to achieve a comprehensive national energy plan. Problems with staff members, the SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks) II negotiations, the Panama Canal, and finally the Iranian hostage crisis limited the President's effectiveness and caused his popularity to plummet.

Jimmy Carter hoped to right numerous wrongs during a second administration. The Carter team, especially Rosalynn, campaigned even more vigorously in 1980 than in 1976 but to no avail. On Election Day the voters overwhelmingly rejected Jimmy Carter in favor of Republican Ronald Reagan. Never one to suppress her feelings, Mrs. Carter admitted that she was bitter about the defeat and wrote that the repudiation of Jimmy Carter by the American people "for whom he'd worked so hard and for whom he cared so much," was very hard to bear.¹⁷

Rosalynn Carter remains actively involved in a number of endeavors. She is a member of the boards of the Gannett Corporation, the Menninger Foundation, and Habitat for Humanity, which builds homes for the poor. She directs an annual Rosalynn Carter Symposium on Mental Health at the Carter Presidential Center, and organized a major conference, "Women and the Constitution," which was held in Atlanta in January 1988.¹⁸

MAJOR COMMUNICATION ACTIVITIES OF THE FIRST LADY

Mrs. Carter told an interviewer: "I have learned that I have influence. I can look at a program and it gets some attention. . . . [I feel] I have a responsibility to do that."¹⁹

Rosalynn Carter was an extremely active communicator who took maximum advantage of the national podium afforded her to discuss the problems of mentally ill Americans, passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, and a host of other issues. Speeches, press conferences, interviews, articles authored by the First Lady, and continuous travel dramatized her commitment to these concerns.

In unprecedented actions the First Lady attended cabinet meetings, met with the President weekly for "working" lunches, and conducted substantive dialogues with Latin American leaders during a trip to that part of the globe. She was readily acknowledged as one of her husband's most influential advisors.²⁰

Rosalynn Carter, a woman referred to by her husband as a "perfect extension of myself," was a political surrogate, an independent advocate, and a skilled and effective public communicator.²¹

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Advocacy

Perhaps no First Lady came to the White House as well prepared to undertake major projects as Rosalynn Carter. She had both the framework and the goals planned before her husband's term of office commenced.

Prior to Jimmy Carter's inauguration, members of Rosalynn Carter's staff interviewed members of Betty Ford's staff to ascertain how the First Lady's East Wing operation could be improved. Two of the findings of the report suggested that there had to be more cordial and productive relations between the East and West Wings, and that the First Lady's staff had to be streamlined for maximum effectiveness.²² The East Wing was subsequently reorganized to include five distinct divisions: projects and community liaison, press and research, schedule and advance, and social and personal.²³

In her autobiography, Mrs. Carter notes that she made only one promise during the 1976 presidential campaign: to study the nation's mental health needs.²⁴ She decided that it would be her primary project in the White House, but worried that it was not a glamorous issue and might be perceived as a typical lightweight First Lady's endeavor.

Her concerns were dispelled when her husband indicated that mental health was a priority in his administration by signing an executive order creating the President's Commission on Mental Health in February 1977.²⁵ Dr. Thomas E. Bryant was appointed chair, and Mrs. Carter was named honorary chair.

Though her position was honorary, there was never any question that Mrs. Carter intended to be intimately involved in the work of the commission. The first step in the commission's work was to hold public hearings, which the First Lady attended. Hundreds of people were interviewed, and almost a year was spent amassing data.

In an interview on the "Today Show" in September 1977, Mrs. Carter described the fact that there had not been an indepth study of mental health since 1960, that only a small percentage of Medicare and Medicaid funds were available for mental health, and that only 1/2 to 1 percent of the federal budget was devoted to research in the area.²⁶

In addition to commission testimony and television appearances, Mrs. Carter spoke about mental health to numerous audiences, including the Washington Press Club (September 1977) and the National Association of Retarded Citizens (November 1977).

The commission presented its report to the President on April 27, 1978. In appearances on "Good Morning America" and the "MacNeil-Lehrer Report" that day, the First Lady discussed the report's 117 recommendations. The commission had found that Americans were unserved, underserved, or inadequately served. In conclusion, the First Lady added, "We have to develop a national attitude of caring."²⁷

Mrs. Carter's involvement with mental health did not end here. She continued to speak to a variety of constituencies about the topic, and stayed current

terrified by the prospect of facing an audience that it made her physically ill.⁵⁷ Jimmy Carter suggested that she jot down a few key words that would remind her of what she wanted to say and then "just get up and talk about them."⁵⁸ This formula was especially successful for Mrs. Carter and she became a competent speaker.

Preparation of Texts

Mary Hoyt was Mrs. Carter's principal speech-writer, but the First Lady was also assisted by various members of her staff. Sometimes entire speeches were drafted for Mrs. Carter, and she merely made a few changes. This, however, was the exception. More often speeches were a combination of Mrs. Carter's ideas and phrasing, background material on the topic that had been prepared for her, and contributions from speechwriters. Hoyt complimented the First Lady: "She has very good instincts. . . . She has a great ability to simplify and to speak in a way that she is comfortable with and does seek to reach her audience."⁵⁹ At times Mrs. Carter would show her speech to the President for comment, but generally she served as her own editor.

Communication Style and Delivery

The First Lady probably delivered five hundred speeches during her time in the White House.⁶⁰ Hoyt points out that many presentations were remarks, short discourses that were ceremonial in nature. Remarks were more numerous than speeches because the First Lady always spoke to groups and organizations visiting the White House; frequently she would see seven or eight groups in a day.⁶¹

Rosalynn Carter was a competent communicator. She spoke clearly and deliberately, her voice soft and her accent Southern.⁶² (One critic uncharitably characterized Mrs. Carter's delivery as girlish and giggly.)⁶³ She spoke more effectively when her remarks were extemporaneous, and she was especially adept at this when she spoke about her husband, his goals as President, and her own projects.

The First Lady's speeches lacked humor, quotes, and anecdotes. She presented facts or opinions in a plain style, without embellishment. One observer noted, "It is not her style to loosen up an audience." He characterized her presentation as "icy."⁶⁴

Press Relations

Mary Finch Hoyt, Rosalynn Carter's press secretary, said that the role of the First Lady's press secretary "should be to try . . . to translate as accurately as possible the kind of person that person [the First Lady] is."⁶⁵ Ms. Hoyt attempted to do this for Mrs. Carter, but she achieved mixed results.

The First Lady was continuously frustrated by the fact that "her" stories did not merit front-page consideration and were either not covered at all or were relegated to the society pages. She told an interviewer that controversial topics were covered extensively by the media but that it was difficult to get headlines about mental health, the elderly, or the poor.⁶⁶ (UPI Correspondent Helen Thomas later responded to this charge by saying that the First Lady would have to do something that deserved to be featured on page one.)⁶⁷

Like other First Ladies, Mrs. Carter was bothered by the media's occasional inaccuracies and misperceptions.⁶⁸ She read and reacted to her press notices and those of the President. On one occasion she wrote to Presidential Press Secretary Jody Powell: "I think we should demand equal time with *New York Times* op. ed. articles. . . . I don't see how they can refuse."⁶⁹

Mrs. Carter did not hold press conferences. Hoyt said that the First Lady saw the press virtually every day and "there just didn't seem to be any call for it."⁷⁰ Mrs. Carter did meet periodically with out-of-town editors to answer questions and discuss her interests.⁷¹ On trips she always made herself available to the local press for comment and interviews.

As stories of her power grew, Mrs. Carter found herself to be a frequent target of press criticism. The criticism grew so vociferous that at one juncture Jody Powell, reacting to a particularly critical story about Mrs. Carter, wrote to one reporter: "You can . . . say anything you wish about the President, but cheap shots at the First Lady are out of bounds. You ought to be ashamed of yourself."⁷²

Rosalynn Carter's press relations were uneven. Some reporters felt that the First Lady's press office was at fault;⁷³ two persistent gripes were that Mary Hoyt "seemed oblivious to the needs or time constraints of news reporters" and that the press office had not sufficiently spread the word of the First Lady's substantive activities.⁷⁴ Mrs. Carter seemed to tolerate the press, but she did not give the impression that she liked reporters. There was an uneasy relationship between the two that appears to have been reflected in the inconsistent quality of the First Lady's relations with the fourth estate.

FACTORS THAT INFLUENCED THE FIRST LADY'S PERFORMANCE AS PUBLIC COMMENTATOR

Relationship with Her Husband

The Carters had and continue to have a loving, mutually supportive marriage. Jimmy Carter told a reporter that Rosalynn was his best friend,⁷⁵ and Mrs. Carter told an interviewer: "We do have a good relationship. . . . We have a mutual respect for each other and what the other is doing."⁷⁶

Theirs was a symbiotic relationship, but Rosalynn Carter pointed out that her life had never been submerged in Jimmy's.⁷⁷ Instead they enjoyed a genuine partnership, and Mrs. Carter said, "I've always been able to do the things that

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are important to me and always helped Jimmy with the things that are important to him."⁷⁸

The Carters also seemed to be unabashedly affectionate. As he was greeting reporters, President Carter blurted out, "Hi, I miss my wife." (She had been away campaigning for two days.)⁷⁹ One writer commented that the Carters were an extremely close couple who often demonstrated "spontaneous displays of affection."⁸⁰

Their strong, symbiotic relationship was responsible for Rosalynn's activism in the White House. The President implicitly trusted his wife; he encouraged her and expected her to play a major role in his administration. The result was what some reporters labeled "the mom and pop presidency." Jimmy Carter was not threatened by Rosalynn's power; he used it as efficiently as possible. Both parties and many people in the United States benefitted from the arrangement.

Access to Presidential Decision Making

Veteran Washington observers Hugh Sidey of *Time* and Tom Wicker of the *New York Times* attested to Rosalynn Carter's influence in separate but similar articles. Sidey wrote: "The second most powerful person in the United States is Rosalynn Carter. There is virtually no dispute about that." Sidey goes on to quote a veteran White House staffer who said that Rosalynn had more impact on policy than any other President's wife in this generation.⁸¹ Wicker adds his endorsement: "Among the most influential voices in its [the Carter administration's] policy councils is Rosalynn Carter. She may be the most powerful First Lady since Edith Bolling Wilson virtually took over for a stricken President."⁸² Finally, in his memoirs, President Carter wrote, "She and I . . . discuss(ed) a full range of important issues and, aside from a few highly secret and sensitive matters, she knew all that was going on."⁸³

The Carters had always functioned as a team in business and in politics, and they continued this partnership in Washington. In a speech in 1979, Mrs. Carter said: "The President of the United States cares what I think. . . . I have influence. And I know it."⁸⁴ Mrs. Carter attended cabinet meetings,⁸⁵ although she never participated in discussions and only took notes.⁸⁶ The President and First Lady met every Tuesday, when possible, for regularly scheduled working lunches. These were not frivolous get-togethers but rather serious problem-solving sessions.

Mrs. Carter did not formulate policy. She counseled her husband on appointments,⁸⁷ and functioned as his speech critic and sounding board.⁸⁸ The First Lady was delegated to represent the United States in substantive talks with Latin American leaders and conducted an inspection tour of Cambodian refugee facilities. Many times she spoke as an official representative of the Carter administration.

The woman Jimmy Carter called "a very equal partner,"⁸⁹ was "the most powerful unelected public figure in the country."⁹⁰ Indeed, no First Lady has

CONCLUSIONS

There have been sweeping but not continuous changes in the role of the First Lady as public communicator from 1921 to 1989. A number of conclusions support this finding.

Since 1921, First Ladies have assumed one of three distinct stances as public communicators: social hostesses and ceremonial presences, emerging spokeswomen, or political surrogates and independent advocates. Relative to the three distinct communication stances has been the development, consciously or unconsciously, of three separate communication philosophies. The social hostesses and ceremonial presences devoted little if any thought to the idea of communicating with the public. The emerging spokeswomen were more aware of the need to share their ideas or projects with a national audience, and made limited use of the press and other media. The political surrogates and independent advocates utilized all available means of persuasion to dramatize their commitment to certain endeavors.

Patterns regarding both communication stance and philosophy are discernable. Social hostesses and ceremonial presences received little or no support from their husbands and generally had little input into presidential decision making. The First Ladies in this category received no encouragement to be involved public communicators, and they were publicly silent presences. The emerging spokeswomen received at least tepid endorsements from their husbands. Most of the husbands of emerging spokeswomen had favorable perceptions of women, and would allow their wives some access to decision making if they desired. The political surrogates and independent activists received unqualified support from their husbands. Moreover, their husbands had positive perceptions of women, appointed women to high-level positions within their administrations, and permitted their wives broad access to presidential decision making.

Three of the most active communicators, Eleanor Roosevelt, Lady Bird Johnson, and Betty Ford, came to the White House at times of national crises. While only Mrs. Roosevelt addressed the problems of the Depression, it would seem that crisis demands or encourages some response from the First Lady. It might be argued further that crisis creates a sympathetic environment in which the First Lady may deliver her remarks.

Expectations have changed over the years, and Americans seem to want an involved First Lady, ideally one with a record of concern for a given cause, who comes to the White House and proclaims her support for that cause or other projects. At the same time, the First Lady treads a narrow line. She may advocate feminine concerns or issues with little fear of condemnation. However, if she chooses to become involved in the more substantive issues of her husband's administration, or if she presents views on public policy that differ from those of her husband, she risks criticism that might ultimately hurt her husband's career. She might also damage her own credibility and personal popularity by taking publicly unpopular stands.

The changes in the First Lady's role as public communicator have not reflected changes in the status of women or shown corresponding growth. The First Lady has not historically reflected the time in which she inhabits the White House. Most women are middle-aged when they reach the executive mansion, and are not likely to embrace or endorse current trends in social history or thought (especially in the changing status of women). Most First Ladies reflect the social customs and habits of their upbringing.

Age, state of health, family obligations, the president's attitude toward the degree of his wife's participation in his administration, and the social and historical context of the time are all determinants of how active a woman will be as a public communicator in the White House. The working relationship between the President and First Lady is also a critical factor in determining how active a woman will be as a public communicator.

The press plays a critical role in transmitting both the image and the substance of a First Lady. In 1971, Norma Foreman found that a double standard existed between male and female reporters covering the White House. The men were covering the President and producing "hard news" while many newspapers relegated female reporters' coverage of the First Lady's efforts to the society or women's page. Female reporters were still striving to legitimize their coverage of the First Lady and their presence in the White House press office. Foreman concluded that "a First Lady who generates substantive news about public issues and provides newswomen open access is likely to receive a bonus of gratitude from the newswomen for what they view as an opportunity to increase their prestige."¹

Parity between male and female White House reporters has changed since 1971, but inequality still exists. The implication of this finding is that First Ladies who generate news and are active public communicators are almost guaranteed more favorable press treatment than their less active counterparts.

In addition, national interest in the First Family and a more energetic and curious media have made it virtually impossible for a First Lady to remain incommunicado in the White House.

James David Barber has suggested that presidential performance can be predicted by analyzing a man's character, worldview (consisting of "his primary, politically relevant beliefs, particularly his conceptions of social causality, human nature and the central moral conflicts of the time"),² style ("the president's habitual ways of performing his three political roles: rhetoric, personal relations and homework"),³ the power situation, and a climate of expectations (the President must alternately reassure, project a sense of action, and lend legitimacy to the presidency).⁴ While the differences between the presidency and the role of First Lady brook almost no comparison, three of Barber's five elements provide a schema for predicting how a First Lady might function as a communicator in the White House.

One of the findings of this study supported the belief that age, state of health, relationship with husband, and similar factors were important in determining how active a woman might be as a communicator. These factors are subsets of character. What is a woman likely to do in the White House based on her overall behavior? Is she enthusiastic, reticent, or aggressive? If we can identify these traits, can we argue that they will surface in behavior in the White House? Few women—indeed, few people—change their behavior or major character traits when they arrive at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Recent history suggests that the wife of a President will have already been a political wife for many years. This woman will have a developed worldview, especially primary, relevant political beliefs and opinions about the central moral dilemmas of the time. She may well have political beliefs as strongly held and supported as those of her husband, and could come to the White House identified as an enthusiastic Republican or simply a woman who embraces her husband's beliefs. By analyzing this pre-White House activity, we might derive some sense of how much political communication might emanate from the First Lady. Furthermore, what does the First Lady identify as the central moral dilemmas of the time, and will she enter the fray?

The First Lady will have developed an observable style prior to residence in the White House. She will have performed the visible and expected tasks of hostess and public relations person for her husband, and she may have been a political presence or surrogate for him. Her preference for one or both of these roles may suggest whether the First Lady will view her White House role in ceremonial terms or become a well-defined person in her own right.

There is no absolutely accurate method for predicting how a First Lady will function as a communicator in the White House, but by assessing character, worldview, and style we might begin to see a pattern of potential activity or nonactivity emerging.

Future First Ladies will feel greater media and public pressure to assume a more visible and committed communication presence. Those who choose to be

political surrogates and independent advocates (within the accepted parameters of feminine issues) probably will be accorded more favorable press attention and public support and admiration than those who remain inactive.

The First Lady has one of the most influential podiums in the world at her disposal. No First Lady has ever used that podium for personal gain or to questionable ends. Some have chosen to ignore it or make limited use of it. The political surrogates or independent advocates have taught us that the podium provides a magnificent instrument for educating, persuading, and ultimately improving the lot of "all the people."

NOTES

1. Norma Ruth Holly Foreman, "The First Lady as a Leader of Public Opinion: A Study of the Role and Press Relations of Lady Bird Johnson," (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Texas at Austin 1971).
2. James David Barber, *The Presidential Character* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1977), p. 9.
3. Barber, *The Presidential Character*, p. 9.
4. Barber, *The Presidential Character*, pp. 8-9.

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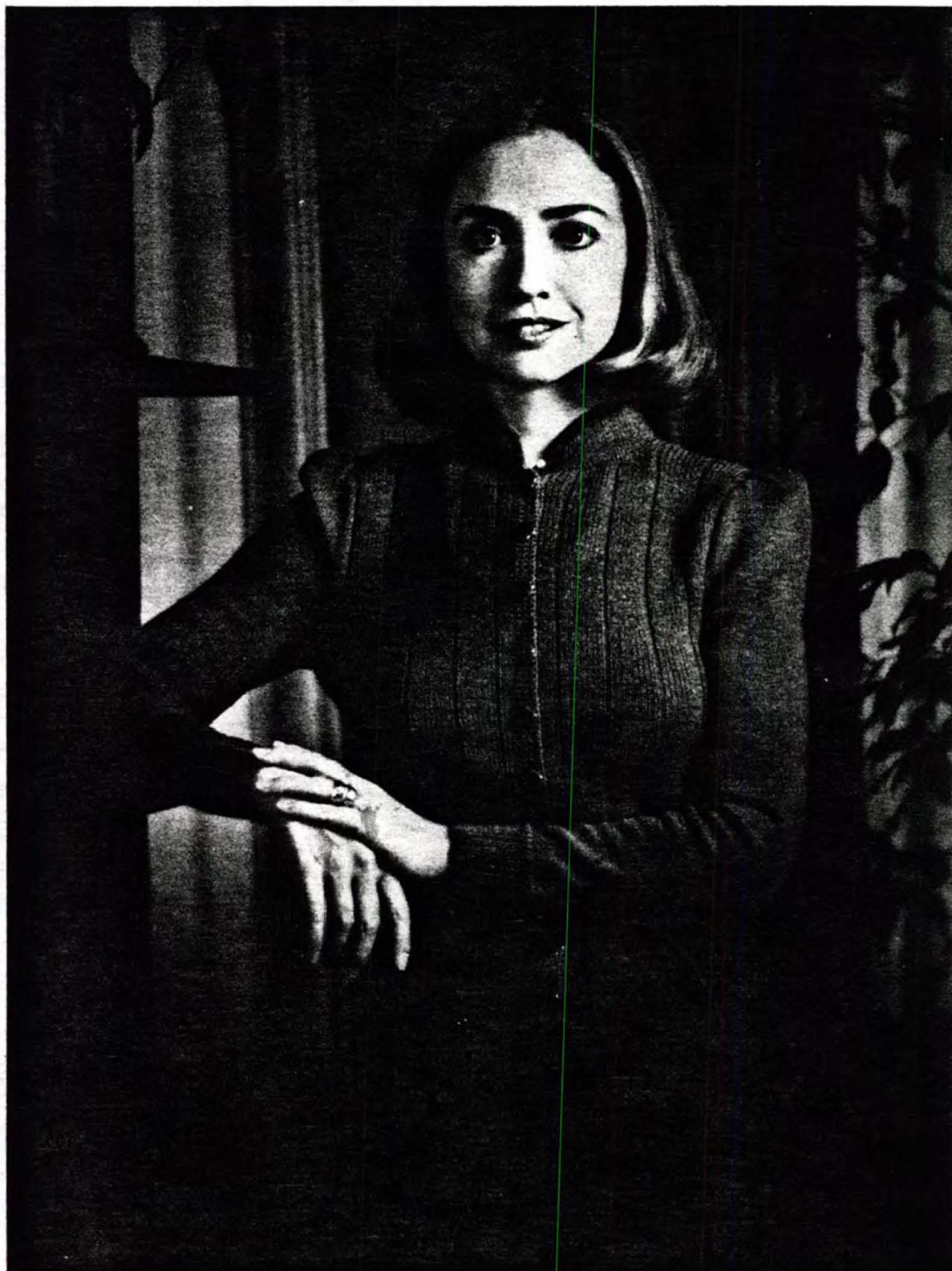
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FIRST LADIES OF ARKANSAS



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

Wife of Bill Clinton, Fortieth and Forty-second Governor

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

1979-1981, 1983-1991

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

Governor Clinton's third inaugural ball was



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



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



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

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



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

Jimmy Church Revue had entertained earlier.

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

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

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



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

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

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



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

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

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



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



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



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

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

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

heavy use of the house makes repairs imperative.

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

Capital Comment



WHAT'S UP, WHO'S HOT

What We've Heard

Renee Poussaint May Go Network

That WJLA-TV is not unhappy about a possible move by long-time anchor **Renee Poussaint** to ABC News. Channel 7 gave her time off to work on a *PrimeTime Live* story, and the station wouldn't mind Renee taking her \$500,000-a-year salary to the network. . . . That a local banker says there are three types of bonds this election season: the Quayle Bond, which has no maturity; the Bush Bond, which has

no interest; and the Clinton Bond, which has no principal. . . . That movie star **Kevin Costner** is looking at horse farms in the Leesburg area, saying he wants to raise his children far from Hollywood. . . .



Poussaint

That among suggestions for monuments received by the National Park Service are a statue honoring dogs who were killed in Vietnam and a Tomb of the Unborn Fetuses. . . . That the conservative wing of public broadcasting is touting *McLaughlin Group* panelist **Fred Barnes** as the best hope to put together a show that might balance things off against *Frontline*, **Bill Greider**, **Bill Moyers**, and all the other liberals. . . . That while you can thank Bush pollster **Bob Teeter** for **Dan Quayle's** ending up as vice president, it was political adviser **Charles Black** who insisted on **Phil Gramm** as keynote of the GOP convention. Black will be handling Gramm's 1996 presidential bid. . . . That at a meeting of health-care executives, Congressman **Fortney "Pete" Stark** offered this definition: "Good health is when you're having good sex and your spouse looks as good to you today as she or he did ten years ago."

Dems Getting Ready to Smile Again



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Hillary and Bill: the Nineties' Jackie and Jack?

Democrats are ready to wake up smiling the morning of November 4, but they're wondering whether Bill Clinton will be a replay of Jimmy Carter or a return to Camelot.

Carter, revered for his good works since leaving Washington, is barely remembered as president. He came here an outsider and left an outsider.

Clinton, in contrast, is wired to Washington. Both Bill and Hillary are champion networkers. Bill has Georgetown and Yale law-school networks, a Rhodes-scholar network, a Democratic Leadership Council network.

Hillary worked on the Hill and chaired the Legal Services Corporation in the '70s, and was co-chair of the Children's Defense Fund. Both Bill and Hillary met many Washingtonians at Renaissance Weekends, annual gatherings of heavyweights at Hilton Head. Carter came to Washington with the attitude that it was Georgia against the world; the Clintons would come here with very big Rolodexes.

Would the Clintons, like the Kennedys, energize Washington? Very likely. They'd bring new ideas, new people, a sense that the city is on the move. In a town that's more Democratic than Republican, a lot of people will feel that they're no longer outsiders at the party. Bill Clinton, like Jack Kennedy, knows how to work a room.

There'll be a honeymoon but don't expect the Democratic Congress to roll over

and play dead. George Mitchell and Tom Foley were late Clinton converts, and they're used to being independent of the White House. Congress will have lots of new members and may have lots of new committee chairs. Expect Clinton to do a lot of heavy courting.

Who'll be in? You'll see more blond hair, less silver hair. Governors will be in, Texans out. *New York Times* in, *Washington Times* out. Sidney Blumenthal and



Elvis is in.



Millie is out.

Strobe Talbott in, Fred Barnes and Brit Hume out. Arsenio Hall in, Larry King out. Saxophones in, guitars out. Cats in, Springer spaniels out. Mustang convertibles in, Swatch watches in. George Will may be back in.

Certain to be very in are Dave McCurdy, Marian Wright Edelman, Anne Wexler, Dick Moe, Pamela Harriman, Liz Stevens, Ron Brown, Jay and Sharon Rockefeller, Vernon Jordan, Lynn Cutler, Les Aspin, Sam Nunn, David Pryor, Tony Coelho, Al From, John Breaux, Steve Engelberg, Jim Woolsey, Bitsy Folger, and Beryl Anthony.

THE WHITE HOUSE



Dear Supporter of the American Conservative Union,

Here is your opportunity to do what you couldn't do in 1992...

...vote FOR or AGAINST First
Person Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Please, take out a pen right now and sign the enclosed HILLARY
BALLOT. Then rush it back to me today.

Hillary "Rodham" Clinton is now the second, if not the first,
most powerful person in the world.

She sits in on Cabinet meetings...

... her lackeys are in charge of, among other things,
the Justice Department and the Department of Health
and Human Services;

... she has a huge taxpayer-paid staff and flies on U.S.
military aircraft at your and my expense;

... her lavish offices take up nearly an entire floor of the
West Wing of the White House;

... and even though Hillary is in the process of dictating
what health care will be available to you...

... she was elected by no one and is accountable to no one.

You and I didn't have a chance to vote for or against "First
Person" Hillary Clinton before.

But you can now. And this time, I'll personally make sure your
voice will be heard.

So please, do not delay your response. Complete your HILLARY
BALLOT and rush it back to me today. Your HILLARY BALLOT will be
tabulated in our national processing center here in Washington. D.C.

Your vote will be kept strictly confidential.

But the overall results will be sent to the White House,
Congress, and to the national media.

Our goal: to counter the biased media's ridiculous claim that
Americans approve of Hillary and her enormous illegitimate (or
illegal) power. What's more, we want to use the results of our
HILLARY BALLOTS to force Bill Clinton to rein in his wife before she

can do any serious and long term damage to our nation.

"Billary" (Bill and Hillary) fooled America last November. They deliberately misled voters into believing that Hillary would not have enormous power.

We all know now that this was not true. We know that Hillary's "down home" act and cookie baking were all a charade.

And we know that Hillary intends to rule the White House and our nation with an iron fist.

In fact, that is exactly what she is already doing:

- * Hillary demanded that Bill Clinton pick a woman for Attorney General -- no matter how many times it took to get it right;
- * Hillary played a major role in nearly all Cabinet appointments making sure her friends, such as the ultra-liberal Donna Shalala, were chosen over others;
- * Hillary sits in on all Cabinet meetings, was a major player in the White House/Governors conference, and has already begun lobbying -- and bullying -- Senators and Congressmen from both political Parties.

Do you ever wonder why Bill Clinton caters so much to the radical homosexual crowd?

Why he insists on homosexuals in the military? Or why he wants AIDS infected immigrants to come to America?

Part of the answer is "Queen Hillary."

Her radical agenda includes special privileges for homosexuals, feminists, abortionists and other left-wing kooks.

It also includes... sky-high taxes... oppressive government regulations... a massive redistribution of wealth... an expansion of the welfare state... racial quotas... federally funded pornography... the complete dismantling of the military and the CIA...

... and total control over your life and your income.

That's why she told Bill Clinton to give her the one job in the one area in which she can cause the most damage -- health care.

Nothing frightens me more than Hillary deciding for me and for you what kind of health care we should have. Because despite what she says, Hillary's health care plan will almost certainly lead to:

- * rationed health care;
- * new taxes on Social Security, income and health care benefits;
- * long waiting periods and delays

Broadly applying her scary faith

Mrs. Clinton's worldview: Its ultimate trust is in power

More and more, an otherwise admirable trait is evident in the approach of Hillary Clinton to her role as First Lady. Obviously, she takes seriously the task of applying her faith to all of life. Other things being equal, that should excite evangelical Christians.

But sadly, the evidence also grows that Mrs. Clinton puts her faith in the wrong god.

No, this is not just another beat-up-on-Hillary piece. Yet, given the prominence she has had in recent weeks in the media—along with the intensity with which she has set out to reshape American life—it is vital to explore what drives her.

FROM THE EDITOR

Few sources are more revealing in that respect than *The New York Times Magazine* of Sunday, May 23, whose front cover adoringly framed the First Lady in garments of white overprinted with the headline: "The Politics of Virtue."

Inside, the article's title "Saint Hillary" is no mocking put-down. Instead, it's hard to imagine a piece on Mother Theresa cramming more religious imagery into a few lines. The subhead teases: "More preacher than politician, the First Lady seeks a new Reformation, concerned less with how government should behave than with how people should." Writer Michael Kelly continues: "She would like to do good, on a grand scale, and she would like others to do good as well. She would like to make the world a better place—as she defines better. . . . Her sense of purpose stems from a world view rooted in the activist religion of her youth and watered by the conviction of her generation that it was destined (and equipped) to teach the world the error of its ways. Together, both faiths form the true politics of her heart, the politics of virtue."

World, you may recall, highlighted the same themes in its May 22 issue (the week before the *New York Times* piece) in an article by Steve Beard. There, we stressed the sense in which Mrs. Clinton had been shaped by liberal Methodism—and suggested there might be a certain naivete in her perspective on the human condition.

Kelly's *New York Times* article also worries about naivete, but finds it in a different part of Mrs. Clinton's belief system. He rejects the

possibility that Mrs. Clinton has taken on all the world's woes with no more than the traditional liberal assumption that human beings are basically good folk, able to achieve just about any wonderful thing they set their minds to. He quotes Donald G. Jones, youth minister to Hillary Rodham during her high-school years, who says pointedly: "My sense of Hillary is that she realizes absolutely the truth of the human condition, which is that you cannot depend on the basic nature of man to be good and you cannot depend entirely on moral suasion to make it good. You have to use power. And there is nothing wrong with wielding power in the pursuit of policies that will add to the human good."

You have to use power.

Before considering what a chilling thought that really is, let's give the woman her due. She has moved far beyond two categories of

people who tend to dominate this world. First, she has moved beyond the millions of people who simply don't care about the world's ills. Mock her if you will, but she is persuasive and sometimes eloquent in her passion to set right some of the things that have gone so wrong. She says herself that she seeks a new union of conservatism and liberal thinking, and some of

her goals—even for children and families—are manifestly worthy. Second, Mrs. Clinton has moved beyond those who still believe that we're all pretty good people, if we could only get rid of all these evil influences around us. She seems to understand that the evil isn't just around us, but within us. And she seems to understand that it is so pervasive that only the remaking of a whole nation of people will change things.

But how do you remake a whole nation of people? That's where the First Lady's frank embrace of power gets scary. Do you turn to the institutions that are made up of those same ultimately evil and fallible people? Do you turn to executive staffs who don't even know how to schedule a haircut? Are those the people you want to trust to make a nation good and to instill it with virtue?

It is one thing to go beyond traditional understandings of a limited role for government and to ask the state to provide health and education and welfare for increasing numbers of its citizens. Hard though all that has been for many people to swallow, it has

become a way of life—although bringing at least as many problems as it has solved.

Amazingly, Mrs. Clinton seems to understand the failures of the traditional liberal state. But instead of conceding that the state's great powers should therefore be trimmed back, she wants now to extend the provisions of this false god to the issues of virtue and ethics in every area of life. Francis Schaeffer warned us more than a decade ago about the "powerful elite" who would seek to dictate right and wrong. Now, you're seeing that warning fulfilled—and you read about it not in some right-wing rag, but in *The New York Times* itself.

World welcomes to its masthead a familiar name, and is delighted to tell you why you won't see another name there any time soon.

The name you will see is Fred Barnes, certainly one of the most respected journalists in America today. He is senior editor of *The New Republic*, and appears regularly as a commentator on the McLaughlin Group and on National Public Radio. He is also a committed Christian, who loves being asked to tell how he became a believer. We've quoted Barnes and interviewed him often in *World*, but now he's agreed to write regular news and analyses for us as well—the first of which appears on p. 16 of this issue.

Another thoughtful Christian journalist will also write regularly for *World* in the months ahead, as he has in recent issues. He is Terry Eastland, a fellow with the Ethics and Public Policy Center in Washington, a public affairs spokesman for the Justice Department under Ronald Reagan, and a regular contributor now to *The Wall Street Journal*. Eastland too would normally take a place on *World's* masthead as a contributing editor, except that he has also just taken on duties as editor of a new publication on media ethics sponsored by *Forbes* magazine. That assignment came with the understandable request that he not appear on the masthead of any publications.

Both writers will add dimension and maturity to the reporting and analysis you find in *World's* pages. More importantly, they will also enhance what you find only in *World*: a perspective on the weekly news instructed by a self-conscious commitment to biblical truth.



Barnes



Eastland



**WILL YOU HELP THE ACU
FIGHT HILLARY RODHAM
CLINTON?
Please respond today.**

**GOP CONGRESSMEN QUESTION HILLARY
CLINTON'S CLOSED DOOR MEETINGS**

— *The Washington Post*

HILLARY CLINTON TO SIT AT CABINET

— *The New York Times*

HILLARY AND JUSTICE

— Evans and Novak



"As one White House aide put it, she isn't just in the loop, she is the loop. The only question is when — if ever — Hillary's unique role will raise the issue of who's really in charge in the Oval Office."

— **NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE**

- in treatment;
* fewer doctors, less drug research,
and poorer health care quality.

This is the future if Hillary is allowed to decide our nation's health care system -- guaranteed.

Guaranteed because Hillary is a pro-socialist, pro-Marxist leftist who will lead our nation down the same path as the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe and other nations who have bankrupted themselves by trying to provide "free" government run health care.

The bottom line my friend is that nothing is "free." One way or another, you and I will always pay for health care.

But with Hillary in charge, the health care we get will be far worse than what we get now.

That's why you and I have to stop her.

And why, I hope I can count on your continued support of "HILLARY ALERT," a special project of the American Conservative Union (ACU).

As you know, considered by many to be the most respected and effective grassroots organization in America, the ACU is the one group that truly frightens the liberals.

And for good reason.

From standing up for the "Silent Majority" in the 1960s... to limiting the damage caused by Jimmy Carter in the 1970s.. to helping Ronald Reagan build his conservative "revolution" in the 1980s...

... the ACU has helped make history.

And with your continued support today, we intend to continue to make history in opposing the socialist agenda of Bill and Hillary Clinton.

We believe in lower taxes... less government... a strong defense... the traditional family values that made America great.

In short, the ACU stands for everything Bill and Hillary detest... God, family, and patriotism.

That's why one of our top priorities is using HILLARY ALERT to limit the power of Hillary "Rodham" Clinton. In many ways, she is far more dangerous than her husband because she fanatically believes her leftist philosophy. And about all that stands in her way right now are you, me, and the taxpayers of America. That's why, in addition to your HILLARY BALLOT...

... I also hope I can count on you to rush the ACU a most

PERSONAL REPLY TO DAVID A. KEENE

Chairman of American Conservative Union (ACU)
Hillary Alert

Dear David,

- ☐ I am angry and frightened by the enormous power that has been given to Hillary Clinton. We must do all we can to rein in this pro-socialist before she can seriously damage our nation. You can count on me. I am completing my HILLARY BALLOT and rushing it back to you today along with my check for:

☐ \$15 ☐ \$20 ☐ \$25 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$75 ☐ \$100
☐ \$250 ☐ \$500 ☐ \$1,000 ☐ Other \$ _____

Please make your check payable to: Hillary Alert or the American Conservative Union.

ACU is a non-profit, grassroots organization. Contributions to the ACU are not tax-deductible. Corporate contributions are welcome.
 Not authorized or printed at government or taxpayer expense.

DO NOT CUT OR SEPARATE. RETURN THIS ENTIRE FORM TODAY.

HILLARY BALLOT

Sponsored by "Hillary Alert"
 A Special Project of the American Conservative Union.

Instructions: Please answer each question. Then place your ballot and your donation check in the enclosed, pre-addressed, return envelope. Thank you.

- 1) Do you approve or disapprove of Hillary "Rodham" Clinton?
☐ Approve ☐ Disapprove ☐ Undecided
- 2) Should Hillary Clinton have a taxpayer funded, White House political staff to help her determine U.S. policy?
☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Undecided
- 3) Should Hillary "Rodham" Clinton determine a national health care policy?
☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Undecided
- 4) Do you think you were lied to during the campaign about how much power Hillary Clinton would have in the White House?
☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Undecided
- 5) Do you approve or disapprove of Hillary's decision to use her maiden name, "Rodham," since Bill Clinton was elected President?
☐ Approve ☐ Disapprove ☐ Undecided

generous donation of \$15, \$20, \$25, \$50, \$100 or more today.

Please, your gift is just as important as your HILLARY BALLOT.

You see, in taking on Hillary Clinton we are taking on the darling of the media, Hollywood, and the entire establishment Left.

To counter this force, we need to:

- * distribute a minimum of 3 million HILLARY BALLOTS nationwide as soon as possible;
- * recruit an army of 100,000 Americans willing to flood the White House, the Congress and the radio talk shows in a sea of petitions, phone calls and letters demanding Bill Clinton rein in his radical wife;
- * create and publish a HILLARY ALERT newsletter which will track and expose every move made by our new "First Person";
- * form an alliance of Congressional leaders who will help us fight Hillary's socialist health care proposals in the House and Senate.

My friend, this is indeed a massive endeavor. And it will take your help, both political and financial to make it work.

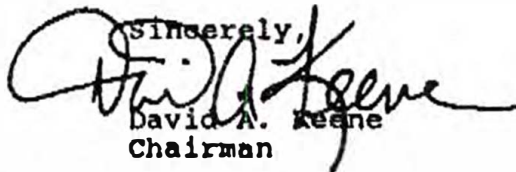
But with your continued support, it can and will work. As long as we begin today, before it's too late.

The ACU needs your completed HILLARY BALLOT today so we can launch a counter strike against her biased allies in the media.

And we need your gift of \$15, \$20, \$25, \$50, or \$100 to fund this counter strike.

So please, complete your HILLARY BALLOT and then rush it back to me today along with your most urgent, most generous donation.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

David A. Keene
Chairman

P.S. In an arrogant and symbolic slap in the face to all Americans, Hillary Clinton changed her name to Hillary "Rodham" Clinton after the election. This use of her maiden name is Hillary's way of saying, "I fooled you in November. Too bad. I'm in power now and there is nothing you can do stop me!".

Please, help me and the ACU prove Hillary "Rodham" Clinton wrong -- today.

*the
accomplishments*

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 29, 1997

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON THE BUDGET

The South Lawn

2:50 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Good afternoon. Ladies and gentlemen, we have the pleasure of announcing today an historic agreement that will benefit generations of Americans. Last night we reached agreement with Congress on detailed legislation to balance the budget in a way that honors our values, invests in our people and cuts taxes for middle class families. After decades of deficits, we have put America's fiscal house in order again. (Applause.)

Above all, we are investing in education, America's most important priority. I am particularly pleased that the first balanced budget in a generation is also the best education budget in a generation and the best for future generations. (Applause.)

This agreement meets my goal of balancing the budget in a way that honors our values, invests in our people and prepares America for the 21st century. It is very, very good for our country. It's a victory for every parent who wants a good education for their children, for every child in a poor household who needs health care, for every immigrant struggling to make it here, for every family working to build a secure future. It is the best investment we can make in America's future.

Let me underscore the magnitude of this achievement. Four and a half years ago, when this administration took office, America's budget deficit was \$290 billion and rising. We put in place a comprehensive economic strategy to cut the deficit and invest in our people. The budget plan adopted in 1993 made a large contribution to today's conditions in America -- a strong economy, low inflation, and a deficit that has already shrunk by more than 80 percent.

The budget agreement that we announced today would not be possible had it not been for the tough vote taken in 1993 to set us on the right path. (Applause.) Thank you. Now, this legislation will help to ensure the conditions for continued prosperity, keeping interest rates down and spurring investment. And, just as important, it will give our people the tools to reap the rewards of economic growth. Let me mention just a few of the details of this plan.

First, at the heart of this balanced budget is the historic investment in education -- the most significant increase in education funding in more than 30 years. It includes \$35 billion in tax relief to help families pay for college and training -- the largest investment in higher education since the G.I. Bill 50 years ago. (Applause.) It will give every American who needs it a HOPE Scholarship to pay for the first two years of college. It gives tax relief for all four years of college and for education throughout a lifetime. The overall budget agreement also includes the largest increase in Pell Grant Scholarships for deserving students in three decades, funds our America Reads Challenge, helps to connect all our schools and libraries to the Internet by the year 2000.

MORE

As the spending bills move forward in weeks to come, we will work to see that they reflect this agreement. I am pleased that this legislation also will give communities substantial tax cuts to help to build and modernize our schools. (Applause.)

All across America, I have challenged our people to make sure that every 8-year-old can read, every 12-year-old can log onto the Internet, every 18-year-old can go to college, every adult can keep learning for a lifetime. This balanced budget makes unprecedented progress toward those goals.

Second, this is a balanced budget that strengthens our families by extending health insurance coverage to up to 5 million children. (Applause.) By investing fully \$24 billion we will be able to provide quality medical care for these children, everything from regular check-ups to major surgery. I want to thank all of the people in Congress and among my fellow Democrats here who worked so hard on the health care issue, but I especially want to say a thanks to Senator Kennedy, Senator Rockefeller and to the First Lady for what they have done over these years to help us to reach this important day. (Applause.)

We want every child in America to grow up healthy and strong and this investment takes a major step toward that goal. I'm also pleased that Congress agreed to pay for the children's health care in part with a new 15-cents-a-pack tax on cigarettes. Not only will this new revenue help to pay for health care, it will help prevent children from taking up smoking in the first place. (Applause.)

Third, this is a balanced budget that provides modest tax relief to the middle class, helping families to raise their children, buy and sell a home, save for their retirement with expanded IRAs and send their children to college. We fought very hard to make sure this tax cut helped a wide range of middle class parents, all those who are working hard to raise their children, pay their taxes and be good citizens, and the agreement does just that. (Applause.)

Fourth, this is a balanced budget that will help us finish the job of welfare reform, providing \$3 billion to move welfare recipients to private sector jobs, keeping our promise made last year to provide \$12 billion to restore disability and health benefits for 350,000 legal immigrants. And, as the Vice President will describe, it will double the number of empowerment zones to bring the spark of private enterprise to our hardest-pressed neighborhoods. (Applause.)

Finally, this is a balanced budget that honors our commitment to our parents by extending the Medicare Trust Fund for a decade and to the next generation by continuing our commitment to the environment to protect our air, our land, our water, to clean up the worst toxic waste sites in the nation. And we achieve all these goals while eliminating the budget deficit by 2002. We are determined never again to repeat the mistakes of the past, when we mortgaged our economy to reckless policies. This budget reforms and cuts yesterday's government so that we can help provide our people the means to meet the challenges of tomorrow.

Let me thank the negotiators for the administration who did a superb job, all the democratic lawmakers here and, indeed, all of the members of Congress who worked hard on this legislation. I also want to say a special word of appreciation to Senator Lott and Speaker Gingrich, to Senator Domenici and Congressman Kasich and to their committee chairs, who worked with us across the lines of substantial philosophical and practical differences to reach a good faith agreement that is an honorable and principled compromise. And

especially let me thank Senators Daschle and Lautenberg, Congressman Spratt and Congressman Rangel for their leadership.

This agreement is a monument to the efforts that people, who good will can make, when they put aside partisan interests to work together for the common good and our common future. It reflects the values and aspirations of all Americans. And I hope and expect it will marshal strong majorities of both parties in both houses.

This summer we had an historic opportunity to strengthen America for the 21st century and we have seized it. Now our nation can move forward stronger, more vibrant, more united than ever. For that, I am profoundly grateful.

Now I'd like to ask the Vice President to come forward and let me thank you all again for this great, great day. (Applause.)

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Wait, wait. We forgot to say one thing. We still have to pass this agreement. (Laughter.) And so, tomorrow, the next day -- and I hope it will be over by then -- all of us who are for it, in both parties, have a solemn obligation to go out there and try to keep moving and keep this spirit alive and actually pass it. We are celebrating an agreement; we still have to celebrate the passage of the bill and then the signing of the bill, and I look forward to being here for that with all of you and others as well.

Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

3:25 P.M. EDT