

VALLEY WEST



Providing Leadership Since 1969

March, 1996

MARCH MEETING

March 17th
Sunday, 7:30 PM

Hans Hemann
of The Sierra Club
explores a winning
strategy for November
Holanov Residence
6100 Rod Ave.
Woodland Hills.
346-6243

Sierra Club Spokesman at March 17 Monthly Meeting

Seeking friends and political partners to forge coalitions against the Republican Contract, the Valley West Democratic Club has invited Hans Hemann of the Southern California arm of the Sierra Club to speak at our Sunday March 17, 7:30 P.M. meeting at the Holanov home, 6100 Rod Ave, Woodland Hills.

The Sierra Club recently played a pivotal role in the Oregon special election which elected Ron Wyden, a Demo-

crat, to replace the Republican Bob Packwood, who resigned his seat after repeated charges of sexual harassment.

Democrats hope the Wyden victory will foreshadow the return of Congress to Democratic control in the November elections.

Hemann will focus on what it takes to win the election. He has extensive political experience, having served in Sacramento as a paid staffer for the Sierra Club.

PRESIDENT'S COLUMN



MY POINT OF VIEW

By Roberta Lewis

So there I was on the receiving line, inching along, about to shake hands with First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. What would I say to her in the very few seconds I had?

When I first found out about this event, which was a reception at the Beverly Hilton, on Wednesday, February 7th, I knew I wanted to attend. I phoned several friends that I thought might want to go, but since it was called for 4:30 P.M., the early hour precluded many of them from attending.

Lonnie (my husband) was disappointed that he couldn't make it, but two of my friends who never saw Mrs. Clinton in person before, cleared their calendars. There was room for only a thousand people so we all felt very lucky to have gotten on the list.

This reception was sponsored by Childrens Hospital Los Angeles, Price

Costco, and Simon and Schuster. The First Lady was on a tour discussing the spirit and vision of her first book, *It Takes A Village And Other Lessons Children Teach Us*, and the proceeds of the evening went directly to Childrens Hospital L.A. The cost was fifty dollars per person.

We arrived at the hotel on the early side but waiting turned out to be fun because we met friends like Carol Blad and Roberta Gillis. The hundreds of people assembled were of the same mindset, so we were among Mrs. Clinton's admirers. This was very much in evidence as I observed women wearing Hillary Rodham Clinton Fan Club buttons and T-shirts. I joined the fan club and bought a shirt.

As we nibbled on the crudites and sipped our drinks, the program started.

Continued on page 2

Cocktail Party for '96 Campaign at Goodman's on March 16

Acting gracious hosts once again, Agnes and Ben Goodman in support of the presidential campaign, will host a cocktail party on Saturday, March 16, 4 P.M. at their home at 24642 Rod Place, Woodland Hills. March 16 will be the date when many house parties will be held on behalf of the Clinton/Gore campaign. The donation, - - is \$25 per person and will include food and drink. The goal is to raise \$1,000 per party which can be met if at least 40 persons attend. The Goodman party will feature "a taste of America," food from many regions of the country and a videotaped address by President Bill Clinton. Agnes urges all our club members to attend. "Let's be sure of success in '96," she said. For reservations, call Agnes 888-9618.

PRESIDENT'S COLUMN

Continued from page 1

TV and talk radio host Steve Edwards was the M.C. Childrens Hospital is very close to his heart as he is the hospital's Foundation Events Chairman and a member of the Board of Regents. We heard opening remarks from the President and CEO of Childrens Hospital and then watched a video presentation about the amazing work performed by the doctors and nurses at the hospital.

One of the most miraculous stories featured a girl named Daniella Fortuna, who is almost ten years old. She has spent much of her life at the hospital where the horrendous birthmark that covered most of her face has slowly been removed. Her face has been reconstructed and when the video ended we were introduced to this courageous and vivacious child. In turn, Daniella introduced the First Lady.

The thousand people that were gathered gave Mrs. Clinton a thunderous ovation. Standing in front of a backdrop of the cover of her book, she spoke about her longtime commitment to children in both her personal and public life. The First Lady gave an intimate and humorous account of an experience she had with Chelsea as a newborn, that hit home with every mother sitting there.

Mrs. Clinton spoke for about twenty-five minutes. The crowd was certainly in accord with her thinking about the needs of children in today's society, and they told her so by interrupting her many times with applause. Her style of speaking is so down to earth you can almost imagine that she is talking directly to you. She is simply wonderful..

When she ended her speech we were told that we would be called to the stage, table by table, to shake hands with Mrs. Clinton and receive an autographed copy of her book.

I was very excited, as were all the people at my table. My friends said, "You've met her several times before and you're still so excited." I responded that it wouldn't matter if this was my hundredth time meeting her, I still would be thrilled.

As I slowly walked along the stage, I looked down at my lapels to check my buttons that I had from the '92 Cam-
2 Valley West Democratic Club

COME ONE, COME ALL! NEIGHBORHOOD PLANNING ADVISORY

By Roberta Lewis

Do you know that on the second Wednesday of the month you can participate in the Neighborhood Planning Advisory Council of Woodland Hills and West Hills? These meetings are held in the community room of Fallbrook Mall and were organized by our Councilwoman (and club member!) Laura Chick and her able staff.

The purpose of the council is to bring the community together along with the twelve appointed members and Ken Bernstein, Laura Chick's planning deputy, to hear matters of planning that affect the neighborhood at large. They voice their opinions and the feedback is very helpful to Laura in her decision making.

The meetings are open to the general public. For your information, two Valley West members are part of the Council. Allan Oberman, past Chair and me Roberta Lewis, present Chair.

Please come and bring your neighbors to the meetings.

Call Laura Chick's office 818-756-8848 to find out about the upcoming agenda.

* paign. "California Loves Hillary"... "Hillary Clinton, A Voice For Children"...my new "Hillary Rodham Clinton Fan Club" button...and of course my "Clinton/Gore '96" pin.

When I approached the First Lady she glanced at my jacket and gave me a big smile. I knew just what to say. As I reached out my hand I said, "Mrs. Clinton, you want to know where your friends are. Your friends are all here." She took my hand in both of hers, nodded her head, and said, "You know, I can feel it."

Best Regards,

Roberta

P.S. If you wish to join the Hillary Rodham Clinton Fan Club write to Rosemary Straley, 5708 Fairway Knoll Lane, Santa Rosa, CA 95403 or call me at 999-3322.

Ballot Props Examined at February Meeting

By Sheila Silverman

The twelve propositions appearing on the March 26 ballot were analyzed and discussed by Mary Nelligan of the League of Women Voters and then judged by the 40 people in attendance at the Goodman's on Feb. 25.

After a spirited debate among the club members, it was voted too poll the audience after each issue but not report the results in this newsletter in order to avoid swaying the reader's opinion.

Press Steps Down As Party Chair

California State Party Chairman Bill Press will be taking on a new role as the man "on the left" on CNN's popular Crossfire television program. A new chairman will be selected at the State Convention in April.

Roberta Elected Chicago Delegate

Roberta Lewis, President of the Valley West Democratic Club and club member Dan Saborio will be heading to Chicago the last week of August as official delegates to the national convention of the Democratic Party.

Roberta received the largest number of votes of anyone at the 24th Congressional District caucus held Feb. 11 at Taft High School.

A total of six delegates were elected from this district, three men and three women. In addition to Roberta, Jennifer Stein and Gloria Henry were elected and in addition to Dan, Edward Tabash and Jason Olson were picked by the attendees who numbered several hundred.

All candidates from Valley West wish to thank all the club members and their friends who came out to support our candidates.

Common thread: Poem hits universal nerve

One Thanksgiving several years ago, I wrote a prayer for children as my column offering for The Charlotte Observer, where I was writing three columns a week, as I do now for The News-Sentinel.

It was a very personal piece, which is often the case. Somebody once said that a writer and a spider are to be pitied above all others because they



**Ina
Hughs**

both hang by a thread spun out of their own guts.

I don't know about the pity part, but sometimes the things we feel the strongest are the hardest to articulate.

But I got lucky that Thanksgiving.

Not because what I wrote was any great shakes as poetry, but because so many people were thinking along the same lines.

It had struck me that when we talk about loving kids and wanting the world to be good for them, we really are talking about two kinds of children. There are *ours* the ones we tuck in at night, the ones we once were, the ones we see skipping up and down the sidewalks in the neighborhood.

Then there are *theirs*. The others. Kids we might never see, who have no names we know. Children who are so disenfranchised by societies and governments, systems and politics that they come and go with hardly a notice from anybody.

I sure wasn't the only one thinking along those lines.

The poem has since been used in schools and churches all over. I probably get two calls a week from people about it. It was read during UNICEF's World Summit for Children this fall. It has been used by the Children's Defense Fund, several national advocacy groups and so forth. Valerie Harper read it last year on an Arts & Entertainment network program on the needs of children.

Thursday night, it was used on "Knots Landing." The storyline involved an abused child, and one of the characters read it as a kind of appeal on behalf of kids everywhere.

The folks at the paper asked me to explain how it came about and to run the poem, at right, as today's column.

News-Sentinel staff writer Ina Hughs writes this column for Monday, Wednesday and Saturday editions.

A Prayer for Children

By INA HUGHS

We pray for children

*who put chocolate fingers everywhere,
who like to be tickled,
who stomp in puddles and ruin their new pants,
who sneak Popsicles before supper,
who erase holes in math workbooks,
who can never find their shoes.*

And we pray for those

*who stare at photographers from behind barbed wire
who can't bounce down the street in a new pair of sneakers,
who never "counted potatoes"
who are born in places we wouldn't be caught dead,
who never go to the circus,
who live in an X-rated world.*

We pray for children

*who bring us sticky kisses and fistfuls of dandelions,
who sleep with the dog and bury goldfish,
who hug us in a hurry and forget their lunch money,
who cover themselves with Band-aids and sing off-key,
who squeeze toothpaste all over the sink,
who slurp their soup.*

And we pray for those

*who never get dessert
who watch their parents watch them die,
who have no safe blanket to drag behind,
who can't find any bread to steal,
who don't have any rooms to clean up
whose pictures aren't on anybody's dresser,
whose monsters are real.*

We pray for children

*who spend all their allowance before Tuesday,
who throw tantrums in the grocery store and pick at their food,
who like ghost stories,
who shove dirty clothes under the bed and never rinse out the tub,
who get visits from the tooth fairy,
who don't like to be kissed in front of the car pool,
who squirm in church and scream in the phone,
whose tears we sometime laugh at, and whose smiles can make us cry,*

And we pray for those

*whose nightmares come in the daytime,
who will eat anything,
who have never seen a dentist,
who aren't spoiled by anybody,
who go to bed hungry and cry themselves to sleep,
who live and move, but have no being.*

We pray for children who want to be carried,

And for those who must.

For those we never give up on,

And for those who don't get a chance.

For those we smother,

And for those who will grab the hand of anybody

Kind enough to offer.

Knoxville (TN) News-Sentinel 3/4/91

You are invited to a benefit for
TIKKUN Magazine

Come meet

Michael Lerner

Editor, TIKKUN Magazine

Dr. Lerner recently met with Hillary Rodham Clinton at the White House to discuss her adoption of the politics of meaning as a major theme for the Clinton administration.

&

Peter Gabel

Associate Editor, TIKKUN
Elected Member, S.F. Democratic Party
Central Committee
President of New College of California

and hear them discuss

THE POLITICS OF MEANING

Hillary Clinton, Michael Lerner, and Peter Gabel have launched an approach to politics that transcends the normal right/left distinctions and speaks to the deepest psychological, ethical, and spiritual dimensions of human needs.

Lerner and Gabel argue that liberal and progressive forces have been losing in part because they have focused too narrowly on economic entitlements and political rights but have failed to address the psychological, ethical, and spiritual dimensions of human needs. These meaning needs are systematically frustrated by the current organization of American society. In April, the First Lady adopted the politics of meaning as a priority and invited Michael Lerner to meet with her at the White House. Lerner will report on that meeting and subsequent developments.

Sunday, June 27

1-5 p.m.

New College of California.

777 Valencia Street, S.F.

Tuesday, June 29

7:30-10:30 p.m.

at 951 Cragmont,

Berkeley.

Registration fee: \$35. Make checks payable to TIKKUN and mail to
951 Cragmont, Berkeley, Ca. 94619. Or send Visa/Mastercard/American Express information.

510-
526-
6889

TIKKUN

A BEMONTHLY JEWISH CRITIQUE OF POLITICS, CULTURE, & SOCIETY

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Dear Stanley,

Last week, Hillary Rodham Clinton invited me to the White House for a half-hour, private meeting to discuss Tikkun magazine's approach to the politics of meaning. A few weeks before, she had given a speech calling for a new politics of meaning and defining it in terms that seemed to come virtually verbatim from the pages of Tikkun. (Excerpts of that speech appear in the May/June issue of Tikkun.) During our meeting, Hillary made it clear that both she and the President are carefully reading Tikkun and agree with much that we have to say.

I write because I want you to know about that meeting, but I am also writing to thank you for your past support of Tikkun and to ask you to increase your donation now in 1993.

Much of my meeting at the White House was spent discussing how best to take the ideas of the politics of meaning into the public sphere. Hillary told me that she intends to use these ideas as a centerpiece of her public speeches. Like me, she comes to the politics of meaning through her religious tradition, in her case, Methodism. And also like me, she is striving to find the most appropriate ways to take the fundamental moral vision embodied in a politics of meaning and articulate it so that it will resonate with the American people. One of the biggest obstacles is the media-fostered cynicism that refuses to imagine that anything beyond narrow self interest could motivate our leaders.

The discussion was quite extraordinary--as she put it, we seemed to be "on the same wave-length" and that made it possible to cover a great deal of ground. I also talked to her about the importance of the Administration listening to the liberal voices in the Jewish community, about Israel and about domestic issues.

You needn't worry that Tikkun will become synonphatic followers of the new administration. It is precisely our independence of thought and action that enables us to make a significant intellectual contribution. We will continue to put forward specific proposals on social policies that would foster a transition from the dominant ethos of selfishness and me-firstism to an ethos of caring, community and social responsibility. As I pointed out to Hillary, there can be a right-wing politics of meaning and

RECEIVE

May 7, 1993

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K. SHEINBAUM

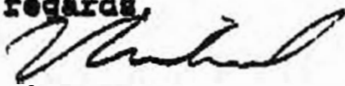
a progressive politics of meaning--adopting the language is only a first step. Transforming it into the kinds of programs we've recommended in our platform for a politics of meaning is the next and much more substantial step.

But having a unifying idea is important. Part of the problem with the array of programs that Clinton has put forward to date is that they don't seem to flow from some obvious unifying theme or moral vision. It now seems possible that the Clintons will adopt our politics of meaning as that unifying theme--and if they do, that may help create the political space for social change movements which will insist that the progressive implications of "an ethos of caring and community" be taken seriously.

It's encouraging to realize that Hillary Rodham Clinton and Bill Clinton are reading, thinking about, and often agreeing with Tikkun. I don't have an inflated perception of our influence and I'm well aware of all the other more powerful forces working to influence the Clintons' decisions; but what we do have is access, which many organizations spend millions of dollars trying to achieve. Our access to the Clinton administration stems solely from the power of our ideas. We are not lobbyists pushing for some particular legislation. What we have to offer is a new moral and spiritual framework for thinking about our social ills. I came away from this meeting assured that the Clintons are listening--and reading Tikkun carefully and with great interest. It's quite an achievement for a progressive Jewish magazine--but still only a drop in the bucket when we remember that our goal is not to have influence with the powerful, but to heal, repair, and transform the world, to end the needless suffering, to end the poverty, to establish justice and a world based on love, caring, and spiritual sensitivity.

In the past, you have been one of the people who have financially supported Tikkun. I want you to know that your support is actually making a difference and I want you to know how important it will be to us for you to donate to us again in 1993. I hope that you will consider taking the time, right now, to increase your previous donation to Tikkun. Please send the check (or Visa/MasterCard/American Express information) to Tikkun, 251 W. 100th St., New York, NY 10025.

Warm regards,



Michael Lerner

P.S. A few days ago, I was a guest on Charlie Rose's television interview show on PBS and had an opportunity to talk to a large audience about the politics of meaning. The enthusiastic response of callers to Tikkun in the ensuing days convinces us that what we are saying makes sense to a lot of people. It's an important time to have Tikkun in the world. I hope that through your donation you'll help us to keep going.

The Guru of the White House

Michael Lerner Preaches 'the Politics of Meaning'—Whatever That Is—and Hillary Rodham Clinton Is Listening

By Henry Allen
Washington Post Staff Writer

Michael Lerner, who's been described as Hillary Rodham Clinton's "guru," flew into town yesterday to stop people from making fun of him, making fun of her, making fun of Bill and making fun of the "politics of meaning"—in what Lerner called "the press riot that has taken place since Hillary talked about the politics of meaning."

Q lucky Lerner! The politics of meaning is his phrase. As he has written, it "addresses the psychological, ethical and spiritual needs of Americans. It incorporates the liberal and progressive agenda, but it puts this agenda in a much deeper context."

The press was puzzled. Even "cynical," Lerner said.

"What on earth are these people talking about?" the New Republic asked.

"The politics of what?" asked a headline in Time. Then producer Norman Lear defended the politics of meaning by attacking columnist Charles Krauthammer, and Krauthammer replied, and Michael Kelly wrote his celebrated "St. Hillary" story in the New York Times Magazine, and a column in the Los Angeles Times used the word "psychobabble," as Lerner will be the first to tell you. It also said Hillary's "latest influences include Michael Lerner, editor and publisher of the progressive Tikkun magazine."

But bingo, bonanza, blackjack, bull's-eye, nonetheless. This is what editors of little intellectual magazines live for—the possibility that their ideas will transmute into power, that the pen will become the sword, that what they talked about all those years in grad school, drinking jug wine out of gas station glasses, is true in the real world too: Ideas do indeed have consequences.

But they need a little help. "The politics of meaning" is Lerner's phrase. It could mean worker discussion groups about stress, empathy being taught in the schools, a foreign policy based on healing. It means feelings more than rights, self-validation more than entitlements. It could mean quite a bit.

He's been helping it along in his magazine, Tikkun, a leftist bimonthly published out of

See LERNER, D2, Col. 1

the fifth floor of a synagogue on New York's Upper West Side. With a little adroit hustling, and a few more photo ops with Hillary, he could turn the phrase into the "silent majority" of the '90s, or maybe "the family that prays together stays together," or "morning again in America."

He flew in yesterday to work at doing just that.

He scheduled an invitation-only press conference at a Jewish student center at George Washington University. About six reporters accepted the invitation. There were no crashers. There was no riot.

Lerner, 50, wore scuffed wingtip shoes, a double-breasted blue blazer and a beaded yarmulke. He looked like he used to be the smartest boy who ever sat at his family's dinner table, an eager, even frantic quality about him. He shuttled his eyes so far to the side that now and then you seemed to see nothing but white. He moved his hands around like somebody squaring up a sand castle. He looked like he used to weigh more. He seemed hungry.

This was the guru, the influence?

There wasn't even a copy of Tikkun on view.

There was a magazine rack with Moment, Kashus, Jerusalem Report and the dreaded right-wing Commentary, which Tikkun was founded in 1986 to combat. But no Tikkun.

"It gets ripped off," Lerner said with a three-quarter smile that looks caught between preoccupation and a flinch. "We get mail about people fighting over it, we get letters about husbands and wives fighting over it, the new issue is sold out across the country, it's a real problem."

It could be worse.

It could be Nancy Reagan plotting the future of America with an astrologer. It could be Pat Nixon bringing Norman Vincent Peale into the White House to preach the Power of Positive Thinking. It could be Mary Lincoln with her seances, or Florence Harding with her tarot

But no, it's just Hillary Rodham Clinton with a scruffy hypomanic left-wing New York intellectual named Lerner who flies around trailing "the politics of meaning" behind him like something you'd see behind a biplane over Ocean City, Md.

On April 6, Hillary Clinton gave a speech in Austin, Tex., calling for "a new politics of meaning" and saying that a "sleeping sickness of the soul is at the root of America's ills," possibly caused by the tsetse flies of the media, with its "lowest common denominator that is the easiest way of conveying information."

Lerner says: "Suddenly I'm deluged by phone calls from people all over the country."

A week before the Washington press conference he sits behind his desk in offices on West 100th Street in Manhattan. The walls are caked with chalky white low-rent New York paint. The floor is the ancient linoleum tiles of pro bono, nonprofit offices anywhere in America. A prayer shawl is draped over the computer, in the style of the fringed throws that used to decorate baby grand pianos. It all looks like it used to be something else.

"Slim Fast is more than a diet, it's a way of life," he says, doing a slow bustle out of and back into the office to fetch a can of it. He walks as if he just got his feet a week ago and he's still getting used to them.

Anyway, the Hillary speech, the phone calls.

Lerner says the next day, he calls the White House. Hillary's father died that day, but Lerner badgers the staff for some hint that she had indeed been quoting him, that it was his politics of meaning she was talking about.

Finally, he is told: "We're all aware of your special relationship with Hillary."

But it was more than that. The next thing was seeing Hillary at a White House reception, and somehow Lerner knew, he knew even then,

that he might well see her again and again.

The reception was the day before the dedication of the Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Lerner was invited. Hillary met him, aimed those cheekbones at him and said, "Am I your mouthpiece or what?"

But let's let him tell it. (Try to hear in your head a tone of modest amazement, or maybe amazed modesty, the tone of a lottery winner, or someone who just stepped off a flying saucer.)

"Unbelievably charming and straight to the—she could have said, 'What's Tikkun? Who's Michael Ler-

ner?' And she says, 'It's amazing how much we seem to be on the same wavelength.' And I said I thought so also, and that we had some ideas about how to take the politics of meaning into a policy direction. And she said, 'Great, let's talk about it.' So she said, 'Well, can you come back soon?'

The following Monday I was meeting with her back in her office in Washington for half an hour. The conversation was quite amazing, because just in that first little interchange where she immediately, 'What am I? Your mouthpiece?' the conversation was almost like in half-sentences because she had read everything. I mean she had understood everything.

And somehow you know...

And it turned out she and the president had been reading Lerner since 1988, when Bill sent Lerner a letter from the Arkansas Governor's Mansion, saying that "you have helped me clarify my own thinking."

So Lerner confessed that some of the Tikkun staff thought that she had written the letter, that "it was you who were more interested in these kinds of ideas than Bill. And she said, 'That's ridiculous. Absolutely not true.' She said, 'Bill is just as interested in the politics of meaning as I am, and we're both in it together.'"

Guru! Spiritual adviser!

Who wouldn't want to be called guru to the most powerful people on Earth? Does this account for the odd halfheartedness of Lerner's rebuttal? He wrote: "Mrs. Clinton and I, by insisting that the society can and ought to move from an ethos of selfishness to an ethos of caring and community, have violated the media's highest religious belief—the belief that human beings are motivated only by narrow self-interest."

It's not as if he doesn't know what he's doing. He grew up in Newark, and went to Farbrook Country Day School in Short Hills, N.J. He was the son of a lawyer who became head of the state's Alcohol Beverage Control Board, and a mother who worked for Sen. Harrison Williams. John Kennedy was a family friend.

"He wrote my college recommendation," Lerner says. He went to Columbia, while studying under Abraham Heschel at the Jewish

Theological Seminary. In 1964 he went to Berkeley to study philosophy. He was part of the Free Speech Movement, Students for a Democratic Society, an activist against the Vietnam War and in favor of the black liberation movement.

In the early '70s, as the revolution petered out, and the touchy-feely encounter-hug movement petered in, he turned to spirituality and ethics. And fathered a son, Akiva, with a woman to whom he was married only religiously, not legally.

Shaky Statistic: Number of Uninsured Is Causing Confusion

Continued From First Page
perhaps most in need of preventive care.

Another issue concerns how long the uninsured go uncovered. Nearly two-thirds of them lack insurance less than a year; only 15% to 18% are out more than two years, according to Katherine Swartz, an economist at the Harvard School of Public Health. So the uninsured are an ever-changing rather than a chronically neglected group.

"A lot of these people are between jobs," said William Niskanen of the conservative Cato Institute, a Washington think tank. Or they have just begun one. In fact, 73% of employees covered by health insurance work for companies that require a waiting period — an average of three months — before extending such benefits to a new hire, according to the Health Insurance Association of America.

The desire to circumvent coverage gaps makes for ridiculous problems. Last year, doctors told Mary Bingamon, a 38-year-old living in Cushing, Okla., that her lung capacity was shrinking. Calling her situation life-threatening, they told the mother of four to begin taking medication that costs nearly \$500 a month. She had no health insurance because, given her medi-

cal history, she couldn't afford it. Medicaid seemed the only solution. But because her husband, Paul, made \$2,000 a month as a truck driver, she could qualify only by legally separating from her husband.

So, he is living with his sister in another part of town, and Medicaid pays for his wife's prescriptions. Welfare, food stamps and his child-support checks pay household bills. "We've been happily married for 23 years," Mrs. Bingamon says. "It wasn't us who wanted to separate."

Recession's Impact

Such stories fill the rhetoric of Hillary Rodham Clinton and stimulate interest in health-care reform. So did the recent recession. In 1988, before it began, about 32 million lacked insurance — 15.9% of Americans under age 65. Then the recession, coupled with surging health-care costs, sparked layoffs and cutbacks in employee benefits. The current figure of 37 million, now growing about 100,000 a month, is 16.7% of the nonelderly population.

Although many uninsured are people such as Mary Bingamon, many others are young, single people who lack insurance out of choice. Their status has nothing to do with being denied coverage and everything to do with priorities. Insurance costs too much, and the risks seem tolerable.

Not that the risk always pays off. Timothy McCoy, who manages a cafe in Manhattan, decided to drop his \$300-a-month health insurance when he was 29 and go without it. "I was almost equal to my rent, and it seemed absurd," he says. For years, he also skipped going to the dentist, only to be told when he finally did go that

he needed root-canal work and a few fillings. He paid the \$3,000 bill himself.

Then his back began to hurt so much that he quit his job. A doctor told him he needed surgery, but, because he had no way of paying, he tried a chiropractor — to no avail. Finally, out of desperation, he checked into a hospital emergency room. He ultimately had an operation for a herniated disk — and was surprised that the hospital absorbed the \$20,000 cost. Mr. McCoy, now 31 and earning \$30,000 a year, is still without insurance; he finds it too expensive. "If I got a raise, then it would be a priority," he says.

By law, hospitals must at least stabilize anyone checking into an emergency room. According to the American Hospital Association, hospitals absorb \$10 billion a year in care for the uninsured.

Even people only temporarily uninsured are at risk, says Ms. Swartz at Harvard. She says a brief loss of insurance can cause a problem because it can mean having to reapply. The applicant might regain coverage, but not for a pre-existing condition — the very ailment for which the applicant most needs coverage. People can "technically have health insurance but not for what they need it for," she says.

The Underinsured

Also at risk are the underinsured. Lloyd Anstey, 61, retired three years ago on \$27,000 a year from investments. His health insurance costs \$5,400 a year, with a \$5,000 deductible. A heart-attack survivor and a diabetic, he skips regular check-ups because he can't afford them. In a year, he will be old enough for Medicare. "so I'll

sweat it out," he says.

Minnesota is one of the few states trying to cover the uninsured. Rather than trying to provide for everybody, it takes the diverse composition of the group into account and covers only what it considers the neediest segments.

When the plan, called MinnesotaCare, is fully phased in next year, it will insure only people earning less than 275% of federally defined poverty — \$39,360 for a family of four in Minnesota — but exclude those who had health insurance in the preceding four months. And because people might be tempted to give up company-sponsored insurance to get potentially more generous care from the state, the plan excludes people who had company coverage in the past 18 months. The plan, funded by a tax on hospitals, doctors and other health-care providers, is expected to cover 180,000 people by 1997 at an annual cost of \$337 million.

Because Minnesota has already addressed the choices faced by the administration, the plan has caught the eye of the White House. However, the administration would prefer a more sweeping program. Instead of a targeted approach, officials are discussing extending coverage to all 37 million uninsured as early as 1996. The money would come from tax increases and savings due to reining in medical spending. The administration would curb costs by stepping up competition among insurers, doctors, hospitals and drug companies through "managed competition."

Sidney Wolfe of Public Citizen, a consumer-advocacy group, argues that the

uninsured might never get covered under the Clinton plan because the savings under managed competition would be too small. Dr. Wolfe says the government could get the savings it seeks by introducing a Canadian-style system. In Canada, the government is the sole payer for health care — eliminating insurance companies and the high administrative costs — and uses its leverage to extract better deals from doctors and hospitals.

Conservatives object to both the Clinton and Canadian plans as unworkable. The Cato Institute's Mr. Niskanen believes

all but a small segment of the 37 million could be covered by making insurance cheaper. He says a simple method would be to give consumers, rather than corporations, tax breaks on medical care.

The vehicle would be "medical IRAs"; contributions would be tax-deductible and could be withdrawn to pay for routine care. Companies could continue to buy their workers coverage for catastrophic events. Those who still can't afford insurance could be given vouchers enabling them to buy coverage, just as food stamps enable the poor to buy groceries.

He writes in his bio: "Like so many macho men on the political right, and like so many of the militarists they were fighting against, many men on the Left feared being identified as 'soft' or 'mushy' or feminine (as in, paying attention to feelings or being motivated by ethical or spiritual sensitivity)."

(Remember? Remember sitting around raising consciousness by saying things like, "What are you so afraid of? Why are you so defensive?" Remember how nobody ever seemed to answer: "I'm being attacked, that's why.")

(And now, the same fears could keep the politics of meaning out of the White House. Moves in that direction, he says, have been blocked by fears of "feminization in the White House. What they were worried about is that you wouldn't get past that first level and that Clinton would lose the white male vote that he had gotten.")

He taught at Trinity College in Hartford, then got a PhD in psychology at Berkeley. In 1977 he helped found the Institute for Labor and Mental Health, to examine the psychodynamics of the working class.

In 1986, backed by his new wife, Nan Fink, a drugstore heiress, he founded Tikkun as "the liberal alternative to Commentary." Tikkun was the Un-Commentary, Lerner was the non-Norman Podhoretz, the evil beast-editor of Commentary and prophet of neo-conservatism.

And now, the guru, the spiritual adviser.

In a memo to Bill Clinton he proposes that every government office should have to justify budget requests by answering questions including: "How do our programs foster caring, concern for others, ecological awareness, spiritual sensitivity, and a sense of mutual responsibility?" He proposes a "summit conference on ethics, community, and the politics of meaning."

He proposes that "the Department of Labor should create a program to train a corps of union personnel, worker representatives and psychotherapists in the relevant skills to assist developing a new spirit of cooperation, mutual caring and dedication to work."

He says: "Changing the fundamental discourse of a society is not a small thing."

Then again, Hillary Rodham Clinton has said: "It's not going to be easy redefining who we are as human beings in this postmodern age."

And ah, the temptations, oh the fears, and the demon masculinity, the dread political practicality. Lerner sees Clinton struggling inside himself between the politics of meaning and the politics of politics.

He says: "The Gergens come along and say, 'No, the problem is that you're too idealistic. Forget all this baloney. Be like the rest of us. Be an adult. Be a man.'"

"And consequently to the extent that he [Clinton] buys that, don't be surprised if next week you read him repudiating the politics of meaning. And I'll tell you, when I walked out of the White House I had to pinch myself a few times, just to say, 'Is this real? Did this really happen?' Because I can easily imagine him saying in two weeks, 'Michael Lerner? Never heard of him. The politics of meaning? Never heard of it.'"

2/2

Medicare Cuts Considered

Effort to Boost Clinton Budget May Raise Patient Costs

By Spencer Rich
Washington Post Staff Writer

Congressional budget-cutters who have spent the last 12 years slashing money from Medicare in order to hold down federal deficits are getting ready to do it again. This time, the cuts are intended to improve the prospects for President Clinton's budget.

Clinton and Senate leaders fear that without additional cuts in federal outlays beyond those made by the House, his budget cannot pass the Senate. Medicare, as in the past (and possibly Medicaid as well), is a candidate to produce some of the cuts. The potential Medicare cuts could total as much as \$35 billion over five years, Senate Finance Committee Chairman Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.) said Sunday.

Medicare has been a favorite target because it is one of the few large programs in which it is possible to make big savings—by cutting payments to doctors and hospitals—without antagonizing the politically potent 35 million beneficiaries by forcing them to pay more.

But this time, reductions in the projected \$1.1 trillion Medicare outlays over the next five years could be large enough to produce considerable pain for Medicare beneficiaries. Possible options to achieve tens of billions in savings include higher patient payments for home care and nursing home services, increased deductibles, and conceivably even increased out-of-pocket costs for Medicare premiums.

The \$35 billion mentioned by Moynihan would be on top of more than \$55 billion in payment reductions over five years already voted by the House. The House cuts would be achieved largely by freezing most Medicare payment levels for doctors, hospitals and other health care providers for the next two years.

The combined reductions of \$85 billion to \$90 billion would be the largest ever made.

"It will cause real pain if we have to get the added \$35 billion," said one House staff member who asked not be identified.

That is also the view of many spokesmen for the elderly and the providers of medical care. "I think \$35 billion beyond what's already recommended would be unprecedented," said John Rother, director of policy for the American Association of Retired Persons, the nation's largest organization of the elderly.

Even if all the added savings came from cutting Medicare payments to providers, he said, "it would lead to massive cost-shifting and could prompt doctors to begin denying access and refusing to take new Medicare patients." He was referring to hospitals' standard practice of raising their fees to health insurers and private payers to make up for losses on Medicare. Medicare pays hospitals approximately 89 percent of the cost of care for Medicare patients.

"We do not like it at all, and we don't know how they're going to achieve it," said a spokesman for the American Medical Association.

Assuming that hospitals would take a large portion of the proposed cuts, Richard Pollack of the American Hospital Association said, "The idea of getting the entire \$35 billion from Medicare . . . stretches our understanding of 'shared sacrifice.'"

And Mary Grealy, executive counsel of the Federation of American Health Systems, said, "We've already contributed to deficit reduction: The providers have been hit year after year after year. And now to come back with such a huge cut is both unfair and undermines the quality of service."

So far no specific cuts have been targeted by the Finance Committee and despite Moynihan's statement, the actual amount of new cuts needed from Medicare has not been determined.

Moreover, Moynihan and others on the committee do not necessarily want to make beneficiaries pay higher Medicare premiums.

Aides to Finance Committee members, including Sens. David L. Boren (D-Okla.) and John C. Danforth (R-Mo.), who favor deeper federal spending cuts, have been examining a number of options listed by the Congressional Budget Office in a recent publication. Options in the book include:

- Curbing special Medicaid and Medicare payments to hospitals with a disproportionately high share of low-income people. (Estimated savings: \$20 billion over five years.)

- Cutting special Medicare subsidies that teaching hospitals get for training interns, residents and other health workers: \$12 billion.

- Skipping inflation adjustments for hospitals for three months: \$6.7 billion.

- Reducing payments to hospitals for outpatient care: \$4.9 billion.

- Ceasing to pay hospitals for losses when a Medicare patient does not pay all of his or her portion of the bill: \$2 billion.

- Raising the portion of the Medicare annual premium that the beneficiary must pay to 30 percent of total premium costs, instead of the current 25 percent. That would increase the premium in 1994 by about \$8 a month to \$49.10 and raise \$30.1 billion over five years.

- Charging Medicare patients 20 percent of the cost per day for Medicare home health care and skilled nursing home service (\$15 and \$31 respectively), and of clinical lab costs: \$28 billion.

- Increasing the Medicare deductible for doctor services from \$100 a year to \$150 (after which it would be adjusted for inflation): \$9.3 billion.

Some of the increases in beneficiary payments may appear small, but median household income for the elderly was about \$16,975 a year in 1991. The average elderly family already spends \$3,305 a year out of its own pocket on health care according to Ron Pollack of Families USA, an advocacy group.



Interagency Working Group 205/HHS.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

THE DEPUTY SECRETARY

June 23, 1993

MEMORANDUM

TO: President and Mrs. Bill Clinton
FROM: Madeleine M. Kunin *MMK*
SUBJECT: National Commission on Violence Prevention

I would like to suggest that you appoint a national commission on the Prevention of Violence to examine the causes of violence in the family, the school, and the community.

I know of no other question that grips Americans more powerfully than the growing pervasiveness of violence in our society. It affects our sense of security and erodes our optimism.

I understand that you may question the effectiveness of such a commission. In this case, I believe a commission would not be seen as an excuse for inaction, but rather as a serious effort to probe a disturbing phenomenon and thereby, shed light, as well as help direct future public policy. It would demonstrate that the President is sensitive to our deepest concerns.

Establishing some of the causes of violence will not be an easy task, but the process of initiating an open discussion will permit the administration to emphasize the importance of family and community. I believe the public wants to know that the President and other public figures share their fears and will do everything in their power to strengthen their sense of security.

The increased incidents of violence reveal that the center is not holding, that society is more frayed than we would like to believe. As a result, I believe there is a strong desire to find ways in which we can reweave the social fabric.

I suggest that the Commission be chaired by Attorney General Janet Reno, or Marion Wright Edelman.

Participants should include some members of the cabinet, such as Justice, Education and Health and Human Services, Tipper Gore, as well as parents, women's groups, civil rights groups, academicians, theologians and philosophers. For example, Michael Lerner of Tikkun would make an excellent contribution.

I greatly appreciate your consideration of this suggestion and would be pleased to explore it further if you so desire.

cc: Richard Riley
Mike Smith
Ray Cortines

This Year

Melanne

WITH TIKKUN, HIS
MAGAZINE OF THE JEWISH
LEFT, AND HIS CATCH PHRASE
'POLITICS OF MEANING,'
MICHAEL LERNER
HAS BECOME THE CLINTONS'
NORMAN PODHORETZ.

BY THOMAS FIELDS-MEYER

EIGHT O'CLOCK ON A SATURDAY NIGHT. THE UPPER West Side of Manhattan. A synagogue social hall. Vegetarian potluck: spaghetti, eggplant lasagna, three-bean salads in Tupperware. A motley audience of 50: graduate students, academics, intrigued onlookers. Michael Lerner, an intense man wearing a blue-knit yarmulke and a wrinkled dark suit, the editor of the Jewish journal of opinion *Tikkun*, is retelling his current favorite story about himself.

A week after Michael Dukakis was trounced in the 1988 election, he says, Lerner published a nine-paragraph summary of his political philosophy, an eclectic critique arguing that the Democrats had lost by ignoring what Lerner called the "crisis in the meaning of life."

"And then," he adds with some excitement, "I get a letter out of the blue from the first Democratic politician who really seemed to get it." He pauses a moment. "And it was Bill Clinton."

"You have helped me clarify my own thinking," the Arkansas Governor wrote, three years before Little Rock was on anyone's national political map, "and to feel a little more convinced to say what I feel."

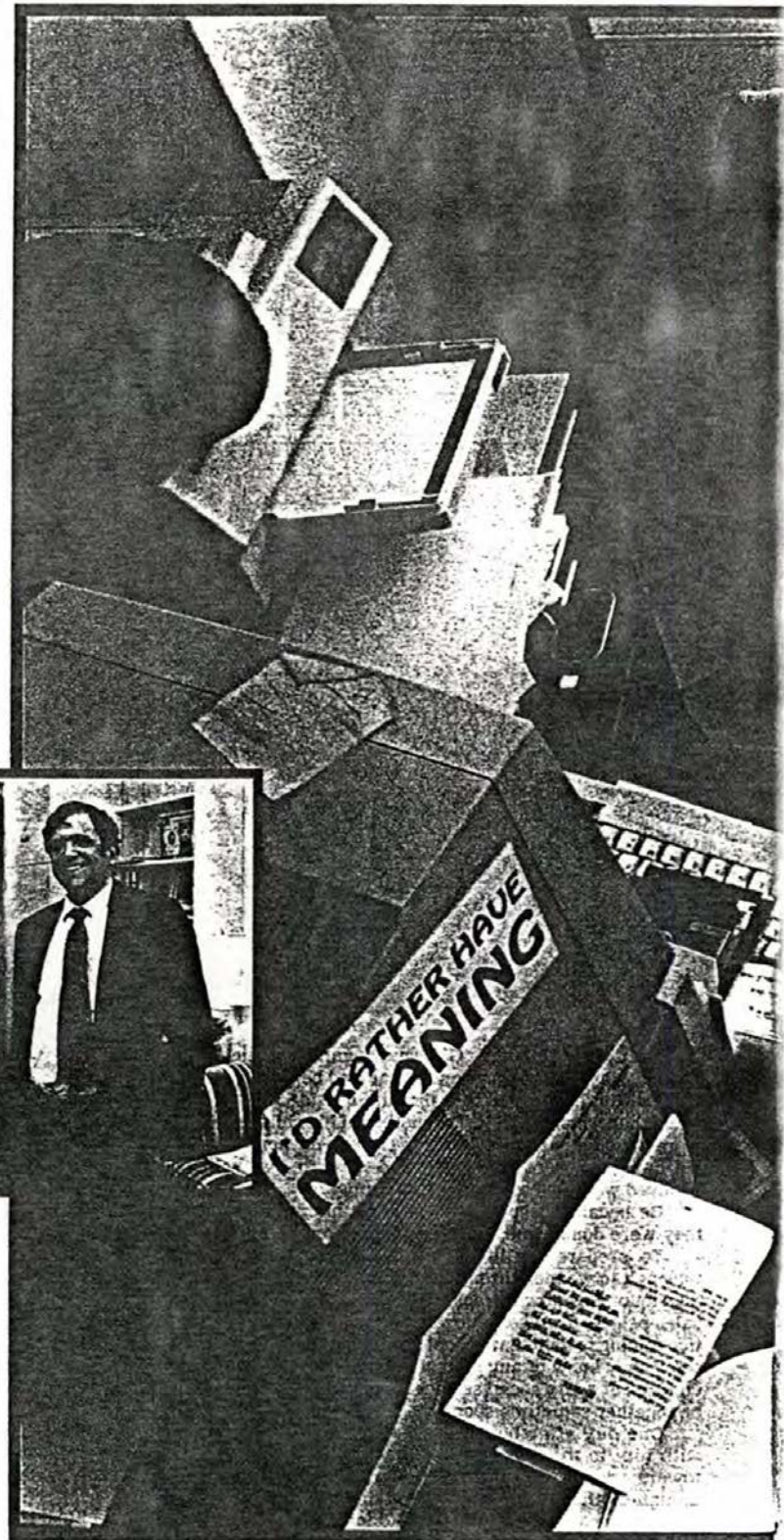
As Lerner's version of the story goes, Clinton won office precisely because he adopted the psycho-social approach to the world Lerner terms the "politics of meaning." As the editor speaks, his voice gets more and more impassioned, almost pleading. "For any of his programs to work," he says, "he must explicitly and consciously confront the ethos of selfishness that has been dominating this country in the 1980's and generate in its place an ethos of caring, an ethos of social responsibility, an ethos of community, an ethos of connectedness to each other. That view of the world must replace the old ethos."

A few weeks later, Lerner calls from a telephone booth in Washington.

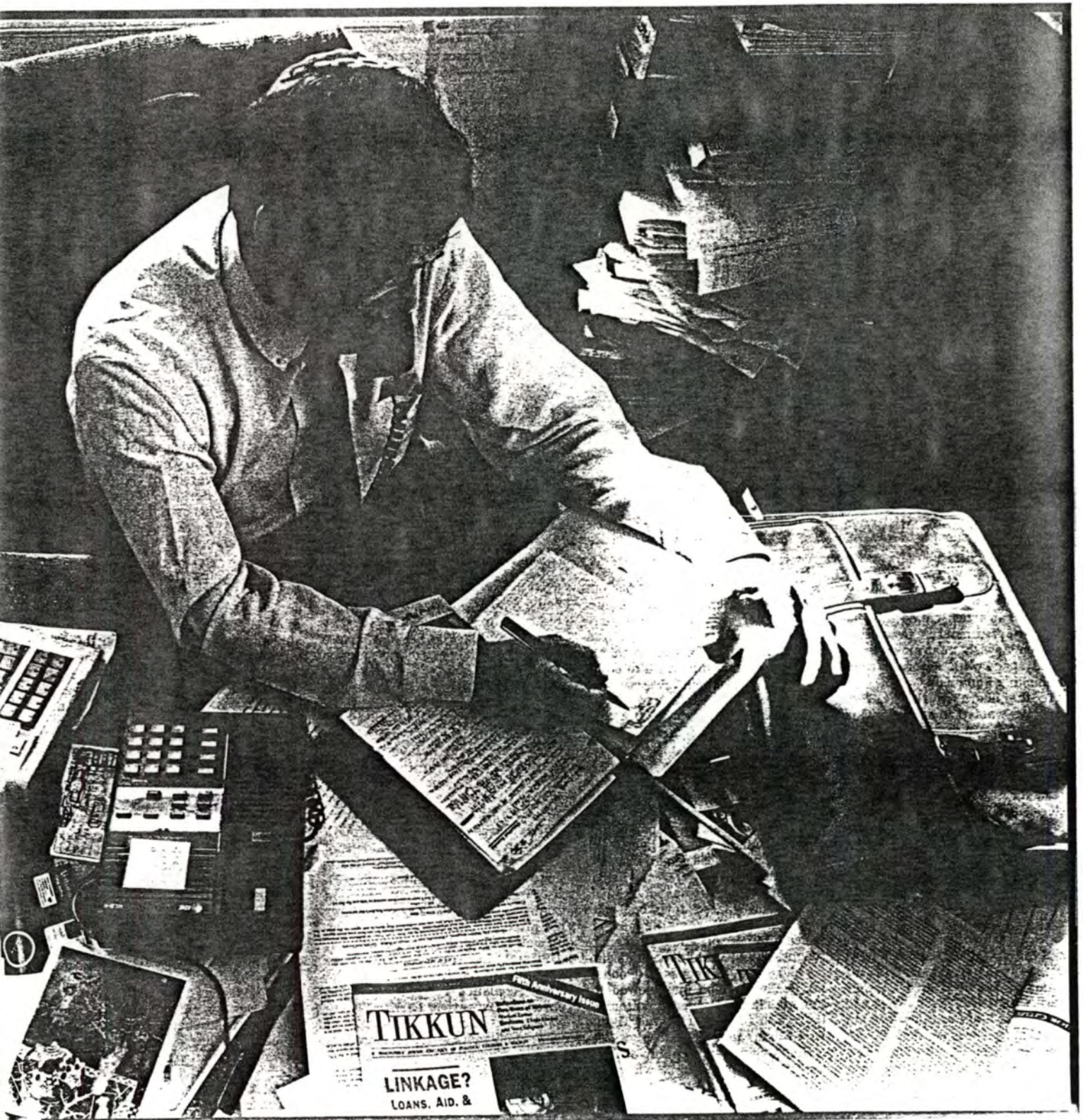
"I've just come out of the White House," he says, and he goes on to describe a 30-minute meeting with Hillary Rodham Clinton, who had used Lerner's catch phrase, the politics of meaning, in several major speeches. "She says she's on the same wavelength," Lerner adds. "Those were her words."

LERNER'S ENTHUSIASM IS UNDERSTANDABLE. TO BE RECEIVED at the White House is, well, something new for him. For years he has been welcomed virtually nowhere, toiling in relative obscurity, penning countless editorials for his little-known seven-year-old journal, delivering long-winded, esoteric speeches to audiences of

Thomas Fields-Meyer lives in Los Angeles and writes about the



's Prophet



like-minded people and trying to make enough noise to gain some notice. Of late, his voice has the relieved tone of someone who's about to be rescued from a desert island. Michael Lerner has never stopped speaking out. And now, it seems, someone has been listening.

As the editor of a Jewish journal of left-wing politics, the 50-year-old Lerner has faced obstacles on both sides: In the organized Jewish world, he has long sensed a growing conservatism, a rising intolerance of social-change movements. In the realm of progressive activists from which he springs, he has run up against a distaste for spirituality, an indifference toward matters of faith.

With *Tikkun*, the magazine Lerner founded with his wife (they have since divorced) in 1986, he has forged an uneasy merger of the two: a progressive political journal with a distinctly Jewish outlook. (*Tikkun* — pronounced tee-KOON — in Hebrew means "mending" or "healing." *Tikkun olam*, the healing and repair of the world, is a central tenet of Judaism — the idea that every person, and Jews as a people, should work toward bettering the world.) It is a publication in which a remembrance of the Warsaw ghetto uprising bumps up against an article called "Revolution in the Teamsters," in which a piece on Jewish mourning rituals shares space with a forum titled "Rethinking Feminism."

"To the liberal world," Lerner says, "we wanted to say, 'It's O.K. to be Jewish.' To the Jewish world, we wanted to say, 'It's O.K. to be liberal.'"

Progressive politics is hardly new ground for American Jews, who have historically allied themselves with liberal causes. But the lines of loyalty blurred during the Reagan and Bush Presidencies. Lerner designed *Tikkun* as an alternative to *Commentary*, the conservative Jewish intellectual journal that helped shape the neoconservative foundations of the Reagan era. Norman Podhoretz, *Commentary*'s editor in chief, welcomed to its pages Jeane Kirkpatrick and Elliott Abrams, as well as an army of other voices of the New Right. What had begun in the 1940's as a mainstream political magazine under the auspices of the American Jewish Committee evolved into one of the nation's most prominent conservative magazines. And Podhoretz, who presided over the charge to the right, himself became a

THOUGH HIS INTELLECTUAL FOES VIRTUALLY IGNORE HIM, AMONG HIS FOLLOWERS HE HAS AN ALMOST MESSIANIC IMAGE.



Lerner speaking at a Tikkun-sponsored poetry reading in an apartment on the Upper West Side.

With Clinton in office, it is *Commentary* that may be on the outs. And Lerner, a bristly, iconoclastic intellectual and a zealous self-promoter, is making a bid to fill the void, fashioning himself into something of a self-appointed spokesman for liberal American Jewry.

HE HAS NOT, TO SAY the least, received a hero's welcome. In certain circles, the mere mention of Lerner's name can set off fiery reactions. The editor is — depending on whom you listen to — either (A) an arrogant gadfly of the nation's Jewish establishment or (B) the herald of a spiritual renaissance luring countless alienated Jews back into the fold. Or (C) something in between. Many of the magazine's toughest intellectual opponents simply choose not to discuss it. (Podhoretz declined to be interviewed for this article, but issued a statement through his secretary that "*Tikkun* isn't worth talking about.")

Henry Siegman, executive director of the American Jewish Congress says: "He has a very healthy ego. I don't think he's particularly open to critical views. And he has an

what I've seen over the years, he has had a kind of polarizing effect. He's the guru to some people, or they demonize him. You have to have a strong personality to pull off a magazine like *Tikkun*."

The leaders of the Jewish establishment have greeted Lerner the way guests at an elegant cocktail party might react to a vagrant who has wandered in uninvited: either they're disgusted or they pretend not to notice — but they certainly wouldn't consider striking up a conversation with him.

"He represents a fringe group," says Alfred H. Moses, president of the American Jewish Committee, a major political organization with 50,000 members that still sponsors *Commentary*. "It's a group that's not involved in the everyday workings of the Jewish community."

Brian L. Lurie, the executive vice president of the United Jewish Appeal, Judaism's largest American philanthropy, says of Lerner: "When somebody takes a different point of view and is more outspoken, they're likely to be noticed." But, he adds, "He receives a notoriety that is not supported by a constituency."

Yet the magazine has impact. Lerner says it has about 25,000 paid

Commentary, and newsstand sales of around 10,000 (the circulation is not independently monitored). About three-quarters of the readers are Jews, and many of those who are not are academics or media and public-policy professionals. *Tikkun* counts among its contributors some of America's most respected Jewish thinkers, rabbis of the four major Jewish denominations (Conservative, Reform, Reconstructionist and Orthodox), several prominent Jewish feminists and the nation's top black intellectuals, who address issues of black-Jewish relations. (Lerner is writing a book on the topic with Cornel West, a regular contributor and the director of the Afro-American studies program at Princeton University, for a reported \$100,000 advance.)

"His strong point is getting a lot of public attention for the magazine and enlisting certain gifted people to contribute," says Robert Alter, a leading Jewish scholar and literary critic at the University of California at Berkeley. "But I think his own judgment — in journalistic terms — is erratic."

Though his intellectual foes virtually ignore him, among his followers Lerner has an almost Messianic image. A New York University graduate student who previously had little interest in his religion describes hearing Lerner give a recent speech: "By the end, I was in tears, and I was totally transformed as a Jew." An activist Los Angeles lawyer who contributes occasionally to the magazine says he had felt distant from the Jewish world for years, but when *Tikkun* first appeared, "it was like coming home."

Obviously, Lerner has touched a nerve. "*Tikkun* certainly has reached out to a constituency that nobody else was reaching in quite the same way or at all," says Leonard Fein, a writer on American Jewry whose column appears in the *Forward*. "Its success therefore needs to be taken quite seriously."

The most recent incarnation of a long line of Jewish intellectual journals, *Tikkun* has singled itself out by attempting to carry Jewish messages of social change to the arena of secular politics. It may, in fact, get more attention in the world of progressive activists than in the Jewish community.

Lerner has emerged as a distinctive and polemic voice in the American

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bracing the religion and questioning the way it has come to be practiced. He has become a sort of self-made, Torah-thumping doomsayer, forever cautioning that the flock has wandered too far from its spiritual roots. (Lerner observes the Jewish sabbath, regularly prays at Conservative and Orthodox synagogues and wears a yarmulke.)

He has particularly ruffled feathers with his consistent, outspoken attacks on Israeli policy toward the Palestinians. He once wrote on the Op-Ed page of The New York Times that American Jewish leadership "claims to speak for all Jews but represents only the most conservative ones." Lerner has consistently argued that American Jews tend to be liberal and that hundreds of thousands have distanced themselves from major Jewish organizations precisely because the religion's leaders has moved too far to the right politically.

"Tikkun," he says, "is one of the most effective vehicles of Jewish continuity and outreach that exists. It reaches into precisely the constituency that the organized Jewish community has turned off. And it does so with a strong commitment to Judaism."

ONE THING EVERYONE agrees on is that Michael Lerner likes to hear himself talk. He is passionate and opinionated. When he prints transcripts of his interviews in the magazine, sometimes his questions are as long as the answers. He finds it difficult to answer a question — any question — in anything resembling concision.

In conversation, he occasionally pauses to say something like: "What I've just said, I could do a lecture on that — I could talk for an hour just about that." Shortly before the 1991 war in the Persian Gulf, he wrote an article in Tikkun about his inner conflicts about whether to support or protest United States military action. It filled nine and a half pages. During a recent television interview, Charlie Rose of PBS wasn't able to get questions in without interrupting Lerner.

He is also highly sensitive about how he is portrayed in

quently in a spate of recent profiles in the national news media. In a series of conversations for this article, he repeatedly inquired about how he would come off. "Are you going to butcher me?" he asked.

He lives alone in a one-bedroom apartment in West 90's of Manhattan. The place has a cluttered, unsettled look. Lerner moved to New York just last September, relocating the magazine from its previous headquarters — a home in the wooded hills of Oakland, Calif. — to a cramped three-room, fifth-floor suite in the Anshe Chesed Synagogue in Manhattan.

He seems displeased with his new home — he calls the apartment "my rat hole" — but happy with the lively Jewish environment of the Upper West Side. He says he moved to New York after almost three decades in the San Francisco Bay area to be closer to the center of American Jewish life — and the nation's intellectual center. Tikkun, he says, belongs in New York. "The real issue," he says, "is what we were doing in California — not what we're doing here."

(Other reports have it that the move was prompted by Lerner's desire to meet eligible Jewish women. In 1991, he was divorced from wife, Nan Fink, who was Tikkun's publisher and whose family inheritance helped start the magazine and keep it afloat. Since then, Lerner and his magazine have struggled financially. He calls the reports about his motives for moving "distorted," but adds: "I am single, and I don't want to be single.")

Lerner looks disheveled and often seems edgy. His brown hair is tousled and he favors shapeless suits and scuffed shoes. (Until a few years ago, he had a shaggy beard that gave him the visage of a Hasid.) He speaks in the cadence and tone of a teen-ager, stumbling over words and lacing his sentences with "um," sometimes pausing to ask, "D'ya know what I mean?" He has two Ph.D.s — in philosophy and clinical psychology — and a fondness for the jargon of social scientists: terms like "psychodynamics" and made-up phrases like "me-firstism." He

(Continued from page 32)

speak Hebrew?" And then throw in a line from the Torah or a Talmudic expression.

Like its editor, Tikkun is unpolished, overflowing with fervor and conviction, with a tendency toward verbosity. It is not so much a Jewish magazine as an opinion journal with a Jewish point of view — or, in the words of its cover line, "a Bimonthly Jewish Critique of Politics, Culture & Society."

"We are willing to take the risk," said the first editorial, "and create a magazine that intends to be part of the public debate in the United States, that will print articles from a wide variety of liberal and progressive perspectives and that still sees itself as an expression of Judaism."

That has made it a difficult publication to classify; like Lerner himself, it has met with friction from both worlds it embraces. But, says the editor, that suits him fine. "We're not just The Nation with a Jewish star," he says, referring to the liberal weekly magazine. "We're coming from a more deeply Jewish place."

The magazine has its obsessions: the Democratic party, relations between Jews and blacks, Jewish feminism, the American role in world affairs and the politics of the 1960's. It also has its quirky side. It recently ran an article analyzing the development of rap music. A 1987 article explored "The Existential Politics of Dr. Seuss." Lerner once analyzed the Jewish messages of the television program "Thirtysomething." The issues are dotted with poems and short fiction.

Tikkun has the look of a slightly souped-up academic journal. Its cover art is staid — often an abstract oil painting — and the pages are dense with prose, broken up only here and there with a line drawing. There are few advertisements, usually from academic presses. The writing, particularly his own, tends to be dense and wordy (in a recent Lerner piece, one run-on sentence ran on for 133 words), occasionally sloppy and often self-consciously cerebral. It sometimes makes for such difficult reading that for a while the magazine carried an advertisement with the reassuring message: "Don't feel guilty ... if you don't read every article in

Tikkun." Even without reading too deeply, it's easy to spot the magazine's biases. A recent box labeled "Erratum" apologized to a renowned foreign policy expert "for incorrectly describing him in our May/June issue as a 'right wing ideologue.'"

Tikkun reserves its most strident voice for analysis of Israeli policy — Lerner characterizes its stance as strongly Zionist but critical of Israeli Government policy. (In the parlance of more conservative American Jews, it is known as "Israel bashing.")

The magazine marked the 20th anniversary of Israel's victory in the Six-Day War with a section about the West Bank called "The Disastrous Occupation," labeling Israel's presence in the territories "an unmitigated disaster for Zionism, the Jewish People and most Israelis." A year later, an article on the Gaza Strip carried the headline "The Occupation: Immoral and Stupid."

The tone and content of such criticism has won Lerner few friends among those actively pursuing American support for the Jewish state.

"My view," says Moses, the American Jewish Committee president, "is that you're not living there, you're not electing the Government, it's a democratically elected Government. They have a responsibility to the Israeli electorate for their policies, but not to the Jews living in California."

Yet Tikkun's arguments coincide with the views of the large numbers of Israelis who side with their country's peace movements, like Peace Now. (Letty Cottin Pogrebin, chairwoman of the group's American counterpart, is on Tikkun's board.) More to the point, says Lerner, the views emanate from a love of Judaism. As Tikkun's first editorial put it, the journal "is passionately committed to the survival of the Jewish state but is equally strongly committed to making Israel a society that embodies in its daily practice, including in its dealings with Palestinians, the moral imperatives of Torah."

TWO FACTS ABOUT LERNER as a kid:

He wanted to become a rabbi.

His mother wanted him to be a Congressman.

Two stories:

At 4, he collected donations for the Jewish National

Fund outside the local bank, causing a ruckus when he trudged into the lobby and sang "Hatikva," the Israeli national anthem.

When he applied to college, Senator John F. Kennedy wrote his recommendation.

He was born in 1943 in Newark. His parents were political activists and Zionists — "movement people," he calls them. Joseph Lerner, son of a Hasidic rabbi, found success as a municipal court judge. Michael's mother, Beatrice, was a Democratic Party organizer — she worked on J.F.K.'s Presidential campaign — and an aide to Senator Harrison A. Williams Jr. of New Jersey.

His youth was a heady mix of politics and Judaism: He read the daily Congressional Record; he talked his parents into sending him to a Jewish summer camp, Ramah, in Connecticut. As a teen-ager, he became enamored of the writing of Abraham Joshua Heschel, a pre-eminent Jewish theologian, whom he came to know personally. He encountered Senators and Representatives in his own living room and on visits to the Senate Dining Room.

In remembering his youth, Lerner recounts several arguments he had with prominent politicians — notably one with Adlai Stevenson, then a foreign policy adviser to Kennedy. Asked where a teen-ager got the confidence to debate with such powerful figures, he says: "Big deal! These were just other people who were hanging out in my house. They didn't seem to me to be anything. My father was a judge, but he was just another person."

At Columbia University, he studied philosophy, taking a few classes at the Jewish Theological Seminary. Disillusioned with the seminary, he turned down his admission to rabbinical school and instead chose to pursue a graduate degree in philosophy.

When he arrived at Berkeley in the fall of 1964, Michael Lerner didn't seem a likely candidate to become a campus radical. He favored a coat and tie and he paid his bills by teaching Hebrew school and advising a synagogue youth group.

Still, he found himself slowly lured into the ranks of the movement that was gaining momentum. "I didn't like it," he says, "but I was forced by the logic of

Like its editor,
Tikkun is
unpolished,
overflowing
with fervor,
with a
tendency
toward
verbosity.

the arguments. The morality of the situation pushed me further and further into radical politics."

He joined the executive committee of the Free Speech Movement and headed the campus chapter of Students for a Democratic Society. He roomed with Jerry Rubin, the outspoken advocate of left-wing youth, and became part of a network of young activists that included Tom Hayden, organizing teach-ins and sit-ins and marches.

He clashed with the law. He moved to Seattle, where his trial for organizing an anti-Vietnam War protest that turned violent became a cause célèbre. (He spent 10 weeks for contempt of court in a Federal penitentiary while being tried on charges that were dropped later.) And Lerner had a son, Akiba — now a senior of Berkeley — with a woman to whom he says he was married religiously but not legally.

As he became taken with the antiwar movement and its critical perspective on American society, he came to view his own Jewish world with radical eyes. Then, as now, he vented his anger and resentment in print. "The Jewish community," he wrote in 1969 in a magazine called Judaism, "is racist, internally corrupt, and an apologist for the worst aspects of American capitalism and imperialism" — hardly the sort of thing the editor of any Jewish publication would want on his record.

Years later, when detractors pointed to those words as indication of some sort of Jewish self-hatred, Lerner

maintained that even in his anger he never opposed his religion, only the way it had been adapted to American society. ("What I said," he recalls now, "was in very offensive language that was a product of an experience that many of us had in the antiwar movement of being pushed away by the organized Jewish community.")

He became a clinical psychologist, primarily with working-class people in San Francisco and Oakland. Counseling blue-collar workers during the Reagan years, he sought to learn why working people had become alienated from the social-change movements that were supposed to be speaking for their concerns.

His conclusion became the basis for the world view he continues to espouse: that liberal activists have two primary concerns — political rights and economic opportunity. But in Lerner's view, "there was a deeper level of reality that the movements were not speaking to, which was the pain that people were experiencing in their daily lives — pain based on what I now call the deprivation of meaning."

In the mid-80's, Lerner and Fink, his wife, began to cast about for ways to bring this lesson to a national level — a way to champion the message that what America needed was more meaning and more compassion.

At the same time, Lerner sought a way to lure his Jewish contemporaries back to their religion — to spread his view that Judaism embodies many of the social messages promoted by liberal activists.

In the fall of 1986, working from their Oakland home, they published their first issue, a staid-looking 126-page magazine with a cover story called "What's Wrong With the Right?" and a symposium with intellectuals and rabbis answering the question: "What kind of Tikkun does the world need?" Tikkun brought together the two ambitions — the need to bring meaning to people's lives and the desire to change society. "Why Judaism?" Lerner once wrote. "Because within its prophetic tradition I discovered the voice of moral outrage at the corruptions of an established order."

"I'D LIKE US TO LOOK around and appreciate everyone here," Michael Ler-

BY JAMES H. HARRIS

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TIKKUN

(Continued from page 36)

ner says at one point during the monthly Tikkun Salon — the night when he tells his Clinton story. The evening has been advertised as a discussion of politics, but it gradually takes on a different feel — a cross between a revival meeting and "Donahue." He suggests they sing a Hebrew song. Within seconds, everyone has linked arms and the crowd is swaying back and forth to its own music — not the sort of moment one would expect at a typical magazine's event.

But Tikkun is anything but typical. And, in fact, there's some question as to whether it's even a magazine. "What we're doing," Lerner says, "is breaking the boundaries between what's a magazine and what's a movement."

Tikkun has sponsored large conferences in San Francisco, Los Angeles and New York. One in Israel attracted several hundred participants and representatives of myriad Israeli political parties. Lerner is planning a conference of Jewish writers for next January at Columbia. The magazine encourages its readers to meet regularly in small groups to discuss Tikkun and its ideas.

Some of his colleagues criticize Lerner for spreading his energies into such projects; they think he should concentrate on the magazine. But he sees it all as part of the same thing. The magazine is not an end in itself, but a means of doing the work of repairing the world. To be sure, the conferences and forums also give the editor the opportunity to do what he seems to love most: talk at length about his ideas.

No matter what the topic, it seems, Lerner delivers the same speech. On a Sunday afternoon, at the Berkeley Hillel, he is the final speaker at a four-hour Tikkun-sponsored conference about the rise of neo-Nazism in Eastern Europe. An audience of 100 or so has sat through an afternoon of Berkeley professors delivering dense, scholarly talks with titles like "The Psychodynamics of Fascism," and "Intellectual Roots and Theories of Fascism." When Lerner — in a dark, rumpled suit and maroon knit yarmulke — finally rises to address the crowd, he is animated and pleading, starting in a tone that sounds like he's already in the midst of a heated debate. He barely touches on the topic at hand before veering into his familiar territory.

"A progressive social change movement that wants to confront fascism, that wants to prevent ultra-nationalist, ethnic-chauvinist, homophobic, antisemitic and patriarchal movements from gaining considerable ground in the future can do that if it is willing to address the mean-

ing politics dramatically." The answer to Nazism? The politics of meaning.

Six days later, in New York, Lerner speaks at a Tikkun-sponsored forum. The topic: the first months of the Clinton White House. A speaker before him — Jay Rosen, a New York University professor with an expertise in media — delivers a provocative analysis of how the media has covered the President. When it's Lerner's turn, he starts by saying, "What I'm going to talk about is some of these same themes, using slightly different language." He mentions Clinton a couple of times before getting to his trademark refrain: "One way of looking at the White House is to ask yourself to what degree is Clinton articulating a politics of meaning."

The repetition is striking. Like a politician on a whistle-stop tour, he rejiggers his stump speech ever so slightly to fit the crowd, then sounds the same messages.

The morning after the New York forum, Lerner sits at a large wooden table in his apartment and struggles to answer a question: Why does he repeat the identical phrases so incessantly — like some sort of psycho-political mantra.

At first he explains that he's trying to teach a new way of thinking — an innovative way of framing political issues. Then he reflects for a moment. And it becomes clear what's happened. He's found a way to reconcile the struggling sides of himself. He's arrived at a connection.

"You're hearing it a lot from me," he says, "because it's a link between politics and Judaism."

The message embodied by that link has, in a way, transformed its messenger. All his life, Lerner has railed against the establishment: the Jewish leadership, the Israeli Government, the Republican White House. In 1993, he finds himself on terra incognita. His career has prepared him to be an insurgent — not an insider.

A few days after his meeting with the First Lady, he is asked: Does this mean you've succeeded?

"This is the part that, if you quoted it, probably people would think that I'm crazy," he says, "But I look at this thing from a standpoint of 3,500 years of a struggle to transform the world. And from that standpoint, we're a drop in the bucket. This historical moment is just one moment in a long process of healing and repair of the world that is not going to be over in my lifetime or my son's lifetime. I see myself as a part of a long process."

The thought reminds him of a story:

"King Solomon asked one of his wisest advisors to design a ring with a saying that would always be true. So they put on it three words" — he switched to Hebrew — "Elohim, El, and"



RICARDO DE ARATANHA / Los Angeles Times

First Lady Hillary Clinton talks to students at Vaughn Next Century Learning Center in Pacoima.

A Page From Her Book

Clinton visits school that combines elements of health care, charter efforts

What was billed as Hillary Rodham Clinton observing a noted Los Angeles charter school was more precisely a school observing Clinton on Thursday as the first lady dipped into Los Angeles on her national book tour.

At the Vaughn Next Century Learning Center, children pressed their faces against classroom security screens and yelled "Hola, Mrs. Clinton!" Students in a kindergarten computer lab—one of two classes she briefly visited—had to be reminded to concentrate on their work when they began pounding out random letters instead of words as she stopped to watch them.

Clinton was greeted by a standing ovation from school staff and community members when she entered the Pacoima elementary school's auditorium for a question-and-answer session.

"In education, unlike anything else we do, often innovation is penalized, success is not rewarded," Clinton told the hand-picked audience. "We, together, have to change the attitude in the public at large about what our schools should be doing."

Clinton's choice of Vaughn over 662 other local campuses was a predictable one—the school combines elements of her community health care initiatives and her husband's charter school platform with a "We Are the World" ethnicity. It forms the nucleus of the very kind of urban village she describes in her book, "It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us."

It is also a school primed for publicity, where the effervescent principal has received such widespread attention and kudos that one fan joked she had virtually installed a helipad on the playground.

Yet the truth is that Vaughn was not the first of six semi-independent charter schools in Los Angeles, nor is it the largest, the most innovative or even the most successful in terms of boosting student performance.

"We're just a normal place. We have our problems," said Principal Yvonne Chan, who has become a national spokeswoman for the charter school movement.

On Thursday, the Pacoima school's

spit and polish, smiling faces and carefully worded questions didn't reveal those struggles behind the scenes, struggles that have brought mixed results.

Under Chan's leadership, Vaughn has toiled with great success to salve racial tensions among educators, parents and sometimes students. It has fought to victory for its budgetary due from the Los Angeles Unified School District and used some of that money to build 14 more classrooms.

However, the school's work to woo parents to school committee meetings has been less effective: Chan acknowledges that only about half of the current

49 parent members actually show up consistently.

Its attempt to prove its worth in the currency of standardized test scores has also faltered of late, with Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills scores dropping for the first time last year.

After years of boasting about the gradual rise in student test results, Chan

Please see CLINTON, B4

CLINTON: First Lady Gets a Warm Welcome at Charter School

Continued from B3

was faced with explaining the opposite. She said she believes the decline in the key fourth-grade year resulted from her insistence that all pupils be tested, even special education students.

But the dip in test scores was a reminder that fame can also be a trial, Chan maintains: When word of the results leaked out, some of her detractors could barely conceal their glee. They retort that they never wanted her to fail—which would be a black eye for all charters—but say they did welcome the reality check on her rhetoric.

Clinton, who has faced difficult questions from the media herself lately, seemed to

commiserate.

"There is so much talk about what doesn't work in America... so many negative press stories," she said. "You are solving some... problems at Vaughn. Let's look at what does work and then build out from there."

Each of the other five charter schools in Los Angeles also has a unique character. For the others—and for hundreds of additional schools that are making significant changes under the district's own reform movement, known as LEARN—it is hard not to be envious of Vaughn's attention.

"Sometimes we feel like, 'Let's not use Vaughn so much.... Let's look at other

models,' " said Johnathan Williams, co-director of the Accelerated School in South-Central Los Angeles, a two-room schoolhouse that opened in 1994 and has since redesigned everything from report cards to teaching methods.

Chan is also a thorn in the side of the Los Angeles Unified School District, taking her complaints to the press when she cannot get the results she wants. She even adopted a motto for herself and the school: "The Little Engine That Could."

"She gives me gray hairs," said one district official, who asked not to be named.

Yet the fact is that in many ways, Vaughn could be a page torn directly from

Clinton's book, in which she asks:

"Are parents ready to become partners with schools again, for the benefit of their own—and other—children? And how about other members of the village, those whose children have passed school age? Are they—are all of us—ready to join this partnership?"

As if anticipating Clinton's questions, over the past few years Vaughn has reached out beyond its cyclone fences into the surrounding low-income neighborhood.

The effort started with the 1992 opening of an on-campus family service center, which Clinton mentioned in her remarks,

but was unable to visit because of security concerns.

The center now provides more than 400 families a month with everything from clothing to prenatal health care. It is financially supported by major agencies—especially the Los Angeles Educational Partnership and United Way—but relies heavily on parent volunteers, and parents make up half of its governing board.

Charter school status came three years ago—after passage of state law allowing 100 California schools to operate free from most government mandates. It requires parent involvement in all decision-making committees.

2/2

PM-HILLARY:SJ national

Hillary Clinton calls for spiritual renewal

By Elizabeth Wasserman

Knight-Ridder Newspapers

(KRT)

SAN FRANCISCO Two weeks after her unprecedented appearance before a federal grand jury, first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton stood in the pulpit of Glide Memorial Methodist Church on Thursday and called for ``spiritual renewal.''

Not for herself, in particular. Or even Sen. Al D'Amato, who chairs the Senate Whitewater hearings that are keeping all of Washington in a tither. This ``spiritual renewal'' was for all of America. For the sake of the children.

In other words, her book tour has resumed.

To more than 800 cheering, standing, applauding fans, many of whom toted copies of her book, ``It Takes A Village: (And Other Lessons Children Teach Us),'', the president's (arguably) better half set her agenda for this election.

For her, the campaign has just begun.

This time, there was no talk of nationalized health care. Or the presidential partnership. This was Hillary, the well-educated Mom, talking about breast-feeding Chelsea, the evils of television and the need to fill the ``spiritual vacuum.''

Although she did get in some digs.

``I want to say a special word about the role of religious institutions and particularly about the need for a spiritual renewal,'', said Clinton, flanked by the Rev. Cecil Williams of Glide Memorial and San Francisco Mayor Willie Brown. ``Not of the kind we hear a lot about on television, where it seems to consist of finger pointing and blame placing. But a real spiritual renewal that comes from deep within.''

The most important reason for this renewal, she said, is the subject of her book: the nation's sometimes forgotten children.

``Prayer, spirituality, religion, faith can protect children from the cruelties and indifference of the world,'', she told the crowd, before quoting from children's advocate Marian Wright Edelman and from poet and writer Maya Angelou.

But, for Clinton, the purpose of her book almost got lost in the myriad of legal problems confronting the first family. Between the lingering questions about their role in the Whitewater land dealings, the mysterious reappearance of documents long sought by investigators, the White House travel office firings and Paula Jones' sexual harassment lawsuit it has been hard for Clinton to concentrate on an issue she's put 25 years of work into.

``So many parents worry. How do we protect our children from the outside?'' Clinton said. She encouraged parents to become active in their children's school and church lives, and to take advantage of a new measure signed into law Thursday that requires all television sets to be equipped with a ``V'' chip to allow parents to prevent kids from watching violent programs.

The first mom also talked about her experiences as a career attorney and mother raising her daughter, Chelsea, who's almost 16. She recalled becoming alarmed when breast-feeding. ``All of a sudden, she starts foaming at the nose,'', Clinton recounted. When the nurses arrived at her hospital bed, one advised, ``It would help if you lifted her head up.''

``All those years of schooling, all those degrees, all the things I have done, nothing had prepared me,'', she said, to laughter. ``I needed help. If we could just in this country recognize that for all of our talk about family values, we do so little to value families.''

It is a side of Hillary Rodham Clinton that her supporters who packed two sold-out engagements in San Francisco on Thursday like to see.

``She's someone we can relate to,'', said Letitia Rodley, a marketing

specialist from Mountain View, who waited for an hour to see Clinton. ``She's got her career. She's got her child. She's got a conscience. And she's got a relationship.''

The partisan crowd both Hillary and Bill Clinton buttons were being hawked as the line to get in snaked all the way up Taylor Street had their minds made up about the embattled First Lady before she opened her mouth.

``I think she's gotten a bad rap lately,' ' said Pat Meredith, a community college instructor who drove up from Stockton. ``I'm interested in both hearing her and supporting her at the same time.''

Despite the Whitewater committees' questions about what she knew about certain documents and when she knew it, Clinton's fans are devotees. ``I don't believe a word that comes out of Al D'Amato's mouth,' ' said Charlie Shed, a hotel worker who braved the crowd. ``Like he should talk.''

X X X

(This article is from the San Jose Mercury News.)

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**** printed by:WHPR(JEL) on 02/09/96 at 08:38EST ****

PM-CA--First Lady-Calif., Bjt,490

Mrs. Clinton Promotes Book During San Francisco Stop

AP Photo FX103

By MARTHA IRVINE= Associated Press Writer=

SAN FRANCISCO (AP) Hillary Clinton's first lessons about standing tough came at age 4 when neighborhood bullies used to beat her up.

She would run into the house, day after day, until her mother finally said, ``Hillary, there is no room for cowards in this house. You go back outside.''

Mrs. Clinton alluded to her need to remain strong amid the criticisms she has faced as first lady from taking the lead in health care reform to reaction to her recent Whitewater testimony.

The first lady told the story to a crowd of 3,200 at San Francisco's Masonic Auditorium, joking that she needed that advice ``for every house I live in.''

The speech was one of two stops in the city Thursday night to promote her book, ``It Takes a Village, And Other Lessons Children Teach Us.''

Despite the criticisms, she said she hopes the role of first lady and eventually first man will not be stereotyped during future presidencies.

``I don't know what the role of the first lady is,''' she said. ``I don't think there is a role.''

But, while she answered a few personal questions at the end of the evening, Mrs. Clinton talked mostly about her book and its theme of community involvement to save the country's children from poverty, poor health and ignorance.

She criticized politicians who speak of family values.

``For all of our talk about family values, we do so little to value families,''' said Mrs. Clinton, who received several standing ovations.

Earlier in the evening, Mrs. Clinton spoke an enthusiastic crowd of about 800 at the Glide Memorial United Methodist Church, where her friend, the Rev. Cecil Williams, is pastor.

A portion of the sale of her books on Thursday will go toward San Francisco-area charities, including the children's program at Glide and Children's Hospital Oakland.

She encouraged audience members to get involved by volunteering and looking out for friends and neighbors.

``Families need support and help,''' Mrs. Clinton said. ``No family is immune from the larger society....

``It is not either the family or the government (who bears the responsibility). It is both and more.''

Audience members praised Mrs. Clinton.

``I don't think there are many role models or mentors anymore. She is a role model. And she allows us to become our own role models,''' said Jessica Carroll, who talked a friend out of her ticket to attend Mrs. Clinton's speech at Glide Memorial.

Earlier in the day in Los Angeles, Mrs. Clinton departed from the bookstore circuit to spend the afternoon at Vaughn Next Century Learning Center, one of 100 charter schools in California.

As she left, hundreds of students jostled for a look, shrieking, ``the president's wife!''

``I don't care if Bill Clinton comes, because at least I saw Mrs. Clinton happy in our school,''' said fifth-grader Nelson Quintanilla. ``She had to choose which school in Los Angeles to go to, and she chose our school. And that makes me very proud.''

**** filed by:APW-(CA) on 02/09/96 at 03:38EST ****

**** printed by:WHPR(JEL) on 02/09/96 at 08:34EST ****

PM-CA--First Lady-Calif., Bjt,530

Hillary Clinton Promotes New Book in Warmer Climes

Eds: Childrens Hospital Los Angeles, 8th graf, is cq.

AP Photos

sdlrjjy1rjjy2

By SCOTT LINDLAW= Associated Press Writer=

BEVERLY HILLS, Calif. (AP) First lady Hillary Clinton traded snowbound Washington and its chilly political climate for a warm reception in Southern California on the latest leg of her book tour.

She basked in praise during a Wednesday night speech in Beverly Hills, and was to continue touring in the midst of a mini-heat wave that sent temperatures soaring to near 90 degrees in Los Angeles.

Mrs. Clinton was to meet parents and students at a San Fernando learning center this afternoon before moving on the San Francisco.

The news media that peppered her with Whitewater questions during the first leg of her tour last month was kept out of shouting range during her 15-minute Hilton speech, which centered on the topic of children.

"Advances in technology, the global economy and other changes have brought us much good," she said. "But it has also strained the fabric of family life, leaving us and our children poorer in many ways."

"I am not among those who would argue that all we need to do is turn back the clock," Mrs. Clinton said. "Not only do I think it's not possible, but I think it's a nostalgia we can't afford."

"What we can do is take the values and ethics that did support families ... and transplant them to this time."

Mrs. Clinton received jubilant applause from the 1,030 people who paid \$50 each to hear the first lady \$30 of which went to Childrens Hospital Los Angeles.

The price also included a chance to line up, shake hands and exchange a few words with Mrs. Clinton before receiving a copy of her book with her computer-generated signature.

The mainly female audience included health care professionals, political supporters, educators and the curious. Dozens wore lapel pins or T-shirts proclaiming them members of the "Hillary Clinton Fan Club."

"She's a first lady who's very strong and really participates in helping President Clinton with the administration," said Tina Saldivar, an administrator with the Los Angeles Unified School District. "That's why I brought my daughter here. ... Mrs. Clinton is one of the first thinking first ladies that we've had."

Beverly Hills was the second stop of the day. Earlier, in Denver, Mrs. Clinton received a similarly warm reception by more than 2,000 people at a bookstore.

The book, "It Takes A Village, And Other Lessons Children Teach Us," is a compendium of anecdotes, axioms and the experiences Mrs. Clinton gained during more than 25 years of advocacy work on behalf of women, children and families.

Published by Simon & Schuster, draws its title from the African proverb, "It takes a village to raise a child."

Mrs. Clinton testified last month before a grand jury investigating the Whitewater affair and the Clintons' association with the owner of a failed Arkansas savings and loan.

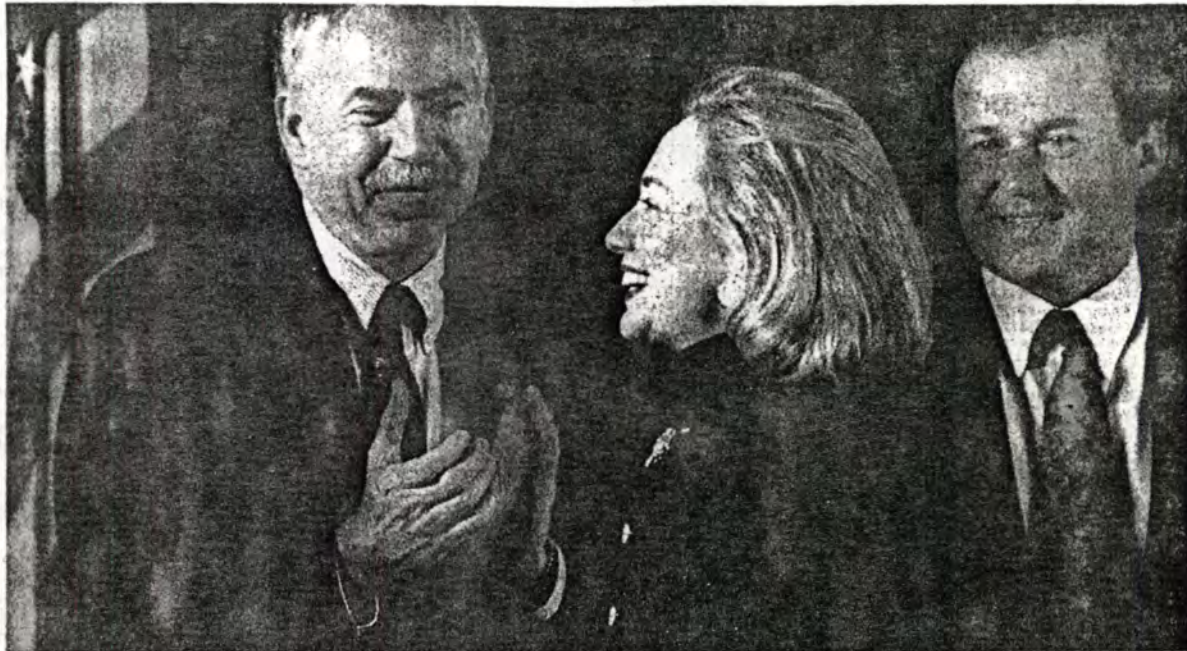
She will likely face more questions over the book tour because taxpayers will pay 80 percent of Mrs. Clinton's travel expenses.

**** filed by:APW-(CA) on 02/08/96 at 03:33EST ****

**** printed by:WHPR(JEL) on 02/08/96 at 08:22EST ****

"Parents have the primary responsibility to make sure children grow up in stable and loving homes."

— Hillary Rodham Clinton



Simpson College President Stephen Jennings, left, and state Sen. Bill Fink, D-Carlisle, applaud as Hillary Rodham Clinton rises to speak. The first lady urged Democrats to turn out on caucus night to support her husband.

BOB NANDELL/THE REGISTER

Celebrate community, first lady tells Iowans

By IKIMULISA SOCKWELL
REGISTER STAFF WRITER

Indianola, Ia. — Americans must strike a balance between the values of self-reliance and teamwork and must remember those in need, Hillary Rodham Clinton told hundreds of Iowans here Friday night.

"There are those who would have us turn our backs on one another, who would have us rely only on ourselves and maybe those closest to us without any recognition of the mutual obligations that bind all of us together in the communities that we inhabit," Clinton told the crowd of about 1,300 at Cowles Hall Field House at Simpson College.

"But others, and the president is among them, believe self-reliance and teamwork aren't opposing virtues," she added.

It takes relatives, friends, teachers,

TODAY'S SCHEDULE

Hillary Rodham Clinton appears in Ames and Cedar Falls today. These are her public appearances:

■ 10:45 a.m. at the Iowa State Memorial Union in Ames.

■ 1:15 p.m. at Maucker Union at the University of Northern Iowa in Cedar Falls.

For more information, call Clinton-Gore campaign headquarters at (515) 244-9696.

coaches and a host of others to lift people up and help them become successful, she said.

People must work together in the face of challenge, she said, citing a theme of her husband's recent State of the Union speech.

Family values also should mean valuing families, she told the cheering crowd.

"Parents have the primary responsibility to make sure children grow up in stable and loving homes," she said.

But there is a role for government in supporting families and those in need, she said, drawing a contrast with Republican presidential hopefuls now blanketing Iowa before the Feb. 12 caucuses.

She cited as examples financial aid for students wanting to go to college and Medicare and Medicaid for senior citizens and the poor.

"These are human problems. They're not just budget problems and statistics," she said.

Economic security is another vital issue

CLINTON Please turn to Page 6M

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Work together, Clinton urges CLINTON

Continued from Page 1M
she said faces families today.

"Employers must share the fruits of their profits with their workers," Clinton said.

Clinton also urged the crowd, which braved bitter temperatures to attend the rally, to venture out into the cold again and support President Clinton on caucus night.

John Euchner and his family braved Friday's weather for two reasons.

"I want my kids to see her, and I intend to vote for her husband," Euchner said. "I'm a strong Democrat. I've always supported the Democrats. God would strike me dead if I voted Republican."

Adam Euchner, 7, said he was excited because "she's married to the president and she's really special to Washington, D.C."

Sunday, Feb. 4, 1996

ELECTION '96



AP photo

First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton plays with children Saturday during a roundtable discussion at a parents' center in Ames, Iowa, where she campaigned for her husband.

Hillary Clinton cheered in Iowa

By Flynn McRoberts
TRIBUNE STAFF WRITER

AMES, Iowa—After days of bitter-cold rhetoric from Republican presidential contenders, Hillary Rodham Clinton blew into town Saturday and sought to blunt some of the GOP Clinton-bashing before the Feb. 12 caucuses.

The first lady echoed the themes of President Clinton's State of the Union address—compassion mixed with personal responsibility—but did not directly confront the Republicans. Instead, she merely noted their competing viewpoints.

"The choices before us are stark," Mrs. Clinton told a crowd of about 400 people at Iowa State University. "The different visions about what kind of nation we intend to be, what kind of people we are, are laid before us."

The first lady's visit to Ames came just two days after a University of Iowa Heartland Poll provided a reading on her popularity in much of the Midwest. Of the 455 voting-age residents polled in Illinois, Iowa,

Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, South Dakota and Wisconsin, 50 percent had negative feelings toward her, compared to 35 percent who had positive feelings and 15 percent who were neutral.

Not surprisingly, there was little indication of those lopsided findings in the partisan crowd that greeted her with cheers and placards calling for "four more years."

"She's stood up against a lot of criticism, and I just want to support her," said Amanda Gleason, an Iowa State junior.

David Metzler, 71, a biochemistry professor at the university, said he was "tired of the media dumping on her." And as for how the Republicans have treated Mrs. Clinton, "It's a vendetta against her," Metzler said. "It's outrageous. . . . She's the president's wife."

On the Iowa campaign trail, though, the Republican presidential candidates have largely avoided taking shots at the first lady—though Sen. Bob Dole of Kansas tells crowds that, if elected, he wouldn't put his wife, Elizabeth, in charge of health care.

'Superman' fighting for health care bill

"I always admired Christopher Reeve as an actor. I never saw him on Broadway, but like most people, I loved his movie portrayal of Superman and his role in the fantasy romance 'Somewhere in Time.'"

My admiration has only grown since his riding accident last May. Christopher Reeve is no longer playing a part that's heroic. He's living one.

Hooked up to a ventilator and paralyzed from the neck down, he has inspired millions with his courageous response to a tragic and freak fall from a horse. Who wasn't moved by his candor and grace in the memorable interview he gave to Barbara Walters just a few months after his spinal cord was crushed?

Now, along with his painstaking recovery, he faces medical bills totaling \$400,000 a year. With an insurance policy that limits the lifetime benefits he can receive, his coverage is due to run out after three years.

Still, he never dwells on his own situation. As a celebrity, he knows he can make a living giving speeches and directing films. He is far more worried about the tens of millions of Americans who can't get or keep medical coverage because of the misplaced priorities of our health care system.

Christopher Reeve wants to know why our country is willing to spend billions of dollars on Medicare and Medicaid payments to cover nursing-home fees for quadriplegics and those suffering from neurological diseases like Lou Gehrig's, Parkinson's and Alzheimer's but not spend the lesser amounts it would take to find cures.

Hillary Rodham Clinton

Talking It Over



I know the health care reform effort I worked on was not successful. But the issues it raised and the problems it sought to resolve are still with us today.

The United States is the only industrial society in the world where insurance companies are allowed to deny coverage to people who are sick or have lost a job. And insurance companies continue to get away with limiting people's lifetime benefits.

As Christopher Reeve said just last week, "These issues are crucial to our welfare."

There are ways to make progress without a massive overhaul of the health care system.

Right now, a bipartisan bill that deals with some of these issues is stuck in Congress. Sponsored by Republican Sen. Nancy Kassebaum of Kansas and Democratic Sen. Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, the bill would make long-overdue changes in the ways insurance companies treat Americans.

It would prevent insurers from denying coverage to a person who already has a medical condition. It would forbid insurance companies from dropping longtime customers when they become chronically ill.

And it would require insurance

companies to sell policies to workers who have been covered for at least 18 months by their employers so that they remain insured even if they lose or leave a job.

There is also an amendment to the bill, sponsored by Republican Sen. James Jeffords of Vermont, that would help the 230,000 Americans in situations similar to Christopher Reeve's. It would raise the lifetime limit on benefits to a minimum of \$10 million.

The Kennedy-Kassebaum bill has support from dozens of Republicans and Democrats. It is now ready for a vote by the full Senate. Very few legislators have publicly opposed the bill.

So why hasn't it passed?

Because a handful of senators have used parliamentary maneuvering to stall it for five months. To make matters worse, we cannot even hold the senators accountable because the Senate's rules allow them to remain anonymous.

Christopher Reeve is pushing hard for passage of Kennedy-Kassebaum and the Jeffords amendment. He also is doing his part to educate people about the failures of a system that spends far more money on expensive treatments than on preventing and curing costly diseases.

He has written to the president and House Speaker Newt Gingrich about congressional threats to cut funds for research into spinal cord injuries and neurological diseases (and is proud to have lobbied successfully against some of those cuts).

He has worked on animated diagrams for television that explain what happens to the body when the spinal cord is injured. And he

recently announced an effort to establish the Reeve-Irvine Research Center at the University of California at Irvine that will support the study of spinal cord injuries and diseases. Philanthropist Joan Irvine Smith has agreed to put up \$1 million for the project to be matched with money from other sources.

"There is a humanitarian and economic rationale" for medical research and fair insurance policies, he says. "It's good for the country in every conceivable way."

If you agree with Christopher Reeve, take the time to call your senators and ask them to help us take a first step to bringing better health and peace of mind to millions of Americans. Tell them to pass the Kennedy-Kassebaum bill.

Write to Hillary Rodham Clinton at Creators Syndicate, 5777 W. Century Blvd., Suite 700, Los Angeles, Calif. 90045.

Arkansas Democrat-Gazette High Profile

The High Profile staff is responsible for the stories and features that appear Sunday in the High Profile section. Story suggestions are welcome. Call between 8:30 a.m. and 4:30 p.m. Or write to the editor at: Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, P.O. Box 2221, Little Rock, Ark. 72203.

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Judge Sentences Deadbeat Dad to Rare Jail Time

Ex-Husband Had Taunted Manassas Woman With Refusal to Pay Child Support of \$25 a Week

By Charles W. Hall
Washington Post Staff Writer

A man who refused to pay child support to his ex-wife in Manassas and taunted her with letters saying she would never collect a dime was sentenced yesterday to 60 days in jail, in one of the most severe sentences issued nationally under a federal law targeting deadbeat parents who cross state lines.

Gary Nelson Johnson, 35, of Port Charlotte, Fla., was sentenced in Alexandria by federal Magistrate Judge W. Curtis Sewell, who rejected Johnson's arguments that the federal law is unconstitutional.

The case reflects a growing crackdown on deadbeat parents, but it was unusual in many respects. Johnson was required to pay only \$25 a week to help care for his daughter, Marisa, 7, but instead spent his money buying a classic Corvette and three boats, according to court records. Federal officials also said it's still uncommon for judges to jail parents who avoid child support, because it hinders their ability to make restitution.

"I'm just ecstatic," said Mary Rauss, Johnson's ex-wife. "When I found him a year ago, nobody wanted to do anything, but I feel like I got satisfaction in the long run."

U.S. Attorney Helen F. Fahey hailed the verdict. "This is one of the longest sentences in the country," she said. "It will send a message that people who intentionally refuse to pay child support will be investigated and prosecuted, and may go to jail."

Johnson was prosecuted under a 1993 federal law intended to prevent parents from eluding child-support payments ordered in one state simply by moving to another. As much as \$5 billion in court-ordered child support goes unpaid annually, and about one-third of all child-support cases involve parents who live in different states, federal and state officials said.

"We've seen a dramatic increase in referrals," said Debra Cohn, who coordinates child-support enforcement for the U.S. Justice Department. "Unfortunately, it happened all too often that people who went from one state to another were able to defy court orders."

In 70 cases tried nationally under the new law, only three people have received longer sentences. Defendants in South Carolina, Texas and Massachusetts received the full six months allowed for a first offense.

"Failure to pay support is a form of child abuse," said Marilyn Smith, immediate past president of the National Child Support Enforcement Association. "When you punish the most egregious offenders, it sends a powerful message to others who may be on the fence."

Johnson, who owes \$6,813, could not be

See CHILD SUPPORT, B3, Col. 1

CHILD SUPPORT, From B1

reached for comment yesterday, and his attorney, Dale Dover, did not return calls to his office and home. The judge ordered Johnson to surrender as soon as jail or prison space becomes available.

Johnson and Rauss, 33, were married in 1985. She said she moved to Manassas in 1988 and expected her husband to join her after he finished studies in Binghamton, N.Y.

Instead, Johnson stayed behind, and the couple divorced in 1989, when their daughter was 1 year old. Rauss said Johnson saw their daughter only three times and never sought to maintain contact.

Johnson was ordered to pay \$25 in weekly child support for his daughter on May 22, 1989. Just four days later, he was ruled in contempt for "willfully failing to obey the prior court order."

The New York family court issued two more contempt orders in the following year, but Johnson eluded the orders by moving to Ohio and, later, to Florida, according to court records.

But he found one way to stay in touch: sending angry letters to Rauss.

"Whatever money I do make in the summer goes toward my financial needs. . . . I don't care what the law is," Johnson wrote in February 1989, while he was still a student. "If you persist,

I will have no alternative [but] to pick up and leave. LEAVE ME ALONE!"

In a brief filed by Special Assistant U.S. Attorneys Michael F. Ruggio and Valerie G. Preiss, Sewell was told that Johnson had made at least \$66,000 in the years he was missing, had promptly paid college loan and credit card bills, and had bought a home using the name of his second wife.

Although she is financially established, Rauss said, she never gave up on making Johnson pay.

"Before my dad passed away, he said, 'Never give up; get the last satisfaction,'" Rauss said. "I still feel like I've been cheated. He was working all these years. He should have paid."

JUDY MANN

Women Are Turning Words Into Action

With solid backing from the Clinton administration, American women's advocates have hit the ground running in their efforts to implement the platform of action for the global empowerment of women and girls that was adopted during the U.N. conference in Beijing last fall.

The fundamental premises that undergird the platform are that women's rights are human rights and that efforts to raise the status of women and girls through education, health initiatives and economic enterprise not only raise the standard of their families but their communities and societies as well.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, who was honorary chair of the 45-member U.S. delegation to the conference and who helped put the conference on front pages around the world, has been named honorary chair of the President's Interagency Council on Women, which is charged with coordinating federal efforts to implement the platform. Secretary of Health and Human Services Donna E. Shalala heads the council of some of the highest-ranking women in the administration. Both addressed a Monday breakfast for leading women's advocates sponsored by the National Commission on Working Women.

Shalala said council members are looking "wide and deep within their own agencies" to develop policies and initiatives that can implement the platform and to bust loose other programs that might be stuck in logjams.

Out of her own department has come a multi-pronged plan on breast cancer and an effort to include women and minorities in HIV-AIDS clinical trials. "We've tried to do major institutional changes," she said. The Women's Bureau of the Labor Department, for example, has gotten 700 pledges from companies to take steps to improve women's pay and benefits, to help them balance work and family and to provide training and advancement. The Department of the Treasury is setting up a presidential awards program to honor lending organizations that advance women's economic status by providing low-cost or non-collateral loans to women starting small businesses. The U.S. Agency for International Development has agreed to provide seed money for similar micro-enterprise programs in 15 countries newly added to its list.

"Nations cannot flourish if women and girls don't flourish," said Clinton, adding that American women, who have made so much progress, have to continue playing the leadership role that helped forge the

Beijing consensus for a global commitment to the equality and human rights of women. "Exchanging information about what works and what doesn't is one of the most important things we can do." She spoke of talking to a woman in a poor section of Nicaragua and being bowled over when the woman asked her to tell her "what is happening to women in India and China."

Many American women who attended the conference have expressed surprise at the high level of interest in it within their own communities. Nancy Woodhull, who is vice chair of the International Women's Media Foundation, says she already has given about 30 speeches about it and is scheduled to do more. In Rochester, N.Y., where she is based, "there's an unbelievable interest." People are inspired by the idea that "we can help the whole world move forward. So many people have global interests now. CNN has brought everything into our own living rooms. The information coming into our homes is much more international than it ever was."

Woodhull, who also is president of the National Women's Hall of Fame in Seneca Falls, N.Y., has proposed in speeches around upstate New York the idea of holding a women's global summit in conjunction with the 150th anniversary of the first call for women's suffrage issued there in 1848. The summit would examine the progress of efforts to implement the Beijing platform and then "work on strategies to advance it." Some 200 women have expressed a desire to volunteer on such a project. "Beijing has struck a chord for the average woman unlike anything else."

This is partly, she thinks, because the conference was so visible as a result of the controversy over the first lady's attendance. But Woodhull also speculates that women are interested in working on an international level as a way of taking action while still protecting themselves. "It allows them to work on something that is a problem they may have but they are fearful of working on on their own behalf."

Whatever the reasons, women from across the country who attended last weekend's "Feminist Expo '96" told similar stories of being asked to speak to community groups about Beijing. As Clinton put it Monday, "I know what a difference women here are making. It will reverberate throughout the world. We can demonstrate that women coming together on behalf of themselves and their families is one of the most important movements in the world today."

Sometimes she likes to unwind. How else but by sipping fermented mare's milk for a photo op in Mongolia? It's a chance to meet some of her most loyal fans. BY MARTHA BRANT AND SAM SEIBERT



Wading into a crowd of fans in Indonesia, the American First Lady finds temporary respite from the relentless grind of U.S. partisan politics

No Place Like Away

THE FARTHER FROM HOME SHE GETS, THE MORE SHE appears to blossom. These days, visits to faraway places are the closest Hillary Clinton gets to any semblance of normal life. Bravely sipping fermented mare's milk for a photo op in Mongolia or listening politely to the speeches at a summit of First Ladies in Paraguay, she can relax. Sometimes she even sneaks away to enjoy the rare, wild luxury of taking a walk as she did during her visit to Chile last year. At every scheduled

appearance, everyone seems genuinely happy to see her and eager to hear what she has to say. If foreigners were allowed to vote in U.S. presidential elections, 1996 would surely be an easy year for Bill Clinton's wife.

Her following outside the United States is both large and enthusiastic. Newspapers and magazines in Thailand, Germany, Sau-

di Arabia and more than a dozen other countries on four continents provide her syndicated weekly column, "Talking It Over," to millions of readers abroad. The Hillary Rodham Clinton Fan Club, launched three years ago in a suburban Maryland apartment, has grown to nearly 100 chapters, including four outside the United States. The group acquired its

newest outpost late last month in India; the other three are in Japan, Denmark and Britain. Unlike the American First Lady's true believers back home in the United States, her fans abroad don't have an air of siege-ment. They aren't digging in for a last-ditch defense against hordes of crazed talk-show hosts; they simply like Hillary's style.

Sometimes the admiration develops into full-blown Hillarymania. Last April, for example, the First Lady visited Bangladesh and made a stop in Moishahatipara, a village of "untouchables" where one resident won a moment in the international eye by asking whether the Clintons keep any cattle in the White House. The inhabitants were so taken with the First Lady that after her visit they gave their village a new name in her honor: Hillarypara.

Some of the First Lady's overseas admirers display an almost cultish devotion to her works. During her visit to Ukraine in 1995, a local autograph-seeker approached



In her role as unofficial ambassador, the First Lady has met new mothers in Brazil and villagers in Pakistan—and found time to visit the Taj Mahal with daughter Chelsea

her bearing thick sheaves of paper. The First Lady's eyes widened when she saw what the woman wanted her to sign: copies of the Health Security Act, a voluminous piece of legislation Hillary had personally helped draft. In the United States she suffered harsh criticism for her role in creating the bill, which never won passage into law. In the hinterlands of the former Soviet Union, she found fans who were more accepting of the endeavor.

In some ways, Hillary is poorly equipped for making new friends abroad. She has such difficulty pronouncing any language but English that she seldom even tries anymore. Despite that obstacle, people wherever she visits say they are impressed by her sharp mind and open heart. "She comes across as a well-informed, strong and bright

person," says Ranjana Kumari, a women's rights activist in New Delhi who has met the American First Lady several times. "But she is also a normal person, just like any one of us. We talked about our families, work and children and how we have to manage so many things." Hillary's common touch has made her a one-of-a-kind roving ambassador for the Clinton administration.

Mrs. Clinton's crowning moment was her trip to the U.N.-sponsored International Women's Conference in Beijing last September. The delegates gave her a rock star's welcome—and she responded with a stem-winder performance that left them stamping their feet and cheering. "If there is one message that echoes forth from this conference," she told them, "let it be that human rights are women's rights and women's

rights are human rights." Unfortunately, few Chinese citizens had the chance to hear that message; the Beijing government imposed a press blackout on Clinton as punishment for her refusal to meet directly with Chinese officials during her visit. "Nothing on Hillary could be published unless it ran on Xinhua [the official news agency] first," recalls a Chinese reporter who covered the event. "Those were the rules. Of course, Xinhua didn't touch her speeches."

Dress code: Some audiences are less susceptible than others to Mrs. Clinton's spell. In Latin America, where women often speak their minds with no need for foreign role models, she is widely respected, but hardly a cult figure. Chilean newspapers sometimes refer to their own country's First Lady, Marta Larraechea, as "the Hillary Clinton of Chile," but the comparison isn't about brains or outspokenness. It's supposed to be a compliment to Larraechea on her taste in clothes.

Yet even Latin American men are not entirely immune to Mrs. Clinton's magnetism. João Jorge Rodriguez, the dreadlocked leader of Brazil's popular "black power" group Olo-dum, watched Hillary dancing and working the crowd at a street festival one night in the city of Salvador da Bahia. "I wish there were more figures like her," he said. "She is not just decoration." And her appeal is by no means limited to the Third World. In Germany, for example, women activists

express their envy of the United States for having such an assertive First Lady. "She's so different from the politicians' wives here," says Anne Nilges, the spokesperson for Germany's Greens party. "Hannelore Kohl [the chancellor's wife] isn't taken seriously, and the others just don't appear on the scene."

Women like Hillary don't grow on trees. Most political wives prefer to remain quietly behind the scenes, doing whatever they can to protect their homes and families against the relentless grind of public life. How tough is that grind? So tough that Hillary Clinton actually seems to enjoy flying halfway around the world to spend hours shaking hands with strangers. It gives her a chance to unwind.

With bureau reports

A Doll's House?

Garry Wills

Hillary Clinton was pointedly introduced, at this year's meeting of the American Bar Association, as "the next First Woman." First Lady has been tainted by association with such phrases as "the little lady." But First Woman hardly solves the problem. When a woman is elected president, it will make as little sense to call her husband the First Man (what ever happened to Adam?) as to call him the First Gentleman (what ever happened to Beau Brummel?). The spouse's role in our republic properly has no title. Kings have queens, and princes have princesses; but there is no presidentess—nor a Mrs. President. (In the latter case, the spouse of the first woman president would be—Mr. President.)

Since the president's spouse has no constitutional office, title, or salary, some people resent a spouse's influence on policy or politics. "We did not elect *her* to anything." It has ever been so. Dolley Madison served, for a time, as her husband's secretary; but she hid that fact from the public.¹ She already knew what Rosalyn Carter would learn to her cost when she sat in on cabinet meetings, what Nancy Reagan learned when she made personnel decisions. Eleanor Roosevelt carefully wrote out the rules for being a proper wife of the president:

Always be on time. Never try to make any personal engagements. Do as little talking as humanly possible. Never be disturbed by anything. Always do what you're told to do as quickly as possible. Remember to lean back in a parade, so that people can see your husband. Don't get too fat to ride three on a seat. Get out of the way as quickly as you're not needed.²

Mrs. Roosevelt did not break every one of those rules—she could always ride three on a seat. But most of them she shattered with flair. She lived in a time of crises; her husband was also breaking the rules; government was itself being redefined, and vastly expanded, in the grips of Depression and world war. Mrs. Roosevelt visited the troops, in the Pacific Theater and in Britain, like a queen mother. During this war on an imperial scale, she became a kind of democratic empress, a task for which her upper-class breeding fitted her as much as did her lower-class sympathies.

Many things did not go back to "normal" after the war—but the role of the president's wife did. Bess Truman and Mamie Eisenhower were more seen than heard, and they were not even seen very much. Mrs. Truman stayed in Independence for long stretches when her husband was in Washington. Mrs. Eisenhower was so reclusive as to prompt rumors about secret drinking. Things began to change with the far more visible Jacqueline Kennedy, who

created the expectation that every president's wife should have her very own Project—just one, vaguely uplifting, ladylike—to keep her out from under her husband's feet as he did his White Housework. Jackie beautified the White House; Lady Bird Johnson beautified the highways. Then followed a series of Projects so discreet that few remember them—volunteerism for Pat Nixon, handicapped children for Betty Ford (her "dependency" work came after the White House), mental health for Rosalyn Carter. Mrs. Reagan, more audibly, said no to drugs, and Mrs. Bush encourages literacy. Mrs. Quayle, stand-

question the whole set of social forces that contribute to the problem. Out of the entire syndrome of inner-city dysfunction, drugs and literacy are treated as self-contained matters, addressable as such. That is why so little impact has been made on either problem. The point of these Projects is not to engage larger political remedies, involving many agencies and issues. The Project was designed to let a First Lady avoid controversy.

It is not surprising that the president's wife should exemplify the most conservative notions of a woman's place. The president himself has an ambiguous station in our history. He,



ing in the wings, has declared disaster relief her project.

These Projects exemplify the social good works of the well-born that Thorstein Veblen considered a "conspicuous consumption" of socialites' time.³ They resemble the mission societies to which ladies flock in Dickens's novels—or in Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird*: "Right then and there I made a pledge in my heart. I said to myself, when I go home I'm going to give a course on the Mrunas and bring J. Grimes Everett's message to Maycomb."⁴ This kind of activity not only conforms to one of the oldest stereotypes of female concerns but sends a message by its very singleness: The isolable problem can be tended, in a stable society, without calling into

too, posed title problems to the electorate. What to call our non-king puzzled the Republic's first generation. "Mr. President" was finally chosen after more honorific terms had been suggested and abandoned. As head of state, the president symbolizes values like continuity and stability, just as a hereditary monarch does. That is why the type has been so fixed—a white, male, married Protestant, middle to upper class, with children and dogs. He comes straight out of Central Casting. The exceptions only underline the rule. One bachelor (Buchanan). One Catholic—and not till 1960. No divorced man till 1980. No woman, Jew, or African American.

Other societies, even more sexist than ours, have had women leaders of government—Golda Meir, Indira Gandhi, Margaret Thatcher. But those women came up through parliamentary ranks—and more conventional types were installed as ceremonial

¹Conover Hunt-Jones, *Dolley and the "Great Little Madison"* (American Institute of Architects, 1977), pp. 12–17.

²Joseph P. Lash, *Eleanor and Franklin* (Norton, 1971), p. 612.

³Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Penguin, 1967), p. 96.

⁴Harper Lee, *To Kill a Mockingbird* (Lippincott, 1960), p. 244.

heads of state. Our president is both the head of state and head of government—which explains the pressures toward familiarity and repetition. If even the elected member of the marriage is a conservative symbol, how can we expect the unelected spouse to break out of the more severe inhibitions put, in the past, on female conduct?

Yet changes are coming, and fast. No part of our society—not even African Americans, or gays, or Catholics—has had its social role more drastically redefined than the female part. Girls now grow up expecting higher education, work, careers, the power to choose their future. The pill gave new autonomy to women's sexual activity, as abortion has to their fertility (once the defining aspect of womanhood). The pattern of the traditional president's wife could not be more distant from this generation's experience and aspirations—a fact confirmed by the resistance to Mrs. Bush's appearance at the 1990 Wellesley College commencement. She seemed, to some, a visitor from another era.

In the future, it will be hard to find a spouse of the Barbara Bush type linked to any rising politician. This is not simply because of Hillary Clinton. Other candidates have had lawyer-wives (Nicola Tsongas, Ruth Harkin, Hattie Babbitt, Marilyn Quayle) or spouses of some other professional commitment. If Hillary Clinton should break the barrier, it will be by inches only. And if not she, then another, soon. Whoever the new-model wife, she will break rules on the scale of another Eleanor. Future Noras are clearly going to find, in the White House, their Doll's House.

If Hillary Clinton does it, she will be an appropriate symbol of her sisters' concerns. When she returned to give the commencement address at her college, it was the second time she had spoken to Wellesley graduates. In 1969, her classmates had demanded that they be given, finally, some voice at their own commencement. They chose Hillary Rodham, the president of their student government, to be the first such speaker, and she consulted widely to find out what others wanted her to say. It was the earliest public indication of her concern that young people be given more responsibility for their own lives. This desire, she said, is not a mere "liberal" or radical thing:

There's a very strange conservative strain that goes through a lot of New Left collegiate protests that I find very intriguing because it harkens [sic] back to a lot of the old virtues, to the fulfillment of original ideas. And, it's also a very [sic] unique American experience. It's such a great adventure. If the experiment in human living doesn't work in this country, in this age, it's not going to work anywhere.

The speech got coverage in the national press, so that when Peter Edelman, who was Robert Kennedy's

legislative assistant until Kennedy's death, was asked to put together a conference of young leaders and old, he called the newly graduated Hillary Rodham to come as a young leader. At the conference, sponsored by the League of Women Voters, Hillary met several people who would continue to be important in her professional life, including Vernon Jordan and Edelman himself. Edelman had recently married Marian Wright, the veteran of the civil rights movement who was the first black woman to pass the bar in Mississippi. When Marian Edelman spoke at Yale Law School during Rodham's first year there, the law student was so impressed that she asked to work during her summer break for Ms. Edelman's nascent Washington Research Project (which would soon become the Children's Defense Fund). Edelman said she could not, yet, pay Hillary anything; but Hillary got a grant for civil-rights research that supported her during her first summer in Washington. Edelman sent her to work with Walter Mondale's subcommittee studying the plight of migrant workers ten years after the explosive documentary *Harvest of Shame*. Rodham did interviews with workers and their families, assessing the hardships their children suffered. It was the beginning of a long engagement with these problems. In later summer projects, she studied children's cases in California and in segregated schools.

Back in New Haven, she became involved in the Yale Child Studies Center, working with Sally Province on infant distress. Rodham got permission from the law school to fashion a special (extra) year of study devoted to children's rights under the law. She did research for a book, *Beyond the Best Interests of the Child*, written by her family law professor, Joseph Goldstein, and other faculty members.⁵ This was the first of three widely used volumes that explored the inadequacies of the legal formula that guides courts in cases of child abandonment, neglect, or abuse. Judges are supposed to consult "the best interests of the child." The book made the point that these interests cannot be considered in isolation from the real limits of each situation. The authors proposed a new standard: "The least detrimental available alternative."

This standard was made real to Hillary Rodham because she had also volunteered to work with the New Haven Legal Services. One case she dealt with involved a foster parent, a black woman in her fifties, who had raised a child of mixed (black-white) parentage while the competency and claims of the birth parents were contested in the courts. "The woman was caught in a classic bureaucratic bind," Hillary Clinton recently said in an interview. The courts decided, after a long process, that the parents had relinquished all claims, but that the "best interests" of the child could not be served by the foster parent, who now wanted to adopt the child, since that parent was fifty years old, single, and not prosperous. The court took the child away from the one concerned source of stability in her life, and put

her back in a foster home to await a possible adoption that might serve some ideal "best interests." Joseph Goldstein told me that his book did not advocate court intrusion into family life. It tried to set standards for the least detrimental intrusion where that became necessary to protect the rights of the child. "The proof that we set useful guidelines is that the book has been translated into Japanese, French, Swedish, Danish, and other languages, where the cultures of child-raising are all different."

Rodham rounded out her work on children's rights by consulting with doctors at the New Haven Hospital to create rules for child-abuse cases. Again, the "best interests" were not always obvious. It seems clear that no child should be abused; but is removing an abused child from parental power always the least detrimental available alternative? "For some young children, abuse may be the only attention the child got; so when you remove it, there is an extraordinary guilt: 'I must have done something really terrible because now they do not even want me.'" Rodham also found subtler abuse when parents sought sterilization of "very slightly retarded children," or abortions when the girl desired the child. Her articles on child rights are being used by Pat Robertson and others to show that she wants children to get abortions without parental consent. "But most of my experience in New Haven," she said, "was exactly the opposite—the parents wanted the abortion, to avoid shame, humiliation, or embarrassment."

Through Marian Edelman, who served on the Carnegie Council on Children, Rodham collaborated on what became Kenneth Keniston's influential work, *All Our Children*.⁶ "Marian, Pat Ward, and Hillary did the research for the chapter on legal protection of children," Keniston remembers. That chapter deals with children's rights to education—not only in conflict with parents who would keep their children out of school but with school authorities who irresponsibly suspend or expel children. It also dealt with rights to medical care—not only in conflict with parents (e.g., Christian Scientists) who might refuse a doctor's ministrations but with parents who irresponsibly impose on children experimental or extreme treatments (sterilization, shock treatments, lobotomies). But "the first right of a child is to a parent, where that is possible," as Keniston sums up the main theme of his work.

Hillary Rodham's absorption in children's rights was such that she did not interview with any law firms in her last year at law school, though her record made her prime recruiting material. Instead she went to work full time for the Child Development Fund. She left that, temporarily, for what she calls "the chance to be a part of history" on the House impeachment staff studying Nixon's Watergate-related actions. Most of the time she was squirreled away doing legal research in Washington, but once, when she accompanied John Doar, the director of the staff, to a press conference, Sam Donaldson

⁵Joseph Goldstein, Anna Freud, and Albert Solnit, *Beyond the Best Interests of the Child* (Free Press, 1973).

⁶Kenneth Keniston, *All Our Children* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978).

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ran after her, saying, "How does it feel to be the Jill Wine Volner of the impeachment committee?" (Wine Volner was the woman lawyer in the special prosecutor's office.) She went to no more press conferences. "The most tedious work was transcribing the Nixon tapes. One we called the Tape of Tapes—it was Nixon taping himself while he listened to his tapes, inventing rationales for what he said. At one point, he asked Manuel Sanchez [his valet], 'Don't you think I meant *this* when I said *that*?'"

All this time Rodham was seeing Bill Clinton, who had returned to Arkansas. Keniston says, "We knew that anyone who came back from Oxford with a *stronger* Arkansas accent was made for politics." Peter Edelman, who had not yet met Clinton, thought Hillary was throwing away her great talents when she went down to Arkansas to teach with Bill. At the law school in Arkansas, Rodham set up a legal aid service for indigents. When an Arkansas community tried to close a youth commune formed nearby, she defended the commune. "The judge *loved* that case—it was the first time he ever wrote on *constitutional* issues," she says.

She tells how a woman jailer called her to say that an itinerant preacher-lady was going to be committed in another Arkansas town. "This is just wrong," the jailer said over the phone, "this woman is not crazy—she just loves the Lord." Since the woman's court hearing was just hours away, Professor Rodham had to collect her student aides and drive straight to the town. The judge threatened to keep throwing the unpopular woman preacher into jail every time the legal services people got her out. Hillary talked to the woman, found she had family in California, and told her, "People need the Lord in California, too." Then she persuaded the judge that it was a lot cheaper to pay for a plane ticket to California than to support the woman in an Arkansas mental home.

It was out of her varied experiences in clinics, hospitals, and research teams that Rodham wrote her early articles on children's rights that have drawn so much attention. She was trying to find a theoretical framework for pioneer efforts on a child's rights. According to Joseph Goldstein, the articles are not as nuanced as his own work would become later on, but they reflected what was the best opinion then. In arguing for an assumption (not a ruling) of competency on the part of children, unless that can be disproved, Rodham was trying to find a rule that would let, say, a thirteen-year-old get education or medical care if a parent denied it, or have a voice in choosing a foster parent.

One of the philanthropies that helped launch Marian Edelman's prize-winning work for children was the New World Foundation, set up by an heiress to the McCormick Reaper fortune for the promotion of peace, civil rights, education, and spiritual values. Vernon Jordan and Peter Edelman came to serve on the foundation's board and so, in time, did their friend Hillary Clinton, who was elected to the chair in 1987. Colin Greer, the president of the foundation, remembers that Clinton opened up the board and the award process to

greater participation of women and minorities. David Ramage, now president of the McCormick Theological Seminary, was the president of the foundation when Clinton arranged a conference on women's issues to help the board assess grant proposals. He told me, "The group was extremely diverse in every way—class, ethnicity, background—and it argued on most matters. But I was astounded when the problem of physical safety came up—all the women were united on the tremendous importance of that. I had never realized how much women live in fear. I went home and constructed a chart I called The Security Circle, to guide us in working for reforms." That was in 1985, long before the scale of abuse and harassment was appreciated by the public.

Some of the hundreds of grants made by the foundation have been criticized—although most of those singled out were given in the year Clinton, in the chair, was not voting on particular grants. A grant to the Christic Institute has been attacked because the Washington office of that organization has made unsubstantiated charges against the government; but the grant went to the Christic Institute South, which has long been involved in civil rights work familiar to the Edelmans; and it was given to promote voting rights and those advocating them.⁷ A grant to the National Lawyers Guild, a favorite target of Joseph McCarthy in red-baiting days, supported education on the issue of apartheid.⁸ (New World was one of the first foundations to divest its portfolio of South African investments.)

Colin Greer says that Clinton was always good at questioning the practicality of grant proposals. This sense of practical reform, developed partly from her work with Marian Edelman on the plight of actual children, was evident in the work she did for her husband's educational reforms in Arkansas. She went all over the state conducting citizens' forums, talking to school boards and teachers, immersing herself in the details of teacher testing, curriculum standardization, and student competence tests. She overcame the opposition of the teachers' union and helped pass the program by testifying before the legislature. It was a striking achievement for a woman from the North working in a conservative southern state. Even John Robert Starr, the former editor of the *Arkansas Democrat*, a relentless opponent of Bill Clinton, told me: "If he does go to the White House, Hillary will be the best First Lady since Eleanor Roosevelt—or maybe the best ever."

But the White House is not a governor's mansion. Candidates who have weathered many state campaigns find that standards are not so much higher as different when the presidency is at stake. The conservative "role model" aspect of the office narrows choices to the safe and the predictable. An abrupt departure from the practice of former tenants causes unease. And that is even more true for the President's wife. The possibility that a

⁷*The New World Foundation Report for the Years 1987 and 1988*, pp. 16, 35.

⁸*New World Foundation Report*, p. 13.

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woman may give advice triggers very old fears of disruption in the sexual "chain of command." Eve had been the devil's instrument in Eden; and literature is full of overweening women seeking power. The right-wing journal *The Spectator* presents Ms. Clinton as Lady Macbeth. Richard Nixon said of her, "If the wife comes through as being too strong and too intelligent, it makes the husband look like a wimp." That had been the case even for an obviously strong president like Franklin Roosevelt. His cousin Alice Roosevelt Longworth was quoted as saying, "Franklin is one part mush, and three parts Eleanor," and the journalist Doris Fleeson called Eleanor "a Trojan mare."⁹ Franklin sometimes denied Eleanor's influence on specific matters: it was all right for him to take advice from unelected male aides like Louis Howe or Steven Early, but there was something sinister about a woman's exerting influence or offering advice. Pat Robertson attributes such female aggression to

⁹Lash, *Eleanor and Franklin*, p. 620.

witchcraft.¹⁰ Reagan could take advice from Michael Deaver; but when the same advice came from Nancy Reagan, it was resented as baneful, as almost unconstitutional.

The White House is one of the few places left in modern life where a wife's subordination to her husband and his career is considered not only a duty but the highest duty. She is not to have an independent sphere of interests and friends. One thing that frightened people about Eleanor Roosevelt was that she had formed a network of civil rights and peace and labor contacts quite different from her husband's. In retrospect, we see that as a beneficial way of complementing FDR's differently focused life; but at the time it seemed to many an encroachment, almost a usurpation.

Most presidents' wives come into office with their worlds defined entirely

¹⁰Robertson attributed support for the ERA in Iowa to "a socialist, anti-family political movement that encourages women to leave their husbands, kill their children, practice witchcraft, destroy capitalism and become lesbians" (AP dispatch, August 25, 1992).

by their husbands. They have to *adopt* a Project because they had none prior to their arrival. (When Margot Perot was asked, during her husband's shadow candidacy, what her Project would be, she asked the reporter to suggest one to her.) Hillary Clinton would arrive not only with ongoing concerns but with an influential network of allies in the legal, philanthropic, and civil rights fields.

Much has been made of the FOBs (Friends of Bill), that large web of contacts Clinton formed as he reached out from Arkansas by way of Georgetown, Oxford, Yale, and the Democratic Leadership Conference. But Hillary went down to Arkansas bringing with her an equally important circle of loyal friends (FOHs). Through Peter Edelman, Burke Marshall (her law professor), and John Doar (her director on the impeachment staff), all of them former Robert Kennedy aides, she has many Democratic Party ties. Through Marian Edelman (who, as a young lawyer, joined Doar in his efforts against violence in Mississippi during the Sixties) she met many peo-

ple deeply involved with the problems of poverty and racism. She has feminist associations, having been, for example, the founding chair of the ABA's Women's Commission.

In Arkansas, the FOBs and the FOHs meshed usefully; but a vision of two power centers in the White House remains deeply disturbing to conservative Americans. Even in the campaign there are rumors of conflict between "Bill's people" and "Hillary's people." This would surely escalate fears in the White House. But the constitutional situation makes such fears chimerical. There is no First Lady, only a wife (or, later, a husband). A spouse's ability to help is not a legal power but a matter of suasion; no husband has been browbeaten in that office to do what he did not want to do. Franklin Roosevelt was coaxed into things he was at first disinclined toward (e.g., giving attention to the NAACP). Few people doubt, any more, that Roosevelt was a better president because of his independent wife. He was hardly bewitched. But it has come time for the career woman, even in the White House, to be de-witched. □

In Fairness to the Candidate's Wife

By ALBERT R. HUNT

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

—Richard Nixon on Hillary Clinton

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

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

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

The pounding against Mrs. Clinton has been ferocious. Human Events, the provocative weekly paper, has dubbed her the "Evita Peron of American politics." The cover piece of the current issue of the American Spectator is entitled "Boy Clinton's Big Mama." It accuses her of everything from filing her 1991 tax return under her maiden name after supposedly taking her husband's following his gubernatorial defeat in 1980, to seeking to undermine the American family by pitting children against their parents. (Most of these charges concern legitimate issues; by contrast, some of the private stuff being

—Hillary Clinton is full of

nothing but hate and venom.)

Under scrutiny many of the more substantive charges don't hold up very well. Most are based either on writings that date back to her law school days or on grants made by groups in which she served as one of many board members. For example, she once wrote that under certain circumstances children ought to have



Hillary Clinton

greater legal rights to separate from their parents. But she said this should be only in extreme cases. Indeed there are situations ranging from child abuse to abandonment where this hardly seems a radical view.

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

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

Longtime friends are adamant that her personal image is equally inconsistent

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

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**THE VOTE'S NOT DUE UNTIL AUGUST 1, BUT FOR DEMOCRATS
IN NEW YORK THIS WEEK THERE'S ONLY ONE WAY THE COOKIE CRUMBLES**

A national magazine has asked Hillary Clinton and Barbara Bush to put their favorite chocolate chip cookie recipes up for public competition and both have obliged. In fact, thousands of Democratic Convention goers will get a chance to sample Mrs. Clinton's recipe in New York City this week.

"Family Circle" Magazine publishes both recipes in its July 21 issue. Readers are asked to bake a batch of each, do thier own taste test, and then vote their favorite by postcard to the magazine by August 1.

The magazine bills the competition as a "Bipartisan Bake-Off." "We know that a great chocolate chip cookie recipe won't influence your vote come November," the magazine said explaining the contest to readers, "but we figured it might be fun to see which recipe...brings more to the party."

For the party faithful in New York City this week, the dough definitely is on Mrs. Clinton. Beginning Monday around Madison Square Garden, Convention goers who sample cookies made from Mrs. Clinton's recipe -- which the magazine has named "Clinton's Chips" -- also will receive a postcard ballot for casting their vote. Mrs. Bush's entry is not on that postcard ballot.

Friends of Mrs. Clinton's have arranged for thousands of cookies to be available for the Convention. The samples are being baked fresh daily by Soutine's, the New York bakery, from Mrs. Clinton's recipe as printed in the magazine. Soutine's also is baking additional, decorated donkey cookies from the bakery's own stock.

Beginning Monday, cookies baked from Mrs. Clinton's recipe will be available periodically all week at various Convention-related events.

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Give Hillary a Break

By Letty Cottin Pogrebin

I don't get this Hillary-bashing. Why should 1992 be the Year of the Woman but not of the wife?

Clearly something extraordinary is happening to women in politics. People everywhere are excited about candidates like Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein, the winners in California's Democratic Senate primaries; Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois, an African-American; Pennsylvania's Lynn Yeakel, who comes out of grass-roots feminism rather than ward politics or senatorial widowhood, and New York's Geraldine Ferraro, who has attracted 57,000 contributions from all 50 states.

Why are we not seeing similar enthusiasm for Hillary Clinton, who represents the same values, perspectives and positions, and is as smart, articulate, experienced and attractive?

She would be the first First Lady who — like most of today's wives and mothers — has been a wage earner and family woman and who understands exactly what the rest of us are up against. Why isn't she benefiting from the same groundswell?

O.K., she's not running for office, but as a spouse she compares more than favorably with the many political wives who are come-lately proponents of good causes or who adopt an issue, usually something noncontroversial, when it suits their husbands' agenda. Hillary Clinton has a 20-year record of advocacy for social justice and chil-

Letty Cottin Pogrebin is a writer and a founding editor of *Ms.* magazine.

dren's welfare. That should be a plus. But I've heard her criticized as too strong, too strident, too substantive.

Maybe people forget that in 1973, when Hillary graduated from law school, a woman had to be twice as good as a man to go half as far; verbal skills and assertiveness were essential to surmount sex discrimination. But why bad-mouth a female achiever in 1992 when most parents have high aspirations for their daughters and most women want for themselves the balance among family, work and service she embodies?

Perhaps such criticism illuminates society's ambivalence toward changing roles in this backlash era. Men may be projecting on to Mrs. Clinton their hostility toward feminism, while women, overwhelmed by their multi-

Why is she different from Barbara Boxer?

ple responsibilities, may be projecting their frustrations.

Others call her ambitious and self-serving. In fact, she could more accurately be called self-sacrificing. Although she had her pick of prestigious positions, she followed Bill Clinton to Fayetteville, Ark., and built a life there for the sake of his career. Years later, to help his re-election campaign, she gave up her name.

Why attack such a woman — unless the problem relates not to women but to wives? Many voters who can ac-

cept female accomplishments in the public sphere still invest emotionally in the image of wife as subordinate to her husband. Margot Perot told Barbara Walters she cares only about making "a happy home for Ross" and cannot imagine wanting to sit in on a Cabinet meeting — and some viewers warmed to her. She admitted to being pro-choice but reassured America that her husband "doesn't need my advice.... And, no, I would not be breathing down his neck."

A woman can get away with plenty of self-assertion so long as she establishes herself as the good wife. Hillary Clinton won her highest approval ratings just after she appeared on TV sitting at her husband's side defending him against the Other Woman. In this situation, her assertive style was perceived positively because she used it for her man and her marriage.

The female candidates have managed to detach themselves from their families, but a candidate's wife cam-

paigns as a wife. And many voters, rather than judge her on her potential as a partner in public service, still use the old-fashioned yardstick of "charm" and looks.

When we elect a President we get a governing couple; more precisely, when we elect a man we give his wife power. Nancy Reagan was the iron fist inside her husband's velvet glove. Rosalynn Carter sat in on Cabinet meetings, and so what? Barbara Bush has spoken as the President's surrogate. Every Administration uses its First Lady to win friends and influence voters.

Because of this power, visibility and access, I frankly prefer that the next First Lady be cast in the mold of Eleanor Roosevelt. I count a smart First Lady as a bonus, not a burden. She advertises her husband's ability to live with a female equal — and that for me is a character issue. □



Ruth Marten

The candidate's wife

Now you see her, now you don't. The *old* Hillary Clinton, that is.

By Cynthia Hanson

Slick Willie, meet Sleek Hilly. While Gov. Bill Clinton was busy reintroducing himself as the "I pulled myself up by my bootstraps" presidential candidate, his wife was busy reinventing herself—or at least her image.

Yes, the High Priestess of Headbands nearly stole her husband's show by adopting the presence of a Proper First Lady.

At the Democratic National Convention last month, Hillary Clinton showed us her knees.

And her hair sans black headband.

And her Miss America megawatt smile.

And her adoring Nancy Reagan gaze.

Hillary Clinton—influential lawyer, education activist and children's advocate—has repackaged herself into a stylish political wife.

With her new classic coif and clothes, some might even say Clinton's gone fashion-conscious, looking more like a stylish professional than an I'll-do-it-my-way dresser.

(OK, so she had a headband relapse when the post-convention buscade ended in St. Louis. But the headband was white, with gold accents that complemented the buttons on her figure-flattering white dress.)

"Obviously, there was campaign motivation behind this," says Kelly Cassidy, legislative director for the National Organization for Women in Chicago. "Hillary's new look will appeal to suburban voters, but as for the change, I have a feeling that no one could force Hillary to do anything she didn't want to do."

A little help from a friend

But despite the blond bob she displayed before the California primary, despite Clinton's own admission that she planned to "reintroduce" herself to voters, the Bill Clinton camp denies that spin doctors are trying to make her more feminine and more appealing to the very cookie bakers she disparaged during the Illinois primary.

"She doesn't have a favorite designer," says Kim Hopper, Clinton's deputy press secretary. "She buys most of her clothes off of the



The new Hillary Clinton (right) with Tipper Gore days before her makeover was displayed at the Democratic National Convention.

rack in Little Rock."

What Clinton, 44, has is a close friend in Hollywood.

Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, producer of CBS' "Designing Women," "Evening Shade" and the forthcoming "Hearts Afire," says the transformation all started a few months ago when she and Hillary were casually discussing fashion. An Arkansas native, she's known the Clintons for 10 years and has become something of a Svengali to the campaign.

"Everybody thinks we had some big meeting about Hillary's image," says Bloodworth-Thomason via telephone from California. "It never happened. I merely said, 'Hey, these are the people who help us on our shows, and why don't we send them to Little Rock?' I thought they could help Hillary get ready for the convention and the fall campaign."

So costume designer Cliff Chally, makeup artist Charlie Blackman and hairdresser Christophe, whose clients include Markie Post and Dustin Hoffman, visited Arkansas' First Family.

Ironically, though charged with selecting new suits for Hillary, it was in Clinton's closet in Little Rock, not a Rodeo Drive boutique, where Chally found the stunning yellow outfit she wore for her hubby's acceptance speech.

Chally also helped Gov. Clinton and his mother, Virginia, choose their attire for New York City.

Before departing Little Rock, they even staged a wardrobe run-through.

No. 148 on the To-Do list

During the primaries, Clinton's plaid suits, frilly white blouses and omnipresent headbands suggested a woman too independent and busy to worry about being a fashion fiasco.

For all of her accomplishments, "Hillary didn't project a professionalism," says Marianne Stokirk, a Chicago coiffeuse, who would prefer Clinton's hair shorter still. "She seemed stuck in an era somewhere between high school and college."

Of her friend's style savvy, Bloodworth-Thomason says Clinton "likes to look nice," yet doesn't have time to focus on fashion. And in defense of the so-called "reinvented Hillary," she says Clinton's look—not unlike most peoples'—"has evolved over the years and is always changing."

"We're talking about a woman who has spent the last 15 years going around in paper-thin planes in the middle of the night just to get to some hamlet in Arkansas to talk about quality education," Bloodworth-Thomason says. "Being a fashion plate has been about No. 148 on Hillary's list of things to do."

Ch-ch-ch-changes

This metamorphosis isn't Clin-



In January, you likely would find Hillary Clinton making her point in a black headband and clothes that shied from the cutting edge.

ton's first, either.

After her husband lost a re-election bid for governor in the early '80s, Clinton, in what seemed a transparent appeal to voters, ditched her Gloria Steinem glasses for contact lenses, her dull brown hair for blond highlights and her maiden name, which she'd been using professionally and socially.

This year, along with the changes to her physical image, Clinton seems to be modifying her political involvement now as well. Once strident on the campaign trail—she'd coyly leave open the possibility of running for office herself someday—she's now leaving the politicking to Gov. Clinton.

Such practices don't offend NOW's Cassidy, who views Clinton as a role model because of her advocacy for education and children's issues. "It's not what Hillary looks like, it's what she says and does," Cassidy says. "The new image won't have an effect one way or another on feminists."

First Lady lore

Since the late '70s, Americans haven't resolved whether they prefer a First Lady who's satisfied with a dowdy wardrobe or one who's obsessed with couture.

Remember snickering at Rosalynn Carter for donning an outdated coat during the Inaugural Parade in 1977?

Or sniping at Nancy Reagan for "borrowing" designer clothes?

Then came Barbara Bush—and we laughed with her when she skewered her own silver hair, thick waistline and indifference to fashion.

While politicians may charge Clinton with Machiavellian behavior, Chicago's style intelligentsia

give Clinton's handlers high marks for her coif, minimal makeup, shaped jackets and higher hemlines.

"It's a move in the right direction," says Beverly Washington, president of Image Factor, a Chicago consulting firm. "Now, Hillary has a look of certainty and polish. It's clean, healthy and wholesome in a comfortable, non-threatening way."

"Hillary's look fits right into the fashion trends of the '90s," adds Gina Tovar, fashion director at Nordstrom in Oak Brook. "When I watched the convention, I thought she looked younger and refreshed."

Hairstylist Charles Ifergan, owner of three salons in the Chicago area, believes Clinton's metamorphosis brings a "sleekness and sophistication" to the campaign.

Could Clinton popularize pastel pink the way Barbara Bush popularized pearls?

"When you're in the public eye as much as the First Lady, anything you do can become a trend," says Becky Hitchcock, fashion office manager at Marshall Field's. "Maybe tailored suits and silhouettes will become Hillary's trademark." ●

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8/13/92

Chicago Tribune



**Mike
Royko**

GOP sets its sights on Hillary Clinton

Just in the nick of time, with their convention about to begin, the Republicans have found their new Willie Horton.

You can bet that all next week, the name of this dangerous person will be thrown around the convention hall by Republican orators.

Hillary Clinton: Public Enemy Number One of the traditional American family.

Actually, it's already started. I've heard right-wingers describe her as a Nazi, a pinko, a baby-snatcher, and a vicious, ambitious, grasping man-hater. At least they give her credit for versatility.

Just this week, Rich Bond, the Republican national chairman, made a speech in which Hillary Clinton seemed to be a bigger target than her husband the candidate. To hear Bond tell it, Hillary thinks that as an institution, marriage is a modern-day Devil's Island.

Most of this seems to stem from her feminist activities and long-standing belief that children have legal rights and are not merely living, breathing hunks of parental property.

But to hear the Republicans describe her, you get the impression that her goal—should Bill Clinton become president—is to rip every child in America out of its momma's arms and shove it into a government-run youth camp.

Or to trot children into court to sue their parents because they've been deprived of the latest Nintendo game or were grounded for the weekend and told to stay off the phone.

Which shows a certain desperation on the part of the Republicans. Using Willie Horton as a campaign tool might have been unfair, but at least he was a genuine rapist and thug. But Hillary Clinton is not a baby-snatcher.

If she is, then so am I, because I share some of Hillary Clinton's concerns.

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I've written about kids who have been beaten, scalded, sexually abused, only to be returned to the same parent or parents who did these terrible things.

And I've written about these same kids after it happened again and they ended up dead.

I've had the satisfaction of forcing some indifferent or incompetent officials out of Family Court. But after the kid is dead, that's a hollow victory.

I have a physician friend who specializes in treating abused children. And she tells me that for every damaged child that is rescued from abusive parents, hundreds more are returned to the same misfits.

That's because it is the policy of social agencies in most states that their top priority is keeping families together.

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This is a true story. And what was the social agency's solution, approved by the judge? Why, just teach mom that it is her responsibility to prevent her boyfriend from trying to murder and/or rape her kids. Then give the kids back to her.

Is that nuts or is that nuts?

The reality is that there are countless children who are, through no fault of their own, in the clutches of parents who are stupidly cruel and dangerous. They suffer. Many of them die. They belong in foster homes or with adoptive parents.

It isn't merely a social problem. It is a national crisis. But it's a crisis that legislatures, social agencies, law enforcement and the courts haven't been able to handle.

And it's a crisis that the Republican chairman, a professional wise guy, hasn't said anything about, except to make smart-aleck remarks about Hillary Clinton wanting to break up families.

Maybe he thinks that a family life in which an infant winds up with about 20 fractures (another case I wrote about) is better than no family life at all.

They'll also pounce on Hillary Clinton's belief that children should have access to the courts.

And they'll probably mention a case in Florida in which an adolescent boy sued his parents "for divorce," as the headline writers put it.

But they'll leave out the specifics. Yes, the boy's foster parents went to court in his behalf. But it wasn't a frivolous suit. The boy's father was an abusive drunk. The divorced mother had a long history of neglect. And the state agency hadn't done much besides get forms filled out.

So the boy said, enough, he wanted to remain in the stable home provided by the foster parents. The judge agreed.

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8/13/92



Chicago Tribune

**Mike
Royko**

GOP sets its sights on Hillary Clinton

Just in the nick of time, with their convention about to begin, the Republicans have found their new Willie Horton.

You can bet that all next week, the name of this dangerous person will be thrown around the convention hall by Republican orators.

Hillary Clinton: Public Enemy Number One of the traditional American family.

Actually, it's already started. I've heard right-wingers describe her as a Nazi, a pinko, a baby-snatcher, and a vicious, ambitious, grasping man-hater. At least they give her credit for versatility.

Just this week, Rich Bond, the Republican national chairman, made a speech in which Hillary Clinton seemed to be a bigger target than her husband the candidate. To hear Bond tell it, Hillary thinks that as an institution, marriage is a modern-day Devil's Island.

Most of this seems to stem from her feminist activities and long-standing belief that children have legal rights and are not merely living, breathing hunks of parental property.

But to hear the Republicans describe her, you get the impression that her goal—should Bill Clinton become president—is to rip every child in America out of its momma's arms and shove it into a government-run youth camp.

Or to trot children into court to sue their parents because they've been deprived of the latest Nintendo game or were grounded for the weekend and told to stay off the phone.

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Political wives, political lives

WASHINGTON—It took them awhile, but Hillary Clinton and Tipper Gore finally learned their place.

Bright, intelligent, independent women in their normal lives, they have figured out that they do not lead normal lives. They are political wives leading political lives with all the constraints on behavior and expression that political life demands.

Before she learned the lessons, Hillary Clinton took a pounding, particularly from the political Right, for daring to express independent thoughts.

Human Events magazine tagged her the "Evita Peron of American Politics." The American Spectator called her the "Lady MacBeth of Little Rock" and the "Winnie Mandela of American Politics." Its back pages carry ads for "Nuke Hillary" and "Pillory Hillary" T-shirts, right alongside ads for "Asian Ladies," "Oriental Ladies" and "Women World-Wide" seeking correspondence.

National Review played on her physical resemblance to actress Rebecca DeMornay in headlining a cover story about her ideas on family law: "The Hand That Rocks the Cradle."

And Tipper Gore's successful crusades to put warning labels on rock albums that contain obscene lyrics damaged her husband's support among the Hollywood liberals who help fill the fundraising role for Democratic campaigns that deep-pocket corporations fill for Republicans. It also resulted in obscene salutes to her by rapper Ice-T, among others who didn't approve of her efforts.

But, as the Clinton-Gore ticket's centrist appeal has paid off in soaring approval ratings, their wives appear to have caught on to the game the way it has traditionally been played.

Judging by their success, I have come up with the following Commandments of Life for Today's Savvy Political Wife:

1. Thou shalt speak only when it doth not require a brain.

Hillary Clinton's advocacy for children who are victims of abuse won her widespread praise until she became a presidential candidate's wife. Now it has brought charges from conservatives that she's a wild-eyed radical who wants to turn children against their parents.

Ironically, her position on prominent boards like Wal-Mart's has brought charges from some of the same critics that she's a member of the wealthy elite. Either way, don't expect her views to get a serious hearing during this campaign. First Lady candidates don't debate. They just smile.

2. If taketh a position thou must, taketh it with the side that will bringeth thee the most votes.

Tipper's lemon became lemonade when the Clintons, hungry for Middle American voters, needed running mates who could undercut the Bush-Quayle "family values" pitch. They're even saying nice things about Tipper in Hollywood.

3. In fact, thy safest position will be, oh, a little to the side and slightly behind thine husband whenever he speaketh.

Also, tilt thine head and gaze longingly at the back of

Clarence Page

his head.

4. Thou shalt get along fabulously and famously with thine mate's running mate's mate.

Hug. Hold hands. Act like old girlfriends. It doesn't hurt.

5. Thou shalt soften thine look.

A new Hillary emerged, once she got rid of the big glasses, granny dresses and swept-back hair of her early days as a political wife. Tipper has taken the hint and shares Hillary's stylist, which resulted in their similar pageboys at the Democratic National Convention.

Ah, yes. Thou shalt have no bad hair days.

6. Thou shalt not work for money.

Unless, of course, it is on a project of no consequence. Perhaps Hillary, who suggested once that she might continue her lawyer work as First Lady but later nixed the idea, can take a tip from Marilyn Quayle and while away her spare time by writing a bad novel.

7. Stand by thine man even while denying to all the world that thou are, alas, standing by thine man.

Hillary Clinton offended Tammy Wynette, who had been a guest of the Bush White House, when she denied she was "just another Tammy Wynette standing by her man" even while she was standing by her man against charges of womanizing. No matter. Her support saved the day for hubby.

8. Thou shalt stay home, bake cookies and have teas.

"I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas," said Hillary Clinton, while responding to allegations from Democratic candidate Jerry Brown of possible conflicts in her legal work. Today few people could tell you what Brown's charges were, but everybody remembers Hillary Clinton's response.

Since learning the game, she has entered a Family Circle cookie bake-off against Barbara Bush even though, as one Republican wag observed, Hillary Clinton in an apron is like Michael Dukakis in a tank.

9. Thou shalt speak like a politician, not like a parent.

Dan Quayle spoke like a parent when he told Larry King he would try to talk his daughter out of having an abortion but would stand by her if, as an adult, she chose to have it anyway. Marilyn spoke like a politician when she pointed out the next day that, if their daughter were still a minor, she would have to keep the baby to term.

So simple. Quayle agonized like most parents would over his answer and tried in the end to have it both ways, like most Americans do in the polls. His wife's answer was more properly political in its uncanny certainty. Politicians live in a world of simple, direct answers to crises, public and personal. For the rest of us, it's not easy.

10. And thou shalt use thine husband's surname

Rodham who?

TALK ABOUT slick! George Bush has something truly slick, if not downright oily, going with the newest version of the oldest political game in the world. It's called "Who, me?" The rule is that you encourage others to make all the truly sleazy or crooked or demagogic points against the opponent while you merely gasp and fan yourself and flutter that *gosh* you wish they would stop. The makers of these remarks then apologize, sort of, through a big grin, and everyone sits back and awaits the next "unauthorized" attack. It is never a long wait.

Maybe this stratagem is as clever as some Republicans in Houston seem to think. To us it doesn't look so clever, since its implication, which is bound to sink in with repetition, is one of weakness, of refusal to take responsibility for what is done in your name.

Of course, part of the problem is that no one has exactly defined what is and is not sleaze or what does constitute irrelevance or out-of-bounds assaults in the campaign. Ronald Reagan, in his rousing political Democrat-bash Monday night, showed, once again, that he is the tonal master, knowing how to hit hard without crossing the line into nasty, unattractive abuse. He took on candidate Clinton and the Democratic Party in that good-humored but devastating "there you go again" voice made familiar in his debate with Jimmy Carter. Others, including notably Sen. Alan Simpson and Patrick Buchanan, did their familiar claw-on-the-side-of-the-face thing.

Mr. Buchanan is interesting here. He has moved on from King George, as he derided Mr. Bush last winter, to Prince Albert, as he now derides Sen. Gore. Mr. Buchanan's spectacular flip-flop from the 32-foot board should be a bit awkward to accommodate for a party that makes so much of the claim that Mr. Clinton has shifted from one position to another without hesitation or scruple. It seems like only yesterday, and in fact it practically was, that Mr. Buchanan was telling the American public of Mr. Bush: "He says one thing and does another." "He's the biggest taxer in history, the biggest spender, run the biggest deficits." "Mr. Bush had what he called a new conservative State of the Union, but when you looked at it, the proposals were small and pathetic and timid." "Why has the United States failed to recognize the peoples of Slovenia and Croatia who are rising up for their freedom even as we did 200 years ago? Why is Mr. Bush playing footsie with Li Peng and Deng Xiaoping? Excuse me, but were these not the gentlemen who sent the tanks to roll over the children in Tiananmen Square . . . ? What happened? One month later a secret visit from Eagleburger and Scowcroft, the kowtow twins of Kissinger Associates."

But in a political world where nothing matters and nothing lasts, except of course the protestations by switchers like Mr. Buchanan that they and they alone are pillars of unbending principle, all this stuff from one day is gone down the memory tube the next. And in truth he seems more suited to his current attack than he was to mere Bush-bashing. For the themes being most assiduously cultivated in these "who, me?" attacks made on behalf of George Bush are right up the Buchanan alley: imputations of moral inferiority, warnings about the dangers homosexuals pose to the society, allegations of failed patriotism on the part of opponents and the rest. All this is the stew that the Republicans are stirring while George Bush frowns in

And finally there are, of course, the question of the Clinton draft status during the Vietnam War and the attempt to savage the candidate's wife.

The Vietnam issue is likely only to stir up all the old debate over the circumstances under which Vice President Quayle found his way into the Indiana National Guard. And even Mr. Buchanan may face a question or two. On television after the Buchanan speech, the commentator Mark Shields started it off: "I did find it a little bit disingenuous for Patrick Buchanan, whose bad knee kept him out of military service and who is almost a compulsive jogger to this day, for him to be criticizing Bill Clinton's lack of military service." Mr. Buchanan will complain that this does not do justice to the full facts of his case. Doing justice to the full facts of any case, including Bill Clinton's, is not something for which he is himself famous.

As for Hillary Clinton, the Republicans may risk looking a little foolish and overkill-minded in their preoccupation with her, the kind of focus that gets people to saying they should be concentrating on other things. But the candidate's wife and her beliefs are a legitimate object of inquiry. We would add that when George Bush complains that it is by definition "sleaze" to go after his children, he is off the mark, as they are also legitimate objects of inquiry, since these presidential children are not exactly minors after all, but grown men involved in financial arrangements that bear on their father's office. Just so, Mrs. Clinton's views and professional activities are within the realm of fair comment.

The problem is elementary fairness and honesty in debating them. Mrs. Clinton wrote two articles about the legal status of children that are the basis for the distortion of her positions. She noted in one, a scholarly piece in the November 1973 Harvard Educational Review, that the law refers to the family in setting the rights of children. She likened that to the way the law had sometimes consigned other groups thought incapable of managing their own affairs to institutional settings in the past. Such settings "along with the family" had at one time or another included "marriage, slavery and the Indian reservation system," she wrote. The reference to marriage was to the fact that for much of the nation's history the property and rights of married women were given to their husbands.

She refers in the second piece to rare occasions when children ought to have a right to sue their parents. Chores have nothing to do with it, as one of her slick assailants on this issue, Republican National Chairman Richard Bond, well knows. What do the right-to-lifers to whose views his party defers think about those occasions when, for religious or other reasons, parents would deny life-saving medical care to their children?

Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Bond and the others in Houston have caricatured Hillary Clinton and are hoping to frighten the electorate with the result. The question is whether the voters will be more frightened by this concoction of theirs than they are by the economic situation. We think it's a long shot that they will and that, meantime, even with the daily disclaimers of responsibility, the president risks being made to look foolish and frantic by his campaign's run against the

Republicans Aim Barbs at Hillary Clinton

Some GOP Advisers Question Wisdom of Such Attacks; 'Downside Potential' Seen

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, Aug. 18—The Republican gathering here was expected to be a festival of Clinton-bashing. As it turned out, the target has been not only the candidate, but also his wife, Hillary.

Republican National Committee Chairman Richard N. Bond sounded the theme last week when he described Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton's wife as "that champion of the family, Hillary Clinton, who believes that kids should be able to sue their parents, rather than helping with the chores as they were asked to do."

Barbara Bush expressed displeasure with Bond's remarks, but President Bush said Hillary Clinton was fair game because she was billing herself as a key adviser to her husband.

Former Republican presidential candidate Patrick J. Buchanan went the furthest, raising the threat posed by "Clinton & Clinton" and describing Hillary as a champion of "radical feminism."

In a speech to the convention, Buchanan repeated claims that Hillary Clinton had compared the institutions of marriage and the family to slavery and had proposed giving children the right to sue their parents.

Not all Republicans think the attacks are such a good idea. "Middle-aged men attacking a woman is just the wrong messenger and the wrong message," said one official. "It is going to create a lot of sympathy for her and make us look heavy-handed. There are more subtle ways of causing voters to raise their eyebrows than having a bunch of men attack a woman."

Charles R. Black, a senior Bush campaign adviser, also backed off at a breakfast this

morning from the criticism of Hillary Clinton. "I'm not walking away from anybody here [but] my personal view and advice is: Don't waste time on her," he said.

Republican pollster Neil Newhouse said attacks on Hillary Clinton alone would not affect many votes but might be useful as part of an overall effort to fix an image of Bill Clinton in voter's minds as a man they cannot trust.

"I think it may resonate just a little bit with older voters," he said. "Keep in mind we're trying to put together a kind of patchwork of coalitions here to boost our numbers back up and with every piece of the puzzle helping."

"I think what we're trying to do is basically paint a portrait of someone who you want to think twice about trusting, and

See CLINTON, A24, Col. 1

CLINTON, From A21

this is part of that portrait," Newhouse said.

"This by itself may not move many votes," he said, "but, combined with other doubts about him, could raise enough of the trust factor to give Bush an edge."

However, Newhouse warned, "There's certainly a downside potential . . . among younger, Republican pro-choice women who are professional and may be leaning away from our party because of the abortion issue."

Another Republican pollster, Linda DiVall, said she suspects that "most people will probably side with Mrs. Bush, that she's [Hillary's] not on the ballot . . . I think the focus is going to naturally revert back to him. I don't think that Hillary's going to be a point of attack that's going to carry much weight."

For their part, Clinton strategists say the Bush campaign won't get anywhere with the attacks. "People care much more about what a president's going to do about jobs and education and health care than hearing scare attacks about non-issues," Clinton

campaign communications director George Stephanopoulos said.

The core of the criticism of Hillary Clinton concerns articles on children's rights she wrote for academic journals in 1973 and 1979.

In the 1973 article, written for the Harvard Educational Review while she was working at the Children's Defense Fund in Washington, Hillary Rodham discussed the changing status of children under the law from the "prized possessions" in 18th century England to the independent beings to whom courts had recently begun to extend separate legal rights.

It was in that article that Clinton wrote a passage that is the basis for the assertion that she likened marriage and family to slavery.

"The basic rationale for depriving people of rights in a dependency relationship is that certain individuals are incapable or underserving of the right to take care of themselves and consequently need social institutions specifically designed to safeguard their position . . .," she wrote. "Along with the family, past and present examples of

such arrangements include marriage, slavery, and the Indian reservation system."

Hillary also proposed expanding the legal rights of children by reversing the existing legal presumption and assuming they were competent to make decisions for themselves unless proven otherwise, a point further developed in the 1979 article.

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

But Hillary was also careful to emphasize the limits of her proposal, a point omitted in the conservative critiques. She said that "in all but the most extreme cases, such questions should be resolved by the families, not the courts."

She added, "I prefer that intervention into an ongoing family be limited to decisions that could have long-term and possibly irreparable effects if they were not resolved."

Several family law experts interviewed today said the criticism of Hillary Clinton's writings were unfair and taken out of context.

"I don't consider them the slightest bit wacky," said Duke University law professor Kate Bartlett, who said she is supporting candidate Bill Clinton.

Bartlett said "a very fair interpretation" on the sentence involving marriage and slavery "is that she is referring to the time when married women could not own property and could not enter into contracts and had virtually no protection against physical abuse."

Stanford law professor Michael S. Wald, a Democrat, said that Hillary Clinton "is not talking about children going off and suing their parents because they don't like their bedtime." He said that courts had generally "moved in the direction" of Hillary Clinton's proposals on such issues as abortion and noted that her reference to cosmetic surgery appeared targeted at a specific case involving a Jehovah's Witnesses family who refused to allow their child to have surgery for a cleft palate.

Brigham Young University law professor Lynn Wardle, a conservative, said he found

Hillary Clinton's proposal to presume children competent to make their own decisions "provocative," but that her writings were "much more reasoned than the shrill kind of radicalism that comes out of some activist organizations."

He said Hillary Clinton was "not outside the mainstream at all" of academic writings on the subject. However, he added, "If you're talking about, 'Was she in the mainstream in Main Street, Peoria?' The answer is: Heavens, no."

Gary Bauer, president of the conservative Family Research Council, said he thought the interpretation of Hillary Clinton's statements was "as fair as anything else in the rough and tumble game of American politics" and not "a twisting in any way of what she said." He noted that Vice President Quayle's speech on the family "had one line about [television character] Murphy Brown and that became the subject of national debate."

Staff writer Ann Devroy and staff researcher Mark Stencel contributed to this report.

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Now, if the Republicans really believe what they've been saying about Hillary Clinton and children, maybe they ought to include something about it in their platform.

That would be the first time a political party came out in favor of child abuse.

"I don't see that she has said that children should sue their parents over the smallest little thing, but I'm not saying her principle doesn't lead us to that," adds Debra Cruel, director of the Landmark Center for Civil Rights, a conservative public-interest law firm. Ultimately, she warns, "it has the potential of undermining the whole concept that we have of family."



Hillary Clinton

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

It isn't only Mrs. Clinton's activities on children's rights that so arouse conservatives. Recently, the American Spectator, a conservative magazine, assailed her ties to the New World Foundation, a New York-based organization that the magazine says has supported a number of left-wing causes. Mrs. Clinton served on the foundation's board from 1982 until 1988, and was chairman from 1987 to 1988. (Another former director of the group is Vernon Jordan, the former Urban League president who is a director of Dow Jones & Co., publisher of this newspaper.)

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

Colin Greer, president of the New World Foundation, describes as "absurd" the magazine's attack on the foundation, which was founded in 1953 by a descendant of Cyrus McCormick, inventor of the reaping machine. He acknowledges, however, that the foundation has been active in a number of what he unabashedly calls "progressive" causes.

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

Not all the foundation's causes were political, however. One of the foundation's goals, insisted on by a McCormick descendant, was supporting "the growth of the spiritual, as distinguished from the material, elements of human life." Board mem-

Hillary-Bashing Becoming a Part of GOP Campaign

■ **Strategy:** She's accused of urging 'radical feminism,' trying to destroy the family. But attacks may be risky.

By DAVID LAUTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—Barbara Bush may not like it but if the Republican Convention is any indication, Hillary-bashing is about to become a fixture of the presidential campaign.

Hillary Clinton, the high-powered, articulate and liberal wife of Democratic nominee Bill Clinton, has rapidly become the woman Republicans love to hate. The status has some irony, for it mimics the history of Eleanor Roosevelt, the woman after whom Mrs. Clinton has often said she would like to model herself if her husband makes it to the White House.

Monday night, Patrick J. Buchanan took off after Hillary Clinton, repeating charges that GOP Chairman Richard N. Bond had made last week—that she has "likened marriage and the family to slavery." Television cameras

NEWS ANALYSIS

caught Mrs. Bush, who had criticized Bond's statement, looking perturbed and muttering to a companion during Buchanan's remarks, but GOP strategists predict more such criticism to come.

Hillary Clinton may find herself in the spotlight again tonight, designed by GOP strategists as "family values night" and featuring

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speeches from Mrs. Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle's wife, Marilyn.

The focus of the attacks has been on Clinton's legal writings, with Buchanan, Bond and other Republican spokesmen accusing her of advocating "radical feminism" and seeking to undermine the family. "What does Hillary believe?" Buchanan demanded in his speech, going on to say that she believes "12-year-olds should have the right to sue their parents."

Those attacks constitute a potentially high-risk strategy. Attacking a presidential candidate's spouse marks a new wrinkle in politics that many voters—particularly younger, more affluent women—may dislike. Moreover, the attacks, even by the somewhat loose standards of presidential campaigns, fairly seriously distort what Mrs. Clinton has written.

Even some Republicans question the approach. One GOP strategist noted that private research has indicated that voters impose an "extremely high standard of proof" on allegations that a candidate's wife is a legitimate issue.

Democrats have reacted with outrage. "Since when do you run for President by attacking a guy's wife?" demanded Clinton campaign

press secretary Dee Dee Myers.

The answer, Republican operatives argue, is that Hillary Clinton is one of her husband's closest advisers. Her views may help shape his, they say. Or, they suggest, perhaps her views indicate ideas that her husband may really hold but would prefer not to talk about.

And despite the risks, the attacks on Mrs. Clinton fit into a basic Republican strategy—trying to find ways to pierce Bill Clinton's carefully portrayed moderate stance and to convince voters that he is nothing but a new-style Democratic liberal in disguise.

As Clinton pollster Stanley Greenberg noted, the targets of nearly all such GOP strategies have been two groups whose defection to the Democratic ticket—if it holds up—would sink Bush's candidacy irretrievably: older white Southerners and Northern, blue-collar ethnic groups. Both groups are generally conservative on cultural issues and presumed to be suspicious of well-paid, independent-minded women lawyers.

For most of the last two decades, Hillary Clinton has worked on issues of child welfare and education, serving until recently, for example, as chair of the Children's Defense Fund, which has often

lobbied for increased federal spending on children's programs. In Arkansas, she chaired a task force that devised new statewide education standards.

She also introduced into the state—and the country—a pre-school literacy program devised in Israel that won favorable attention in a handbook on literacy published in 1989 by the Barbara Bush Foundation for Family Literacy.

The attacks, however, have focused not on those activities, but on a series of legal articles she wrote in the late 1970s and early 1980s in which she advocated changes in the way children are treated in courts and other legal forums.

It was a subject that Mrs. Clinton knew could be controversial. "The very questions being asked invite fear and confusion," she wrote in one 1977 article. "They touch deeply held and often conflicting convictions about family autonomy and childhood needs."

Indeed they have. In a 1973 article on "Children Under the Law," for example, she sought to explain the history behind the legal principles that limit the rights of children. Those limits, she noted, are based on the idea of dependency: "that certain individuals are incapable or undeserving of the right to take care of themselves

and consequently need social institutions specifically designed to safeguard their position."

"Along with the family, past and present examples of such arrangements include marriage, slavery and the Indian reservation system," she wrote. "The relative powerlessness of children makes them uniquely vulnerable to this rationale."

That passage is the basis for the

'There are certain children at certain ages in certain circumstances who can and should exercise responsibilities.'

HILLARY CLINTON

GOP charge that she compared marriage to slavery.

Under laws of many countries throughout history—including the United States until modern times—married women had few legal rights and were considered legally dependent upon their husbands. In the 19th Century, married women in some states were forbidden to own property in their own names or to file lawsuits. And it was not

until the early 1970s that the Supreme Court struck down state laws requiring a married woman to live wherever her husband chose or risk being charged with abandonment.

Mrs. Clinton's basic argument in 1973 was that courts should stop assuming that all children are legally incompetent until they suddenly become fully competent at the age of majority—the traditional legal view. Instead, she argued, courts and other government bodies should take a more case-by-case approach, assuming that children are competent to advance their own views unless evidence indicates the contrary.

"There are certain children at certain ages in certain circumstances who can and should exercise responsibilities. The task is to determine what those conditions are," she wrote.

Although anyone would agree that a newborn lacks competency to advance its own views "it is more difficult to prove a 12-year-old child totally incompetent," she wrote. That passage provides the basis for Buchanan's assertion that she would allow children to sue.

Mrs. Clinton's view was on the advance edge of theories on children's rights in the early 1970s. Since then, however, laws and court decisions have generally headed in the direction she suggested.

Courts, for example, increasingly

consult children—at least older ones—about their preferences before deciding custody in divorces. And the Supreme Court has upheld the right of a teen-age girl to obtain an abortion without obtaining permission from her parents. And courts have upheld the right of teen-agers, in some cases, to go to court to obtain permission for actions that their parents would forbid—obtaining needed surgery that a parent might find objectionable on religious grounds, for example.

Conservative legal commentators have found many of those developments disturbing, arguing that government should have no right to interpose itself between parent and child.

Mrs. Clinton has argued that although such intervention should be rare, some circumstances warrant it.

"Even among persons in the children's rights movement, there is concern that extending rights to children against their parents is too difficult to control, and in all but the most extreme cases such questions should be resolved by the courts," she wrote in a 1982 essay. Intervention should be "limited to decisions that could have long-term and possibly irreparable effects if they were not resolved."

In such cases, she wrote, "children should have a right to be permitted to decide their own future if they are competent."

Ellen Goodman

Hateful Talk About Hillary

HOUSTON—If they ever expand the laws against hate crimes, I want to file a suit against the Republican National Convention on behalf of one Hillary Rodham Clinton. We are talking hate speech here. We are talking Hate Hillary speech. And it's gotten out of hand.

Before they got to Houston, the Grand Old Party had begun this verbal assault on the would-be First Lady. Campaign Director Rich Bond made a political pretzel out of her words, claiming that the lawyer believed that marriage was slavery and children should be liberated from parents. His deputy Mary Matalin had a photograph of Hillary posted on her office wall with the Wicked Witch of the East caption, "I will get you my pretty, and your little dog too!"

But only at the convention did they dish out a poisonous brew of snide words and innuendo in gag-me proportions.

From Pat Buchanan to Pat Robertson, speakers described the Democratic ticket ominously as a Clinton and Clinton administration, with "radical feminism" on the agenda. Buttons appeared proclaiming "Another Cookie Baker for Bush." And in interviews, Liberal Hillary took more hits than Slick Willie.

The public excuse for wife-bashing was that the Clintons described themselves as a two-fer: buy one, get one free. The president used this as a

*"Clearly, the
Republicans would
rather run Barbara
against Hillary than
George against
Bill."*

disingenuous cover story to explain why Hillary-bashing is acceptable.

And so, I regret to say, did his wife. After briefly criticizing the nastiness, Barbara then gave her stamp of approval saying, "If it's a self-proclaimed co-president," it's legitimate.

Clearly, the Republicans would rather run Barbara against Hillary than George against Bill. But the most unpalatable of their attack-Hillary dogs was Marilyn Quayle—a woman whose age, ambitions, and options should have made her a sympathetic fellow traveler through the times, if not exactly a soul sister.

Remember Hillary's frustrated crack that she "could have stayed home and made cookies"? (Who will be allowed to forget it?) Well, when Dan was elected vice president, guess who said, "I thought, man: It's going to be tea and crumpets, and I would just go nuts?"

Remember when Marilyn described giving up her law practice to help Dan run? Well, guess what Hillary just did?

If Hillary is a partner, what is Marilyn? "When Dan married me, he married a budding lawyer. He wanted a partner, and he has one." A co-vice-president?

Yet on Ladies Night at the convention—what would have happened if Hillary had spoken in New York?—Marilyn gave a speech that was filled with jabs about the lawyer from Arkansas.

In my generation, she said, "Not everyone believed that the family was so oppressive that women could only thrive apart from it."

She described unnamed-but-not-known liberals as angry, "They're disappointed because most women do not wish to be liberated from their essential natures as women. Most of us love being mothers or wives."

Make no mistake about it. The hate speech is not just directed at liberalism. It's aimed at uppity-ism.

Marilyn Quayle said that "frankly nothing offends me more than attempts to paint Republicans as looking to turn the clock back for women." Maybe so, but the Republican Party is tripping all over itself trying to figure out a way to defend traditional roles for women without offending the women whose lives have changed.

The updated, composite portrait looks something like this: Women like Marilyn Quayle are praised, as she was in the introduction by "Major Dad," as "a woman of remarkable accomplishment for whom the family comes first." Working mothers are admirable as long as they have to work to put food on the table. And single mothers are "heroic" as long as they are struggling to bring up the kids in the wake of a deserting dead-beat dad.

Women are to be praised, in short, as long as they are dependents or victims or self-sacrificing. It's the too-independent woman—the one choosing her own direction in life and happy about it—who is now cast as the alien, the other, the not-one-of us. Hillary in a headband.

Ironically, the Democratic candidate's wife is currently a contender for the supportive spouse citation. She looks a good deal like any other woman struggling and juggling.

But the mean-spirited, nasty edge to the Hate Hillary speech turns this into a class action suit. This isn't just about politics. The Republicans are giving more than one woman a back-lashing of the tongue. This time it may backfire.

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B1-Dew

Political Memo

Backlash for Hillary Clinton Puts Negative Image to Rout

By ROBIN TONER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Sept. 23 — Barbara Bush is still vastly more popular and better known in the polls, but Hillary Clinton seems to be riding a steady backlash from the Republican convention these days. Her crowds are big, her portrait on the cover of Time magazine this month was downright beatific, and months of careful maneuvering to recast her image may be finally paying off. Mrs. Clinton, who dislikes and dislikes the notion that there was ever strategy to warm her up, says she simply realized last spring that voters were getting a one-dimensional portrait of her.

"People started telling me there were polls showing that people didn't know if Bill and I had a child," she said in a recent interview. "Well, Arkansas, everybody knows Bill. I have a child, and they know we expect her and we're not keen on making her made into an object. But I realized, that's the most important part of my life, and people don't know that about me."

"It wasn't that I changed," she said. "It was that I grew in my understanding of how better to communi-

cate what I care about and who I am."

For much of the 1992 campaign, the endlessly ballyhooed "year of the woman" never quite extended to Mrs. Clinton. Her poll ratings were measured against Mrs. Bush's and found lacking. Her defense of her legal career last spring — an angry "I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies" — made even some Democrats wince. At least 20 articles in major publications this year involved some comparison between Mrs. Clinton and a grim role model for political wives: Lady Macbeth.

It all crescendoed to the Republican National Convention last month, where a chorus of speakers denounced Mrs. Clinton, by name or by implication, as a dangerous, rogue feminist. And that, paradoxically enough, may have finally ushered in the season of Hillary Clinton's revenge.

Some experts and political observers suggest that Mrs. Clinton has become a kind of Rorschach test for the culture and its changing attitudes

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toward women, attitudes that "are still very charged, very intense, for everybody," says Jean Baker Miller, a psychiatrist at the Stone Center at Wellesley College and an authority on sex roles. "She becomes the figure that people can project these very intense opinions upon."

For some of the speakers at the Republican convention, Mrs. Clinton was the symbol of feminism run wild, a chilly lawyer who equated marriage with slavery and was bent on radically altering the traditional family. For many of the women who reach for her hand when she works

The critics took aim, and may have shot themselves.

the rope lines these days, she is a kind of everywoman, working hard and under siege from the men in the blue suits.

"Any Woman Who's Strong"

"You know why she's being attacked," said Lynn Williams O'Keefe, a Montessori teacher who showed up at a rally for Mrs. Clinton at the University of Colorado at Boulder. "Any woman who's strong is going to be attacked."

James Carville, a senior strategist in the Clinton campaign, puts it more bluntly. "This campaign owes a debt of gratitude to the Republican convention," he said, "for casting her in the role of heroine to a lot of people." Perhaps the surest sign that the Republicans' attacks were misfiring is their comparative silence about Mrs. Clinton over the last few weeks.

"Hillary Clinton, good or bad, is not the issue in this campaign," said

Torie Clarke, press secretary for the Bush campaign.

Mrs. Clinton was well positioned to benefit from a backlash; she has worked hard to recover from the day of the cookies-and-condescension controversy to present herself as wife and mother in addition to lawyer and politician. Last week, for example, she was on the daytime television show called "Home" to chat about the campaign but also to talk about being a parent. She fielded questions with a group of other mothers during a regular advice feature called "Club Mom."

Later, in a flurry of satellite interviews with local television stations, she told one reporter after another, "I want to be a voice for children in the White House."

Into the Background

Mrs. Clinton says she has simply learned to provide a context for her life. Ms. Clarke, among many other political observers, sees a simple explanation: the Clinton campaign simply "pulled her back" into a more traditional role for a First Lady candidate. At times, in fact, Mrs. Clinton seemed to recede into the background in recent months, listening to her husband speak and wearing the traditional adoring gaze of the political spouse.

"I am me," Mrs. Clinton responds somewhat wearily. "I have watched my husband give a million speeches. I don't know if I'm adoring-like, watching him give a million speeches. But you know, that's part of my life. My life is a mix of all kinds of interests and activities. That's who I am."

In the current psychosexual minefield, it is probably not surprising that the Republicans stepped on a few mines in Houston. Kathleen Hall Jamieson, an expert in political communication at the University of Pennsylvania, has been conducting focus groups throughout the year to monitor what voters retain about the campaign. She said she was struck, in the aftermath of Houston, that one phrase above all others was retained by many of the women in her groups: Marilyn Quayle's comment that "most women do not wish to liberate

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Brian Brainerd for The New York Times

Long compared with Barbara Bush, Hillary Clinton was found wanting. But since the Republican convention, when she was a frequent object of scorn,

her image has been changing to a warmer, more popular campaigner. In Boulder, Colo., last week, she responded to the welcome.

from their essential natures as women."

Ms. Jamieson said: "The level of hostility toward her and that speech was very high. I think there was some resentment at someone standing up and telling women what choices are and are not appropriate for them."

The speech was widely taken as a lightly veiled attack on Mrs. Clinton, an attempt to create an unflattering

contrast between the full-time careerist (Mrs. Clinton) and the woman who quit her legal practice to help her husband and raise her family (Mrs. Quayle). Mrs. Quayle, in a recent Op-Ed page article for The New York Times, said that her speech was in no way meant to criticize working women, and was badly misinterpreted.

In general, there were strong reasons for the Republicans to back

down: Recent polls showed big majorities rejecting or ignoring the case against Mrs. Clinton presented at the Republican convention; a Times-Mirror poll released on Thursday showed that 73 percent of those who followed those criticisms said they disagreed with them. And a majority of women now work outside the home.

For all of that, there remains a core of the Hillary-averse; a Time/CNN

poll conducted in late August found that 74 percent said their views of Mrs. Clinton would make no difference in their vote; 9 percent said she made them more inclined to vote for Mr. Clinton, and 14 percent said she made them less inclined.

Her image, generally, pales compared with Mrs. Bush's, who remains in the lofty reaches of public approval that her husband left long ago, and who after four years in the White House is much better known than Mrs. Clinton. The New York Times/CBS News Poll, in late August, showed that about a third of the voters viewed Mrs. Clinton favorably, that 19 percent regarded her unfavorably and that the rest had no opinion. In contrast, Mrs. Bush is viewed favorably by 77 percent and unfavorably by 5 percent.

Even as voters seem increasingly willing to accept women as candidates in their own right, an untraditional woman in the traditional job of First Lady stirs controversy. "It's not her," argues Gloria Steinem. "It's her and him. She's pioneering in public an issue that is at least as important in the long term as any of the issues considered political in the conventional sense, and that is an equal relationship between a man and a woman."

Mrs. Clinton says simply, "The Presidency has not yet experienced the change in relationships and roles that have been played out everywhere else but there." She continues, in many ways, to push the boundaries of her role. When she was pressed in an interview on exactly how she would be a "voice for children in the White House," she did not sketch a modest role.

She talked of "a children and families agenda" that she hoped to help explain to the American people. "Whether that means I will testify, or whatever, I can't predict right now," she added. "But I'm going to be working on that agenda, and I'm going to be very disciplined. And at the end of Bill's first term, I want you to come and interview me and say, O.K., what have you accomplished?"

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Children deserve to have their own rights in court

Child Rts
FRC

OUR VIEW In some sad cases, the court is a safer haven for children than their families or child welfare agencies.

Rarely since Solomon's split decision has a court battle over a child had such an impact.

The case, opening today, involves Gregory Kingsley, a Florida 12-year-old who wants to escape from his natural parents. So he's suing.

That's set off a bitter debate. Should children have the right to challenge parental authority?

The answer is yes.

Gregory's plight serves as a sad reminder that not all children are better off with their biological parents. Nearly 2.5 million children were reported abused or neglected in 1990, up 259% since 1976. Gregory says he's one of them. And they have few ways to escape.

Every year, a million kids run away from home because of family conflict, violence and abuse. Gregory found a better way out — the courts.

There's small chance his case will inspire kids to sue over things like curfews. No responsible lawyer or judge would

allow such suits, and most kids can't find or afford attorneys.

All the court did for Gregory was let him take charge of one small part of his grim family life by letting him speak.

In such cases, that's the right thing.

Like too many kids, Gregory is a casualty of a dysfunctional family and a child-protective system that dropped him and his family through the cracks.

He lived with his mother only seven months in eight years and rarely heard from her when they were apart. He lived with a father he says was abusive.

Florida might have done more to repair the family. Like most states, it didn't. Gregory has been in and out of foster care, the latest stint lasting 2½ years.

Now his foster family wants to adopt him, and he wants them to. But his mother wants him back.

A child has a right to be safe, healthy and loved. That's what Gregory hasn't had. And what suing might give him.

If families like Gregory's can't offer safety, health and love to their children, and if the state fails to find a timely substitute, then children should be allowed to speak for themselves in court.

Don't set kids vs. parents

OPPOSING VIEW Beware the legal precedent enabling children to sue their parents. It will harm children.

One fact is certain: Gregory Kingsley's life has been tragic. This trial should generate a long-overdue uproar over our foster-care disaster.

But it mustn't generate a legal precedent enabling children to sue their parents. Ultimately, such a far-reaching ruling would harm children by separating them, in legal theory, from the protection of their parents. Parents should not be our target when the system is the culprit.

Fundamentally, children need protection. If parents violate that duty, the state may step in. This case highlights the state's failure; but do we really want attorneys — with a myriad of personal agendas — to be the next line of de-



By Charmaine Crouse Yoest, a policy analyst for the Family Research Council, Washington.

fense? Gregory, for instance, is represented pro bono by an attorney who won the case striking down Florida's parental-consent laws on abortion.

With the exception of her attorney, few defend Gregory's mother. She claims her "right" to her child without, apparently, recognizing that those rights are rooted in an awesome responsibility. Most people, however, know that lack of contact with a child for a year (or less, even) is clearly abandonment.

So why is the state of Florida only now filing for termination of parental rights, clearing the way for adoption, when Gregory has been in and out of its care for several years? This failure is the appropriate target of legal wrath. For the sake of other children in its care, Florida should not be let off the hook.

Gregory now stands virtually alone in court; the next scared child who needs protection may not be as bright and determined as Gregory. Most are stuck in the system; it should be held accountable. Children shouldn't be forced to go *mano a mano* with their parents in a court where they could so easily become pawns in a much larger chess game.

USA TODAY
with
9/24/92

eggs and sperm in the five-gallon buckets are later placed in oxygen-enriched trays where the fry emerge. These eventually become the fish in the holding ponds, then the larger fish, and so on, until they are released into whatever river or lake. The same assembly-line system produces the fish—trout and salmon—for every major water system in Oregon. It has for two human generations, ever since the building of the major dams. That's the point. The dams disrupt the spawning cycle so that it must be artificially recreated, season after season. Without that system there would be no fish in the rivers above the dams, no fishermen buying fancy reels, potato chips, Budweiser, and four-wheel drives, voting for their favorite congressmen.

I wasn't disgusted by the spawning so much as surprised. I hadn't given fish much thought. My images of salmon in rivers were images of the natural and spontaneous, the nonhuman. But here, too, more is happening than meets the eye. Beneath the surface is complexity, irony, and contradiction: teams of specialists, special interest groups, government bureaucracies, the profit-motive, contested history.

As I reflect on that day, what I keep thinking about is how different the two operations felt, how different their effects were on me. Both the designing of the stream and the spawning of the chinook are unnatural, human activities, involving plans and at some points heavy equipment. But I can't help thinking of the designing of the stream as a better thing to try to do.

The dams are huge, with far-reaching effects, but the sill logs on Portland Creek, with the boulders and the anchoring cables, are small, their effects local. Each log is itself a small dam, the water shooting off it into tiny pools, pouring over silt in shallows. But the logs and their cables will disappear in a few years, hidden by gravel and cobble and the flow of deepening water. Unlike the huge dams, the stream project is not a grand simplification of a single system, its logic easy to understand. The replication of the stream is exceedingly complex, each piece in the system delicately bal-

anced against the others.

The spawning of the salmon is a simplification too, serving the ends of efficiency. It's a mass-production process, generating huge inventory. Whatever else you might say about the designing of the stream, however, it works against the cause of efficiency. And that's why I want to praise it. Reinventing glides and riffles, building in overhangs and hollows and back-ups at fifty-yard intervals are not the most cost-effective way to generate units of fish (the hatchery is). The designing of the stream is admirable because it's trying to put things right, to put things back the way they were before the dams and the fishermen and the four-wheel drives. It seems to me there's a kind of necessary humility in that, a necessary reverence. The designing of the stream is not an effort to impose a convenient structure on the natural world but an effort to understand the complexity and chaos and randomness of what was already there, before us. And, of course, that effort must ultimately fail. We can never get it entirely right. Nature will exceed us.

And yet I came away from Portland Creek calmed, heartened. Trying to design a stream involves the contemplation of water, the observation of its endless flow, of the bending of the alder and willow, of the sky overhead. It involves looking at the rocks, seeing the leaves fall, trying to understand how the water moves.

I'm all for it. I think the government should try designing as many streams as possible, improving the technology as best it can. It couldn't make things worse—could even divert us from more damaging pursuits. It would give jobs to the unemployed millworkers. And even if the projects failed for fish or the arrogant came away unchanged, there would still be some P-5 pools with the alder leaves shining like pennies. There would still be the riffles and glides, and the sound of water, the endless rushing and flowing and eddying of water, beneath trees.

CHRIS ANDERSON

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OF SEVERAL MINDS Abigail McCarthy

THEY JUST DON'T GET IT

FROM ONE PROSPECTIVE FIRST LADY TO ANOTHER

According to the new book titled *Dirty Politics* (Oxford University Press) by Kathleen Jamieson, dean of the Annenberg School for Communications, slandering, smearing, lying, and distortion have been part of campaigns al-

most from the beginning, but in recent campaigns their effect has been magnified by the way in which they are treated by the post-Watergate news media. Journalists have virtually abandoned their obligation to inform about issues and candidates' stands to concentrate instead on chasing rumors and analyzing polls, as if choos-

ing our leaders were a horse race or an athletic competition instead of the most important of our civic responsibilities.

Jamieson begins her book with the example of the Willie Horton advertisement used in the 1988 Bush campaign and the resultant news stories because it has become a synonym for the dirty politics of her title. Consequently, candidate Bill Clinton's observation following the Republican convention in Houston that Republicans were trying to make Hillary Clinton the Willie Horton of this campaign was a serious charge, one that no one who watched the Republican convention could take lightly. First ladies and the wives of elected presidents have been criticized,

even vilified, in the past but this is the first time in my memory that the full force of opposition criticism has been formally, apparently with the approval of the official party leaders, levied against a candidate's wife.

Never mind that there has been a backlash and the heads of the Republican ticket have been waffling and back-pedaling. (The polls have shown that women everywhere resented the tactic as an attack on working women. And in the Washington suburbs a group of stay-at-home mothers retaliated by organizing a Hillary Clinton fan club, evidence that the resentment was not confined to working women alone.) Marilyn Quayle has written that her rather blatant, if indirect, attack was misconstrued. The vice-president is quoted as saying that he is sure that "Hillary is as much help to Bill Clinton as Marilyn has been to me." But ex-candidate Pat Buchanan is sticking to his poisonous guns and so is evangelist Pat Robertson. For good or worse, Hillary Clinton has been made an issue—the Willie Horton issue of 1992.

Does it matter? Yes, if a recent *Time* magazine cover story [September 14] is right. According to poll results, the public perception and approval of the candidate's wife can make the difference in the crucial few percentage points needed to win in a tight race. This, then, becomes a tricky proposition because the perception has to be formed by what the public comes to know of her. Whereas the coverage of a first lady is fairly consistent, the coverage of a candidate's wife is very spotty and always has been. Right now, even I, despite being an "inside-the-Beltway" person with some friends rather high in the campaign structure, have only a hazy

idea of the substance of Hillary Clinton's speeches and the nature of her campaign activity.

There is no consistent coverage on which I can rely. Attention centers on a candidate's wife and children in a spasmodic way—and usually when things go awry. Admittedly things have changed a great deal since I myself was involved as a wife in a presidential campaign almost twenty-five years ago. The efforts of wife and children then were even more under-reported than now and often were considered so inconsequential that reporting them accurately seemed unimportant.

Now, so many years later, reporting on the wives is still very selective. Would we, for example, know as much as we do about Hillary Clinton if it had not been for the media concentration on the sleazy Gennifer Flowers story or on the unbri-dled Republican attack? True, there seems to have been a growing interest in wives over the years. In 1972 Eleanor McGovern shared a *Time* cover with Pat Nixon and later Rosalynn Carter had a *Newsweek* cover to herself. Columnist Richard Cohen has attributed this increase to the reporters' need for celebrity chatter to fill up space.

The history of the *Time* piece on Hillary Clinton would seem to bear him out. The interview accompanying the cover was to have been done by historian Garry Wills. At almost the last minute Wills objected to the editing of his piece and withdrew it, leaving *Time* writer Margaret Carlson scurrying to fill the hole. What caused the difficulty over Wills's story? If one can guess on the basis of an earlier Wills story-review in the *New York Review of Books* (March 5, 1992), it must have taken Hillary too seriously. Carlson is quoted as saying that "there was a great deal of his-

torical first lady stuff in his piece which, while very interesting, wasn't what was needed."

Carlson's own piece is succinct, surface-skimming, lively, and predictable. It sketches a Hillary who has to head back to Little Rock and daughter Chelsea at intervals "to feel grounded," a woman private about the faith she nourishes by carrying favorite Scriptures with her, a woman who tends to the earnest and serious yet has a playful side, but concludes eventually that Hillary is "a strong and determined woman used to dominating whatever situation she is in by force of mind."

The Wills *New York Review* article did much more. He showed readers a Hillary Clinton who is "one of the most important scholar-activists of the last two decades, a Hillary who has an impressive record of altering life for the better for parents and children in Arkansas." He documents his characterization with excerpts from her writing and speeches through 1988.

These show real development in her thought since the 1974 article "Children under the Law" to which exception was taken in these pages (*Commonweal*, May 8 and June 19). Not that Hillary has abandoned her theory that children's legal rights should equal their competency and ability to take responsibility but she has adopted a more comprehensive approach to social problems, largely as a result of her study of the treatment of children in many countries in her capacity as co-chair of The Children's Defense Fund—in particular the French approach since it is "a coordinated comprehensive system...that links day care, early education, and health care." She helped institute neonatal clinics to prepare mothers for parenthood and brought back from Israel a program to help impoverished mothers to teach basic skills (especially speech skills) to their children. As head of the committee to raise educational standards in Arkansas, she rallied community support for changes that helped parents achieve an educational system that no longer limited their children's futures.

Whether we agree with her approach or not we cannot deny that both Arkansas parents and children have reason to be grateful to her and for her. □



A softer Hillary Clinton hasn't

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

NEW YORK

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

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

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

To prove she can, the reporters joked.

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

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

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

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

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

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

So even as she tries to present a more

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

— Hillary Clinton

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

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

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

And she promises results.

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

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

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

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

lost her savvy

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

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

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

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

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

The attacks backfired. Republicans have

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A Doll's House?

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Garry Wills

Hillary Clinton was pointedly introduced, at this year's meeting of the American Bar Association, as "the next First Woman." First Lady has been tainted by association with such phrases as "the little lady." But First Woman hardly solves the problem. When a woman is elected president, it will make as little sense to call her husband the First Man (what ever happened to Adam?) as to call him the First Gentleman (what ever happened to Beau Brummel?). The spouse's role in our republic properly has no title. Kings have queens, and princes have princesses; but there is no presidentess—nor a Mrs. President. (In the latter case, the spouse of the first woman president would be—Mr. President.)

Since the president's spouse has no constitutional office, title, or salary, some people resent a spouse's influence on policy or politics. "We did not elect *her* to anything." It has ever been so. Dolley Madison served, for a time, as her husband's secretary; but she hid that fact from the public.¹ She already knew what Rosalyn Carter would learn to her cost when she sat in on cabinet meetings, what Nancy Reagan learned when she made personnel decisions. Eleanor Roosevelt carefully wrote out the rules for being a proper wife of the president:

Always be on time. Never try to make any personal engagements. Do as little talking as humanly possible. Never be disturbed by anything. Always do what you're told to do as quickly as possible. Remember to lean back in a parade, so that people can see your husband. Don't get too fat to ride three on a seat. Get out of the way as quickly as you're not needed.²

Mrs. Roosevelt did not break every one of those rules—she could always ride three on a seat. But most of them she shattered with flair. She lived in a time of crises; her husband was also breaking the rules; government was itself being redefined, and vastly expanded, in the grips of Depression and world war. Mrs. Roosevelt visited the troops, in the Pacific Theater and in Britain, like a queen mother. During this war on an imperial scale, she became a kind of democratic empress, a task for which her upper-class breeding fitted her as much as did her lower-class sympathies.

Many things did not go back to "normal" after the war—but the role of the president's wife did. Bess Truman and Mamie Eisenhower were more seen than heard, and they were not even seen very much. Mrs. Truman stayed in Independence for long stretches when her husband was in Washington. Mrs. Eisenhower was so reclusive as to prompt rumors about secret drinking. Things began to change with the far more visible Jacqueline Kennedy, who

created the expectation that every president's wife should have her very own Project—just one, vaguely uplifting, ladylike—to keep her out from under her husband's feet as he did his White Housework. Jackie beautified the White House; Lady Bird Johnson beautified the highways. Then followed a series of Projects so discreet that few remember them—volunteerism for Pat Nixon, handicapped children for Betty Ford (her "dependency" work came after the White House), mental health for Rosalyn Carter. Mrs. Reagan, more audibly, said no to drugs, and Mrs. Bush encourages literacy. Mrs. Quayle, stand-

question the whole set of social forces that contribute to the problem. Out of the entire syndrome of inner-city dysfunction, drugs and literacy are treated as self-contained matters, addressable as such. That is why so little impact has been made on either problem. The point of these Projects is not to engage larger political remedies, involving many agencies and issues. The Project was designed to let a First Lady avoid controversy.

It is not surprising that the president's wife should exemplify the most conservative notions of a woman's place. The president himself has an ambiguous station in our history. He,



ing in the wings, has declared disaster relief her project.

These Projects exemplify the social good works of the well-born that Thorstein Veblen considered a "conspicuous consumption" of socialites' time.³ They resemble the mission societies to which ladies flock in Dickens's novels—or in Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird*: "Right then and there I made a pledge in my heart. I said to myself, when I go home I'm going to give a course on the Mrunas and bring J. Grimes Everett's message to Maycomb."⁴ This kind of activity not only conforms to one of the oldest stereotypes of female concerns but sends a message by its very singleness: The isolable problem can be tended, in a stable society, without calling into

too, posed title problems to the electorate. What to call our non-king puzzled the Republic's first generation. "Mr. President" was finally chosen after more honorific terms had been suggested and abandoned. As head of state, the president symbolizes values like continuity and stability, just as a hereditary monarch does. That is why the type has been so fixed—a white, male, married Protestant, middle to upper class, with children and dogs. He comes straight out of Central Casting. The exceptions only underline the rule. One bachelor (Buchanan). One Catholic—and not till 1960. No divorced man till 1980. No woman, Jew, or African American.

Other societies, even more sexist than ours, have had women leaders of government—Golda Meir, Indira Gandhi, Margaret Thatcher. But those women came up through parliamentary ranks—and more conventional types were installed as ceremonial

¹Conover Hunt-Jones, *Dolley and the "Great Little Madison"* (American Institute of Architects, 1977), pp. 12–17.

²Joseph P. Lash, *Eleanor and Franklin* (Norton, 1971), p. 612.

³Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Penguin, 1967), p. 96.

⁴Harper Lee, *To Kill a Mockingbird* (Lippincott, 1960), p. 244.

heads of state. Our president is both the head of state and head of government—which explains the pressures toward familiarity and repetition. If even the elected member of the marriage is a conservative symbol, how can we expect the unelected spouse to break out of the more severe inhibitions put, in the past, on female conduct?

Yet changes are coming, and fast. No part of our society—not even African Americans, or gays, or Catholics—has had its social role more drastically redefined than the female part. Girls now grow up expecting higher education, work, careers, the power to choose their future. The pill gave new autonomy to women's sexual activity, as abortion has to their fertility (once the defining aspect of womanhood). The pattern of the traditional president's wife could not be more distant from this generation's experience and aspirations—a fact confirmed by the resistance to Mrs. Bush's appearance at the 1990 Wellesley College commencement. She seemed, to some, a visitor from another era.

In the future, it will be hard to find a spouse of the Barbara Bush type linked to any rising politician. This is not simply because of Hillary Clinton. Other candidates have had lawyer-wives (Nicola Tsongas, Ruth Harkin, Hattie Babbitt, Marilyn Quayle) or spouses of some other professional commitment. If Hillary Clinton should break the barrier, it will be by inches only. And if not she, then another, soon. Whoever the new-model wife, she will break rules on the scale of another Eleanor. Future Noras are clearly going to find, in the White House, their Doll's House.

If Hillary Clinton does it, she will be an appropriate symbol of her sisters' concerns. When she returned to give the commencement address at her college, it was the second time she had spoken to Wellesley graduates. In 1969, her classmates had demanded that they be given, finally, some voice at their own commencement. They chose Hillary Rodham, the president of their student government, to be the first such speaker, and she consulted widely to find out what others wanted her to say. It was the earliest public indication of her concern that young people be given more responsibility for their own lives. This desire, she said, is not a mere "liberal" or radical thing:

There's a very strange conservative strain that goes through a lot of New Left collegiate protests that I find very intriguing because it harkens [sic] back to a lot of the old virtues, to the fulfillment of original ideas. And, it's also a very [sic] unique American experience. It's such a great adventure. If the experiment in human living doesn't work in this country, in this age, it's not going to work anywhere.

The speech got coverage in the national press, so that when Peter Edelman, who was Robert Kennedy's

legislative assistant until Kennedy's death, was asked to put together a conference of young leaders and old, he called the newly graduated Hillary Rodham to come as a young leader. At the conference, sponsored by the League of Women Voters, Hillary met several people who would continue to be important in her professional life, including Vernon Jordan and Edelman himself. Edelman had recently married Marian Wright, the veteran of the civil rights movement who was the first black woman to pass the bar in Mississippi. When Marian Edelman spoke at Yale Law School during Rodham's first year there, the law student was so impressed that she asked to work during her summer break for Ms. Edelman's nascent Washington Research Project (which would soon become the Children's Defense Fund). Edelman said she could not, yet, pay Hillary anything; but Hillary got a grant for civil-rights research that supported her during her first summer in Washington. Edelman sent her to work with Walter Mondale's subcommittee studying the plight of migrant workers ten years after the explosive documentary *Harvest of Shame*. Rodham did interviews with workers and their families, assessing the hardships their children suffered. It was the beginning of a long engagement with these problems. In later summer projects, she studied children's cases in California and in segregated schools.

Back in New Haven, she became involved in the Yale Child Studies Center, working with Sally Province on infant distress. Rodham got permission from the law school to fashion a special (extra) year of study devoted to children's rights under the law. She did research for a book, *Beyond the Best Interests of the Child*, written by her family law professor, Joseph Goldstein, and other faculty members.⁵ This was the first of three widely used volumes that explored the inadequacies of the legal formula that guides courts in cases of child abandonment, neglect, or abuse. Judges are supposed to consult "the best interests of the child." The book made the point that these interests cannot be considered in isolation from the real limits of each situation. The authors proposed a new standard: "The least detrimental available alternative."

This standard was made real to Hillary Rodham because she had also volunteered to work with the New Haven Legal Services. One case she dealt with involved a foster parent, a black woman in her fifties, who had raised a child of mixed (black-white) parentage while the competency and claims of the birth parents were contested in the courts. "The woman was caught in a classic bureaucratic bind," Hillary Clinton recently said in an interview. The courts decided, after a long process, that the parents had relinquished all claims, but that the "best interests" of the child could not be served by the foster parent, who now wanted to adopt the child, since that parent was fifty years old, single, and not prosperous. The court took the child away from the one concerned source of stability in her life, and put

her back in a foster home to await a possible adoption that might serve some ideal "best interests." Joseph Goldstein told me that his book did not advocate court intrusion into family life. It tried to set standards for the least detrimental intrusion where that became necessary to protect the rights of the child. "The proof that we set useful guidelines is that the book has been translated into Japanese, French, Swedish, Danish, and other languages, where the cultures of child-raising are all different."

Rodham rounded out her work on children's rights by consulting with doctors at the New Haven Hospital to create rules for child-abuse cases. Again, the "best interests" were not always obvious. It seems clear that no child should be abused; but is removing an abused child from parental power always the least detrimental available alternative? "For some young children, abuse may be the only attention the child got; so when you remove it, there is an extraordinary guilt: 'I must have done something really terrible because now they do not even want me.'" Rodham also found subtler abuse when parents sought sterilization of "very slightly retarded children," or abortions when the girl desired the child. Her articles on child rights are being used by Pat Robertson and others to show that she wants children to get abortions without parental consent. "But most of my experience in New Haven," she said, "was exactly the opposite—the parents wanted the abortion, to avoid shame, humiliation, or embarrassment."

Through Marian Edelman, who served on the Carnegie Council on Children, Rodham collaborated on what became Kenneth Keniston's influential work, *All Our Children*.⁶ "Marian, Pat Ward, and Hillary did the research for the chapter on legal protection of children," Keniston remembers. That chapter deals with children's rights to education—not only in conflict with parents who would keep their children out of school but with school authorities who irresponsibly suspend or expel children. It also dealt with rights to medical care—not only in conflict with parents (e.g., Christian Scientists) who might refuse a doctor's ministrations but with parents who irresponsibly impose on children experimental or extreme treatments (sterilization, shock treatments, lobotomies). But "the first right of a child is to a parent, where that is possible," as Keniston sums up the main theme of his work.

Hillary Rodham's absorption in children's rights was such that she did not interview with any law firms in her last year at law school, though her record made her prime recruiting material. Instead she went to work full time for the Child Development Fund. She left that, temporarily, for what she calls "the chance to be a part of history" on the House impeachment staff studying Nixon's Watergate-related actions. Most of the time she was squirreled away doing legal research in Washington, but once, when she accompanied John Doar, the director of the staff, to a press conference, Sam Donaldson

⁵Joseph Goldstein, Anna Freud, and Albert Solnit, *Beyond the Best Interests of the Child* (Free Press, 1973).

⁶Kenneth Keniston, *All Our Children* (Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978).

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ran after her, saying, "How does it feel to be the Jill Wine Volner of the impeachment committee?" (Wine Volner was the woman lawyer in the special prosecutor's office.) She went to no more press conferences. "The most tedious work was transcribing the Nixon tapes. One we called the Tape of Tapes—it was Nixon taping himself while he listened to his tapes, inventing rationales for what he said. At one point, he asked Manuel Sanchez [his valet], 'Don't you think I meant *this* when I said *that*?'"

All this time Rodham was seeing Bill Clinton, who had returned to Arkansas. Keniston says, "We knew that anyone who came back from Oxford with a *stronger* Arkansas accent was made for politics." Peter Edelman, who had not yet met Clinton, thought Hillary was throwing away her great talents when she went down to Arkansas to teach with Bill. At the law school in Arkansas, Rodham set up a legal aid service for indigents. When an Arkansas community tried to close a youth commune formed nearby, she defended the commune. "The judge *loved* that case—it was the first time he ever wrote on *constitutional* issues," she says.

She tells how a woman jailer called her to say that an itinerant preacher-lady was going to be committed in another Arkansas town. "This is just wrong," the jailer said over the phone, "this woman is not crazy—she just loves the Lord." Since the woman's court hearing was just hours away, Professor Rodham had to collect her student aides and drive straight to the town. The judge threatened to keep throwing the unpopular woman preacher into jail every time the legal services people got her out. Hillary talked to the woman, found she had family in California, and told her, "People need the Lord in California, too." Then she persuaded the judge that it was a lot cheaper to pay for a plane ticket to California than to support the woman in an Arkansas mental home.

It was out of her varied experiences in clinics, hospitals, and research teams that Rodham wrote her early articles on children's rights that have drawn so much attention. She was trying to find a theoretical framework for pioneer efforts on a child's rights. According to Joseph Goldstein, the articles are not as nuanced as his own work would become later on, but they reflected what was the best opinion then. In arguing for an assumption (not a ruling) of competency on the part of children, unless that can be disproved, Rodham was trying to find a rule that would let, say, a thirteen-year-old get education or medical care if a parent denied it, or have a voice in choosing a foster parent.

One of the philanthropies that helped launch Marian Edelman's prize-winning work for children was the New World Foundation, set up by an heiress to the McCormick Reaper fortune for the promotion of peace, civil rights, education, and spiritual values. Vernon Jordan and Peter Edelman came to serve on the foundation's board and so, in time, did their friend Hillary Clinton, who was elected to the chair in 1987. Colin Greer, the president of the foundation, remembers that Clinton opened up the board and the award process to

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greater participation of women and minorities. David Ramage, now president of the McCormick Theological Seminary, was the president of the foundation when Clinton arranged a conference on women's issues to help the board assess grant proposals. He told me, "The group was extremely diverse in every way—class, ethnicity, background—and it argued on most matters. But I was astounded when the problem of physical safety came up—all the women were united on the tremendous importance of that. I had never realized how much women live in fear. I went home and constructed a chart I called The Security Circle, to guide us in working for reforms." That was in 1985, long before the scale of abuse and harassment was appreciated by the public.

Some of the hundreds of grants made by the foundation have been criticized—although most of those singled out were given in the year Clinton, in the chair, was not voting on particular grants. A grant to the Christic Institute has been attacked because the Washington office of that organization has made unsubstantiated charges against the government; but the grant went to the Christic Institute South, which has long been involved in civil rights work familiar to the Edelmans; and it was given to promote voting rights and those advocating them.⁷ A grant to the National Lawyers Guild, a favorite target of Joseph McCarthy in red-baiting days, supported education on the issue of apartheid.⁸ (New World was one of the first foundations to divest its portfolio of South African investments.)

Colin Greer says that Clinton was always good at questioning the practicality of grant proposals. This sense of practical reform, developed partly from her work with Marian Edelman on the plight of actual children, was evident in the work she did for her husband's educational reforms in Arkansas. She went all over the state conducting citizens' forums, talking to schoolboards and teachers, immersing herself in the details of teacher testing, curriculum standardization, and student competence tests. She overcame the opposition of the teachers' union and helped pass the program by testifying before the legislature. It was a striking achievement for a woman from the North working in a conservative southern state. Even John Robert Starr, the former editor of the *Arkansas Democrat*, a relentless opponent of Bill Clinton, told me: "If he *does* go to the White House, Hillary will be the best First Lady since Eleanor Roosevelt—or maybe the best ever."

But the White House is not a governor's mansion. Candidates who have weathered many state campaigns find that standards are not so much higher as different when the presidency is at stake. The conservative "role model" aspect of the office narrows choices to the safe and the predictable. An abrupt departure from the practice of former tenants causes unease. And that is even more true for the President's wife. The possibility that a

⁷*The New World Foundation Report for the Years 1987 and 1988*, pp. 16, 35.

⁸*New World Foundation Report*, p. 13.

woman may give advice triggers very old fears of disruption in the sexual "chain of command." Eve had been the devil's instrument in Eden; and literature is full of overweening women seeking power. The right-wing journal *The Spectator* presents Ms. Clinton as Lady Macbeth. Richard Nixon said of her, "If the wife comes through as being too strong and too intelligent, it makes the husband look like a wimp." That had been the case even for an obviously strong president like Franklin Roosevelt. His cousin Alice Roosevelt Longworth was quoted as saying, "Franklin is one part mush, and three parts Eleanor," and the journalist Doris Fleeson called Eleanor "a Trojan mare." Franklin sometimes denied Eleanor's influence on specific matters: it was all right for him to take advice from unelected male aides like Louis Howe or Steven Early, but there was something sinister about a woman's exerting influence or offering advice. Pat Robertson attributes such female aggression to

⁹Lash, *Eleanor and Franklin*, p. 620.

witchcraft.¹⁰ Reagan could take advice from Michael Deaver; but when the same advice came from Nancy Reagan, it was resented as baneful, as almost unconstitutional.

The White House is one of the few places left in modern life where a wife's subordination to her husband and his career is considered not only a duty but the highest duty. She is not to have an independent sphere of interests and friends. One thing that frightened people about Eleanor Roosevelt was that she had formed a network of civil rights and peace and labor contacts quite different from her husband's. In retrospect, we see that as a beneficial way of complementing FDR's differently focused life; but at the time it seemed to many an encroachment, almost a usurpation.

Most presidents' wives come into office with their worlds defined entirely

¹⁰Robertson attributed support for the ERA in Iowa to "a socialist, anti-family political movement that encourages women to leave their husbands, kill their children, practice witchcraft, destroy capitalism and become lesbians" (AP dispatch, August 25, 1992).

by their husbands. They have to *adopt* a Project because they had none prior to their arrival. (When Margot Perot was asked, during her husband's shadow candidacy, what her Project would be, she asked the reporter to suggest one to her.) Hillary Clinton would arrive not only with ongoing concerns but with an influential network of allies in the legal, philanthropic, and civil rights fields.

Much has been made of the FOBs (Friends of Bill), that large web of contacts Clinton formed as he reached out from Arkansas by way of Georgetown, Oxford, Yale, and the Democratic Leadership Conference. But Hillary went down to Arkansas bringing with her an equally important circle of loyal friends (FOHs). Through Peter Edelman, Burke Marshall (her law professor), and John Doar (her director on the impeachment staff), all of them former Robert Kennedy aides, she has many Democratic Party ties. Through Marian Edelman (who, as a young lawyer, joined Doar in his efforts against violence in Mississippi during the Sixties) she met many peo-

ple deeply involved with the problems of poverty and racism. She has feminist associations, having been, for example, the founding chair of the ABA's Women's Commission.

In Arkansas, the FOBs and the FOHs meshed usefully; but a vision of two power centers in the White House remains deeply disturbing to conservative Americans. Even in the campaign there are rumors of conflict between "Bill's people" and "Hillary's people." This would surely escalate fears in the White House. But the constitutional situation makes such fears chimerical. There is no First Lady, only a wife (or, later, a husband). A spouse's ability to help is not a legal power but a matter of suasion; no husband has been browbeaten in that office to do what he did not want to do. Franklin Roosevelt was coaxed into things he was at first disinclined toward (e.g., giving attention to the NAACP). Few people doubt, any more, that Roosevelt was a better president because of his independent wife. He was hardly bewitched. But it has come time for the career woman, even in the White House, to be de-witched. □

Womans
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The Real Hillary Factor

By Deborah Tannen

STANFORD, Calif.

While I was a guest on a radio talk show discussing how women's

and men's differing conversational styles could lead to misunderstandings, a man called to say that he and his wife got along very well because they agreed there could be only one boss in the house and he was it.

The host responded that she did not see why anyone had to be boss: relationships are, after all, partnerships; both partners share equally in resources and rights.

When she was done, pleased with the self-evident rightness and clarity of her statement, she took another call. It was from a man, who said: "That's what's wrong with you women. You want to dominate us."

She replied: "Excuse me for a moment. I'm going to scream." She then hid, right into the microphone: long, high-pitched and wordless. It was a scream of frustration and bewilderment. It was a scream about the Hillary Factor.

The Hillary Factor, when the phrase was coined, referred to the question: Will Hillary Clinton help or hinder her husband's chances?

Deborah Tannen, author of "You Just Don't Understand: Women and Men in Conversation," is a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.

But the real Hillary Factor is the double bind that affects all successful or accomplished women — indeed, all women who do not fit stereotypical images of femininity: women who are not clearly submissive are seen as dominating and are reviled for it. Women who do fit the images are not

taken seriously. Like Hillary Clinton, you are damned if you do and damned if you don't.

When the Clintons protected their daughter, Chelsea, by keeping her away from campaign publicity, opinion polls showed that people thought they were childless, a damning aber-

ration for which the wife is held responsible. When evidence accrued that Hillary Clinton was a devoted mother, Time magazine found her guilty of "yuppie overdoting on her daughter."

No woman can escape the Motherhood Bind. If you're not a Mother, you're a Failed Woman. If you are a Mother, you can't have enough attention to pay to serious work. If you are paying attention to serious work, you must be a Bad Mother.

We heard Hillary Clinton called a "hard-headed careerist." What exactly is a "careerist"? On the model of "sexist," is it someone who dis-

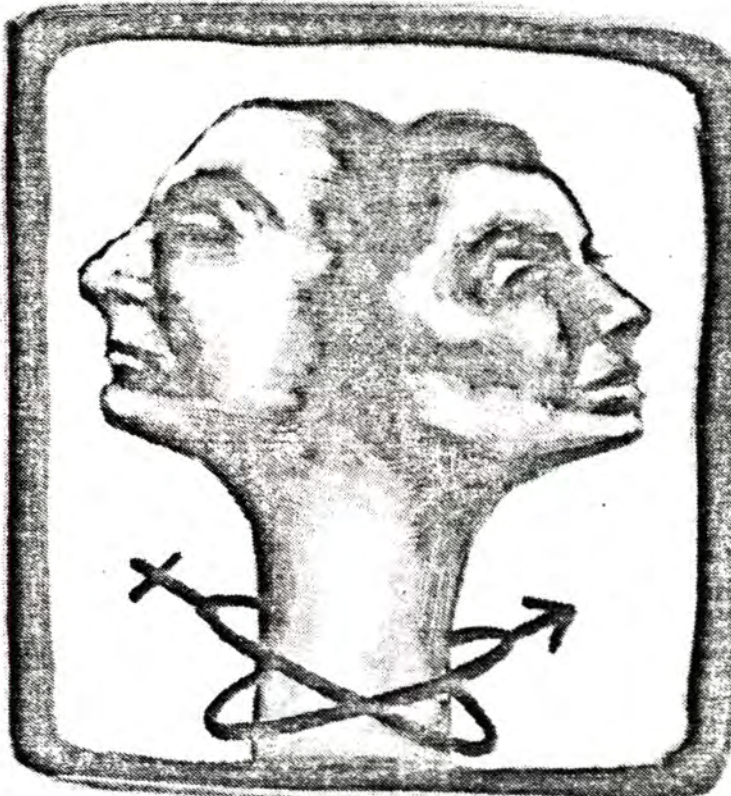
Serious women still aren't taken seriously.

criminate on the basis of careers? Or like "feminist," is it someone who supports the rights of careers? Or, more likely, is "careerist" just a meaningless word that brings to mind the negative image of a woman who has a career — negative simply because she works in a profession where she shows commitment and expertise rather than in a job she doesn't care that much about?

I live with the Hillary Factor. I have often been told at conferences: "You're nothing like what I expected. You're softer and nicer." I ask, "What made you think I'd be anything else?" The answer: "Because you've published so much." A woman who succeeds, people seem to assume, must be tough and mean, unfeminine and unlikely.

It is reassuring that the Republican attempts to make Bill Clinton's wife into "Willary Horton" failed, but it is instructive that the attempt was made. It forced us to ask: By what logic could it be scary rather than comforting for a President's wife, who everyone knows will have his ear, to be unusually intelligent, knowledgeable and accomplished? And to answer: By no logic at all. The hope was to incite emotions — fear and anger — that confront women who do not conform to the old molds.

Though the Hillary Factor apparently has been laid to rest in the Presidential campaign, it is good to have a name for the double binds women will be grappling with for a long time to come. □



Johanna Goodman

eggs and sperm in the five-gallon buckets are later placed in oxygen-enriched trays where the fry emerge. These eventually become the fish in the holding ponds, then the larger fish, and so on, until they are released into whatever river or lake. The same assembly-line system produces the fish—trout and salmon—for every major water system in Oregon. It has for two human generations, ever since the building of the major dams. That's the point. The dams disrupt the spawning cycle so that it must be artificially recreated, season after season. Without that system there would be no fish in the rivers above the dams, no fishermen buying fancy reels, potato chips, Budweiser, and four-wheel drives, voting for their favorite congressmen.

I wasn't disgusted by the spawning so much as surprised. I hadn't given fish much thought. My images of salmon in rivers were images of the natural and spontaneous, the nonhuman. But here, too, more is happening than meets the eye. Beneath the surface is complexity, irony, and contradiction: teams of specialists, special interest groups, government bureaucracies, the profit-motive, contested history.

As I reflect on that day, what I keep thinking about is how different the two operations felt, how different their effects were on me. Both the designing of the stream and the spawning of the chinook are unnatural, human activities, involving plans and at some points heavy equipment. But I can't help thinking of the designing of the stream as a better thing to try to do.

The dams are huge, with far-reaching effects, but the sill logs on Portland Creek, with the boulders and the anchoring cables, are small, their effects local. Each log is itself a small dam, the water shooting off it into tiny pools, pouring over silt in shallows. But the logs and their cables will disappear in a few years, hidden by gravel and cobble and the flow of deepening water. Unlike the huge dams, the stream project is not a grand simplification of a single system, its logic easy to understand. The replication of the stream is exceedingly complex, each piece in the system delicately bal-

anced against the others.

The spawning of the salmon is a simplification too, serving the ends of efficiency. It's a mass-production process, generating huge inventory. Whatever else you might say about the designing of the stream, however, it works against the cause of efficiency. And that's why I want to praise it. Reinventing glides and riffles, building in overhangs and hollows and backups at fifty-yard intervals are not the most cost-effective way to generate units of fish (the hatchery is). The designing of the stream is admirable because it's trying to put things right, to put things back the way they were before the dams and the fishermen and the four-wheel drives. It seems to me there's a kind of necessary humility in that, a necessary reverence. The designing of the stream is not an effort to impose a convenient structure on the natural world but an effort to understand the complexity and chaos and randomness of what was already there, before us. And, of course, that effort must ultimately fail. We can never get it entirely right. Nature will exceed us.

And yet I came away from Portland Creek calmed, heartened. Trying to design a stream involves the contemplation of water, the observation of its endless flow, of the bending of the alder and willow, of the sky overhead. It involves looking at the rocks, seeing the leaves fall, trying to understand how the water moves.

I'm all for it. I think the government should try designing as many streams as possible, improving the technology as best it can. It couldn't make things worse—could even divert us from more damaging pursuits. It would give jobs to the unemployed millworkers. And even if the projects failed for fish or the arrogant came away unchanged, there would still be some P-5 pools with the alder leaves shining like pennies. There would still be the riffles and glides, and the sound of water, the endless rushing and flowing and eddying of water, beneath trees.

CHRIS ANDERSON

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OF SEVERAL MINDS Abigail McCarthy

THEY JUST DON'T GET IT

FROM ONE PROSPECTIVE FIRST LADY TO ANOTHER

According to the new book titled *Dirty Politics* (Oxford University Press) by Kathleen Jamieson, dean of the Annenberg School for Communications, slandering, smearing, lying, and distortion have been part of campaigns al-

most from the beginning, but in recent campaigns their effect has been magnified by the way in which they are treated by the post-Watergate news media. Journalists have virtually abandoned their obligation to inform about issues and candidates' stands to concentrate instead on chasing rumors and analyzing polls, as if choos-

ing our leaders were a horse race or an athletic competition instead of the most important of our civic responsibilities.

Jamieson begins her book with the example of the Willie Horton advertisement used in the 1988 Bush campaign and the resultant news stories because it has become a synonym for the dirty politics of her title. Consequently, candidate Bill Clinton's observation following the Republican convention in Houston that Republicans were trying to make Hillary Clinton the Willie Horton of this campaign was a serious charge, one that no one who watched the Republican convention could take lightly. First ladies and the wives of elected presidents have been criticized,

even vilified, in the past but this is the first time in my memory that the full force of opposition criticism has been formally, apparently with the approval of the official party leaders, levied against a candidate's wife.

Never mind that there has been a backlash and the heads of the Republican ticket have been waffling and back-pedaling. (The polls have shown that women everywhere resented the tactic as an attack on working women. And in the Washington suburbs a group of stay-at-home mothers retaliated by organizing a Hillary Clinton fan club, evidence that the resentment was not confined to working women alone.) Marilyn Quayle has written that her rather blatant, if indirect, attack was misconstrued. The vice-president is quoted as saying that he is sure that "Hillary is as much help to Bill Clinton as Marilyn has been to me." But ex-candidate Pat Buchanan is sticking to his poisonous guns and so is evangelist Pat Robertson. For good or worse, Hillary Clinton has been made an issue—the Willie Horton issue of 1992.

Does it matter? Yes, if a recent *Time* magazine cover story [September 14] is right. According to poll results, the public perception and approval of the candidate's wife can make the difference in the crucial few percentage points needed to win in a tight race. This, then, becomes a tricky proposition because the perception has to be formed by what the public comes to know of her. Whereas the coverage of a first lady is fairly consistent, the coverage of a candidate's wife is very spotty and always has been. Right now, even I, despite being an "inside-the-Beltway" person with some friends rather high in the campaign structure, have only a hazy

idea of the substance of Hillary Clinton's speeches and the nature of her campaign activity.

There is no consistent coverage on which I can rely. Attention centers on a candidate's wife and children in a spasmodic way—and usually when things go awry. Admittedly things have changed a great deal since I myself was involved as a wife in a presidential campaign almost twenty-five years ago. The efforts of wife and children then were even more under-reported than now and often were considered so inconsequential that reporting them accurately seemed unimportant.

Now, so many years later, reporting on the wives is still very selective. Would we, for example, know as much as we do about Hillary Clinton if it had not been for the media concentration on the sleazy Gennifer Flowers story or on the unbridled Republican attack? True, there seems to have been a growing interest in wives over the years. In 1972 Eleanor McGovern shared a *Time* cover with Pat Nixon and later Rosalynn Carter had a *Newsweek* cover to herself. Columnist Richard Cohen has attributed this increase to the reporters' need for celebrity chatter to fill up space.

The history of the *Time* piece on Hillary Clinton would seem to bear him out. The interview accompanying the cover was to have been done by historian Garry Wills. At almost the last minute Wills objected to the editing of his piece and withdrew it, leaving *Time* writer Margaret Carlson scurrying to fill the hole. What caused the difficulty over Wills's story? If one can guess on the basis of an earlier Wills story-review in the *New York Review of Books* (March 5, 1992), it must have taken Hillary too seriously. Carlson is quoted as saying that "there was a great deal of his-

torical first lady stuff in his piece which, while very interesting, wasn't what was needed."

Carlson's own piece is succinct, surface-skimming, lively, and predictable. It sketches a Hillary who has to head back to Little Rock and daughter Chelsea at intervals "to feel grounded," a woman private about the faith she nourishes by carrying favorite Scriptures with her, a woman who tends to the earnest and serious yet has a playful side, but concludes eventually that Hillary is "a strong and determined woman used to dominating whatever situation she is in by force of mind."

The Wills *New York Review* article did much more. He showed readers a Hillary Clinton who is "one of the most important scholar-activists of the last two decades, a Hillary who has an impressive record of altering life for the better for parents and children in Arkansas." He documents his characterization with excerpts from her writing and speeches through 1988.

These show real development in her thought since the 1974 article "Children under the Law" to which exception was taken in these pages (*Commonweal*, May 8 and June 19). Not that Hillary has abandoned her theory that children's legal rights should equal their competency and ability to take responsibility but she has adopted a more comprehensive approach to social problems, largely as a result of her study of the treatment of children in many countries in her capacity as co-chair of The Children's Defense Fund—in particular the French approach since it is "a coordinated comprehensive system...that links day care, early education, and health care." She helped institute neonatal clinics to prepare mothers for parenthood and brought back from Israel a program to help impoverished mothers to teach basic skills (especially speech skills) to their children. As head of the committee to raise educational standards in Arkansas, she rallied community support for changes that helped parents achieve an educational system that no longer limited their children's futures.

Whether we agree with her approach or not we cannot deny that both Arkansas parents and children have reason to be grateful to her and for her. □



The Education of Hillary Rodham

Candidate's Wife Learned to Love 'the System' at Yale Law School



Clinton

Hillary Rodham, shown here as a Wellesley College undergraduate, impressed her law school classmates as a calming force in trying times.

BY CAROLE BASS

No one can quite remember what prompted the meeting. It might have been the U.S. invasion of Cambodia. It might have been the Kent State massacre. Or maybe that was the night somebody torched the Yale Law School library.

There were so many angry and anguished meetings at the law school that year, so many cataclysmic world events, especially during the spring of 1970. In downtown New Haven, Conn., alongside the law school, store owners were nailing boards over their windows, fearing riots when thousands of protesters came to town to support the Black Panthers. Many law students suspected the library fire was retribution for the law school's insufficiently enthusiastic embrace of the Panthers.

In a way, it doesn't matter which crisis packed the law school's biggest lecture hall that night. Whatever the immediate subject, student rallies all returned to the same themes: frustration, near the boiling point, at a system that seemed incapable of serving justice; torment at being a part of that system, as students at one of the nation's elite law schools; deep moral uncertainty about how best to bring about change.

Two decades later, what people remember about the meeting is Hillary Rodham.

Sitting on a table in her customary blue bell-bottoms, swinging one leg back and forth, the 22-year-old first-year student presided over the crowded and tumultuous

room. "Hillary showed extraordinary poise for someone who was a very young woman," recalls Abraham Goldstein, a Yale law professor who had just been named to replace the outgoing dean. "There was a lot of angry rhetoric being exchanged. She somehow managed to keep the discussion calm."

"It was almost like being a translator," says classmate Kristine Olson Rogers, now associate dean for the Northwestern School of Law at Lewis & Clark College in Portland, Ore. "Somebody would say something in the typical rhetoric of the time. She would say, 'I hear you saying this,' or, 'If you could be in a room with Professor So-and-So, is this what you would say?' Hillary did what nowadays would be international summitry—flying back and forth between both sides."

The meeting took place before Rodham



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spent the summer working for Marian Wright Edelman, the children's advocate who would help Rodham focus her passion for doing good. It was nearly a year before Rodham met Bill Clinton, the political superstar-in-the-making who would turn her name, along with his, into a household word.

Already, though, Hillary Rodham stood out. Admired for her forthrightness, her incisive mind, and her remarkable self-confidence, she impressed her peers—not exactly underachievers themselves—as someone who would make a lasting mark on society.

"She wanted to change the world, which most of us were naive enough to think we could do," says classmate Rosalind Fink, who today directs the Office on Equal Opportunity and Affirmative Action at Columbia University. "Now she's one of the few of us who might be in a position to actually do so."

Starting at Yale

Some things have changed since Rodham's law student days, of course. Her last name and her hair color, for instance—both widely interpreted as efforts to polish her husband's political image. She stopped wearing glasses and started wearing makeup. And the woman who classmates predicted would never become a corporate lawyer has spent the last 15 years as just that at one of Little Rock, Ark.'s most established firms.

But she has also spent more than 20 years at the forefront of children's causes. Her work, primarily through the Children's Defense Fund, gained Hillary Rodham Clinton a national reputation in the field long before the current presidential campaign. Every First Lady has a crusade. Clinton says hers will be children.

If Bill Clinton wins the presidential election next month, he and Hillary will indeed be in a position to change the world. Many of her ideas about what needs changing and how to go about it were forged at Yale Law School.

Recent articles written about her haven't given the law school proper credit for shaping her views and her career. Hillary Clinton told a gathering of fellow law alumni in New Haven this month.

"Much of what I believe in and much of what I have worked for, and much of what I believe is at stake in this election, is directly related to my time at the law school," Clinton said.

It was at Yale that she developed her interest in children's issues. It was there that she and her contemporaries, "trying to reconcile the reasoned, ordered world we were studying with what we saw around us," debated how they could use the law to advance their social goals.

And, Clinton said, her experience at Yale Law School imbued her with an abiding respect for The System—the same System that, to many young people at the time, seemed corrupted beyond salvation.

At age 22, those who remember her

say, Hillary Rodham was already adept at getting the system to work.

The meeting over which she so memorably presided was just one of many emotionally charged situations from which Rodham "emerged as a natural spokesperson," says Jody Adams Weisbrod, who shared an apartment with Rodham during their first semester.

At a time when many students "didn't feel listened to or acknowledged" by the faculty or Dean Louis Pollak, Rodham "was a mediator, an effective bridge," says Weisbrod, now with the Center on Addiction and Substance Abuse at Columbia University. With her knack for summing up students' themes, "Hillary was able to speak to Pollak in a way that nobody else could. She was somehow able to transmit the message without getting overly confrontational or hysterical."

Her peers were drawn to her, Rodham's classmates recall. "If there was a law school problem, you talked to her," says Carolyn Ellis Staton, a close friend who now teaches at the University of Mississippi School of Law. "She was considered very wise and very astute."

Rodham's ability to lead was already well-established by the time she reached Yale. She had been president of the student government at Wellesley College, chosen by a nearly unanimous vote "to give voice to our hopes" as the first-ever student commencement speaker, recalls Kristine Olson Rogers, who met Rodham their freshman year at Wellesley.

But Rodham's prominence at Yale was especially unusual because women, who made up only 15 percent of the class, were "still viewed as a minority," notes William Coleman III, who shared a beach house with Bill Clinton their first year in law school. (That was Rodham's second year, because she took a fourth year at the law school to do child-development work, they graduated together in 1973.)

The other women in the class were "incredibly bright and capable, but in a quiet, scholarly way," remembers Coleman, a partner with the Detroit office of Philadelphia's Pepper, Hamilton & Scheetz. "Hillary's interests were probably more political and more publicly oriented than [those of] other women in the class."

There's some disagreement over how much Rodham stood out in the classroom. Not all of those interviewed shared courses with her or remembered what she was like in class. From those who do remember, an interesting—though perhaps coincidental—gender difference emerges.

Three male classmates, including Coleman, say Rodham stood out as one of the people who was always prepared, vocal, aggressive, with "something sharp to

Hillary Clinton, Forging Views and Coming of Age at Yale



Clinton's hair and last name may have changed, but her children's issues has remained constant since law school.

say," in the words of Donald Pogue, who roomed with Coleman and Bill Clinton.

"I remember Hillary as, first and foremost, a very serious student," says Pogue, who's now a member of Connecticut's state Commission on Hospitals and Health Care. "It was a time when, to some degree, women were permitted to be intellectually powerful in a way they hadn't before."

Pogue has an enduring image of Rodham arguing a point with the eminent First Amendment scholar Thomas Emerson in his class on political and civil rights. "He

had very high standards, and I remember her clearly being very successful" at meeting them.

But two female friends say Rodham's intelligence and hard work did not set her apart from her peers. Asked about Rodham's study habits, former roommate Jody Adams Weisbrod replies, with a laugh: "This was 1969. I don't want to comment on anybody's study habits, including my own." And Carolyn Ellis Staton says people knew Rodham for her leadership in the law school community "rather than her brilliance or her studi-

ousness. Everybody was brilliant, everybody was studious."

With her long brown hair, her round face, and her thick glasses, Rodham the law student may have looked a bit mousy. Far from it, her friends say.

They describe a warm, outgoing young woman. "She was very interested in doing things that were good for you," Staton says. "We used to go to Clark's [Dairy, a hangout near campus,] to get milkshakes because they were supposed to be good for you—we didn't worry about getting fat then. She dragged me to the Yale gym" to do calisthenics in those pre-aerobics, pre-Nautilus days. "I think she really enjoyed it. It was always, 'Hey, let's go over to the gym,' and I would groan. Whatever she did, she did it with zest."

That extended to her relationships with people, where Rodham always looked for the positive, Staton says. "If I thought somebody was a nerd or a creep, she'd turn it around."

One of the people Rodham thought well of was Bill Clinton, the folksy Arkansan who arrived at the law school in the fall of 1970, fresh from a year as a Rhodes scholar at Oxford University. "I remember her being interested in him from the minute he came to Yale," Staton says.

The official Clinton story—already a legend at Yale—has the couple meeting in the law library one night, after he had spent months admiring her from afar. Striding up to Clinton, Rodham supposedly said, "If you're going to keep looking at me and I'm going to keep looking back, we at least ought to know each other. I'm Hillary Rodham." Clinton, the story goes, was so dumbfounded that he forgot his own name.

That was near the end of the 1970-71 academic year. By the next year, they were renting a little house together in New Haven.

As a couple, mutual friends say, Rodham and Clinton were always fun to be around. Both had lively, inquisitive minds. Both loved a good argument. And their styles—he the down-home Southerner, she the no-nonsense Midwesterner—balanced each other perfectly, their friends say.

"Hillary was a straight shooter—there was absolutely no BS about her," says Harlon Dalton, another classmate who now teaches at Yale Law School. With Clinton, "she saw right past the charm and saw the complex person underneath. I think he found that irresistible."

The feeling was mutual. In the spring of 1972, Rodham had finished her law school requirements, and her original classmates were graduating. But she decided to spend a fourth year in New Haven—partly to pursue her interest in child development at

the Yale Child Study Center and partly to stay with Bill.

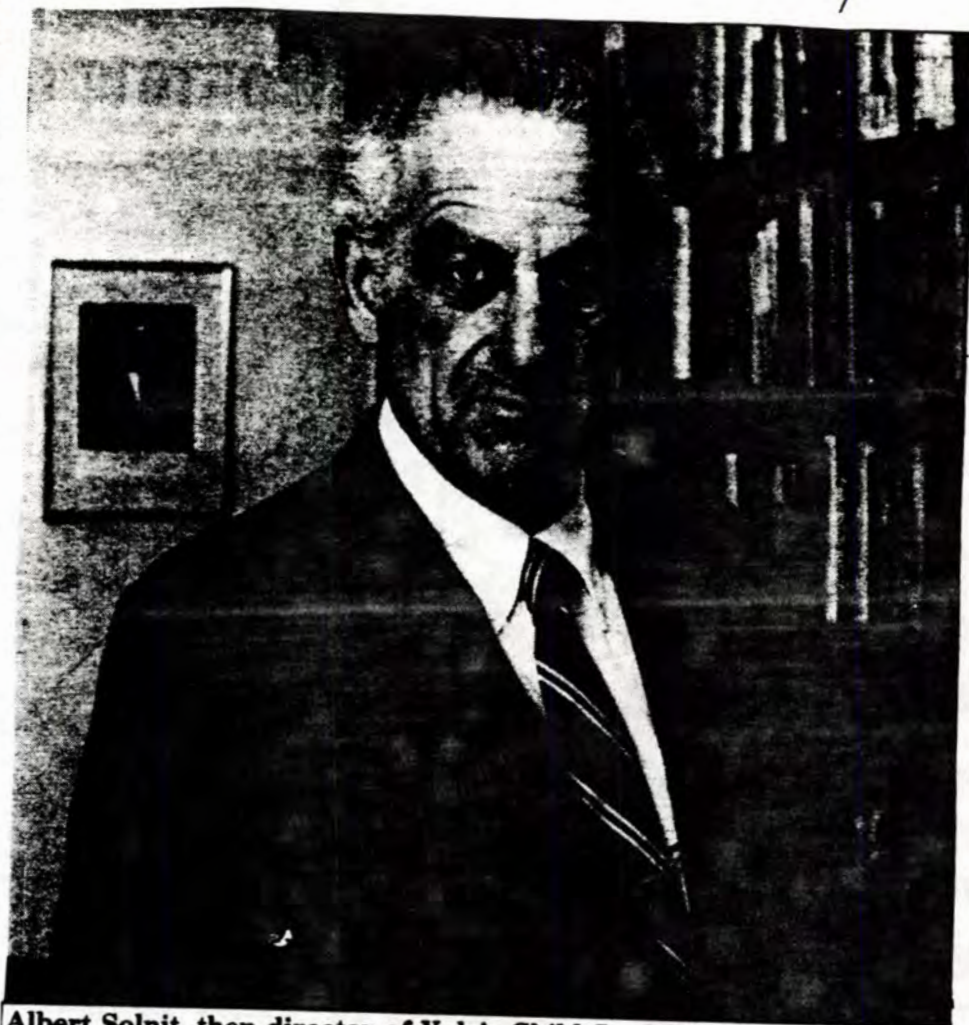
After they graduated, she went to Washington to work for the Children's Defense Fund and for the House Judiciary Committee as it prepared its impeachment case against President Richard Nixon. After the committee's relentless work forced the president to step down, Rodham followed her heart to Arkansas.

A year later, she made a few trips back East "to make sure she wasn't missing anything," says Staton. Convinced she wasn't, Rodham returned to Arkansas and married Bill Clinton.

The Children's Crusade

By that time, she had already established her name and her voice as a children's advocate.

From the time Rodham came to Yale, her friends say, it was clear that she would devote herself to public service of some kind. But she had only vague ideas about how she might do that.



Albert Solnit, then director of Yale's Child Study Center, recalls Rodham as a model student who understood children as complex beings.

Enter Marian Wright Edelman and what Hillary Clinton now calls a "personal turning point."

In the spring of 1970, her first year at law school, Rodham read a short *Time* magazine article about Edelman, a Yale Law graduate and civil-rights lawyer. Then she saw a notice that Edelman was coming to speak at the law school.

Rodham went to the talk. Afterward, she asked Edelman if she could work that summer for the Washington Research Project, a public-interest organization that Edelman had founded. Sure, Edelman said, but I have no money. So Rodham scrounged around and came up with the Law Students' Civil Rights Research Council Grant. She spent the summer working on behalf of poor families, some of them living in migrant labor camps.

"I came back to law school with a growing commitment to children, and particularly poor children," Clinton told the law school alumni group. "How lucky I was, therefore, to find on the faculty people like Joe Goldstein and Jay Katz."

Katz is a psychiatrist and Goldstein a psychologist; both teach courses in family law. Goldstein's course on children and the law was a "seminal experience" for Rodham, says her former roommate Weisbrod. (Goldstein declined to be inter-

viewed, saying that his policy is never to talk about current or former students unless they request it.)

Katz says that Rodham stood out in his large lecture class on family law because he taught it more like a seminar, with lots of student participation, and because she shared his interest in children's rights. For four weeks that semester, he brought in famed child psychoanalyst Anna Freud to co-teach the class. Later, Rodham helped with research for "Beyond the Best Interests of the Child," a high-profile book published in 1973 by Freud, Goldstein, and Albert Solnit, then director of the Yale Child Study Center.

During her fourth year, Rodham signed up for a law school program that allowed her to spend time at the child study center, receiving course credit but no degree, says Solnit. She did direct observations of children at play, helped the center's nursery-school teachers, sat in on diagnostic assessments, and was part of a reading seminar on child-development literature.

With the kids, Rodham adopted a "very natural, playful, laid-back approach," says Solnit, who is now a senior research scientist at the child study center and commissioner of Connecticut's state Department of Mental Health. "She was one of the best, if not the best, student we've ever had from the law school. Even before she became prominent, we used to think of her as a model of what a law student could get out of the program."

What she got out of it, according to Solnit, was an insight into children's needs and rights, and an understanding of the variations in normal child development. "One had the feeling that, although she never considered herself a clinical expert, she understood that children are complex beings," Solnit says.

By this time, children's and family issues had come to dominate Rodham's interests. "It was a mutual area of interest—I don't really remember a discussion of why," says Susan Bucknell, a human-services planner in Connecticut's state Office of Policy and Management, who first met Rodham at the Milford, Conn., beach house that Bucknell's future husband, Don Pogue, shared with Bill Clinton. "I think we were all people who'd come from close families and had a sense of how essential that is. It was obviously such a strong concern."

During the same period, Edelman recommended Rodham to do legal research for the Carnegie Council on Children, es-

tablished by the non-profit Carnegie Corporation of New York in 1972 with a five-year mandate to examine the situation of children in the United States. According to Kenneth Keniston, a psychologist who was then at the Yale School of Medicine and who ran the council, Rodham wrote "a number of background papers" about children's legal rights.

The council's basic perspective, Keniston says, "was that it's impossible and undesirable to talk about children without talking about families. To support a kid, you've got to support the family, 99 times out of 100." So he scoffs at recent Republican attempts to depict Hillary Clinton as a radical who advocates allowing children to sue their parents frivolously.

At the same time, Keniston was critical of "Beyond the Best Interests of the Child," which he depicts as a brief for allowing parents the last word on their children, no matter what. "There were cases where no adult happened to be speaking for the child, where you needed a spokesperson, a court-appointed ombudsman or so," says Keniston, who now teaches at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

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Rodham was reaching a similar conclusion. In November 1973, shortly after graduating from law school, she published an article in the *Harvard Educational Review* that Jay Katz describes as "pioneering."

Certainly the state should minimize its interference in family life, since most families are much better than the government at taking care of children, Rodham wrote in "Children Under the Law." But "the state, representing the community of adults, has the responsibility to intervene



Friend Susan Bucknell shared Rodham's interest in children.

in cases of severe emotional deprivation or psychological damage if it is likely that a child's development will be substantially harmed by his continued presence in the family."

Children had virtually no legal rights when Rodham wrote the article. What's more, she pointed out, the legal reasoning that categorizes as a "minor" everyone under 18 or 21 "is artificial and simplistic; it obscures the dramatic differences among

children of different ages and the striking similarities between older children and adults."

Writing as a staff attorney for Marian Wright Edelman's newly established Children's Defense Fund, Rodham suggested abolishing the legal status of minority—and with it, the presumption that children are legally incompetent. Instead, she wrote, lawmakers could undertake an area-by-area examination of rights, determining which could be granted to children at what ages. (Legislatures had already done this in some areas, such as voting rights and driving privileges, she noted.)

"She was amongst the first" legal scholars to address the question of children's rights, Katz says. "It is a pioneering article. It's not a particularly radical article. But it calls attention that children need greater protection by the law."

Scholarship, however, was never Rodham's primary goal. Her bent was more practical and policy-oriented than theoretical. As a student, she helped develop programs for children at Yale's new Legal Services Organization, clinical Professor Stephen Wizner told a current student group that put together a pamphlet for Hillary Clinton's visit this month.

And Rodham sought out Penn Rhodeen, who was handling children's cases as a staff attorney at the New Haven Legal Assistance Association. A latecomer to family and children's law, Rhodeen was realizing its importance as he fought the state over its treatment of foster children.

"When judges decide where somebody's kid lives, that really is the most important kind of trial work that's done, in terms of the long-term impact," says Rhodeen, who's now in private practice in New Haven. "If there's a carload of perishable fruit at stake in a commercial case, the courts will hold hearings on Saturday, practically. But when it came to, in effect, a perishable kid or a perishable young psyche, that urgency wasn't there."

It was for Rodham. "Here was a young kid who had that understanding, when all she had done, as far as I knew, was go to Wellesley," Rhodeen says. "How she came to that kind of life understanding was a mystery to me. She was deeply committed, deeply informed, and a real powerhouse on that stuff."

Rhodeen saw Rodham's pragmatism again in the late 1970s, he says, when she wrestled with whether to use a practical financial argument to promote child welfare: the pay-now-or-pay-much-more-later line espoused by Jesse Jackson, among others. Rodham preferred to stress the moral reasons for doing right by kids, Rhodeen says. But she recognized the pragmatic approach as "part of getting the right thing done in the grown-up world."

Or, as Hillary Clinton might put it, making the system work.

The system has worked for Clinton her whole life. From her middle-class upbringing in a Chicago suburb to her education at Wellesley (where she started out a Goldwater Girl) and Yale Law School to her partnership in Little Rock's Rose Law Firm, she has taken advantage of the many opportunities afforded her.

She pulls down about \$160,000 a year. (Her husband's salary as governor is \$35,000, up from \$12,000 when he was first elected in 1978.) She sits on numerous corporate boards, including the board of Wal-Mart Stores Inc., where she's the only woman. Her appearance at a pizza party/fund-raiser in New Haven, just before her law school speech, brought in nearly \$300,000 from law school alumni for the Clinton-Gore campaign.

That's not to say that it's all been easy. Certainly, as a woman at an Ivy League law school in the early 1970s, Hillary Rodham faced the difficulties involved in making her way in a male-dominated world. As an independent professional who's married to a presidential candidate, she has seen the peculiar double standard of the campaign trail, whereby a political wife is apparently expected to devote all

her energy—but not too much of her intelligence—to getting or keeping a job for her husband.

And Clinton takes pains to recognize publicly her own good fortune and to call on her peers not to be blinded by theirs. One in three New Haven children lives in poverty, she reminded her law school audience.

"Those of us who are privileged and able to make good livings must always keep our eyes open to the faces and the people behind those statistics. The problems we face today may not be quite as dramatic as they were 20 years ago," but they're still "eating away" at "the quality of our lives together," she told the alumni.

It might seem odd that a passionate young liberal who spent four years at an elite institution of learning during the Vietnam War and Watergate, whose second month on campus was punctuated by the law school's first-ever student strike, where many students dismissed the newly appointed law dean as a "reactionary"—it might seem surprising that this passionate young liberal would take with her, above all, faith in the system.



Lawyer Penn Rhodeen: Rodham was passionate and pragmatic.

But that's exactly what happened to Hillary Rodham.

As she and her classmates struggled with moral and practical questions about the future of the country and the role of the law in shaping it, "We were given many reasons to believe not only that the system can work—that law can be a tool for positive change and for uplifting the human condition—but we were given examples of how that could be done," Clinton told the alumni gathering.

Many liberals viewed Richard Nixon's resignation as a tragic illustration of how polluted our country's political waters had become. Rodham saw it as "a resounding victory for the system that I had studied and learned about here."

Children, of course, have no voice in the political system and very little voice in the legal system. For Hillary Rodham Clinton, changing that is the next frontier.

"The lessons of the Yale Law School that I carry with me every single day," she told the alumni, "have convinced me that he struggle to continue to define our lives together using the law . . . is one of the worthiest we could ever be engaged in."

—American Lawyer News Service

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THE EDUCATION *of* HILLARY CLINTON

Her Journey From Goldwater Girl to First Lady

First of three parts

By Martha Sherrill
Washington Post Staff Writer

The girl looks into the camera lens with exquisite smoothness. There's no joking or wincing or nervous huge smiling. Not too warm. Not too cool. She's 12 years old. Little hands are flopped neatly one over the other. The sailor dress is hiked up, absent-mindedly no doubt, showing some crinoline and knees. She's in sixth grade, this is her class picture, and Hillary Diane Rodham possesses things already—calm, balance, white shoes and an easy public smile by virtue of her overbite in progress. There's an almost unbearable Shirley Temple quality. . . .

See that older hand resting on her shoulder? Follow the arm up. That's Elisabeth King—the lady with pointy glasses and pearls and a mouth that doesn't know how to smile perfectly every time. She was a teacher at Eugene Field Grammar School in Park Ridge, Ill.—and then later, at Ralph Waldo Emerson Junior High. She was strict, a mind-made-up sort of person. Scared some kids. Failed some kids. Not our Miss Hillary.

"Hillary was Mrs. King's favorite human being on Earth," says Ernest "Rick" Ricketts, a classmate. "When she moved on to Emerson Junior High, she taught Hillary for two more years."

She never got in trouble. Never got detention. Her grades were often perfect. Hillary Rodham was a chronic teacher's pet, a Brownie and then a Girl Scout whose sash was so loaded with badges and dazzling little pins that it's amazing she didn't walk with a stoop. The burden of all that ceaseless public do-gooding! When she got to high school, she rejected offers to have her ears pierced with a needle and potato, according to her best friends, didn't smoke in the bathroom, didn't make out with boys in "The Pit" at Maine South's library, didn't even wear black turtlenecks.

"Ohhhh no," says Betsy Johnson Ebeling, when asked if she and Hillary ever cut class. "The only time I remember us doing that was Senior Ditch Day, kind of an organized event—and we thought we were being very daring."

Hillary Rodham mostly loved school. Her mind was inquisitive and impressionable and whatever attention was missing from boys—not that she missed it—she got from teachers. She returned their approval with loyalty beyond comprehension. When she left Park Ridge for college, law school and, finally, the great beyond of Arkansas, she kept sending handwritten letters—single-spaced, both sides of the page—to Donald Jones, her youth minister from First United Methodist Church. After encountering her next mentor, Marian Wright Edelman—the founder of Children's Defense Fund—Rodham would follow her faithfully, not one break in contact, for 23 years.

Girlfriends and family get much the same loyal treatment. After Rodham married Bill Clinton in Fayetteville—she was 28 years old—her mom and dad and two younger

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Seeking Counsel for the White House

President-elect Clinton, still unable to pull together a White House staff—he's named only three so far—is eyeing New York attorney and Justice Department transition team leader Bernard W. Nussbaum for White House counsel. Nussbaum, a white-collar defense lawyer and colleague of Hillary Clinton's when both were staff members on the House Judiciary Committee for impeachment proceedings against President Richard M. Nixon, is now the leading candidate, sources say, but Washington lawyer Jamie S. Gorelick is said to be a strong contender for the job.

Another New York lawyer, Susan Thomas, who ran the campaign advance and scheduling operation, has been playing a major, if not almost paramount, role in decisions on staffing the White House. But she still appears set on going back to her law firm when the transition is over.

Harold Ickes, in line to be White House deputy chief of staff, appears to have weathered a spate of news stories about his representation of a labor union linked to organized crime. Ickes said he never saw any criminal activity when he represented that client.

Skip Rutherford, a top aide to designated chief of staff Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty at Arkla Inc., who worked in the campaign, handled Arkansas affairs for the transition and is now helping McLarty again, is expected to come to Washington to continue working for him.

Campaign consultant Paul Begala apparently has turned down a job as chief speechwriter in the Clinton White House, sources say, and it is still not clear where he will end up.

'Global' Issues for Wirth at State?

■ Former senator Timothy E. Wirth (D-Colo.), having lost out on his bid for a Cabinet post, appears headed for a senior job at the State Department, sources say. Wirth could get a new undersecretary position that will handle such "global" issues as promoting democracy, environmental problems and other concerns.

Wirth's likely new position, a job still being defined, came after Vice President-elect Gore urged Secretary of State-designate Warren M. Christopher to work out something—above the assistant secretary level—for Wirth.

A leading candidate at the State Department for undersecretary for economic affairs is Ellen Frost, a

senior fellow at the Institute for International Economics and former deputy assistant secretary of defense for international economic and technology affairs in the Carter days.

Meanwhile, sources say that two Carter administration officials often mentioned as potentially joining other recycled Carterites in the Clinton foreign policy operation—former assistant secretary for East Asia and Pacific affairs Richard C. Holbrooke, now managing director at Shearson Lehman Brothers Inc. in New York, and Jimmy Carter's former deputy national security adviser and author David Aaron—are not likely to be going back to government. It appears that, in Holbrooke's case—perhaps in Aaron's too—Christopher was annoyed by their pre-election self-promotion as Clinton insiders.

A new name mentioned for a senior State Department job, probably Holbrooke's old job, is Susan L. Shirk, director of the Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation at University of California, San Diego. Shirk, a China specialist and a professor of political science, is married to another U.C.-San Diego professor of political science, Samuel Popkin, who worked with Clinton pollster Stanley Greenburg during the campaign.

Also at Foggy Bottom, there is talk that Dennis Ross, head of policy planning for former secretary of state James A. Baker III and point man for the Mideast peace talks, may remain on for awhile to provide some continuity for the peace process.

Transiting Out

■ At least three Bush administration officials are heading beyond the Beltway for their life-after, although it is only temporary for two of them. The permanent departure from Washington is by Samuel K. Skinner, former secretary of transportation, embattled short-term White House chief of staff, and Republican National Committee official in the endgame. He is going back to his home territory of Chicago to head Commonwealth Edison.

David Beckwith, meanwhile, the press secretary to Vice President Quayle, is temporarily headed to Texas to be the press secretary for Kay Bailey Hutchinson, one of the Republican candidates to fill the U.S. Senate seat being vacated by Lloyd Bentsen's nomination as treasury secretary.

And Patricia Saiki, head of the Small Business Administration, is heading to Harvard's Kennedy School for a semester of what she called "an academic environment." The environment actually is one of time-out for losing politicians—a string of defeated politicians and those between government jobs have found temporary safe landing for a semester at the Institute of Politics, where Saiki will spend her spring.

—Al Kamen



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They are all like that, the Rodhams. A bit on the scrappy side, they veer toward competitive and opinionated, but not obnoxious about it. There isn't a family sense of defensiveness, just a willingness to take you on. "Sure, my sister is tough as nails," says Tony Rodham, 38, a private investigator in Miami, with a certain familial pride. "She's a lot of those things that people have said she was."

"But that's just one facet," finishes Hugh Rodham—the other brother, a 42-year-old public defender, in Miami too. "That's her business face. You

know, like your game face when you play football?"

Hugh Rodham—father to them all—is a gruff, macho character, the kind of guy who grows disapprovingly at his family but brags about them later, quietly, to an unsuspecting neighbor. He studied physical education at Penn State. During World War II, he trained sailors in something called the Gene Tunney Program—kind of like boot camp—before they went off to fight. In today's psychobabble, we'd call Hugh Rodham "withholding," unless you think having a sense of humor makes a big difference. He was tough to please, curmudgeonly, famously tight with money, and teasing. He always drove Cadillacs. He always voted Republican. For 30 years, he had a drapery-making business in Chicago—bought the fabric, printed designs on it, sewed it, hung the curtains—with only one guy, really, helping him. He did big orders—corporations, hotels, airlines. And if his two sons ever came along with him (Hillary seemed exempt from this) to work for a day, he never paid them. "Are you kidding?" says Tony. "We'd get, like, an extra potato at dinner."

When Hillary came home with lots of A's from Eugene Field Elementary School—as she would later from Emerson Junior High and Maine East High School, and then Maine South High School when it was built—the big joke in the family was that she'd show Hugh Rodham her report card and every time he would grunt: "You must go to a pretty easy school."

The boys had to follow in Hillary's wake of academic excellence, DAR community service awards and so forth—one gushing teacher after the next—but they could play sports to make up for less stellar grade point averages. "Our parents didn't just pay attention to our grades," says Tony—the only one of the three not to hold a graduate degree. "They cared about everything we did."

So the boys both played football—Hughie was even the high school quarterback—and their dad came to all the games, but somehow couldn't bring himself to sit in the bleachers with the other parents. Hugh Rodham took a lawn chair out, way out along the sidelines, and sat by himself.

"He wanted us to succeed," says Hughie.

"But he didn't want to pressure us," says Tony.

After Hughie's best game—completing 10 passes out of 11, winning 36 to zip—he came home to find his dad lounging on the sofa. "I got nothing to say to you," Hugh Rodham deadpanned, "except you should have completed the other one."

That's how he'd been raised in Scranton, Pa., anyway. Family came first, but why let them know it? His father had come from England; from Northumberland, when he was 4 and wound up working at the Scranton Lace Co. Hugh, one of three boys, worked at the lace company too—right out of college during the Depression—but got fed up with lifting boxes for lousy money. He left for New York, then Chicago. In 1937, he met Dorothy Howell when she applied for a job as a secretary at the Columbia Lace Co., where Hugh Rodham worked as a curtain salesman until he went into the Navy.

Dorothy had grown up in Alhambra, Calif.—near Pasadena—but doesn't remember her childhood too fondly or doesn't like talking about it. Her father was Welsh, in any case, and her mother—Della Murray—was Scottish and French and Indian. She found herself in Chicago, is all, and it was 1937 and there was Mr. Impossible. She married Hugh Rodham in 1942 after much romantic back-and-forth during wartime. Hillary was born five years later. "Maybe that's why she's such an accepting person," Dorothy says of Hillary. "She had to put up with him."

What sort of mother was Dorothy

Rodham? Unpretentious, wise, funny. "I remember Hillary's graduation from high school," she says, "and being slightly embarrassed by the honor medley." It wasn't until years after her kids were grown that she got to college herself, but when she did, finally, at the prodding of her son-in-law Bill Clinton, she studied philosophy.

"Yeah," says Hughie. "Mom got straight A's. The women in our family are something else. You should meet my wife, Maria."

Hillary had good looks—straight blond hair, blue eyes, cheekbones, confidence—which she grew out of, back into, out of, into again. She never seemed to notice much. Later, when her hair grew darker blond, then brown, she never thought of bleaching it until she was in her thirties. Later, when her mother suggested she might wear makeup, Hillary didn't want to. This doesn't seem born of shyness or modesty. She debated, took drama classes, never stooped or held her head down. "I think she thought [makeup] was superficial and silly," says Dorothy. "She didn't have time for it."

Whatever goal lingered in her mind—she has said she wanted to be an astronaut, her friends remember her talking about becoming a doctor—her focus was far away, years away, another place. "She had absolutely no vanity," remembers Jeannie Snodgrass Almo, a high school classmate who now runs Kids First, a day-care center in D.C. "She was totally unconcerned about how she appeared to people—and she was loved for that."

While her girlfriends had crushes, stared at boys, padded their bras, Hillary talked about politics, Sputnik and sports. "We used to sit on her front porch and solve the world's problems," says Rick Ricketts, her neighbor and friend since they were 8. "She also knew all the players and stats, batting averages—Roger Maris, Mickey Mantle—everything about baseball."

"None of my kids dated much, until they were older," says Dorothy Rodham. "And Hillary always valued herself very highly. I liked that about her."

Donald Jones arrived in Park Ridge when Hillary was in ninth grade. He was 30 years old—fresh from divinity school, fresh from Manhattan, fresh from the world beyond Slip 'n' Slides and softball games and growling Hugh

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brothers went along on the Acapulco wedding trip, stayed in the same hotel. In 1987, she moved her parents down to Little Rock, so they could be closer to Chelsea. And when she goes to Chicago for high school reunions—she goes, of course she goes—she still stays overnight at Betsy Johnson Ebeling's house.

The country has never waited like this—with such conflicting emotions—for a First Lady to move herself into the East Wing. She was surely the messiest subtext of last year's presidential campaign. At one extreme you had Pat Buchanan, in the Houston Astrodome, spitting out the words "lawyer spouse." On the other side, she's provoked a certain amount of weeping. Old girlfriends flood up with affection when they start gabbing about Hillary Diane Rodham Clinton. It's a complicated response that somehow gets to the essence of the Hillary Issue. The world has so grossly misunderstood their warm, funny, smart, tough, loyal Hillary.

The Weepers . . . they describe a friend who never gripes, never self-obsesses, never discusses "the pain" Bill Clinton caused in their marriage, and who has a belly laugh you can hear all across the governor's mansion. They describe a friend who never fails to ask what books they're reading, how their husbands are doing, knows where their children are going to school and what disease their parents are dying of.

"What people don't seem to realize," says Sara Ehrman, a Washingtonian who has known Hillary Rodham for 20 years, "is that Hillary's so conventional, so traditional, so Midwestern, so middle-class. Her taste in art is middle-class. Her taste in music is middle-class. Her clothes. . . . She's very simple, brilliant, a nice person, and a product of her upbringing."

So it's just that simple?

One spring, the entire Rodham family went every day to Hinckley Park and watched Hugh Rodham pitch
See CLINTON, B2, Col. 1

CLINTON, From B1

and pitch and pitch until his daughter Hillary learned to belt a curveball. In sixth grade, she started taking piano lessons from Margaret-Lucy Lessard, who had a big dark house down the street, with her dead stuffed pets, Pomeranians, in a glass case in the living room. And in eighth grade, she learned to square-dance—but didn't date or anything. Everybody went out in groups. She was a mimic, a Ping-Pong player and a wading-pool life-guard.

The pool at Park Ridge Country Club wasn't too far away, but she didn't go there, didn't belong—not that that meant much. Park Ridge wasn't that kind of Chicago suburb, like Lake Forest or Winnetka. It was solid, tidy, not fancy or full of money. It was right near the airport. The houses were pretty big though—Hillary Clinton's childhood house, where her parents lived for 38 years until moving to Little Rock—is a gray sort of lady, a stone-brick house that once had a front porch, sitting with dignity and grace on the corner of Wisner and Elm streets. Hillary's old bedroom was painted yellow, had wooden floors and a sun deck.

Family came first with the Rodhams. Republican politics came next, then maybe the church, the public school system, the public parks, the public sense of everything. After World War II, the suburb boomed with young families, all growing up at the same time, all running in and out of one another's houses and backyards, selling lemonade, spraining their ankles on Slip 'n' Slides, playing Parcheesi and checkers while they mended, going to the Pickwick Theater for movies, Ted & Pearl's Happy House for Cokes.

"There must have been 40 or 50 children within a four-block radius of our house," says Dorothy Rodham, "and within four years of Hillary's age. They were all together, all the time, a big extended family. There were more boys than girls, lots of playing and competition. She held her own at cops and robbers, hide and seek, chase and run—all the games that children don't play anymore."

Dorothy Rodham named her daughter Hillary because it sounded exotic and unusual. It is a family name, she thinks. A boy's name too—at the time—which was a much talked-about, daring sort of move for Dorothy in October 1947, when Hillary was born at Edgewater Hospital on the north side of Chicago. She weighed more than eight pounds. "Very mature," Dorothy laughs, "upon birth."

Hillary Rodham was also a "good-natured, nice little baby," according to her mother. How typical. Are we starting to get a feel for her personality? She liked books, being read to. She concentrated on things. Focused. She liked figuring problems out. Dorothy and Hugh Rodham worked their lives around her—their first child, their little Hillary. And when she was 3 and her little brother Hughie was born, the family left its one-bedroom apartment in Chicago and moved to Park Ridge. It was 1950. Everybody was moving to the suburbs.

She was never shy. She wasn't afraid of things—people or dogs or anything, says Dorothy. Hillary could even beat up the neighbor's kids—she did once, arms swinging, eyes closed—but only if she had to.

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Rodham. Hillary had grown up going to First United Methodist—a red-brick church not too far from their house—but it wasn't until Jones turned up, the new youth minister, that certain spiritual teachings started sinking in.

Kids called his Thursday night class "The University of Life," and, indeed, Jones gave them a dose of art and real life, a taste of civilization and civil rights. He showed them prints of van Gogh's "Starry Night" and talked about God and nature. He showed them Picasso's "Guernica" and talked about God and war and violence. He rented 16mm movies from Chicago—Rod Serling's "Requiem for a Heavyweight" and Francois Truffaut's "The 400 Blows"—and talked about them afterward, talked and talked and talked. "I was used to relating theology to pop culture, theology to art, theology to the world," says Jones, now at Drew University in New Jersey. "By the time I got to Park Ridge, I had read all kinds of things. I got them reading too."

So Hillary Rodham found herself, a freshman in high school, reading Paul Tillich and Reinhold Niebuhr and Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Soren Kierkegaard. "I remember when he brought an atheist to the group for a debate with a Christian over the existence of God," says Ricketts. "There was also a discussion of teenage pregnancy, which got the whole congregation upset."

Under Jones's tutelage, there were lake camp retreats with swimming, winter retreats with skiing—but he also took "The University of Life" to the South Side of Chicago to meet street kids, gang kids, blacks, Hispanics at a youth center there, actually leading them all in a successful discussion of "Guernica." And in 1962, he took them into the city again, to Chicago's "Sunday Evening Club," to hear the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. speak.

"Hillary still talks about it, remembers it vividly," says Jones. "She says that afterward, I took everybody backstage to meet Reverend King. Now, I can't say that I recall this precisely, but she says that I introduced King to each of the kids, one by one."

She wasn't a cheerleader, or homecoming queen, or one to join the pom-pom squad. But Hillary Rodham wasn't a valedictorian either. She was more of an organizer—and that would be true at Wellesley too. She got mostly A's, was a National Merit Scholar and all that, top 5 percent, but she wasn't first

in her class, or third, or fifth. "There was a small group of us at Maine South, competing for the National Honor Society and other things. We all knew each other's grade point averages," says Bob Stenson, now an accountant in Marin County. He remembers graduating seventh in the class of 1965—out of 1,000—and Hillary being around 15th.

"She was strong and secure and graceful—almost aloof," he says. "I always felt a little funny around her. She was a tough competitor and formidable. I was always hoping she'd stumble a little bit."

She liked running for office—or just running things. She was vice president of her junior class, then lost the election trying to be senior president. (Don Jones, then back at Drew for his PhD, still remembers getting her philosophical letter about it.)

The fall of her senior year, she worked for the Barry Goldwater campaign, wearing a sash that said "Goldwater Girl." As a representative of the student council, came up with the idea of holding a mock political convention in the school gym with posters and podiums and nominating speeches. "She even had political demonstrations," says Ricketts, "planned in the aisles."

That Easter break, Hillary and seven of her girlfriends went to Pompano Beach, Fla.—inspired by several viewings of "Where the Boys Are" at the Pickwick—renting a station wagon and

persuading a young P.E. teacher to go along as a chaperon. "We thought we would meet boys from all over the world there," says Betsy Ebeling, "but the first walk we took on the beach, we ran into three guys from Maine East and hung out with them the whole time."

Hillary must have known by this time that she had been accepted at Wellesley for the coming fall. "She was set on going to an all-girls school," says Dorothy. At first, it was a tossup among Radcliffe, Smith and Wellesley, but when Hillary saw pictures of the rural Wellesley campus—the lake in the middle, the quaint Victorian classrooms, the tiny surrounding town—she decided.

Hugh Rodham drove his wife and daughter all the way to Boston in the Cadillac. Hughie and Tony, left at home, still remember when Hillary went away to college as their weekend with "the baby sitter from Hell."

Dorothy Rodham remembers it a little differently, of course. "Aside from a few trips away with girlfriends," she says, "Hillary hadn't really been away from home. I loved having my kids around, and when she went to Wellesley, well, it was really, really hard to leave her. After we dropped her off, I just crawled in the back seat," Dorothy says, "and cried for 800 miles."

TOMORROW: Wellesley, Washington and Arkansas

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Republican Ross?

A secret meeting last month in Philadelphia has sent an astonishing message coursing through the political underground: Ross Perot may run for president as a Republican next time.

That is a stretch, considering what actually occurred. The facts are that Perot sat down with two prominent Republican senators and was far more conciliatory toward the Grand Old Party than he ever was during his independent presidential campaign. The session encouraged the senators present to think they might be able to co-opt the Dallas billionaire.

Behind this is a disagreement over strategy among Republicans about how to cope with Perot and his new United We Stand grass-roots organization: embrace him, or try to separate him from his volunteers. That division, in turn, reflects a power struggle for the soul of the party.

Meeting with Perot in Philadelphia were Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole, Sen. Arlen Specter of Penn-

sylvania and New York investment banker Kenneth Langone. As a long-time friend and supporter of both Perot and Specter, Langone was the go-between.

Specter's re-election last year against a female opponent who castigated him as the oppressor of Anita

Will Kemp or Dole set the GOP agenda?

Hill would not have been possible were it not for strong support from and close collaboration with Pennsylvania's Perot movement, which produced 18.2 percent of the state total for president. Specter, a master of coalition politics, sees Perotites as key building blocks.

Dole is the Republican leader closest to Perot. Perot admires the war

record of the senator, who suffered grievous wounds for his country. In frequent telephone conversations last year, Dole tried to get Perot to endorse Republican congressional candidates. He failed, but it did not diminish their mutual affection.

Neither Dole nor Specter would go into detail about what was said in Philadelphia, and Perot did not return our calls. But sources close to the two senators report that there is no doubt about two things Perot said: First, he made it clear he is not abandoning politics, implying a second run for president in 1996; second, he expressed interest in "revitalizing" the Republican Party.

That is the exact word he used about the Democrats last summer. Since another third-party Perot run for president would scarcely revitalize the GOP, the inference from the meeting was that the lifelong political independent from Texas might don Republican colors.

Such a prospect is dismissed by supply-side and neo-conservative Republicans who tomorrow will form a new organization led by Jack Kemp, William Bennett and Vin Weber. Based on conversations with Republicans in the Perot movement, they see Perot as essentially a Democrat. They are setting up a grass-roots organization of their own intended to undercut the appeal of United We Stand—attempting Perotism without Perot. With typical bluntness, Bennett told us: "We should ignore him and go after his people."

Dole is moving in a different direction. He has long felt that he, not Kemp, is the more legitimate Republican carrying the banner of fiscal conservatism. It would be natural for him to consider Perot's emphasis on the budget deficit closer to orthodoxy than Kemp's coolness toward budget-balancing strictures. Furthermore, Perot's often emotional animus against George Bush's reelection was directed more against the candidate than the party.

After contemplating retirement in view of bleak prospects for returning to majority status in the Senate, Dole was energized by successful surgery for prostate cancer last year. He now regards himself as maximum leader of the Republican opposition and is covering a wide front in seeking to confirm that role. He and his predecessor as floor leader, former senator Howard Baker, are contemplating a foundation to counter what supporters call the "extremists" in the party.

If Dole could achieve what he failed to do last year and enlist Perot at least as a Republican auxiliary, it would increase the party's numbers significantly. It also would enhance Bob Dole's quest to be Mr. Republican.

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Chelsea Clinton Goes to School

THE ANNOUNCEMENT that the Clintons' daughter, Chelsea, will attend private school in the District was instantly construed as a vote of no confidence in public schools generally and in those of the District in particular. The ballot's in, many seemed to be saying. The Clintons privately rejected the very public schools they so passionately profess allegiance to. Some in the press corps, attempting to deconstruct a terse statement on the decision to send the young girl to Sidwell Friends, spent the better part of Tuesday's briefing asking: How truly committed to public education can the president-elect possibly be?

We don't think this event is or was about Mr. Clinton's educational policy. A few public and private schools were canvassed by the Clinton family. Their objective was to find the place where Chelsea Clinton—soon to be a heavily protected, watched, covered and otherwise affected presidential child—might have the best chance of maintaining at least a degree of privacy and normality in her daily school life. Presidential actions are regularly read for symbolism. But this wasn't a decision about where to play golf; it was a decision about schooling a 12-year-old child who for the next four years must live, at best, in highly unusual, not to say abnormal circumstances. There

were fierce attempts to pry all sorts of embedded messages from the explicit one: "As parents we believe this decision is best for our daughter at this time . . .," said the Clintons. Mr. Clinton, so often accused of bending like a reed with the prevailing political winds on this question clearly put politics aside. No doubt his daughter, just coming out of Little Rock's public schools, had something to say about what kind of high school she'd like to attend.

The rap, of course, is that the Clintons are exercising a choice other parents cannot exercise. That's the wicked truth. The Clintons, like other families of means, can choose among houses and doctors and schools and much else. The poor are more limited in their choices, which is all the more reason, as spokesman George Stephanopoulos pointed out, to make sure the country's public schools receive the federal government's scarce resources. That's what "choice," as a political issue, is about: the diversion of public funds to private and parochial schools, which Mr. Clinton opposes. He favors instead working toward greater equality and expansion of educational opportunity in the public schools. This is a legitimate issue that deserves public debate, but it is separate from the very special circumstances affecting a White House child.

The Washington Post
1/7/95

Getting Welfare Right

IN 1988 the Reagan administration and Congress reached a compromise between carrot and stick on welfare reform. The states were to set up programs putting more pressure on welfare mothers to find work but giving them greater support in the meantime. Progress would have been slow in even the best of circumstances. In the weak economy of the past four years, the welfare rolls have gone sharply up instead of down, while states have lacked the funds (to say nothing of the available jobs) to put the program to a test.

Bill Clinton nonetheless now wants to take further steps in the same welfare-to-work direction. The president-elect, who as a spokesman for the governors helped produce the 1988 legislation, made two broad proposals during the campaign having to do with welfare and the working poor with children. The headlines went to the one that sounded tough. To "end welfare as we know it," he proposed limiting benefits to two years, after which those recipients who could be expected to work but had not found jobs would be given jobs by the government.

The defining details (such basic questions as which recipients, what work, for what duration and at what wages) were never spelled out, nor the likely considerable cost, nor the relationship to another campaign theme: that no child of a person who works full-time year-round in this country should live in poverty. This second, more carrot approach could become the more important. To achieve it, advocates have urged such steps as increasing the minimum wage, increasing the income tax credits that supplement the wages of the working poor who have children, putting more pressure on absent fathers to pay child support

(providing a federal payment where such support is not forthcoming) and liberalizing the food stamp program, particularly for the millions of lower-income families with children that face high shelter costs.

The president-elect is also under pressure to take such steps as expanding Head Start by making it an entitlement. He plainly lacks the funds to do it all, the more so because he has pledged first to send up his plans for stimulating the economy, reducing the deficit and achieving health care reform. To some extent he will have to choose among the welfare and work proposals—where along the spectrum of welfare-to-work he wants to spend the next federal dollar. What share of the available funds should be invested in welfare mothers not in the work force, what share should be used instead to subsidize the already working poor with children who are playing by the rules, as the campaign slogan went, and still not making it?

There are political and procedural limits to what can usefully be sent to Congress in the first few months as well. The congressional committees to which most welfare reform proposals would be referred are the same ones that must deal with the new administration's economic recovery and health reform plans and that have jurisdiction over the lively subject of trade. There is only so much that, even assuming the funds were available, they could be expected to accomplish. On welfare reform, Mr. Clinton might usefully propose a limited step or two early on, but otherwise he would be well advised to wait, get it right and submit a proposal only when he and Congress both are free to give the subject the attention it deserves.

The Washington Post

1/7/93

It's a Personal Decision . . . Period

The Clintons' choosing of a private school for their daughter shouldn't be a political issue

Like most parents, Bill and Hillary Clinton want the best for their child. And like most parents who live in big cities, they face a difficult choice: where to send their child to school.

The Clintons have chosen to send Chelsea, a 12-year-old eighth-grader, to Sidwell Friends, a prestigious Quaker-run private school in a middle-class section of Washington, D.C. A school means more than education for the daughter of the next President; any campus she goes to must balance intellectual pursuits with very real security concerns.

This will not be the first time that a President's child has attended private school. Historically, most children of Presidents and other major officeholders have attended private schools in Washington. Amy Carter was a notable exception; she attended public schools about 15 years ago. Since then, the district's public schools have declined further, plagued by poor test scores, a high dropout rate,

an increasing teen-age pregnancy rate and security problems.

Because of the multitude of problems at public schools, it is commonplace in Washington for parents to choose private schools, when income permits. Years ago, Sharon Pratt Kelly, now mayor of the district, enrolled her children in private schools. But private schools are out of reach for most Americans. And therein lies a political dilemma for President-elect Clinton.

While on the campaign trail, Clinton said: "The idea of school choice has been oversold by some people as a panacea for our problems. The [Bush] Administration says that basically its whole school reform plan is a private voucher system. [It says] if only anybody could take their tax money and go to private schools, the problems would be solved. . . . Private schools have their problems, and there are public schools that are performing at globally competitive

levels even in tough inner-city neighborhoods." He supported school choice within public schools, but he opposed private school vouchers.

His commitment to public schools in Arkansas went beyond campaign promises. He championed education reform, and also sent Chelsea to a well-integrated public school in Little Rock. The Clintons' personal decision to send Chelsea to a highly rated private school—where they feel she can best make the transition to Washington—is just that, personal.

As President, Clinton must figure out how to improve the nation's urban public schools, although they are locally financed and controlled. Symbols are important, but there's no reason that the President-elect's daughter, or anyone's child, should be used to make a political point. The real debate should focus on how to give public schools more of the attributes that make many private schools so attractive.

1/7/93
WASHINGTON
Los Angeles Times

A Foreign Policy Test That's Close to Home

Haitian refugee issue will demand Clinton's early attention

From Somalia to Iraq, Bill Clinton will have more than enough foreign problems to deal with once he becomes President. But a key foreign policy test for his Administration is shaping up closer to home, in Haiti.

Over the years, many poor refugees have fled Haiti for the United States, often making the dangerous 600-mile sea passage in small boats. But that flow surged after the democratically elected government of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was overthrown by a military coup in September, 1991. Aristide's political supporters joined the mix of poor people trying to get off the island, creating a confusing refugee situation that the Bush Administration never got a handle on.

At first, Bush ordered U.S. immigration officials to detain Haitian refugees in a special encampment on the U.S. Navy base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, where each refugee was interviewed to determine whether he or she qualified for political asylum. But when the camp reached its 12,000-person capacity, Bush ordered the Coast Guard to return *all* new Haitian refugees to their home island, without benefit of an asylum hearing. So far about 5,000 have been turned back as a result of that policy, which is being challenged before the U.S. Supreme Court as a violation of several international treaties that the United States has signed.

Bush's Haitian policy was criticized by the Arkansas Democrat during the campaign—and that helped create the Clinton Administration's potential problem. In Haiti, the criticism was taken as a signal that the next Administration would be liberal on the refugee question; now U.S. immigration specialists fear that a re-

newed surge in the migration of Haitians will occur after the inauguration. In order to avoid that—and “keep Haitians in Haiti,” in the blunt words of one Clinton adviser—the incoming Administration is preparing to break the President-elect's promise to not speak out on foreign issues until after his inauguration. Clinton's office will soon issue a formal statement emphasizing that his Administration intends to fully enforce U.S.

immigration laws while trying to expedite asylum appeals for those Haitians who claim to be political refugees.

That would be a good start, but Clinton should also prepare for the likelihood that even a firm public statement may not deter desperate people from gambling with their lives on the high seas. The next Administration should still have the Coast Guard intercept Haitian

boats, but instead of returning the passengers to their homeland it should take them to new refugee centers in the Caribbean. Clinton should ask the U.N. High Commissioner on Refugees to help set up those camps, for the problem is international, not just a U.S. issue. Clinton should also restate U.S. support for Aristide and firmly express American determination to not cooperate with any Haitian government that does not include the controversial former Roman Catholic priest.

After Aristide was elected, there was a drop in the Haitian exodus to the United States, the first decline in many years; such was the hope that he inspired among the poor. A sure means of preventing a renewed stream of refugees from Haiti is for Clinton to do all he can to return Aristide to the presidency to which his people freely elected him.



Vessel of desperation.

12/93 WASHINGTON EDITORIAL
Los Angeles Times

Choosing a School for Chelsea

No one can reasonably argue with President-elect and Mrs. Clinton's desire to choose the school they think best for their daughter, Chelsea. That is their obligation as parents. But Mr. Clinton also had a larger obligation that he took on by campaigning as an advocate of public education. He has not served the spirit of that obligation by choosing a private school, and the handling of this family decision has provided ammunition for his opponents in the struggle to rebuild public schools.

The public schools are losing support because many middle-class parents have rushed to put their children in private schools. In settling on Sidwell Friends, an institution favored by affluent, liberal Democrats in Washington, the Clintons have joined that rush. Were there sound personal, educational and security reasons? Possibly. But according to news accounts, the Clintons did not even visit any public schools in the District of Columbia.

When one of the nation's staunchest advocates of public education chooses not to use those schools, he owes the public a clear, detailed explanation. Absent that explanation, educators and students in public schools have every reason to believe he views their institutions as second-rate — and to question the President-elect's commitment.

That message was reinforced by the dishonest way in which the decision was announced. Mr.

Clinton's spokesman, George Stephanopoulos, insisted that the Clintons "didn't reject public schools." But, of course, that is exactly what they did. The reasons were probably those that lead many middle- and upper-income parents — even those who support public education as an important vehicle of social and economic mobility — to opt for private or parochial schools for their own children.

The Washington schools are in big trouble. Five separate reports criticized them last year. An outside audit said the system was "unstable and mismanaged." And Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly said she would no longer throw "good money . . . after bad."

Not citing these problems as a factor in this decision damages Mr. Clinton's credibility. He has opposed taxpayer-financed vouchers that would help any student pay tuition at private or parochial schools. Now voucher proponents are needling him as a hypocrite who would prohibit poor families from making the same choice he has made. But that misses the point: Vouchers for private school tuition would drain tax dollars from the public schools, weakening them still further.

As a family, the Clintons have made a choice. That decision now makes it even more imperative that as President, Mr. Clinton fulfill his promise to restore and improve public schools so that all families will have better choices.

1/7/93

THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Rare Burst of Budgetary Candor

President Bush's final budget is, in some respects, the most honest in years. Unlike his recent predecessors, he did not send Congress one last wish list that he knew would be ignored. And unlike his own previous budgets, this one doesn't pretend the deficit will disappear.

His prediction of growing deficits may be exaggerated, but it is no surprise. Regardless of all the fancy forecasting by Federal number-crunchers, there is always some politics in the officially published estimates.

During Mr. Bush's re-election campaign last summer, it was politic to project a smaller deficit than facts might have warranted. Now, turning the problem over to a rival, he presents a gloomier picture — a \$292 billion deficit next year, and getting worse, compared to the \$274 billion he foresaw before Election Day.

There are also practical reasons for the darker forecast. Congress failed to approve funds needed for the savings and loan bailout last year, because members' antennae told them the less said about it

the better. The delay means even *more* money will be needed, and that means a bigger deficit. For this, blame Congress for not acting when it should — and all of last year's candidates who kept silent on this universally embarrassing scandal.

Like it or not, Mr. Bush's budget sets the pattern for most Federal spending next year. Some two-thirds of the spending he outlined cannot be changed unless programs are redesigned or canceled. For the most part, President-elect Clinton's follow-up budget in early February can only modify details; his real impact won't be felt for still another year.

At bottom, two facts stand out: All budget estimates are just that — estimates. And as the Bush budget shows, the deficit remains huge while the problem's resolution remains distant.

Wisely, Mr. Clinton did not disparage the new estimates. Rather, he acknowledged that the nation faces even tougher choices than he anticipated. That's a welcome perspective that most politicians prefer to avoid.

1/7/93

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Schools and the Clintons

The powerful teachers' union, the National Education Association, has its great headquarters building at 1201 16th St., NW, in Washington, D.C. It represents more than two million unionized teachers. The headquarters has hundreds of people on its staff, and it has a multimillion budget. Yet in the city in which the NEA is such a powerful political force, there apparently isn't a single public school suitable for attendance by Chelsea Clinton. She is going to a *private* school, Sidwell Friends in northwest Washington.

And yet, sitting fat and rich amid the rubble of the District of Columbia's school system, the NEA pronounces itself thunderously against full school choice for parents, rich or poor, famous or not. The opponents of full school choice have a lot of explaining to do.

President-elect Clinton has made his bargain with the teachers' unions, however, so let's push beyond the obvious points about school choice to see if there isn't something constructive to build around the Sidwell Friends story. The Clintons, after all, are hardly going to be alone in making this decision.

You won't find many Democratic appointees coming to Washington and enrolling their children in the District's public schools. Like most of the Washington policy establishment, they'll also try to get into private schools like Sidwell, where Marian Wright Edelman of the Children's Defense Fund sent her children. Vice President-elect Gore, long resident in Washington, sends his daughters to National Cathedral School and his son to St. Albans, which he himself attended. Vice President Quayle's sons go to Gonzaga, an unfancy but high-achieving high school downtown, which is run by the Jesuits. The Clinton appointees will never be so humble in Washington as when they plead with these places to let their children

in, or else they'll live in the Virginia suburbs. Check out how many unionized District teachers send their kids to private schools or live elsewhere.

That leaves the District's public schools and all the children in them pretty much where they were before Bill Clinton won the presidency. Right now, the District's schools have one of the nation's highest dropout rates, which strikes us as a lot of rational consumers voting with their feet.

We have a suggestion: Why doesn't Bill Clinton, or maybe Hillary, launch a full-scale offensive against all the forces that make D.C.'s schools unable to succeed?

Operation Hillary's Justice of course would have to confront union rules that entrench poor teacher performance. But why not? Bill Clinton, probably contrary to his own instincts, gave the unions a lot when he trimmed his choice position by throwing private schools over the side. We don't see why that means the deal extends to letting union resistance to reform drag class after class of District children below the waves.

The core strategy of any such campaign would be that these schools have to be freed to *teach*, rather than being asked constantly to solve all the other ills of American life—handing out condoms in the nurse's office, clinical courses in AIDS prevention, compliance with ACLU-approved discipline procedures, environmental sensitivity training, complying with asbestos mandates or bureaucratic mandates yet unborn.

The truth is that dropping Chelsea Clinton into a District junior high wouldn't have budged the schools monolith an inch. What's needed is for the Clintons to form up an army—mainly of the District's best parents—to rout the bureaucrats and obvious special interests. By 1996, maybe Chelsea, or any child, would feel proud in a District school.

WALL STREET JOURNAL

1/7/93

World Bank's Summers Likely to Get Treasury Post

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON—Laurence Summers, the chief economist of the World Bank and an unsuccessful contender to head the president's Council of Economic Advisers, is expected to be named an undersecretary of the Treasury.

Mr. Summers, 38 years old, is expected to oversee international economic issues as Undersecretary David Mulford did in the Bush administration.

Mr. Summers is currently on leave from Harvard University where he was the youngest tenured professor in the history of the economics department. At the World Bank, he antagonized environmentalists with a sarcastic memo asking whether the bank should encourage the migration of "dirty industries" to the Third World. After the memo was leaked he said in another memo that the comments should be read in their "original, highly ironic context."

That led Vice President-elect Albert Gore to block him from the chairmanship of the council. Mr. Summers has been working on fiscal policy for the Clinton transition.

In other personnel matters, Budget Director-designate Leon Panetta, the former chairman of the House Budget Committee, is said to be considering bringing several House staffers to his new job. They include John Angell, currently the committee's staff director.

Wendell Primus, an influential aide to Chairman Dan Rostenkowski of the House Ways and Means Committee, is the leading candidate for associate budget director overseeing health and other social programs. Mr. Primus has long supplied economic and budget analysis to Democrats. Isabel Sawhill of the Urban Institute and Robert Greenstein of the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities are also candidates.

WALL STREET JOURNAL

1/7/93

Pentagon Survey Challenges Clinton On Cutback's Effect

By THOMAS E. RICKS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Breaking with President-elect Clinton's views, a Pentagon study concludes that the economic effects of cuts in defense spending are "quite manageable."

In a report released yesterday, the Pentagon's Defense Conversion Commission contends that the changeover "doesn't pose any extraordinary problems" for the U.S. Moreover, the study said, "Measured by outlays or as a share of gross domestic product, the current defense drawdown is smaller than the drawdowns that followed World War II, Korea, or Vietnam."

The commission's conclusion contrasts sharply with Mr. Clinton's. During his campaign, he emphasized the need for massive defense conversion programs. Indeed, the commission explicitly disagreed with his campaign pledge to spend all the money gained from defense budget cuts on infrastructure projects that would help convert the defense industry and its workers to a peacetime economy.

"The short-term impact of the drawdown on the national economy doesn't in itself support the calls for an offsetting stimulus from new, large federal programs, such as environmental cleanup efforts, new high-speed train systems, or other physical infrastructure," the commission wrote.

Congress created the conversion commission, and its members were selected by Defense Secretary Dick Cheney.

The commission, however, recommended some adjustments in how the government handles defense spending and conversion. It said that government dislocation assistance programs are "fragmented," among other things, and should be better coordinated.

In addition, the commission suggested that the Defense Department change the way it does business in order to lower barriers between defense companies and non-defense firms. The Pentagon, for example, should drop its rigid "military specifications" for products and, in most cases, simply use commercial specifications, the commission said.

The Clintons choose

Partisans of public education mostly defended President-elect Bill Clinton's choice of Sidwell Friends as the school at which his 12-year-old daughter will be educated: It was a family decision, a family choice, based on the unique needs and special circumstances of the Clintons and their daughter. The implication was this: Anyone feeling an impulse to criticize the decision should butt out. The Clintons are the ones who know what is best for their daughter's needs.

The statement released by the Clinton family said, "After many family discussions and careful consideration, we have decided that our daughter Chelsea will attend the Sidwell Friends School in Washington, D.C. As parents, we believe this decision is best for our daughter at this time in her life, based on our changing circumstances."

Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly said in a statement, "Although I believe the District of Columbia's public school system is equally challenging, as a mother I understand the family's decision to act in the best interests of their child."

Ellen Shearer, spokeswoman for the American Federation of Teachers, said, "Where the Clintons decide to send their daughter is a personal decision made by two concerned parents, one of whom happens to be the president-elect."

Keith Geiger, president of the National Education Association, said, "I would not even begin to second-guess what they did to try to do the best thing for their daughter."

D.C. School Board Chairman R. David Hall said, "I'm pleased that the Clintons have found a school in Washington that will serve the needs of their child."

Mr. Clinton's spokesman, George Stephanopoulos, said, "It's an academically challenging school, and it's a school that Chelsea and her parents feel that she'll be challenged and productive and happy in. I think they also understand that families have to make decisions that are right for them at the proper moment,

and that's what they've done here."

There was, to be sure, some dissent from the ranks of devotees of public schools. Ward 4 D.C. School Board member Sandra Butler-Truesdale said, "It would have boosted the morale of educators in this city" had the Clintons chosen a public school. Michael Casserly, head of the Council of Great City Schools, said, "It's an unfortunate vote of no confidence in urban public schools." He said it would have been "a good opportunity to send a signal to the public school community."

The Clinton family and its defenders, in this case, have it exactly right. To the likes of Mr. Casserly and Ms. Butler-Truesdale, Chelsea Clinton may be a "signal" or a "morale-booster," but to her parents (and to anybody with the decency to regard people as ends, not means), she is flesh and blood. She is their only child, and her parents are indeed the ones who can best decide what is best for her. It is inhuman to suggest that ideology rather than love and concern should dictate their decision.

Sidwell Friends, by all accounts one of the finest schools in the nation, costs more than \$10,000 a year. Fortunately for their daughter, the Clintons will easily be able to afford that on the president's yearly salary of \$250,000. Although most of them make a little less than that, affordability is not much of an issue for big-city mayors and big-union presidents and big-shot White House aides and bigwig educators, either. They tend to be fairly well-heeled. So when the time comes to decide what is in the best interest of their children given their special circumstances, they have more options from which to select.

The question is this: Why should school choice depend on how much money you have? Why should other parents be constrained in something so basic to the welfare of their children as education in a way that the Clintons and other well-off people are not? For opponents of efforts to broaden choices for those making less than \$250,000 a year, or for that matter \$25,000 a year, that question is getting harder to answer.

The Washington Times
11/7/93

Gone, not forgotten

Rep. Sonny Montgomery, Mississippi Democrat, and colleagues will hold a memorial service this afternoon at 4 for former Rep. Richard Ichord, the Cold Warrior who died Christmas Day. Fittingly, the service will be held in the House Armed Services Committee hearing room, where the conservative Missouri Democrat was a key player.

Among the speakers today will be Mr. Montgomery, Rep. Ike Skelton, Missouri Democrat, and Susan Livingstone, assistant Army secretary for logistics, who was Mr. Ichord's administrative assistant during his time in Congress. Korean martial-arts expert Joon Rhee, a longtime friend, also will speak. Several former staff members of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, which Mr. Ichord chaired for six years, also will be on hand.

Fellow Democrats now considering military cuts might be reminded of Mr. Ichord's words upon retiring from Congress in 1981: "You can't be a leader with diplomacy alone. Diplomatic power doesn't mean anything without the military power to back it up."

Lure of the Potomac

Thanks in part to hydrilla, the Potomac River is getting cleaner. Dark-green beds of hydrilla, native to East Asia, have grown tremendously in the river since the weed was accidentally introduced here in 1983. And local bass fishermen are delighted with fish sanctuaries that accompany the grass.

Now Potomac fishermen have something else to be happy about: indigenous fish lures — free ones — that can be found all along the Potomac shoreline, especially down river from the District's popular Blue Plains sewage plant.

Go to your favorite Potomac beach and find the tidal line (easily identifiable by a line of debris). Sift through the garbage until you spot several 4-inch plastic tampon appli-



The late Richard Ichord (left) presented North Korean President Kim Il-sung with a statue in June.

cators. Take them home, wipe off the muck, paint them your favorite colors (fish like orange and purple), add hooks, and presto!

But you'd better hurry, before Blue Plains cleans up its act. Also in competition is a New Jersey environmental group, Clean Ocean Action, which is already recycling the 4-inch applicators (they collected 1,600 of them in two hours from one beach) and selling them for \$6 a pop under the name "tampons."

Yes, they actually catch fish.

Church and state

Five months from now, when

Chelsea Clinton graduates from eighth grade at Sidwell Friends, she'll hear words banned at her old school in Little Rock and every other public school nationwide — words from the Bible.

While Sidwell Friends has no formal church ties, a school spokeswoman said yesterday that students do attend weekly Quaker worship services, and she confirmed that graduation ceremonies "do include reading from the Bible."

Last June, you'll recall, a bitterly divided Supreme Court prohibited prayers at public school graduations as unconstitutional. The high court, in *West Virginia v. American Civil Liberties Union* pro-

claimed a "terrific" decision, didn't want students coerced into participating in any religious exercises.

Pay to say goodbye

The invitation reads: "You are cordially invited to a Farewell Cocktail Buffet in honor of Carol Hallett, Commissioner of Customs \$40 per person."

Getting plastered

When people in Southern Maryland want to know what's happening in the nation's capital, they read this newspaper. When they want to know what's happening to Leroy down the street, they pick up a copy of *St. Marys Today*, Southern Maryland's only locally owned and independent newspaper.

St. Marys Today is a fun read that doesn't beat around the bush in its reporting. Because of reader demand, the newspaper has made crime and government (yes, outside the Beltway, there is a difference) its top priorities. Back in November, for instance, when St. Mary's County Sheriff Wayne Pettit and County Commissioner Eddie Bailey were linked to an illegal gambling operation but not arrested, the newspaper went ahead and bannered on its front page, "Pettit & Bailey Gamble With Drug Dealers."

When motorists are found guilty of driving under the influence of alcohol in St. Mary's County District Court, their names and fines are listed in a regular column headlined "DWI Hit Parade."

And God forbid a *St. Marys Today* photographer catching you in the act of anything your neighbor might frown upon. Poor Richard Greenwell was one unfortunate soul. The newspaper not only ran a picture of him being handcuffed by the cops, but saw fit to include this caption in large, bold-faced letters: "Maryland State Trooper Tina Wilson arrests Richard Greenwell for DWI as he stands plastered in the parking lot of Bay Center Liquors last week."

— John McCaslin

The Washington Times
11/7/93

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— OF THE DAY —

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Womens' Rights are Human Rights

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THE BEST THOUGHT OF THE BEST MINDS ON CURRENT NATIONAL QUESTIONS

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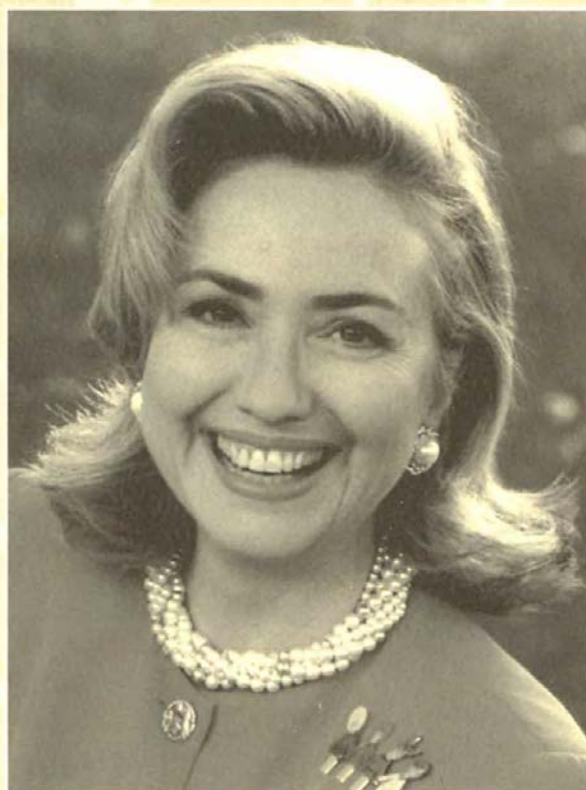
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THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1996



SHERATON TARA, NASHUA, NH



HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
America's First Lady
Author of *It Takes A Village*
Simon and Schuster



ALVIN F. POUSSAINT, MD
Moderator

1996 Catherine A. Dunfee Award



The Catherine A. Dunfee Award is given annually to a person who exemplifies the personal courage, commitment and compassion of Catherine Dunfee: mother, grandmother and great grandmother of the Dunfee family. The award designee will have demonstrated leadership, reflecting a significant and positive impact on a pressing human or social condition somewhere in the world. The recipient will also evidence the capacity to work closely with women and men of different races, ideologies and professions while striving to bring about constructive change in our world.

CATHERINE A. DUNFEY AWARD

FEBRUARY 22, 1996

PRESENTED TO HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
AMERICA'S FIRST LADY

ELEANOR DUNFEY FREIBURGER: VICE CHAIR, NEC -- REMARKS

PRESENTATION OF THE AWARD:

JERRY DUNFEY: PRESIDENT OF NEW ENGLAND CIRCLE

MARIA CATHERINE FREIBURGER: JUNIOR, UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE
DAME

(35th and youngest grandchild of Catherine and
Leroy Dunfey)

GOOD EVENING. WELCOME TO "OUR VILLAGE!" / ON BEHALF OF THE
NEW ENGLAND CIRCLE BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND ALL OUR
GUESTS, I AM HONORED TO BE MAKING THIS PRESENTATION OF
THE 1996 CATHERINE A. DUNFEY AWARD TO YOU, OUR FIRST
LADY.

IT OCCURRED TO ME AS I READ YOUR BOOK -- THAT MY PARENTS
MUST HAVE BEEN AWARE OF THE AFRICAN PROVERB YOU DREW ON
FOR THE TITLE OF YOUR BOOK:

"IT TAKES A VILLAGE TO RAISE A CHILD."

BUT MY PARENTS' INTERPRETATION OF THAT PROVERB WAS
SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT: THEY MUST HAVE THOUGHT THEY WERE
SUPPOSED TO CREATE THE VILLAGE THEMSELVES!! --

12 CHILDREN

35 GRANDCHILDREN and

36 GREAT-GRANDCHILDREN

and, yes, 4 "great-greats!"

(IN FACT, MY MOTHER ENJOYED DESCRIBING OUR CLAN
AS THE "BIRTH OF A NATION!")

MORE SERIOUSLY THOUGH, CATHERINE AND ROY DUNFEY KNEW,
AS WE ALL DO, THAT MERE NUMBERS DO NOT
A FAMILY -- A VILLAGE -- OR A NATION MAKE.

THESE ARE CREATED BY VALUING PEOPLE ONE BY ONE (THE TIME
CONSUMING WAY!) ALL WHO KNEW CATHERINE DUNFEY
EXPERIENCED THIS EXTRAORDINARY QUALITY IN HER. MY SISTER
KAY EXPRESSED IT BEST IN A MEMORIAL TRIBUTE:

"MOTHER," SHE WROTE, "TO YOU WE WERE NEVER A
COLLECTIVE" --

WE WERE, IN A SENSE, EACH AN ONLY CHILD...

WHAT DO YOU LEAVE BEHIND?

YOU LEAVE TWELVE LIFETIMES TO RESPOND TO ALL
YOUR YEARS OF CONVERSATION WITH US..."

THE SEED OF THAT CONVERSATION WAS SOWN ONLY 10 MINUTES
"DOWNRIVER" FROM THIS VERY PLACE. CATHERINE MANNING WAS
BORN OF IRISH IMMIGRANTS AT THE END OF THE LAST
CENTURY. THE UNTIMELY DEATH OF HER FATHER AT SEA /
REQUIRED THAT SHE, LIKE SO MANY OTHERS OF HER GENERATION,
LEAVE SCHOOL AT AGE 12 TO WORK IN THE LOWELL TEXTILE
MILLS.

IT WAS THERE THAT SHE MET AND MARRIED ROY DUNFEY./
THROUGH THE YEARS, SHE AND MY FATHER NOURISHED AN
EXTENDED FAMILY, NOT ONLY WITH DAILY BREAD, BUT WITH
CONVERSATION, PUNCTUATED BY HUMOR, SONG, PRAYER AND,
YES, HEALTHY DOSES OF ARGUMENT. THAT CONVERSATION
SPILLED OVER THE KITCHEN TABLE, ACROSS THE COUNTER AT OUR
FAMILY STORE, AND LATER INTO THE CLASSROOMS AND
BOARDROOMS /OF OUR RESPECTIVE PROFESSIONS.

IT WAS THAT CONVERSATION WHICH CREATED NEW ENGLAND
CIRCLE AND CONTINUES HERE TONIGHT: GENUINE EXCHANGE
ENRICHED BY EACH PERSON'S DIVERSITY OF AGE, RACE, ETHNIC
ORIGIN OR PROFESSION.

IN YOUR LIVING / AND IN YOUR WRITING, MRS. CLINTON, YOU EMBODY THAT GIFT OF VALUING THE INDIVIDUAL. WHAT IS SO COMPELLING ABOUT YOUR BOOK IS THE RIVETING TESTIMONY-- GARNERED FROM YEARS OF YOUR PERSONAL CONVERSATIONS WITH PEOPLE --WHOSE STORIES NEEDED A GENUINE LISTENER. YOUR ADVOCACY FOR ALL CHILDREN COMES STORY BY STORY (THE TIME CONSUMING WAY) AND SHOWS US, CONVINCINGLY, THAT IT DOES, INDEED, TAKE A VILLAGE TO RAISE A CHILD.

AND IT ALSO TAKES A VILLAGE TO SUSTAIN AN ADULT--A VILLAGE WE HOPE IS REFLECTED IN NEW ENGLAND CIRCLE -- A COMMUNITY OF CONVERSATION THAT ENERGIZES US TO DO ORDINARY, OFTEN DEMANDING WORK IN A MANNER THAT YOU SO APPROPRIATELY CALL "AFFIRMATIVE LIVING."

OUR SUSTAINING VILLAGE IS PERSONIFIED BY THE PREVIOUS RECIPIENTS OF TONIGHT'S AWARD, PEOPLE WHO LISTEN AND ACT ON BEHALF OF CHILDREN OF ALL AGES AND ALL PLACES:

(read only the names during delivery of speech)

MARIAN WRIGHT EDELMAN, YOUR MENTOR AND LONGTIME FRIEND, WHO IS PERSISTENCE PERSONIFIED WHEN IT COMES TO GIVING VOICE TO CHILDREN'S NEEDS

DR. CHARLES CLEMENTS, (HERE WITH US TONIGHT)
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF PHYSICIANS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, (and a "two-week old father" of a son) WHOSE MEDICAL BACKGROUND, MORAL FIBER AND CREATIVE OUTREACH HEAL THOSE TOO POOR AND WEAK TO FIND HELP ON THEIR OWN

ALBERTINA AND WALTER SISULU, WHO KEPT THE CONVERSATION ABOUT FREEDOM ALIVE EVEN IN PRISON CELLS, AND WHO NOW CONTINUE THAT CONVERSATION IN THE CHAMBERS OF THE NEW SOUTH AFRICAN PARLIAMENT

HENRY HAMPTON, FILM DIRECTOR, WHO, BY KEEPING HIS

EYES ON THE PRIZE, CONVEYED THE TROUBLING, YET SENSITIVE ACCOUNTS OF PEOPLE'S STORIES THROUGH AMERICA'S CIVIL RIGHTS STRUGGLE AND DEPRESSION

ARNOLD HIATT, CHAIR OF THE STRIDE RITE FOUNDATION, WHO, FROM THE BEGINNING LISTENED TO AND TALKED WITH HIS EMPLOYEES ABOUT THEIR PRESSURES -- THEN DESIGNED AN ENVIRONMENT THAT, MORE THAN 20 YEARS AGO, BROUGHT INTERGENERATIONAL DAY CARE AND CONVERSATION TO THE WORKPLACE.

WILMA MANKILLER (HERE WITH US TONIGHT), CURRENTLY MONTGOMERY FELLOW AT DARTMOUTH AND FORMER PRINCIPAL CHIEF OF THE CHEROKEE NATION. HER POWERFUL MESSAGE HAS BEEN A CONSISTENT CALL TO VALUE ORAL TRADITION: "HOW I LONG TO HEAR THEIR VOICES..." SHE SAYS, AS SHE DEDICATES HERSELF TO REVIVING AND PRESERVING THE STORIES OF HER PEOPLE.

MARY ROBINSON, PRESIDENT OF IRELAND, A WOMAN WHO HAS BROUGHT CONVERSATION TO NEW LEVELS-- ACROSS GENDER AND GEOGRAPHICAL BARRIERS AS WELL AS TO THE OUTPOSTS OF SOMALIA WHERE STARVATION OF THE BODY HAS SILENCED SO MANY.

HARRY AND CHING LEE WU, HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS, WHO ARE VOICES FOR THEIR OTHERWISE FORGOTTEN SISTERS AND BROTHERS IN FORCED LABOR CAMPS.

CERTAINLY THROUGH THESE EXTRAORDINARY INDIVIDUALS, THIS AWARD SPEAKS OF STAMINA -- "STAYING THE COURSE" -- HEARTENED BY THE KNOWLEDGE THAT YOU HAVE MORE THAN ONE HELPING HAND ON YOUR "SHOVEL" (TO USE THE IMAGE YOU STILL VISUALIZE FROM YOUR FATHER'S QUESTION LONG AGO)

THE CITATION SPECIFIES: "THE AWARD DESIGNEE WILL HAVE DEMONSTRATED LEADERSHIP, REFLECTING A SIGNIFICANT AND POSITIVE IMPACT ON A PRESSING HUMAN OR SOCIAL CONDITION

SOMEWHERE IN THE WORLD. --THE RECIPIENT WILL ALSO EVIDENCE THE CAPACITY TO WORK CLOSELY WITH WOMEN AND MEN OF DIFFERENT RACES, IDEOLOGIES AND PROFESSIONS WHILE STRIVING TO BRING ABOUT CONSTRUCTIVE CHANGE IN OUR WORLD."

AS DAUGHTER, SISTER, WIFE, FRIEND, FIRST LADY -- AND ABOVE ALL -- MOTHER OF CHELSEA-- YOU HAVE REMEMBERED YOUR OWN MOTHER'S SIMPLE, YET PROFOUND STATEMENT: THAT THE ESSENCE OF SPIRITUAL TEACHING IS "A SENSE OF THE GOOD." IN A MOST RESILIENT AND ADMIRABLE WAY, AT HOME AND AROUND THE WORLD, THAT LESSON OF YOUR MOTHER HAS DEFINED YOUR "AFFIRMATIVE LIVING"; IT IS THAT INNER RESOLVE THAT WE APPLAUD AND HOLD OURSELVES TO EMULATING.

SO THIS EVENING, WE DO NOT MERELY GIVE YOU AN AWARD. WE BRING FULL CIRCLE -- THE LESSONS PARENTS TEACH US -- IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO HONOR THEM BY NAMING AWARDS IN THEIR MEMORY.

WE MUST REMEMBER THEIR CONVERSATIONS -- AS YOU DO IN YOUR BOOK AND THROUGH YOUR LIFE. IN THAT WAY WE BEGIN TO CREATE A VILLAGE OF ADULTS WHOSE COURAGE, COMPASSION AND CONVICTION WILL NOURISH CHILDREN OF ALL AGES WITH DAILY BREAD FOR THE BODY, CONVERSATION FOR THE MIND AND HEART, AND A "SENSE OF THE GOOD" FOR THE SOUL.

ALTHOUGH THIS AWARD BEARS THE SINGLE NAME OF CATHERINE DUNFEY, IT REFLECTS ALL THE CATHERINES AND ROYS, THE HUGHS AND DOROTHYS, THE VIRGINIAS, THE TIPS AND MILLIES --//
THE LIVES OF OUR PARENTS ARE OUR LESSONS.
WE ARE FORTUNATE INDEED!

MAY THEIR CONVERSATION CONTINUE THROUGH US.

IN THE NAME OF NEC'S FIRST LADY, WE ARE SO VERY HONORED TO PRESENT AMERICA'S FIRST LADY WITH THE 1996 CATHERINE A. DUNFEY AWARD.

AND

TO PRESENT IT I INVITE TO THE STAGE MY BROTHER JERRY,
PRESIDENT OF NEW ENGLAND CIRCLE -- ALSO THE YOUNGEST SON
AND 11TH CHILD OF MY PARENTS -- AND MY DAUGHTER, MARIA
CATHERINE, JUNIOR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME; THE
35TH AND YOUNGEST GRANDCHILD OF CATHERINE AND ROY
DUNFEY.

Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Inc.

1724 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
202-234-5570

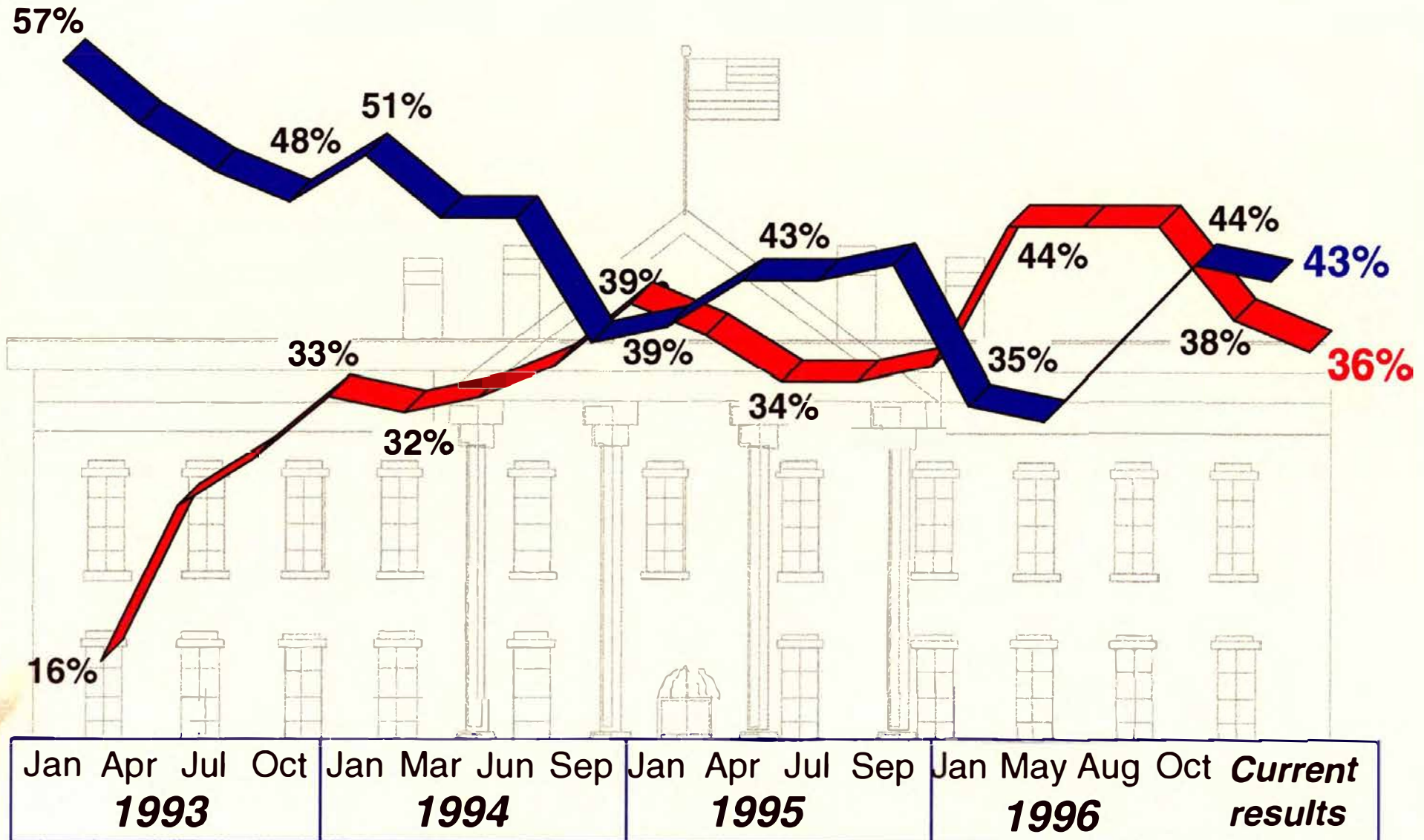
PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

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PRESERVATION

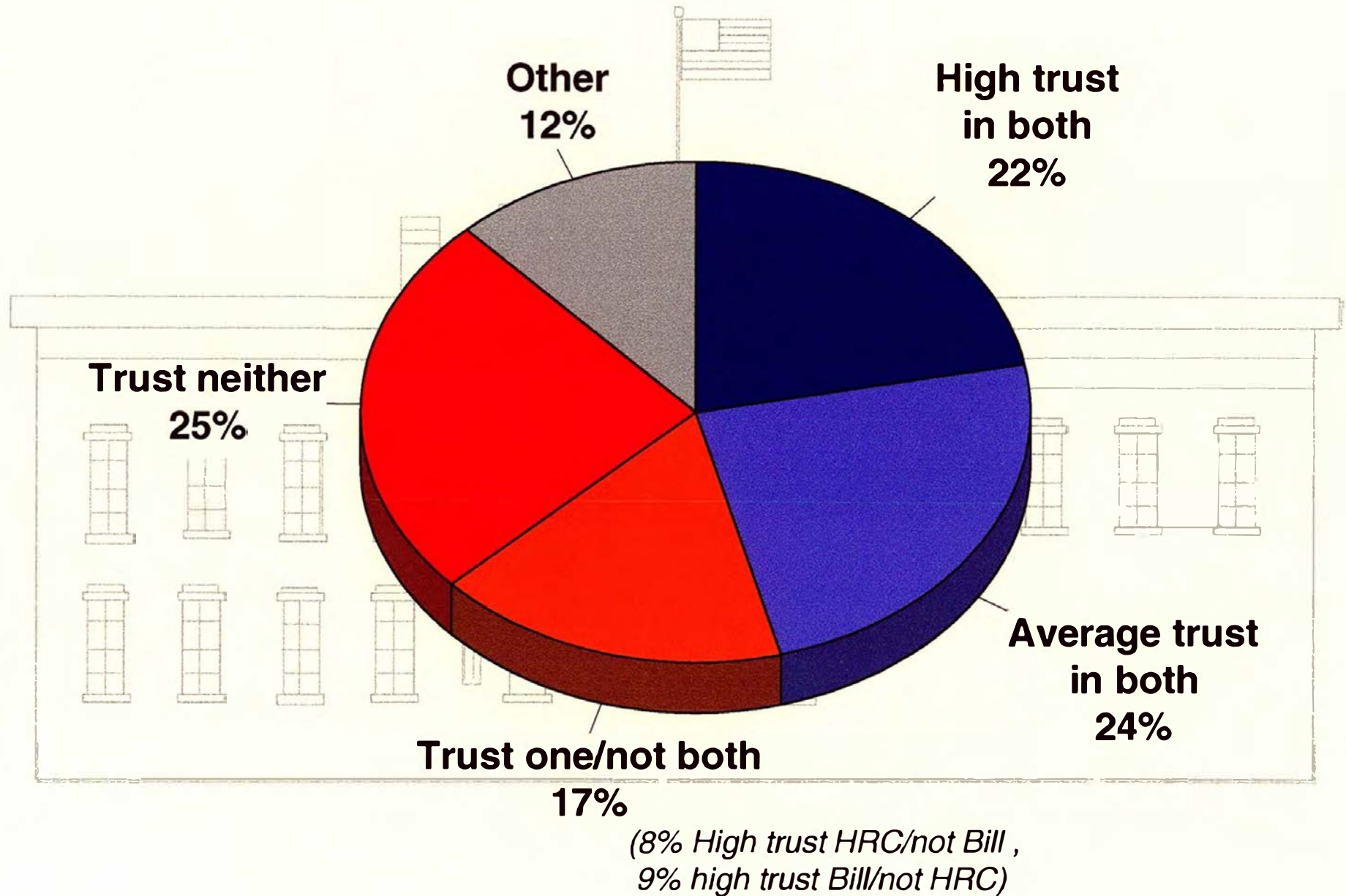
Peter D. Hart Research Associates, Inc.

Feelings Toward Hillary Rodham Clinton

■ Positive toward HRC ■ Negative toward HRC

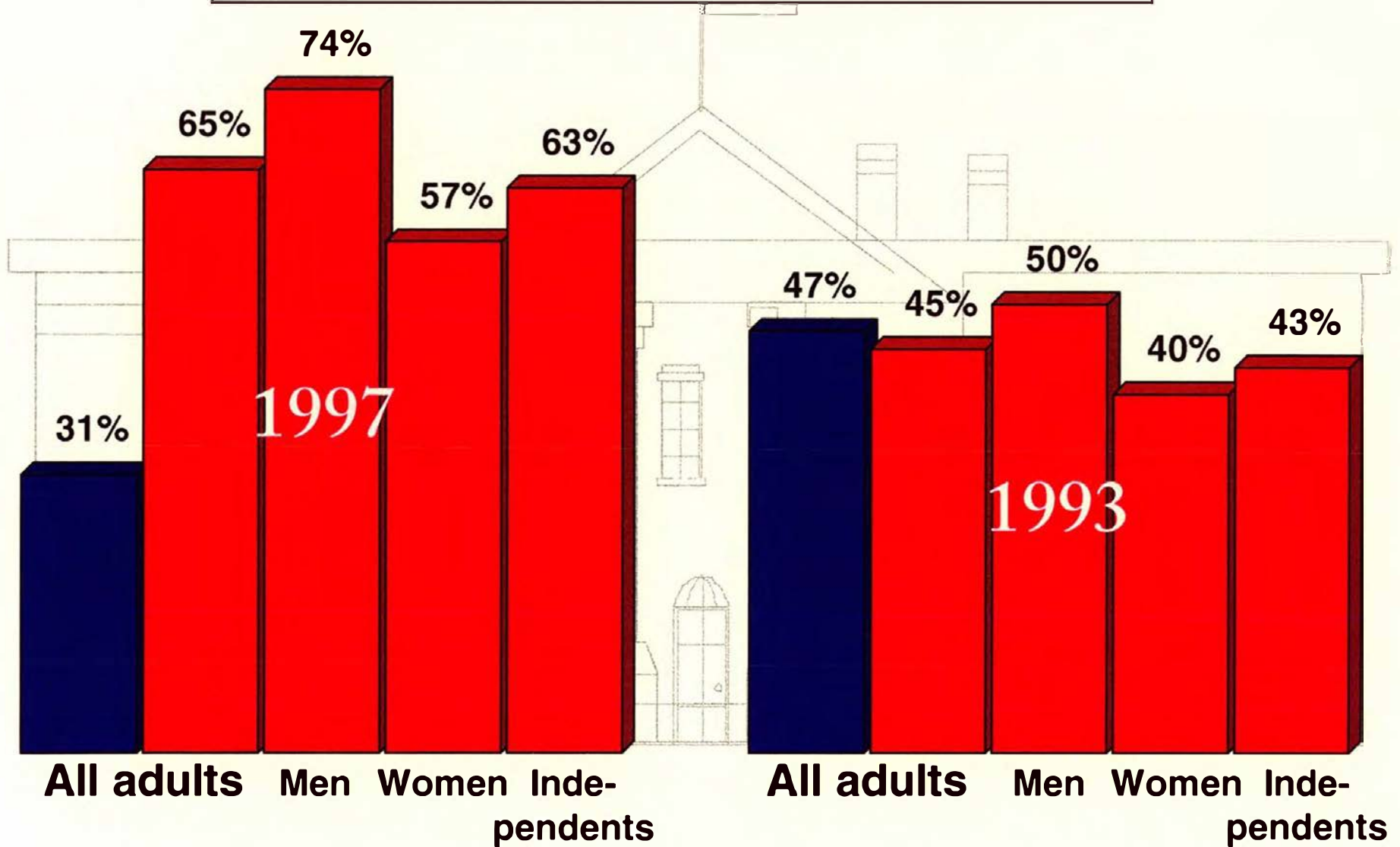


The Trust Scale

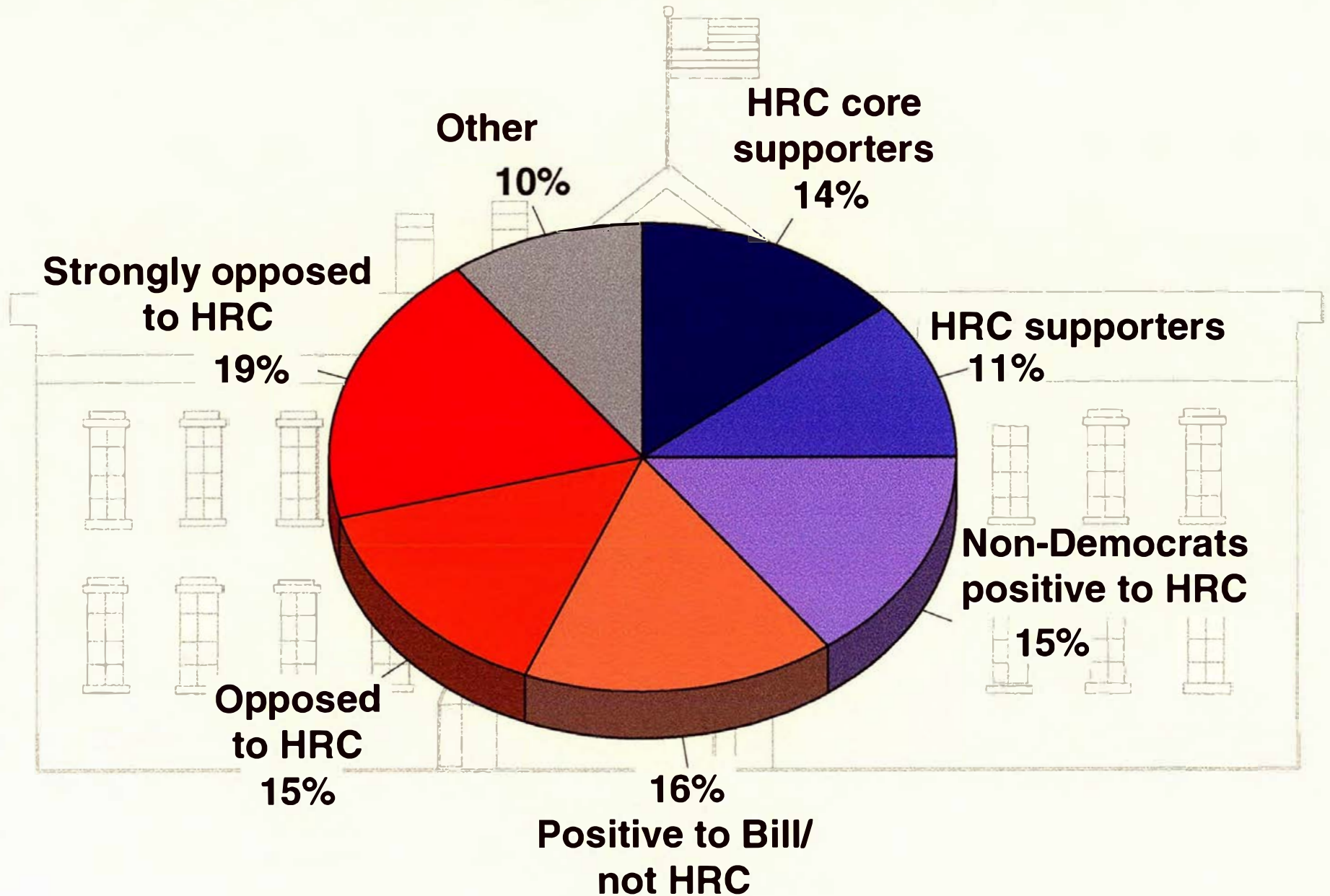


HRC Involvement In Policy

■ HRC should be involved in policy development ■ HRC shouldn't be involved in policy development



Overview Of The Electorate



Overview Of The Electorate

HRC Core Supporters

Women Non-college grads
Blacks Democrats
Under 35 Liberal

*Crime, drugs, health care,
racism, education, welfare*

★ 50% single/divorced

Non-Dems Pos. to HRC

Women Northeast
Independents Midwest
Parents

*Education, health care,
jobs/unemployment, crime*

★ 49% Clinton '96 voters
64% Independents

Positive to Bill/not HRC

Men High school/less
Under 35 Union households
Democrats

*Jobs/unemployment, crime,
welfare, education, homeless*

★ Low '96 turnout
Strongly anti-HRC policy involv.

Strongly Oppose HRC

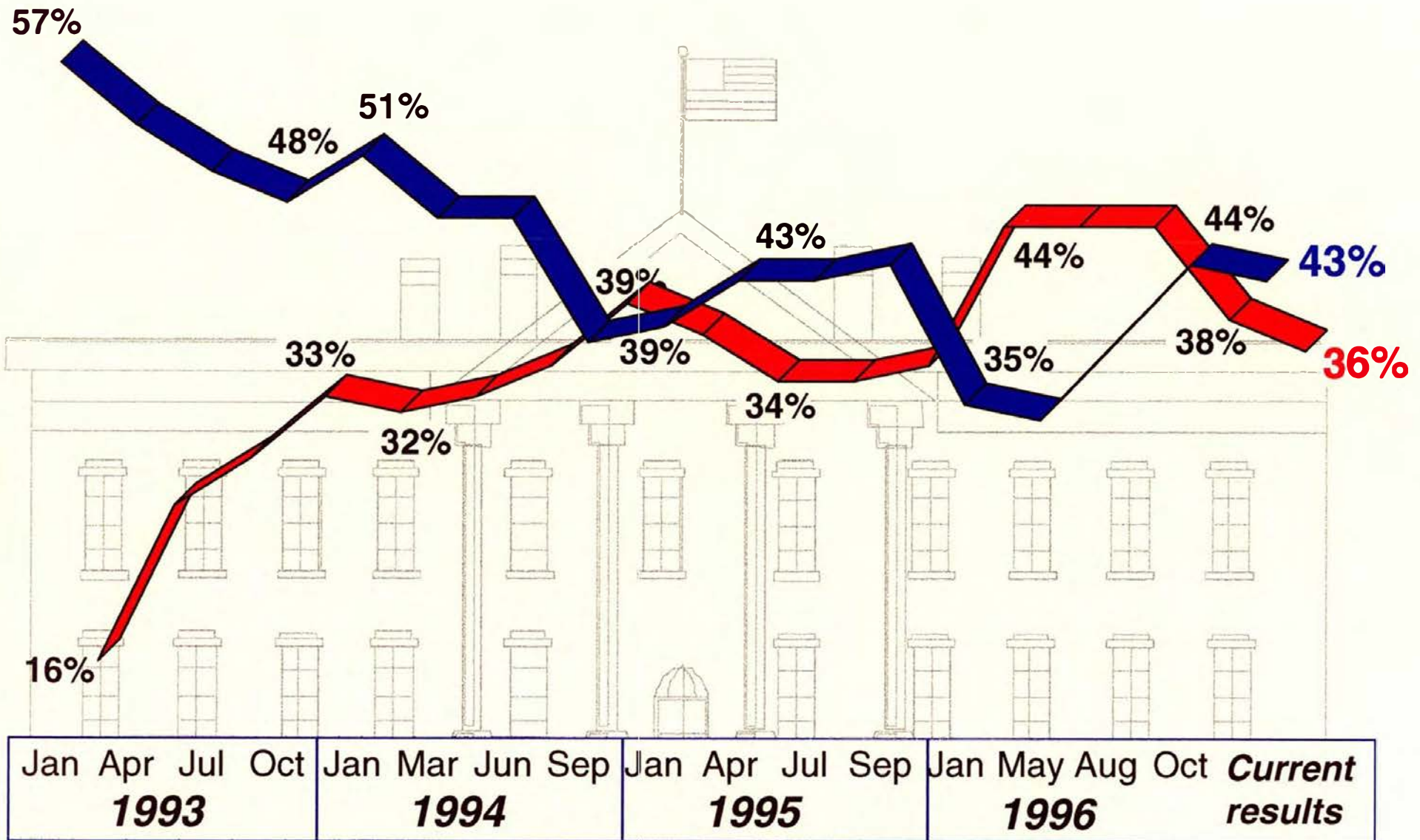
Men Age 35-49
South Over \$50K income
Whites College grads
Republicans

*Morals/values, foreign policy,
budget deficit, welfare*

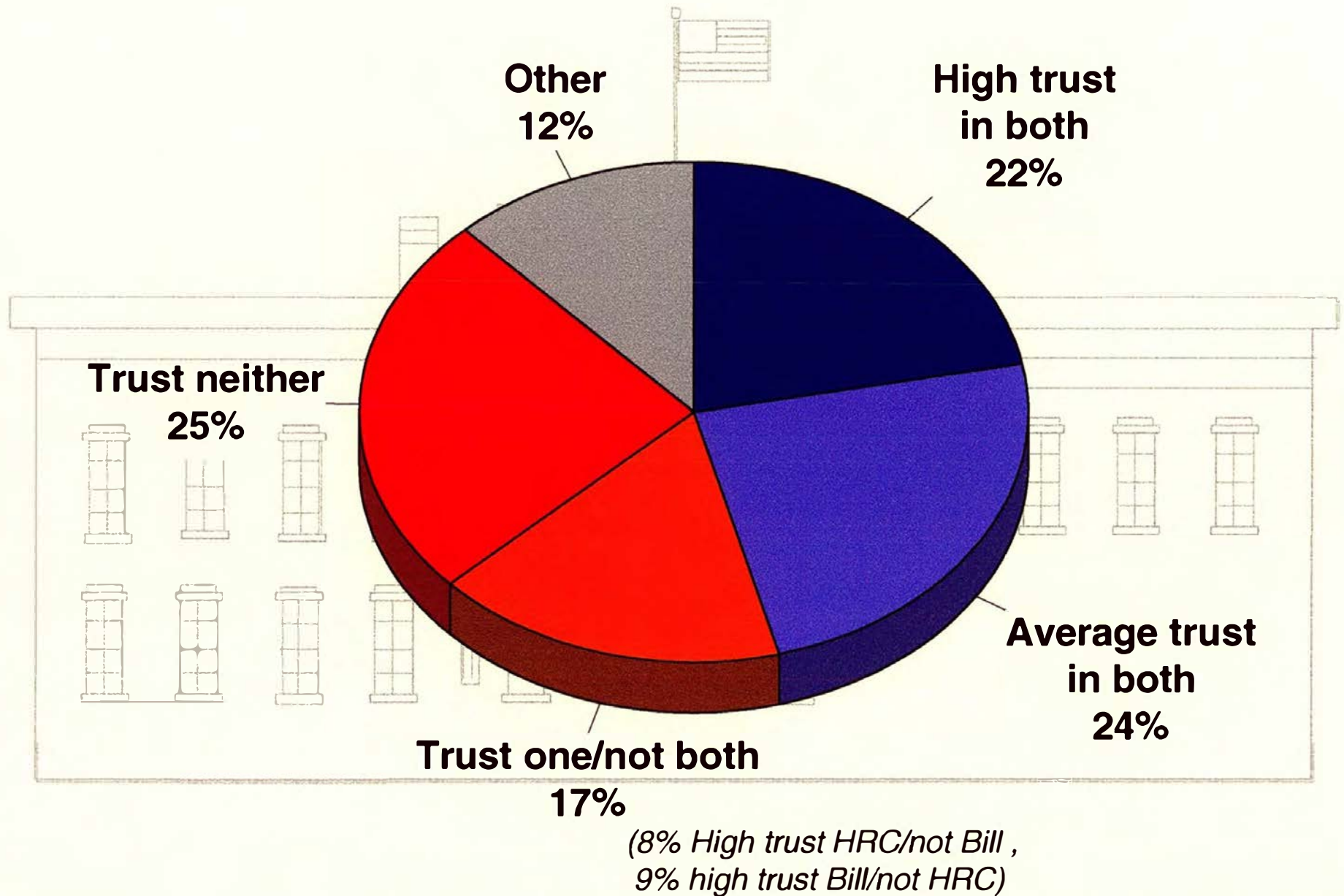
★ 1/4 pro-conservative groups
42% pro-tax cut v. budget cuts

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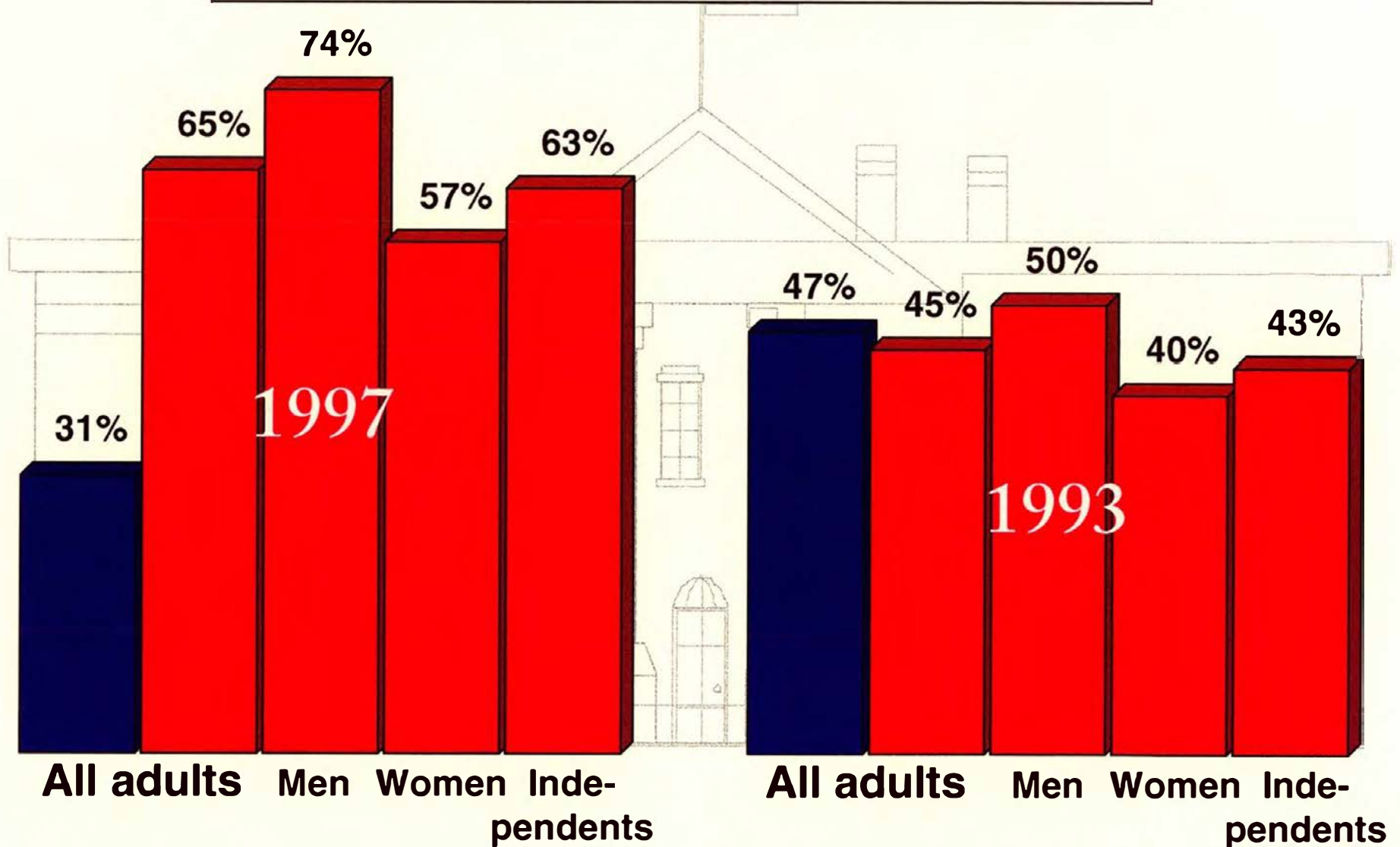


The Trust Scale

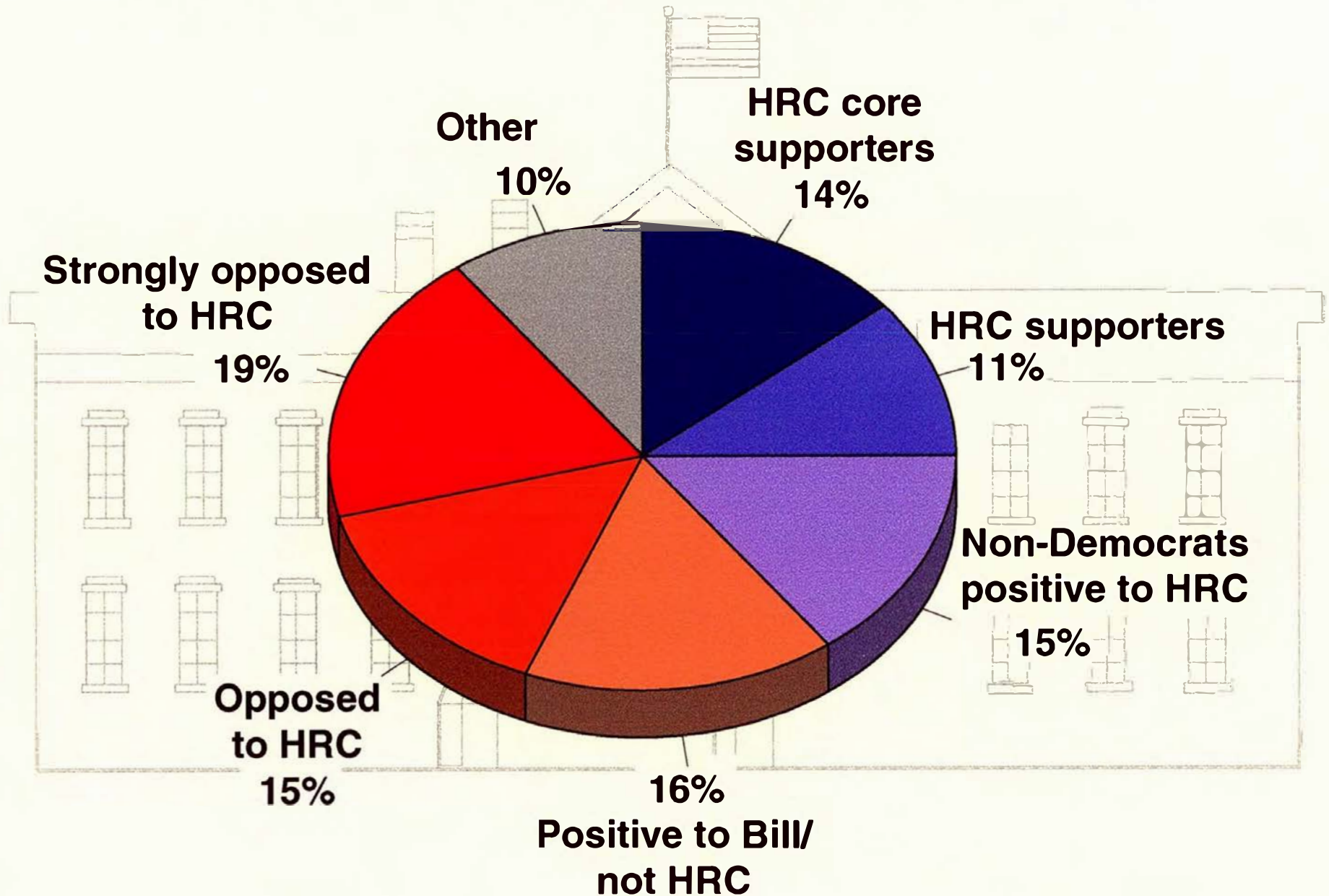


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