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A rare moment of incaution was Hamilton's strong stand against the Gulf war. He co-sponsored, with majority leader Richard Gephardt, a resolution to tie Bush's hands and keep the country out of war. Hamilton's speech in the great debate of January 11, 1991, now reads like a pessimist's almanac: the U.S.-led coalition would fracture, there would be massive American casualties, victory would have destabilizing consequences, war would break the economy, the allies would not share the cost, "Anti-Americanism will rise, terrorism will increase, and radical Islamic forces will be strengthened."

Hamilton remains unrepentant about his vote. He argues sanctions could have worked and says the administration shares the blame for Saddam's invasion of Kuwait, since it helped to arm him and did not send a clear warning not to cross the Kuwaiti border. True enough, but Hamilton's own record is hardly better. As chairman of the subcommittee that handles the Mideast, Hamilton stalled a bill proposed by Howard Berman of California to impose comprehensive sanctions on Iraq. Six days before the invasion, he voted against the Glickman amendment, which would have cut off agricultural credits.

Hamilton's problem wasn't malfeasance or stupidity. It was the limitation of his horizon. Bill Clinton, in his Milwaukee speech, proposed a post-cold war focus on democracy-building abroad. Hamilton thinks this is fine—he's one of the people Clinton showed the speech before delivering it—but he gives no sense of being able to articulate how democracy might serve as a cornerstone of foreign policy. Hamilton has also raised objections to the National Endowment for Democracy and voted to cut its budget. Part of this is a generational problem. The most fervent advocates of the democratization movement, such as Stephen Solarz, Dave McCurdy, and Brian Atwood, are younger. At 61, Hamilton seems not to grasp the idea in the same way. Clinton could, of course, do worse than to choose someone of Hamilton's fundamental decency for his secretary of state. But decency is not policy, or even a view of the world. Clinton could do a whole lot better. •

An interview with Mrs. Clinton.

HILLARY'S KIDS

By Roger Rosenblatt

In a speech at Spelman College in Atlanta three weeks before the election, Hillary Clinton told the students in the audience that she wants to be "a voice for children in the White House and to implement an agenda my husband will propose." I

interviewed her a few hours later, and our discussion centered on her proposed work for children—a cause to which she has devoted twenty years, mainly with the Children's Defense Fund, on whose board of directors she has served since 1978. In our talk, her views on family matters in general and children in particular were not always consistent or fully worked out, but they were both more moderate and more complicated than they are usually depicted.

The most controversial of Clinton's views, of course, has been her proposal for the presumption of competence in children. Since her now infamous 1979 article, "Children's Rights: A Legal Perspective," published in a collection of essays on the subject, she has held that children, now deemed competent to make decisions affecting their lives when they reach the age of 18, should be presumed competent beginning at age 12. The existing presumption of children's incompetence is based on a supposed correlation between their dependence on parents and an immature sense of responsibility. Under Clinton's proposal a child would have the right to claim such things as a good education, corrective health measures, and to get out of a neglectful or abusive home, as in the Gregory K case in Florida—though Clinton notes that suit was really the foster parents', not the boy's. But children would have to demonstrate responsibility as well. In Arkansas, Clinton helped pass a state requirement that children remain in school if they want to get and keep a driver's license.

When I raised the subject of Clinton's competence proposal, she readily replied: "You know, I never meant the presumption of competence to be anything other than a thought-provoking idea. It didn't get that much notice at the time because what gradually began to happen is that a variety of children were presumed competent to do an increasing number of things. The courts began letting children over the age of 12 express preference in divorce cases, for example. So there wasn't any great cataclysmic event that occurred. Children's developmental stages began to be acted upon, and over the last twenty years, things kind of evolved."

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designed to safeguard their position. Along with the family, past and present examples of such arrangements include marriage, slavery, and the Indian reservation system.

One may argue that she was simply establishing a historical context for her cause, but if she was looking for "a thought-provoking idea," she could not have chosen more incendiary analogies.

When I pressed her to give an example of how the presumption of competence would change the law, she replied: "I don't think that it can be implemented with a piece of legislation. It's more a matter of treating children with a level of respect for their increasing capacity. More about attitude than legislation."

I asked: "But isn't the presumption of incompetence a matter of legislation? So how would the new presumption be applied?"

"You do it by exceptions. I would not necessarily argue that we wipe out all of our rules, and say as of now every child from zero forward is presumed competent. But now we're making a million rules demonstrating why they're incompetent. I don't think that's helpful. What I would argue for is really a greater amount of respect for children's capacities at stages of development. Why weren't more children originally given a chance to be heard in divorce courts? Because there was this sense that that was an issue they weren't competent on. They might be competent to testify in an automobile accident, or a murder. But *this* was an area where it was viewed that somehow parents would be acting always in their children's best interests. Well, it became clear, through hard human experience, that that was not always the case. Gradually, as the need arose, and it was recognized, a remedy was devised. My argument is that we should always have that potential in the back of our mind."

Clinton may be right that judges have come to realize that feuding parents in divorce cases don't always have their children's best interests at heart, and that children too should be heard—but that doesn't mean that kids in such cases will be as objective as witnesses to accidents and crimes, or that it is necessarily a good idea to get them to testify. If there weren't a real difference between children as objective observers and as pawns in divorce trials, children's competence would hardly be a complex issue, much less one that Clinton would have chosen to champion.

It was clear throughout the interview, however, that she does not advocate children's rights at the expense of the integrity of the family—a position that might disappoint her conservative critics and perhaps some of her liberal supporters as well. My guess is that she began defending children to give them a role in family disputes, but by focusing on children almost exclusively, she inadvertently encouraged a distortion of her views. These views seem to be evolving still. Yet as early as 1977, in a book review for the *Yale Law Journal*, she acknowledged that all these questions "invite fear and confusion, since they touch deeply held and often conflicting convictions about

family autonomy and childhood needs."

The day before the Spelman visit there was a story in the papers about a boy who was removed from his mother and placed in a foster home because child-welfare officials contended that the mother had fabricated a disease for the child in order to keep him tethered to her and to get the attention she craved from doctors. "In that kind of case," said Clinton, "it seems to me that the first step to be taken is to help the family, and help the mother. I mean, you don't act on the child. You act to keep the family unit functioning, and you do that by bringing assistance to the person who is most in need of it, who, in this case, is the mother. . . . I was so grateful to *The Wall Street Journal*, much to my surprise, for asking a professor to read all my writings. And he basically said that in another time I would be accused of being too *conservative*. He said my view has always been we have to do everything possible to keep the family functioning. And we don't do that. Welfare agencies have been too quick to intervene after having ignored problems and allowing them to deteriorate. Or too quick to intervene instead of looking for the least detrimental alternative to intervention. And so the child is often caught in the worst of both worlds. The family is not supported. The state is not an adequate substitute parent. And the child is the object of dispute."

Not surprisingly, the issue of the family is a sensitive matter to her. All of the attacks on her during the campaign as a cold careerist and an indifferent mother shocked Clinton, she said, because she has always seen herself as devoted to family life and to the idea of family. Of course, defending the family is the politically correct posture, but Clinton is caught in a bind here. If she questions the nature or structure of family, she's portrayed as an intellectual harridan. If she supports the family, she sounds like a political hack.

Whatever stance she takes, she has been relentlessly assaulted from the right. In an article in *The American Spectator* last August, Daniel Wattenberg wrote that nobody needs a scale of increasing competence for children, "because we have something far better, families: millions of calibrated scales of increasing competence tailored individually to millions of individual children by millions of parents."

When I cited the piece, Clinton fired back: "I believe that. So what! You know, it's like saying most people don't break the law. That's wonderful. And I'm proud of them, because they have developed an ethical system and norms that reflect their responsibility to society. That's not what we're talking about. This is an attempt to impose a slippery slope argument on the whole issue of children's needs, and the role that the legal systems sometimes have to play. I just reject it. We're only talking about instances in which it is obvious to those willing to see that the finely calibrated, protective system of the family has broken down. And it's broken down either because of a family's inability to function or because of a family's unwillingness to

abide by what is considered appropriate behavior. And that doesn't mean there is a governmental solution that automatically means intervention, but it *does* mean not to ignore how families have been placed under stress. I think that no one who's fairly read what I've written could argue that I'm for anything other than supporting families."

In fact, in all of her major speeches of the campaign—at Yale Law School, Wellesley, Chautauqua, the University of Illinois, and to the American Bar Association in San Francisco—she emphasized the desirability of family cohesiveness. Yet it is hard to know what she is proposing exactly. She criticizes the welfare agencies for being "too quick to intervene instead of looking for the least detrimental alternatives." Like what?

As far as I know, there is only one place in the country that takes a comprehensive approach to foster care, and its program is sometimes successful, sometimes not. At the Center for Family Life, a private social service agency in Sunset Park, Brooklyn, a program was started in 1988 to keep foster families within the same neighborhood as the biological families. It was hoped that this would reduce the adversarial relationship between the two, while the center tried to restore equilibrium to the biological family and eventually return the child to a healthier home. But this is a hard-fought, continuous process, dotted with failure. Perhaps recognizing this without saying so, Clinton continued to veer back and forth in the interview between advocating the power of the family and the power of the child.

"I think to be a realistic advocate for families is like being a realistic parent," she said. "You know, you unconditionally love your child, but you also recognize what has to be done in order for that child to develop appropriately. And that means sometimes making decisions your child doesn't like. It means understanding how that child does develop, so that you can be an appropriate parent. Well, being an advocate for families means starting from the position of unconditional support for the institution of family, but recognizing realistically that there are times when that family structure is broken down, and that the children are the likely victims of that breakdown."

I asked her why, since she believes in children's competence, she favors parental notification on abortion. "In part," she answered, "because of my idealistic support of families. I have supported parental notice so long as there is some kind of bypass provision, because insofar as possible, we respect and honor the family. It would be better than not in most cases if the family could support a young girl's decision either to bear her child, or to seek an abortion, as opposed to having the child feel alienated and cut off from the people who, no matter what happens to her, are going to be there in her life, one way or the other. But I recognize that that's the idealistic hope, and that's part of why I'm so committed to keeping families together. Realistically, some families cannot deal with [abortion]. There are prob-

lems of abuse, incest, rage, all kinds of things. So there has to be some realistic bypass, some pressure valve for the situation. But, I think you should start from the premise of supporting the family."

By "some kind of bypass provision," she means that a pregnant child in a menacing home could have someone other than the primary guardian—another relative, an adult friend—sign the abortion consent. The parental notification law recently voted unanimously into effect in Wisconsin has such a provision. Still, whatever bypass is permitted, the idea of parental notification is logically opposed to the idea of the presumed competence of children. Either Clinton does not see this, or she prefers to fudge the issue on the grounds that families as a whole may be presumed more competent than kids.

An on-the-run interview like this one, taken at a hectic point in the election, reveals only so much. After the ruckus stirred up by Clinton's opinions on children and the family, it was natural for her to wish to appear quieter during the campaign and more restrained in her views when talking to a reporter. But one thing, I think, was clear from our discussion: Hillary Clinton believes that her views of children's rights and of the family are compatible, and she is still attempting to devise the proper balance between the two. In politics, unfortunately, this process of sorting out one's beliefs on morally ambiguous subjects often emerges as hedging or outright dishonesty, as both Clintons discovered in the course of the campaign. •

Republican Mudbath I.

KEMP VS. DOLE

By Fred Barnes

On November 6 Rich Bond, the departing Republican national chairman, attacked former Delaware Governor Pete du Pont for "an act of absolute political treachery." The crime? Campaigning for GOP chairman before Election Day, thus before President Bush had lost and Bond had announced he'd be stepping down. To punctuate the point, Bond also zinged du Pont as "disloyal, unseemly, and cowardly." Labor Secretary Lynn Martin isn't brimming with happy talk either. Should she fail to win the Republican post, she told an associate, the party will suffer terribly. Why? Because pro-lifers will have imposed their unpopular litmus test on the party again. (Martin's pro-choice.) Not so, says Ralph Reed of the Christian Coalition. The GOP's headed for trouble, he argues, if the new chairman won't unapologetically defend the

A rare moment of incaution was Hamilton's strong stand against the Gulf war. He co-sponsored, with majority leader Richard Gephardt, a resolution to tie Bush's hands and keep the country out of war. Hamilton's speech in the great debate of January 11, 1991, now reads like a pessimist's almanac: the U.S.-led coalition would fracture, there would be massive American casualties, victory would have destabilizing consequences, war would break the economy, the allies would not share the cost, "Anti-Americanism will rise, terrorism will increase, and radical Islamic forces will be strengthened."

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lems of abuse, incest, rage, all kinds of things. So there has to be some realistic bypass, some pressure valve for the situation. But, I think you should start from the premise of supporting the family."

By "some kind of bypass provision," she means that a pregnant child in a menacing home could have someone other than the primary guardian—another relative, an adult friend—sign the abortion consent. The parental notification law recently voted unanimously into effect in Wisconsin has such a provision. Still, whatever bypass is permitted, the idea of parental notification is logically opposed to the idea of the presumed competence of children. Either Clinton does not see this, or she prefers to fudge the issue on the grounds that families as a whole may be presumed more competent than kids.

An on-the-run interview like this one, taken at a hectic point in the election, reveals only so much. After the ruckus stirred up by Clinton's opinions on children and the family, it was natural for her to wish to appear quieter during the campaign and more restrained in her views when talking to a reporter. But one thing, I think, was clear from our discussion: Hillary Clinton believes that her views of children's rights and of the family are compatible, and she is still attempting to devise the proper balance between the two. In politics, unfortunately, this process of sorting out one's beliefs on morally ambiguous subjects often emerges as hedging or outright dishonesty, as both Clintons discovered in the course of the campaign. •

Republican Mudbath I.

KEMP VS. DOLE

By Fred Barnes

On November 6 Rich Bond, the departing Republican national chairman, attacked former Delaware Governor Pete du Pont for "an act of absolute political treachery." The crime? Campaigning for GOP chairman before Election Day, thus before President Bush had lost and Bond had announced he'd be stepping down. To punctuate the point, Bond also zinged du Pont as "disloyal, unseemly, and cowardly." Labor Secretary Lynn Martin isn't brimming with happy talk either. Should she fail to win the Republican post, she told an associate, the party will suffer terribly. Why? Because pro-lifers will have imposed their unpopular litmus test on the party again. (Martin's pro-choice.) Not so, says Ralph Reed of the Christian Coalition. The GOP's headed for trouble, he argues, if the new chairman won't unapologetically defend the

Her say

For Hillary Clinton, the real job begins

On a warm weekday afternoon in May, Hillary Clinton was conducting interviews with local television reporters in Lexington, Ky. The time was pre-convention, post-"cookies-and-teas" flap.

Three interviewers were lined up in a grade school library. The candidate's wife, once named in the National Law Journal as one of the 100 most powerful attorneys in America, had confined herself to ladylike appearances, eating school lunches with 2nd graders and reading to preschoolers.

The television reporters all were women, none older than 40. Each took her turn across from Clinton in Baby Bear chairs at a tiny table and each asked the same oddly intimate questions.

"Mrs. Clinton, do you dominate your husband? Will that be a problem in the White House?" The questions were always put cheerfully, with a wry, you-know-I-have-to-ask-this sort of look.

And Clinton, to the amazement of the reporters traveling with her at the time, always answered with a smile, never acknowledging the absurdity. She dealt with it without a trace of sarcasm, even when the same question was asked again in Cincinnati the next day, and again in other cities after that.

I left that three-day stint on the campaign trail with some impressions. The first is that Clinton is capable of seemingly superhuman restraint. The second is that she is a much gentler woman than her hardball image in the media has led us to believe.

But the last, and most troubling, is that this admirable woman was confronting alone America's twisted fears about educated working women, living that old feminist slogan: The personal is political.

The reporters that day in Lexington also were working women. Some were married, some may have been mothers. They had worked out the same issues: Whose job is more important, who changes cities for whom, who dresses the kids, what's a wife's real name? Yet they felt compelled to ask: Who wears the pants?

In the years prior to the presidential campaign, Clinton admittedly made some concessions to male-dominated politics and society, gradually adopting some of the things considered required of a political wife.

But she did so to a lesser degree than many who preceded her, eschewing for the most part the *modus operandi* that signify a safely repressed woman. Despite her husband being governor, she wielded power openly, with a law degree and a job, instead of secretly, from bedrooms and parlors behind fashion and makeup, America's metaphorical version of fan and veil.

Since those days in May, Clinton has been vindicated. The Republicans' orgy of anti-feminism backfired. The terrifying liberal working witch of Patrick Buchanan's nightmares soon will be living in the White House.

What kind of first lady will she be? Judging from the campaign trail and her evolution as political wife, I doubt Clinton will transform her new office into the "first partner's" den or set a new standard for behind-the-scenes manipulation of a president.

After all, this is a woman who moved an East Coast career in law and politics to work in Arkansas because she loved Bill Clinton. She gave up her surname and took his when it became clear that using her own hurt his political career.

She traded her natural appearance for one that takes time to assemble. Dishwater hair is colored blonder and contact lenses have replaced thick eyeglasses. She never appears in public without a spackling of makeup. She traded spontaneity for a demeanor that must be restrained and an intelligence that has to be camouflaged rather than exercised.

I don't envy her her new job as national social secretary and official lightning rod for the backlash against the gains women have made in the last two decades. But I suspect she will acquit herself with grace.

That Hillary Clinton will live at the White House probably will not make ours a more benign society for women. Violence and inequities involving women will stay with us long after she leaves 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

But as an educated, powerful woman who has worked outside the home for many years, she could leave a huge legacy if—simply by her example—the reality of working females were to become less fearsome to that segment of America that still can't come to terms with it. ■



Nina Burleigh

Nina Burleigh, special correspondent for People magazine in Washington, is a frequent contributor to WOMANEWS.

Continued from page 1

counseling service that was prohibited from distributing information on abortion. The vice now refers callers to the Irish Family Planning Association, but still conducts training and research on pregnancy issues.

In 1985, the Dublin-based Society for the Protection of Unborn Children, which opposes liberalization of abortion laws, took legal action against Open Line Counseling and a pregnancy counseling service, the Dublin Well Woman Centre, arguing that distributing abortion information violated the Irish constitution, which guarantees the right to life of the unborn.

Irish courts, including the Supreme Court in 1988, then imposed injunctions against the agencies, forbidding them to provide information such as addresses and telephone numbers of abortion clinics in Britain, and from helping clients make travel arrangements.

If approved, one of the three amendments could restore the right of counselors to provide the names and addresses of abortion services in Britain.

"In many instances when [women] have a clear and graphic idea of what abortion is, they may opt not to have an abortion," says Dr. Fennell, a former member of Parliament and minister of state for women's affairs from 1987.

Freedom to distribute information received support from the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, France, last month. The court ruled that the Irish ban violates the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, a set of human rights standards for several European countries. It is left to the Irish government to bring its law into line with the ruling.

Rita Burrows, chief executive of the Dublin Well Woman Centre, says the ruling should encourage a "yes" vote on the amendment related to abortion information.

But anti-abortion activists oppose the distribution of information, which they consider "abortion assistance."

"It is a euphemism for abortion assistance when you give the women names and addresses of abortion clinics in Britain," says Patricia Buckley, a spokeswoman for the Society for the Protection of Unborn Children.

The amendment granting freedom of information is the most widely accepted by both pro-life and anti-abortion campaigners.

The amendment regarding the circumstances under which an abortion can be legal in Ireland is the most divisive.

People on both sides of the issue are lining up a "no" vote on this plank.

Family planning counselors argue it is a step backward from the Supreme Court ruling which allowed abortions in the case of a suicide. It also would create confusion about what is "life" and "health" of the mother, leading to a series of cases being tested in the courts, they say.

The amendment ignores women who need certain medical treatments that are incompatible with pregnancy, says Maxine Brady, president of the Union of Students in Ireland, an advocacy group for students which is fighting a court injunction against group distributing information.

But the Society for the Protection of Unborn Children argues that there is no such thing as "real and substantive risk" to the life of a mother. "Women are not dying because abortion is illegal," says Marie Vernon, media spokeswoman for the society.

An assembly of Irish Catholic bishops issued a statement Nov. 5 that stops short of telling people how to vote, but says the way of the amendments is flawed. ■

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Hillary Watchers - This escaped notice of last week's clipper.

Thought you'd be interested. - Jamie

The New York Times, 11/28, Op-Ed Attention: Maggie
and Lisa

Washington's New Wimp Factor

By Kitty Kelley

T WASHINGTON V Guide faxed me a query last week. The question: Please tell us what baby Maggie Simpson's first words will be. I faxed back: "Hail Hillary!" Whether or not the enfant terrible of "The Simpsons" is as excited as I am about the prospect of the new First Lady remains to be seen.

But after reading hundreds of newspaper inches fretting about Hillary Clinton's arrival in Washington and listening to numerous TV pundits stew over her wifely influence, I was beginning to feel like a bird without feathers. Then I realized that most of the wailing was coming from men. Still, I don't understand why Robert Novak, John McLaughlin and others act like troglodytes on the subject of Mrs. Clinton, blustering about her ominous "political agenda." Did these men honestly feel more secure with Dan Quayle a heartbeat away from the Presidency than with Hilla-

Kitty Kelley is author of "Nancy Reagan: The Unauthorized Biography."

ry Clinton living in the White House?

At first I laughed at the Hillary-bashers. I tried to dismiss their rantings as partisan politics, but as they raged on, I wondered if there was something else at play that made these conservative men so rancorous. Why this uproar from the white institutional male press (W.I.M.P.)? What is so threatening about an intelligent professional woman as the wife of the President? Granted, she's a Democrat who shares her husband's political agenda, but, unlike some of her predecessors, she speaks her mind.

I fell in love with the President-elect on the day he was asked by reporters whether his wife attended his meeting with Congressional leaders in Little Rock.

You betcha, he said.

"Was she there the whole time?" It was as if the questioner could not fathom the fact that the carrier of two X chromosomes would be able to breathe the same rarefied air as men.

Yep, the whole time, said the President-elect. He added that the little missus actually had the temerity to speak up in the meeting. "She knew more than we did about some things," he said.

Was it my imagination or did I see

the imp of the perverse pecking over the President-elect's shoulder as he tried to suppress a grin?

After eight years of Nancy Reagan's hiding behind astrologers to run her husband's show, and four years of Barbara Bush, ghostwriter for a dog, I, for one, can hardly wait for Mrs. Clinton to come to town. This is a woman committed to human welfare issues, especially those affecting children, and who longs to use her new

spected lawyer years before her husband decided to run for President?

Roger Ailes, the Republican media consultant, said on the "Today" show that people seeking jobs in the new Administration should be careful "not to cross Hillary." Is this just sour grapes from a vanquished foe? Or does Mr. Ailes actually believe the President-elect is so wife-ridden that he will turn a power-crazed First Lady on the National Security Council so she can send her shrieking sisters in headbands to launch man-hating missiles on the cosmos? Get a grip, Mr. Ailes.

It's true that with a woman like Hillary Clinton in the White House, politics will no longer be a totally white institutional male preserve. But then her husband was elected because he promised to represent minority groups and women in his policies and positions of power. So why bash his wife just because she'll have the fortitude to stand up for the displaced?

C'mon, fellas. Hillary Clinton isn't out to destroy your locker-room world. That's already part of the petrified forest. She doesn't even want to smoke your cigars. She just wants to pass a few around. □

Why are all those men so scared of Hillary?

position to better people's lives.

So why blame Hillary Clinton for being smart, ambitious, successful and self-assured? If that combination is so acceptable in a suit and tie, why go crazy when it comes in a dress? Are pundits traumatized by the prospect of an accomplished professional woman, who was a nationally re-

Give Hillary a break, Barbara Bush urges

BY DONNA CASSATA
Associated Press Writer

WASHINGTON — In the spirit of the season, Barbara Bush had kind words Tuesday for the next first lady and — showing good will toward all — reporters, too.

Chatting with news people on hand for the arrival of the White House Christmas tree, Mrs. Bush made a point of answering their questions about Hillary Clinton.

"I wanted to talk to you about that," Mrs. Bush said sternly. "She was wonderful, really nice and I hope you all treat her like you treated me. Wait until she makes her mistakes; you waited until I made mine."

"I mean, give her a break."

Shortly after a horse-drawn

cart delivered the 18½-foot Oregon fir, which will grace the Blue Room, Mrs. Bush said she disagreed with the suggestion that the news media have been fair to Mrs. Clinton.

'She was wonderful, really nice and I hope you all treat her like you treated me. Wait until she makes her mistakes; you waited until I made mine.'

"I don't think you have yet. The cartoons are ugly and I think she does not deserve — let her make her own mistakes.

She's great. She was just the warmest, nicest, friendliest person."

Two weeks ago, Mrs. Bush gave Mrs. Clinton a tour of the White House.

As they met, the first lady pointed to nearby reporters and told her successor:

"Avoid this crowd like the plague."

Tuesday, a kinder and gentler Mrs. Bush told the news media that if Mrs. Clinton "wants a good time and a lot of fun, she ought to see you."

"I'm going to recommend weekly luncheons," Mrs. Bush said.

Mrs. Bush shrugged off the idea that Mrs. Clinton's career as a full-time lawyer has hurt her image and will be a draw-

back.

"It's just not fair. She's going to be just great and let her do her thing," she said.

Among those complaining about Mrs. Clinton's work during the campaign were several speakers at the Republican National Convention, who called her a radical feminist, and Democratic candidate Jerry Brown, who provoked the rejoinder, "I suppose I could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas."

The arrival of the White House tree marked the start of holiday festivities at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

With Mrs. Bush were daughter-in-law Margaret Bush and two grandchildren, Walker, 3, and Marshall, 6.

The Bobby Kennedy Law and Hillary Clinton

There has been persistent speculation that First Lady-to-be Hillary Clinton may get a Cabinet, sub-Cabinet or other high position in the Clinton administration.

Many argue she has the qualifications—although some jobs mentioned, such as solicitor general, might seem a stretch.



But there is a problem: Federal law prohibits President-elect Clinton from appointing his wife or any other family member to any executive

branch job.

The Postal Revenue and Federal Salary Act of 1967 is also called the Bobby Kennedy law because it was passed in response to President John F. Kennedy's appointment of his brother as attorney general.

Using very broad language, the 1967 law says that "a public official may not appoint, employ, promote, [or] advance" a relative in an agency "in which he is serving or over which he exercises jurisdiction or control. . . ."

A "relative" under this law includes not only immediate family but aunts and uncles, cousins, nieces and nephews, in-laws and stepbrothers, step-sisters, half brothers and half sisters.



HILLARY CLINTON

The purpose of the law, according to its legislative history, is "to prevent a public official from appointing a relative to a . . . position . . . in the agency in which the public official serves or over which he exercises supervision."

The law applies to all agencies in the executive, legislative and judicial branches and specifically covers the president and vice president.

"The prohibition appears to extend throughout the executive branch," said Richard McGowan, spokesman for the Office of Personnel Management, not just to the senior-most positions. The law "would appear to rule out boards and commissions and virtually everything else," he said.

"We have never been asked for a written opinion on the subject," McGowan said, but "we were asked about this during the Carter and Bush administrations regarding Rosalynn Carter and Marilyn Quavie serving on commissions and the response was that it couldn't be done."

McGowan said OPM "would review the subject again if asked. However, the law is pretty con-

clusive in ruling out executive branch positions for relatives."

On the other hand, presidents' wives have served in nonpaying posts. Carter, for example, headed a presidential commission on mental health.

Three Mentioned for Ireland Post

■ Among those mentioned for the coveted ambassadorial job in Dublin is Elizabeth McNelly Shannon, author of three books on the country, including one about her experiences there in 1977-81 as wife of Ambassador William V. Shannon, a former New York Times editorial board member who has since died. Others mentioned include Jean Kennedy Smith, sister of President Kennedy, and former representative Brian J. Donnelly of Massachusetts, a household name in Ireland because he sponsored an immigration bill allowing thousands of Irish immigrants to obtain treasured green cards.

In the Running. . .

■ For the all-important White House post of ambassador to Congress, also known as the congressional liaison position, the oft-mentioned include Howard Paster, the newly appointed head of public relations giant Hill and Knowlton's Washington office. Others include outgoing Arkansas Rep. Beryl Anthony Jr.; Susan Brophy, outgoing Colorado Sen. Timothy E. Wirth's chief of staff who ran the Clinton Washington office during the campaign and is congressional liaison for the transition; Joel Jankowsky, a lawyer in transition chairman Vernon E. Jordan Jr.'s law firm. Akin, Gump, Hauer & Feld; R. Scott Pastrick, now with the public relations firm of Black, Manafort, Stone and Kelly; and James H. Rowe, whose father served in that position during the Franklin D. Roosevelt administration.

Labor Chief to Stage Farewell Tour

■ Labor Secretary Lynn Martin apparently plans to take the long way home as she prepares to exit the department. Martin, sources said, is planning a farewell tour of Labor's 10 regional offices.

The tour, which would take her from Boston to San Francisco at taxpayer expense, is tentatively scheduled for next week.

Department spokesman Steve Hofman said it had not yet been decided whether Martin would take such a tour. He said, however, that Martin was "thinking of the value of sharing some thoughts [with the regional staff] and saying thank you." He also said such a tour might help with the transition to the Clinton administration because it would bring her up to date on what is happening in the field.

Labor Department sources said that while Martin may not have decided on the tour, her office has already scheduled visits to regional offices in New York, Philadelphia, Boston and Kansas City. The other regional offices are in Atlanta, Dallas, Chicago, Denver, Seattle and San Francisco.

— Al Kamen

THE WASHINGTON POST
12/1

The Washington Post, November 29, To Maggie/Lisa
Outlook, Op-Ed, C7
From Joyce

David S. Broder

New Kind of Ground Rules for a First Lady

Of all the transition events since Bill Clinton won the presidency, none has occasioned more comment than the presence of future first lady Hillary Clinton throughout the president-elect's first meeting with Democratic congressional leaders.

Clinton dealt with the question in admirably straightforward fashion. "She stayed the whole time, talked a lot," he told reporters. "She knew more than we did about some things."

Others at the meeting said that Hillary Clinton picked her spots and drew on her experience as a lawyer and a public-policy advocate to make important points about everything from education programs to the savings and loan cleanup.

When Speaker of the House Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) was asked subsequently if he expected Hillary Clinton to participate in the regular White House meetings of the president and the congressional leaders, he said: "It would be appropriate if the president decides it's appropriate. I would have no problems."

So the country is clearly on notice that the first member of the baby-

boom generation to become first lady is going to rewrite the rules for the office. It is a sign of the times. Had Dan Quayle or Tom Harkin or any number of other politicians with professionally trained, politically savvy spouses been elected president this year, the prospect would have been the same.

I take this as a necessary and nigh inevitable part of the generational change in the national leadership—and not something to be resisted or lamented. In Hillary Clinton's case, it is clear that the country is getting an exceptionally competent and capable political player. The briefing she gave years ago on the report of a commission she had headed on "the forgotten half"—high school students who do not go on to college—remains in my mind years later as a model of clarity and forcefulness.

But her role as a policy adviser, perhaps more influential than any other, in the Clinton White House raises questions of accountability that both Clintons must address.

The Constitution did not create the presidency as a dual office, so there is

no power-sharing that is possible. By law and custom, presidential appointees who are confirmed by the Senate are later available to give testimony to congressional committees on matters in their jurisdiction. But the Clintons apparently have ruled out any such formal role for her.

Senior White House staff officials—the chief of staff, the head of the National Security Council or the domestic policy council, for example—generally do not testify before congressional committees, although they often have extensive private conversations and meetings with key lawmakers. Like the Cabinet members, they also customarily are available to the press for interviews on policy matters. The public often gets to see them on the Sunday morning TV interview shows, expressing and defending administration policy in their distinctive styles and with their individual emphases.

All of these mechanisms create a degree of public accountability for senior White House and Cabinet officials who are part of the president's decision-making circle. But three

smart women with White House experience of their own—Sheila Tate of the Reagan administration and Anne Wexler and Patricia Barrio of the Carter administration—said in separate interviews they do not think any of these devices is appropriate for Hillary Clinton.

Wexler and Barrio both said they hope Hillary Clinton will rethink her opposition to taking a formal administration role, which would clarify her responsibilities and engage her in one or more of the traditional accountability mechanisms. Wexler suggested the solicitor general's position in the Justice Department; Barrio proposed that she head a presidential commission in one of the policy areas in which she is interested.

But barring that, all three said they see serious problems in establishing any accountability mechanism for the First Lady. "If she did any of those things"—testify to Congress or hold news conferences on administration policy, for example—"half the nation would be outraged," Barrio said. Tate said that "if she appears to be throw-

ing her weight around in private, will have problems," but the prospect of First Lady press conferences on a wide range of issues "makes my stomach hurt."

Is there any solution? The closest analogy that comes to my mind is that of the modern vice president, who since 1976, has served as a senior and often influential policy adviser to the president but who cannot, in terms of politics or public image, afford to be seen as an independent power center.

Recent vice presidents have used a combination of speeches and press interviews to give the public a sense of themselves and their views, while safeguarding from scrutiny their specific counsel to the president.

The analogy is far from exact, because the First Lady is obviously not in the line of succession. But perhaps there are clues to be found in the way the veeps from Mondale through Quayle have handled their roles.

It is not going to be an easy challenge for Hillary Clinton. And whatever she does, she is likely to be criticized. So wish her luck.

Hillary Clinton

Hillary Rodham of Park Ridge, Illinois, was a young law student when she first heard Bill Clinton's voice proclaiming the virtues of his home state, Arkansas -- all the way across the Yale University student center.

Seventeen years after becoming Hillary Rodham Clinton, she is the partner their friends say Bill Clinton confides in as no other. Besides confidant, the roles she plays today are diverse and demanding.

She is a devoted wife and parent of daughter Chelsea. As a mother, it is natural that she has long been an advocate for the rights of children and all that is crucial to children. She is the churchwoman who says she tries to live her faith daily.

She is the noted teacher of law and a successful attorney, a full partner in Little Rock's prestigious Rose Firm, twice named among the nation's "100 Most Influential Lawyers" by *The National Law Journal*.

"Hillary is the only person I know with more energy and organizational ability than Bill," acknowledges her mother-in-law.

But they share not only energy; Hillary and Bill share a deep commitment to improving the world around them. Throughout her life, Hillary Clinton says she has tried to put her abilities to worthwhile use. As a youngster, she helped raise money to benefit migrant farm workers. As a new lawyer, she entered government service for a fraction of the salary she could have commanded in private practice. Her work as Arkansas' first lady produced far-reaching educational improvement that continues to this day. Her 20-year association with the Children's Defense Fund culminated with her appointment as chair of its Board of Directors.

She has championed better child care, celebrated the arts and humanities, demanded more comprehensive health care for expectant mothers and insisted upon basic medical care for infants and toddlers -- indeed, for all citizens.

Says a friend of hers from Texas, "What really drives her is not guilt, but grit. Grit, and the conviction that life can be made better for everybody if all of us pull together."

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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	re: pre-administration (10 pages)	01/04/1993	Personal Misfile

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

FOLDER TITLE:

HRC Profiles

2013-0534-S

rc1886

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

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

First lady finds her footing

■ Hillary Clinton: Husband's first term sometimes brought her a scorching spotlight.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON never promised to be a typical first lady — if, indeed, there is any such thing. But in bringing sharp legal skills and zeal for issues to the White House, Mrs. Clinton couldn't help being a lightning rod for attention and, just as often, criticism.

While many Americans were delighted to see a political spouse so competent, sure of herself and eager to contribute to her husband's administration, others have been scathing in their response to the causes she champions publicly and wary of the extent of her private influence.

In retrospect, an extended honeymoon with the public was never in the stars for Hillary Rodham Clinton, the first professional woman to fill the role of first lady. Only Eleanor Roosevelt has withstood such strict public scrutiny, and she didn't have to worry about seemingly endless investigations of her conduct as an Arkansas lawyer prior to her husband's election.

Add to that a number of personal losses — the deaths of her father and mother-in-law and the suicide of the Clintons' long-time friend Vince Foster — and it is obvious that the past

four years have taken an enormous personal toll on Mrs. Clinton.

But if the second Clinton term brings the president the prospect of lame-duck status, it also brings a welcome freedom for his long-time partner. She no longer has to worry that her status in the polls could endanger his re-election. She doesn't have to listen to image enhancers who want her to change her hair-do or her wardrobe. Legal problems still bedevil her, but in most other respects Hillary Clinton is now free to define her role without the stifling constraints of political campaigns.

So far, she has mentioned her interest in helping monitor the implementation of welfare reform — a suggestion that was quickly ridiculed by her political opponents. More promising is her intention to get involved in the administration's plans to aid the District of Columbia, an initiative that could showcase her interest in improving conditions for families, children, schools and neighborhoods.

When Hillary Clinton first stepped into the spotlight, few people could have predicted how scorching the scrutiny directed at her would be. No doubt even fewer could have withstood such heat without crumbling. Whatever else her legacy turns out to be, simply by surviving all this and keeping her head she will surely serve as a role model for future first ladies.



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Listening to Our **HEARTS**

GH JULY

Recently, Hillary Rodham Clinton met with 8 GH readers to share concerns about families and the future. Here, their inspiring thoughts on ways we can all make a difference in improving our lives and rebuilding our communities.



by Jurate Kazickas

Downsizing, spiraling health-care costs, fear of crime—these problems dominate our front pages. But for many Americans they're more than newspaper headlines—they're reality. In March, when *Good Housekeeping* invited readers to meet with First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton to discuss the critical issues facing today's families, we found that the lives of the eight women selected mirrored the challenges facing all of us.

But this special forum, "How to Make the Future Better for Our Children," wasn't downbeat. The morning was filled with hope, support, and possible solutions. In a sun-drenched room of the Chicago

Public Library, the panelists sat with Mrs. Clinton and moderator Ellen Levine, GH's editor in chief, on a low platform decorated with plants and coffee tables graced with flowers. It may not have been a suburban living room, but the ambience was the same, as Mrs. Clinton shared her own experiences as a wife, mother, and daughter.

"One of the hard parts about living in the White House is that I don't get to just kick back and chat with my friends as much as I'd like to," Mrs. Clinton said, thanking the panelists for coming. But the panelists were inclined to want to thank *her*, calling the chance to discuss their concerns with her directly "the opportunity of a lifetime."

Meet the Panelists

DREMA LEE WOLDMAN:
Family support helped her succeed despite her teenage pregnancy.



MARY ANN SPALETTA:
She fought to save her marriage after considering divorce.

MARGE LEIBFORTH:
She wants day-care providers, like her daughter, to get more respect—and more money.



MONICA LAMBERTY:
Her family narrowly escaped financial ruin when their health care was canceled.

Building a Family Safety Net

Drema Lee Woldman was once 19, pregnant, unmarried, and about to drop out of college. Now 43 and married almost a year, Woldman looks back and credits her own mother for giving her the support she needed to take charge of her life. "While I was planning a marriage, my mother was planning my future. She told me she wished I would stay in school and graduate so that I would be able to take care of myself and not depend on someone else. And in order for me to do that, she took care of my child while I went to school."

Woldman did go on to graduate and support herself and her daughter, who's now a junior studying nursing at Louisiana State University. Woldman is an office manager and president of one of the largest chapters of Alpha Kappa Alpha, the nation's oldest sorority for African-American women. And she said she's never forgotten the support her family gave her. Today, Alpha Kappa Alpha sponsors a mentoring program for fourth and fifth graders that targets students with poor grades and attendance—and requires their families to sign on for parenting skills and educational workshops.

Mrs. Clinton: "We have to do everything we can to strengthen families so that they can take care of their own children. Every family—including my own—needs help from time to time, and there often are not enough of us around to do that. I hope your example will spread so that more sororities, more

churches, more civic clubs will take on this kind of job."

Saving Marriages

Mary Ann Spalletto, 54, mother of two grown sons, considered her 32-year marriage "just about perfect" until four years ago, when she discovered that her husband had been unfaithful. "I found our world crashing around us. As I watched my grown sons fill with grief and anger and fear, I realized it doesn't matter how old children are when they feel their family structure is going to be shattered."

Her first impulse, she said, was to get a divorce. "But when I thought about going to the lawyer, I thought of my marriage and realized there were a lot of good parts left. We live in a throwaway society. We don't mend, we don't repair, we don't fix. My mom used to mend my socks, the TV man would come and repair a TV, or my dad would fix my toys when they broke. Now we just throw them away." She said it was a shame that we treat relationships the same way.

Seeing her husband's remorse, she turned to her Catholic pastor for counseling, read self-help books, and eventually learned of an organization called WESOM—We Saved Our Marriage. "Before our very eyes we saw him change, our marriage change, and we decided now it's payback time." She and her husband have started a chapter of the group in their parish and actively help other couples mend marriages torn apart by infidelity.

Mrs. Clinton: "We do give up too eas-

ily. Not every marriage can be saved, but a great many that people gave up on in the past can be—even in the face of challenges like the one you're talking about. The struggle to save something that is worthwhile can move you into an entirely different level of your relationship. You can look back and say you wish it hadn't happened, but by having dealt with it, there are so many rewards. I hope others will follow your lead."

Surviving Downsizing

Monica Lamberty, 29, a part-time X-ray technician and the mother of three young children, saw her husband lose his job as a truck driver. "We found out on a Monday that his last day would be Friday. So I called the union and they informed me that the last day my husband would be working would be the last day of our health insurance coverage. I was floored. I just could not believe it. I said, 'What about the union dues we pay to you monthly?'"

The union replied that the money for insurance was allocated on a weekly basis, not monthly, and by Friday, the Lambertys would be without insurance. They were eligible for COBRA, but at \$485 a month, it was half their mortgage payment. "There was just no way we could afford that," said Lamberty, "and with three little kids—if one of them broke an arm at the playground, or, God forbid, there was a catastrophic illness, we'd be done for. We could lose our house. And it *really* scared us."

So she wasn't shy when a prospective employer called the house asking

LISA DEPATIE: Working two part-time jobs to support her young family after her husband's company downsized, she has also started a neighborhood crime watch.



VIRGINIA MARTÍNEZ: Divorced, she works to support her two children while providing social services to poor Latina women.



HOLLY KNAUFF: To help put her kids through college, she works as a coordinator at an early intervention program for preschoolers at risk of academic failure.

SUNNY FISCHER: Having grown up in public housing, she now takes pride in working with philanthropic groups that help women.

for her husband. Dave Lamberty wasn't home yet, she replied, but she did the interview for him, describing her husband's strengths and skills. It worked. He got the job before he even met the employer.

Her family is safe—for now, Lamberty said. "But it just seems like there's no security or stability. Every time you turn around they are downsizing everyplace."

Mrs. Clinton: "This is a very common story now...and we could do a better job of dealing with these problems. There is a piece of legislation that I hope the Congress will pass, which would guarantee that when somebody loses a job, they get to take their health insurance with them at the same cost."

Easing the Economic Crunch

Virginia Martínez, 46, is living through a number of economic struggles at once. A divorced mother of two children, 10 and 12, she gets child support from her ex-husband only sporadically. On her modest income as executive director of *Mujeres Latinas En Acción*, a social services agency for Latina women, she is also doing all she can to help her 80-year-old mother, who is on Medicare. Martínez grew up in a poor Mexican community in Chicago and was confronted daily with social problems. "There were more and more kids out on the street; the gangs were getting more and more violent. I thought if I don't do something about it, nobody else will, either." She realized she needed an education and, encouraged by her

employers at an insurance company and later at a law firm, she went to college and eventually law school, on scholarship. But she worries that the scholarships that made all the difference in her life won't be available when her children need them, given the severe cutbacks in federal grants.

Mrs. Clinton: "My husband and I both got scholarships in college and law school, and my husband has recommended more work-study and scholarship money for kids who are willing to work hard. It's the best investment we can make. Because if a young person graduates from high school and college, that's good for the entire society."

"I also have an older mother, and she is like your mother—she's independent, she lives alone, she doesn't want to be a burden. I'm grateful that she's healthy, but I don't know what the future holds. Medicare works—we should try to reform it, but we should do nothing to undermine the security it gives."

Putting Moms First

Sunny Fischer, 51, grew up in public housing in the Bronx, NY, and never dreamed she'd be as comfortable as she is today, working as an advisor to philanthropic organizations, especially those that aid women. "Every time I get on an airplane I listen to the flight attendant who announces, 'If the cabin decompresses, an oxygen mask will fall down. Please put your mask on first before you put the mask on your child.' That's an incredibly powerful image

for me: that we have to take care of ourselves before we can take care of our children."

Mrs. Clinton: "I was in a middle school in a very, very tough neighborhood recently, and a young boy said to me, 'You know, Mrs. Clinton, everybody thinks all of us kids are bad kids, but most of us are good kids and nobody's paying attention to us.' And he went on to say, 'I guess it's just like when an airplane crashes, it gets in the news, but no one reports on the thousands of airplanes that land safely every day.' And I've thought about that a lot—because sometimes it doesn't take very much to help an airplane land safely. It's a question of whether we as adults are willing to spend the time that children need. Most kids would much rather have our time than our money."

"I wish everyone would know that they could do something. It doesn't have to be complicated, it doesn't have to be earthshaking. It can just be helping one single child. There is no problem in America that hasn't been solved somewhere. We just need to quit wringing our hands and roll up our sleeves and start learning from each other and supporting each other, and I am absolutely confident we can make a big difference in a short period of time."

Indeed, for many there that day, it was an inspiring, transforming event. "The important thing for each of us is to set goals in our own communities and follow through with them," said Lamberty. "I really believe now that one person can make a difference." ★

“The Hardest Thing I’ve Gone Through...”



REVIEW & OUTLOOK

The Clinton Tag Team

Back in one of its early incarnations, you may remember, Bill Clinton's Presidential campaign had a slogan, "buy one, get two." The subsequent cookie-baking phase submerged the notion of a dual, husband-and-wife Presidency. But it emerged again in inauguration week, when Mrs. Bill Clinton quickly became Hillary Rodham Clinton, about to remake the nation's health care system.

We recite this history because the First Lady has seemed to stand almost alone at the center of the revelations of the past two weeks, culminating in yesterday's astonishing testimony that the missing Rose Law Firm billing records suddenly appeared in the "book room" next to her study in the family quarters of the White House. Aide Carolyn Huber undoubtedly told the same story when she testified before Independent Counsel Kenneth Starr's grand jury in Little Rock on Tuesday, and the documents themselves are presumably being tested for fingerprints in line with usual forensic procedures. They are known to be annotated in the handwriting of the late Vincent Foster, and it's also known that documents from his office passed through the family quarters before being turned over to the Clintons' personal attorneys. Clinton defenders object to the Ockham's Razor connection of these facts.

It is a good time to reflect on who resides in the family quarters. True, it's difficult enough to imagine Bill or Chelsea or Socks pouring over Rose billing records. True too that the White House went out of its way to shovel a Bill Safire column out of the snow to keep Hillary on the point. But one presumes the two halves of the dual Presidency share pillow talk. And while Mrs. Clinton clearly has a mind of her own, it has to be a stretch to depict her as a loose cannon on the White House deck. Their whole history from Arkansas to the present suggests a political-managerial-financial tag team. Which is to say what ought to be obvious, that the controversy swirling around the First Lady inextricably involves the President.

at the time that "there was one person only that was responsible for what happened in your office this weekend, and that person occupies the Oval Office."

Or take the Arkansas transactions surrounding the Castle Grande development, which we've detailed this week. Yes, Mrs. Clinton did legal work for parts of Jim McDougal's real estate development, and answered RTC interrogatories in a way that now has her wrapped in split hairs. But it was not Mrs. Clinton who reversed a veto of legislation helpful to keeping a Castle Sewer loan afloat. Nor was it Mrs. Clinton mentioned in a memo alluding to political contributions at a Madison fund-raiser. Nor was it Mrs. Clinton cited in a memo Mr. McDougal delivered to Betsy Wright on a bill to facilitate a brewery there: "Governor Clinton has made a commitment."

Or take, for that matter, Whitewater Development Co. itself. Bill was as much a partner as Hillary, and both profited when Mr. McDougal absorbed losses. And while Hillary took the legal plan to recapitalize the foundering Thrift to Arkansas Securities Commissioner Beverly Bassett, it was the Governor who had appointed the Commissioner three months earlier.

And, of course, Mr. McDougal claims Governor Clinton jogged by to suggest he put Hillary on retainer. While Mr. McDougal is scarcely the most credible witness, the fact is that \$2,000 checks started arriving at the Rose Law Firm to Hillary's attention. By the way, this was before Rick Massey even joined Rose, shattering the story that he brought in the Madison account. Also, of course, David Hale, now a Starr witness after his guilty plea, also claims Governor Clinton pressured him into making a \$200,000 loan to Madison Guaranty, some of which ended up in the White-water account.

Or take, for that matter, Mrs. Clinton's \$100,000 in commodity profits. Perhaps Tyson Foods Counsel Jim Blair "advised" her in these transactions because he liked the cadence of the name Rodham. Or his interest



Rick Massey even joined Rose, shattering the story that he brought in the Madison account. Also, of course, David Hale, now a Starr witness after his guilty plea, also claims Governor Clinton pressured him into making a \$200,000 loan to Madison Guaranty, some of which ended up in the White-water account.

Hillary's Book: It Takes Memory Loss

Hillary Rodham Clinton says she wants to talk less about her credibility and more about her new book. But after reading her book, I wonder if that's possible. The book is her biggest fib yet.

"It Takes a Village" is about children, though only in the sense that Huck Finn is about a rafting trip. Her book is in fact one of the slyest re-election manifestos ever written. It's a political platform wrapped in Dr. Seuss, T. Berry Brazelton and Julie Andrews. Mrs. Clinton is on a crusade to preserve the welfare state as we know it, and children are her shock troops.

This is not to say there aren't many things to like in her book, one of its striking features is how much could have been written by Bill Bennett. It reads like her own personal "Book of Virtues." She rebukes "nostalgia merchants" who talk about "family values" even as she steals most of their arguments.

The first lady deplores divorce, praises two-parent families, extols religion, denounces TV sex and violence, endorses sexual abstinence through age 21 and hails personal responsibility. Joycelyn Elders was not invited to contribute a chapter, needless to say. She even has nice words for Promise Keepers, the group that unnerves many feminists because it stresses male obligations to wives and kids. A flap has erupted over whether Mrs. Clinton

Potomac Watch

By Paul A. Gigot

should have acknowledged the ghostwriting aid of Barbara Feinman for this book. But that's nothing compared with how much Mrs. Clinton owes intellectually to Dan and Marilyn Quayle.

It's always possible the first lady has come to believe all of this. She has long had her spiritual side. But it might be more credible if this traditionalist rhetoric didn't look like a gauzy cover for the expansion of state power she tried to pursue when she really had clon—that is, during the Clinton Presidency B.G. (Before Gingrich).

Just reading her book, you wouldn't know there was such a time. Her paltra Magazine doesn't rate a mention. Health reform appears only as the general, and dubious, lament that the U.S. trails much of the world in "affordable health care." Her account of all of this is about as complete as it was on cattle futures and Castle Grande.



Marilyn Edelman

A Presidential Budget Message

By HERBERT STEIN

To the speaker of the House of Representatives and president of the Senate:

Today I ask the Congress to join with me in a new and urgently needed approach to the federal budget problem.

In recent months we, the leaders of the Congress and I, have agreed that the budget should be brought into balance by the year 2002. We have, however, been unable to agree on how that should be done and as a consequence have been unable to enact a program for achieving the goal.

If we were to look only at the prospects for the country in the years between now and 2002, that failure, while unfortunate, would not seem to be a catastrophe. Despite our disagreements, the budget deficit in those years will be only about 2% of gross domestic product and the ratio of the federal debt to GDP would be approximately constant.

The continuing deficits would have a negative effect, probably small, on the rate of economic growth, but we could go on living with them for a long time—as we have been living with larger deficits in the past 15 years. In these circumstances it was understandable that the various parties to the decision-making process should all say that although balancing the budget was important it was not more important than avoiding some of the steps that would have been necessary to do it.

Beyond 2002

But when we look beyond 2002 the situation is drastically different. There we see the prospect of deficits rising to 15% or 20% of GDP, as a result of the increase in the proportion of the population entitled to Social Security and Medicare benefits and the rising per-capita costs of health care. That this prospect is real has been affirmed by the Kerrey-Danforth Commission, the General Accounting Office and many private experts.

Although we can live with deficits equal to 2 1/2% of GDP, we cannot live for long with deficits of 15% to 20% of GDP. Such deficits would absorb not only all of our net private saving but also most of the saving that goes into replacing the stock of capital. This would threaten to go beyond slowing down the growth of incomes and actually reduce incomes. Moreover, the ratio of the debt to GDP would rise rapidly, thus raising the ratio of federal interest obligations to GDP and so raising the deficit, explosively.

This situation could not go on. As an economist has said, if something cannot go on forever it will stop. I think it can be safely said that we will not have deficits of 15% to 20% of GDP and rising. Measures will be taken to prevent that. But if the measures are not taken until deficits of that size are upon us, the measures will have to be extremely painful. There will have to be very large tax increases and large, sudden cuts in the benefits that people have come to expect.

which there is no painless exit. But the steps that we would have to take today would be much less painful than those that will otherwise be necessary in the next generation.

So the question is whether we should act now or leave the problem for the future. Indeed, in my opinion there is no question. We have a responsibility to the future and we should act now.

I am sure some will say that we should not take difficult steps now on the basis of predictions that may turn out to be incorrect. Perhaps economic growth will turn out to be much faster than we now expect. Perhaps there will be discoveries that will radically reduce the costs of medical care. But we have to act now on what seems the most probable expectations. If conditions turn out to be more favorable, there will be opportunities for welcome adjustments later.

So my main proposal today is that we—Congress and I—should commit ourselves to a course of action that will avert the bud-

Board of Contributors

We can, if we begin now, avert catastrophe. We cannot do that painlessly, even today. But the steps that we would have to take today would be much less painful than those that will otherwise be necessary in the next generation.

get crisis of the next generation. Specifically, we should commit ourselves to a fiscal path that has three phases:

a: Balance the budget by the year 2000, so that we may end this century as we entered it, with a balanced budget.

b: Run budget surpluses between 2000 and 2010, to reduce the absolute size of the deficit and therefore the future interest burdens.

c: After 2010, when the main effects of the aging of the population hit the budget, keep the ratio of the debt to GDP constant, which would probably permit deficits of 2% to 3% of GDP.

I ask the congressional leadership to join me in commitment to such a path. I would accept the judgment of the Congressional Budget Office in estimating whether the policies proposed would move us along that path.

We cannot adhere to such a course unless Congress and the administration can agree on the ways to do that. And we cannot agree unless each party accepts the

what I believe would be the ideal way to achieve the goal. Recent experience has demonstrated that ideal proposals obstruct action or, as has been said, the best is the enemy of the good. I recognize that on some points the congressional majority and I have disagreements. I believe, however, that when we face realistically the larger task outlined here we will find that the feasible options are limited and so is the room for disagreement.

Instead of describing my ideal policy, I will outline what seem to me to be the possible main ingredients of an agreement that would take into account my highest priorities as well as the preferences of Congress as I have learned them in recent negotiations:

1. Premiums for Medicare Part B (doctors' bills) would be raised to cover 50% of the cost, rather than the 25% called for in present law.

2. Social Security benefits, and retirement benefits of federal workers, would be indexed to a 2% annual increase or one percentage point less than the increase of the consumer price index calculated by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, whichever is higher. The schedule for raising the age at which workers become entitled to benefits would be accelerated.

3. The present individual and corporate income tax would be converted in gradual steps into a more comprehensive tax, with few if any of the present deductions and a flat or flatter rate, the rates of the tax being set at a level that would yield revenue 10% above the yield of the present taxes. Broadening the base of the tax will make it possible to achieve that revenue objective with tax rates below the highest marginal rates now applied to individual and corporate income.

Specific proposals for limiting expenditures for other programs, including defense, are carried in the budget document that accompanies this message. But the three areas I have listed here are at the heart of our fiscal problem.

The Rising Generation

If these steps are taken, it will be possible to follow my proposed path for reducing the deficit while at the same time preserving and strengthening the federal programs that are addressed to helping the most disadvantaged children in our society. I regard that as of the utmost importance and hope that Congress will agree with me on that. To neglect the rising generation when they are children in order to protect them against economic hardship when they are adults would be irresponsible, if not hypocritical.

I invite discussion of these proposals with the leadership of Congress. My main point is the imperative need to act now to forestall the fiscal crisis that impends for the next century. If this need is accepted, our differences will be seen in their true, limited proportions and I believe we shall be able to come into agreement.

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

that aside, it now appears the President was told about the firings in advance, though afterward he explained, "All I knew was there was a plan to cut the size of the office, save tax dollars." Of course, Mrs. Clinton also denies she had any significant role in the firing of Billy Dale and his six colleagues.

In his testimony Wednesday before the House Oversight Committee, former White House administrator David Watkins sketched his view of the event: "I was in the chain of command—the President, the First Lady, [!] McLarty, me. It was me. I'm accountable." But he added, "Was there pressure? Did I feel pressure of the desires and wishes of others? Yes, I did." Mr. Foster, for example, "regularly informed me that the First Lady was concerned and desired action—the action desired was the firing of the Travel Office staff." Mr. Watkins wrote in his now-famous memo. And if Mr. Foster was speaking for the First Lady, the First Lady must be presumed to speak for the President.

Indeed, calendar notes finally turned over to House investigators by Hollywood producer and travel-company impresario Harry Thomason show that he had two meetings with the President the week before the firings, and shortly after each met with Catherine Cornelius, later designated to take over the office. The usual denials apply, but Mr. Dale tells us a high aide to President Clinton told him

buzzing through the Beltway pressitive. Namely, that you can't impeach a First Lady, that the President has been floating above the controversy, that no crime has been suggested and is in any event Mr. Starr's turf, that continued emphasis on scandal is (gasp!) political, that with an election approaching all this should be closed down so the electorate can ponder the future of Medicare. So let's deep-six Whitewater, as we deep-sixed it back in 1992.

What are your deepest suspicions, this line of logic asks. OK, our deepest suspicions are that back in Arkansas the Clinton tag team was engaged in a pattern of sleazy operations, and that when they arrived in Washington they abused the powers of the Presidency to thwart investigation of them. Whether the sleaze amounted to indictable crimes we will leave to Mr. Starr, but the coverup is the reason articles of impeachment were voted against Richard Nixon. These are perhaps only suspicions, but various people keep asking.

It is far better, we submit, to air fully such suspicions now, even if partisans like Alfonse D'Amato are the messengers. What are political campaigns for, after all, if not to air and prove or refute issues of both policy and character? For the Republic, clearly the worst outcome would be to bury suspicions until after the election, and to have them re-emerge and proven true at the start of a second Clinton term.

New Era for Greece

Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreu's de facto departure from office this week marks the end of an era. It was a time dominated by a political leader whose sense of political drama and populist rhetoric alternately charmed and enraged his countrymen. Even when returning to power in 1993, already frail from open-heart surgery and hardly able to work more than a few hours a day, the Pasok leader's speeches attracted masses.

Yesterday he was succeeded as prime minister by former Industry Minister Costas Simitis, who has earned a reputation as a strong manager and a partisan of more free-market policies.

Mr. Simitis, one of Pasok's founding members, has often been at odds with his boss over economic policy. Economic know-how will indeed come in handy for the next head of government.

As economics minister during Mr. Papandreu's previous term, Mr. Simitis successfully launched an austerity program; it came to a screeching halt when the prime minister told then Finance Minister Dimitris Tsovolas to "give it all away." In spite of Mr. Simitis announcing an economic overhaul when Mr. Papandreu returned to power, the privatization program never really took off, major infrastructure programs such as the badly needed new airport in Spata have been delayed, and tax evasion is still a national sport. Nor did the recent power vacuum exactly help the economy. Business leaders became increasingly jittery over the political impasse.

Mr. Simitis inherits a difficult legacy. Rather than charisma and rhetorical skills, he will need an altogether different style of Greek stagecraft.

In fact, VFC has been a parody of liberal reform from the start. It was sold to solve a problem that didn't exist, because U.S. childhood immunization rates were already near 90%. Poor kids could qualify for shots through Medicaid and the "317" program. The problem for the rest wasn't the cost of vaccines but parental neglect or oversight.

Yet VFC eliminated the private market for vaccines and handed federal control to an agency that had never managed anything like it before. Robert Goldberg of Brandeis estimates that by 1998 the program will have wasted \$7 billion. Dale Bumpers, the Senate Democrat from Arkansas, calls VFC a disaster that "will not immunize one additional kid."

"It Takes a Village" somehow overlooks Dale Bumpers. It never even hints that the program is controversial. Instead Mrs. Clinton praises Betty Bumpers, the senator's wife, for her work in the private sector on childhood immunization! The first lady doesn't lack for brass.

All of this makes it hard to believe Mrs. Clinton when she now says, on her book tour, that government should play just a "relatively minor role." It's more likely she's following the counsel of her friend and mentor, Marian Wright Edelman, who invented the children's gambit.

As Mickey Kaus reported in *The New Republic*, Ms. Edelman says she founded the Children's Defense Fund in the 1970s because, "When you talked about poor people or black people, you faced a shrinking audience. . . . I got the idea that children might be a very effective way to broaden the base for change."

The strategy has always worked, adding federal entitlements in the name of children even in the Reagan years. The childhood vaccines idea—which also came from Ms. Edelman—was supposed to have eased the political path for HillaryCare.

Now Ms. Edelman is playing the kids card again, this time to stop Republican reforms, which she says are "really quite evil." She and her allies spread the word that somehow the 50 states would do worse by children than the current federally run welfare system. Not long after her blistering public letter of complaint, Bill Clinton changed his mind and decided to veto welfare reform, notwithstanding his promise of 1992. In her book, Mrs. Clinton manages to deplore out-of-wedlock births without even mentioning welfare policy.

More and more the Clintons' re-election strategy seems based on the assumption that Americans have memories that are as poor as theirs. So much of this administration seems to have happened so long ago that a major duty of journalists this year will be to remind people what it was really like. Judging by Mrs. Clinton's book, this is going to be a full-time job.



Hillary Clinton

By JAMES S. HIRSCH

Barbara Jordan's political achievements will be carved in stone, but it is her rich voice that will resonate through history. She was a modern-day clarion—for expressing outrage, for exhorting political action and, most famously, for defending the U.S. Constitution.

She also had a great laugh. Not many people saw that side of Barbara Jordan, who died Wednesday at age 59. But I saw it often, plus much more. As a graduate student at the University of Texas, I had the dual honor of having Miss Jordan as a teacher and serving as her chauffeur. Physical impairments pre-

She had little sympathy for protesters and confrontational tactics. Of Jesse Jackson, she said: "He'll never run for an office he can win."

vented her from driving, so she hired students to take her from school to her home in south Austin. For two years, I whisked her down Interstate 35 in my tiny yellow Dodge Omni, peppering her with questions, soaking up her wisdom and praying that a Mack truck wouldn't side-swipe us. (I imagined the headline: "Grad Student Maims National Icon.")

Fortunately, our travels were always safe, but never dull. While Miss Jordan loved to talk about politics, current events and history, few subjects were as compelling as her own life story. The product of Houston's hardscrabble Fourth Ward, she quit piano lessons at age 11, and her father—believing music was the only occupation available to black women—was horrified.

"What are you going to do?" he demanded. "I don't know," Barbara said, "but I'll think of something."

Miss Jordan is now hailed as a political pioneer. She was elected in 1966 as the first black in the Texas State Senate and in 1972 as the first Southern black in the U.S. Congress since Reconstruction. But the hurdles she cleared before entering politics were just as formidable and easy to forget.

I certainly did. One day I asked Miss Jordan if she joined a Houston law firm after graduating from law school in 1960, and she chuckled at my naiveté. Black women, in that city at that time, were second-class citizens, yet Miss Jordan had the temerity to believe she could practice law. And she did, often representing indigent clients in disputes against police.

But Barbara Jordan's great love was politics. She believed in minimizing flare-ups, changing the system from within and getting along. In the Texas Capitol, she overheard a conversation in which a senator referred to someone as a "no-good son of a bitch." When he saw Miss Jordan, he quickly apologized for his language.

"Don't apologize," she said. "If he's a no-good son of a bitch, then he's a no-good son of a bitch."

MISS JORDAN

She had little sympathy for protesters and confrontational tactics. Of Jesse Jackson, she said: "He'll never run for an office he can win."

Miss Jordan loved to turn the tables on former adversaries. While she served in the state Senate, Texas Gov. John Connally for years refused to talk to her. After she retired from politics, he asked her to be a character witness in a legal matter. She initially refused, then agreed. Why? "Because he'll always owe me," she told us with a smile.

Barbara Jordan's political idols were John Kennedy (when she heard he was assassinated, she said, her first thought was

she wished she had taken the bullets) and Lyndon Johnson, who campaigned for Miss Jordan when she was running for Congress. Listening to conservatives bash the former Texas president caused her genuine pain. "Lyndon Johnson did

more for my people than any president since Abraham Lincoln," she told me. "You would have liked him."

In Austin, Miss Jordan settled into a comfortable but very private life, surrounded by a close-knit group of friends and rebuffing most requests for interviews or speeches. I once asked her why she never married or had children. She said

she had dedicated her life to politics and could not divide her loyalties. "I could not be like Pat Schroeder," she said, referring to the Colorado congress-

woman. After a career in law, politics and academia, the thought of running a Fortune 500 company

appealed to her, she said, the boardroom being the ultimate white male bastion. But she enjoyed teaching at the LBJ School of Public Affairs, throwing year-end barbecues for her students at her spacious ranch home. We in turn threw her a surprise 50th birthday party in 1986, inscribing her cake with the phrase "A National Treasure For Half A Century."

In class, Barbara Jordan threw us occasional curve balls, once asking us what is the most important attribute for a U.S. president.

"The ability to say 'no,'" someone shouted.

"Knowledge of history," yelled another. Miss Jordan shook her head. "He must have," she said, "a sense of humor."

It was, perhaps, Miss Jordan's own sense of humor—her basic optimism about life, her good will and her appreci-

ation for the absurd—that helped her overcome personal obstacles. She used a wheelchair since the early 1980s and was said to have multiple sclerosis. (She died from viral pneumonia as a complication of leukemia, according to school chaps.) When I dropped her off at home, I would help her into an electric scooter parked outside, and she motor into the house. But one day couldn't drive the scooter over a bump in the driveway. She tried and tried no avail—this great and proud stymied literally by a crack in the ground. There was only one thing to do: She laughed.

I stayed in touch with Bar! over the years but always in private drives together. Now I missed her voice; but in the 1 her words reached, the ech proudly and forever.

Mr. Hirsch is a reporter for the Boston bureau.

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(ATTN: Book editors)

"IT TAKES A VILLAGE: And Other Lessons Children Teach Us," by Hillary Rodham Clinton (Simon & Schuster, \$20, 318 pp.)

Campbell is a Hartford Courant staff writer.

Reviewed by Susan Campbell= (c) 1996, The Hartford Courant=

If a first lady especially one as embattled as Hillary Rodham Clinton writes a book, can we judge it on its own merits? Even if the first lady has distinguished herself as a woman in her own right, a top-notch attorney and policy-maker who doesn't stay home to serve tea and cookies?

It's hard, let me tell you.

You have Whitewater and the mysterious memos. You have the White House travel office firings, for which Clinton says she is prepared to testify before Congress, and you have carping over Clinton's not acknowledging the contributions of Barbara Feinman, who spent seven months researching and writing early drafts of the book.

Still, "It Takes a Village: And Other Lessons Children Teach Us" has substance. The book borrows its title from an African proverb, "It takes a whole village to raise a child."

Clinton borrows the stories of programs from Arkansas to South Bronx, draws inspiration from Nelson Mandela and Margaret Mead, and writes of workable approaches to child-rearing that absolutely put children first. For childhood diseases, there's Every Child by Two, a nonprofit immunization education program. For bad nutrition there's Shape Up America!, former surgeon general Dr. C. Everett Koop's program. For low parent involvement in schools, there's Educational Excellence for Children with Environmental Limitations, a California home-school liaison program.

Every problem facing children today drugs, sex, violence, lousy upbringings has been solved somewhere, but in Clinton's cataloging of the solutions, she often bites off more than she has time to chew. She is borrowing from all over the place, and the book sometimes threatens to veer off course into an overlong campaign speech particularly when she quotes citizens who have approached her or her husband with their heart-rending stories. There's the Greek waiter whose son cannot walk across the street to play in the neighborhood park because it is unsafe.

"If I do what my boy asks and vote for you, will you make him free?" the waiter asked the future president. That stuff plays in campaigns. If an author wants a serious reputation, it should be left there.

Clinton also writes about hurried parents, religion, child care, education and citizenship. There are entire books out there on small components of each of these topics, and yet you have to give her credit for trying. It can't possibly hurt to have this very public woman throw her support toward raising healthy children.

"Children are not rugged individualists," she writes. "They depend on the adults they know and on thousands more who make decisions every day that affect their well-being."

The policy wonk stuff is sprinkled with anecdotes from Clinton's Chicago upbringing and glimpses upstairs at the White House and the Governor's Mansion in Arkansas.

She writes of husband Bill's singing for hours to new daughter Chelsea, with a brief mention of their daughter's being conceived while they were on vacation. (This was more detail than I wanted, but then, I don't like reading everything about England's royal family either.) The book is strongest when Clinton shows as she does in one story about her child care falling through when she was due in court in Arkansas that she is one of us. When she writes that she has had to bite her tongue and her husband has had to bite his tongue during marital conflicts, you just want to cheer. Thank God the Clintons fight, too!

That's refreshing, as is Clinton's concern for children. I don't doubt her

sincerity one bit when she writes of feeling hopeful that children's lives can be changed and the course of a nation altered if grown-ups put their minds and hearts to the task.

But will any of this stuff happen? Will America embrace the notion that each child is everyone's child? Clinton answers that, in a chapter about education:

"We cannot expect to reverse decades of declining standards in a few years ... But the whole point of goals is to encourage a process in states, school districts and individual schools that will set standards and offer real guidance as to what should be taught and how student performance should be measured. Why should we accept goals, standards and performance measures in business or sports but not in our schools?"

It's an election year, and both Clintons are in the middle of ugly public-relations firestorms. I don't want to think that this book is a mere attempt to rehabilitate their image. This is an important subject. Who can argue with the healthy upbringing of happy children? Let's just hope we can hear the first lady's point over the rabble.

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**** printed by:WHPR(JEL) on 01/19/96 at 08:56EST ****

MONDAY, JANUARY 15, 1996

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TELEVISION

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THEATER LISTINGS

PAGE E2

MOVIE LISTINGS

PAGES E5, E7

COMICS

PAGE E8

BOOKS

Patricia Holt

First Lady's Prescription For Society

Chatty 'Village' is political and amusing

We expect the usual first lady homilies about home and hearth in Hillary Rodham Clinton's book about children — and she does deliver them — but perhaps the big surprise in this combination autobiography and state-of-the-children address is how controversial, unabashedly political and amusing she can be without ever threatening a soul.

Take the time that Clinton, a successful lawyer and children's advocate, was lying in her hospital bed after the cesarean birth of her daughter, Chelsea, and, she confesses, "trying desperately to figure out how to breast-feed."

"I had been trained to study everything forward, backward and upside down before reaching a conclusion. It seemed to me I ought to be able to figure this out. As I looked on in horror, Chelsea started to foam at the nose. I thought she was strangling or having convulsions."

Clinton recalls hitting "every buzzer there was to push" until a nurse appeared who "calmly, then, suppressing a smile, said, 'It would help if you held her head up a bit, like this.' Chelsea was taking in my milk, but because of the awkward way I held her, she was breathing it out of her nose!"

The anecdote both sets a chatty and comfortable tone and perfectly represents Clinton's message — that no one can raise a child alone, even for a short period — in "It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us." The title refers to the African proverb that "it takes a whole village to raise a child," which means to

CLINTON: Page E2 Col. 1



Hillary Clinton is now a book author

Illing



He would have led it that way?

Q SAID WHAT

kind of look at the president as being the same year year. Republican and perat is not that different minds of a lot of ghetto to like myself. ... I didn't spiritually connected to her or not Colin Powell or president. ... I'm not one of those people who is looking for a black face in a place."

Sister Souljah, criticized by Bill Clinton when he ran for president for provocative comments on the L.A. race riots. Souljah was interviewed today on "Lauren Nuf-ton and ..."

as the scientific response of et Voight of the Field Museum in Chicago.

determined that what was y" was the undersea equivalent. When one octopus, look-onely place, encounters an-plore the possibility, however it might be a female, lest they opportunity."

buyers were paid \$50.

"I think Springsteen would be sick if he saw this," says Steve Soney, a lawyer who was too late to buy a ticket.

"It's free enterprise," said Jay Hill of Ticket City. "That's what America is based on."

TO

ANNUAL LOT OF CONGESTION
KING DRIVING CONDITIONS
SLIPPERY! EMERGENCY
ID CLEAN-UP CREWS ARE
H PLENTY OF KLEENEX...

DEAR ABBY

Food Allergies Are Nothing to Sneeze At

DEAR ABBY: Thank you for your column on danger of food allergies.

I have had a lifelong allergy to peanuts, but in recent years have I seen anything in print about problem. Well-meaning but ignorant people have me it's only my imagination!

My allergy has become much more acute as I grown older. At one point, I suffered a full-blown anaphylactic reaction. Your readers might find chronology of the symptoms of an allergic reaction educational.

Here's what happens (usually within minutes a true medical emergency, and every second counts. Your mouth starts to feel "funny" inside, then wrists and hands begin to itch, followed by arm-pits, then your crotch. That's just the beginning.

Your eyes and lips begin to itch and swell. hives start to puff up and itch over your entire

and — the really dangerous part — you begin to wheeze because your mucus membranes are also affected, and your lungs begin to fill up. Then, your blood pressure begins to fall, and your body attempts to compensate for the drop in pressure by increasing the heart rate to 200 beats a minute (65 to 80 is normal).

At this point, you are close to cashing in your chips unless you can get one or two of epinephrine. And, even if your blood pressure doesn't dive, if your throat swells shut, you're in serious trouble because only an emergency tracheotomy (a hole in your windpipe so air can reach lungs) can save you.

ELIZABETH A. CUP

DEAR ELIZABETH: Almost every year there's some mention in the media about an allergy-related tragedy or a close call experienced by someone who was not as fortunate as you.

Have a problem? Write to Dear Abby, Universal Press Syndicate, P.O. Box 69440, Los Angeles, 90069.

Universal Press

MISS MANNERS

Judith Martin

How to Handle A Delicate Situation

DEAR MISS MANNERS: A delicate situation. What should I do about it?

GENTLE READER: Handle it delicately.

Next question, please.

DEAR MISS MANNERS: Is it proper to use a computer for very personal letters?

They will be legible, but I shudder to think one day an ex-lover, when asked if he had any love letters, will pull out my printouts and point his audience.

Then again, love letters aren't meant to be framed and put on display for beauty, but

s Palo Alto

CLINTON: Children First

From Page E1

Clinton that even and especially in our fast-paced, high-tech, fragmented society, we have to stop thinking of children's needs as "soft" issues and start pitching in to help kids grow up in a healthy environment.

So far, she says, that environment is pretty unhealthy. "... one in five children in America live in poverty; 10 million children do not have private or public health care coverage; homicide and suicide kill almost 7,000 children every year; one in four of all children are born to unmarried mothers, many of whom are children themselves; and 135,000 children bring guns to school each day."

Other Problems

And that's just the most obvious of the problems. Clinton talks about the "disappearance of fathers"; of a decreasing but still high divorce rate; of the country's tragically high infant mortality rate; of unnecessarily expensive and risky adoption procedures; of separated families — even of the disastrous effect of fast-food restaurants and television on family dinner-table conversation.

All we need to do is shift our attention back to the needs of children, an obvious and simple move that is, she admits, seemingly unreachable in the modern adult world of corporate mergers and job insecurity. "Before I had Chelsea," she writes, "I noticed that in all the offices where I worked, most of the female workers began whispering into their phones every afternoon at around 3 o'clock. Finally, it dawned on me that they were making sure their children arrived home from school safely. ... They whispered because they felt they might be penalized for carrying out their family obligations."

Today, studies show that working mothers see a clear connection among family, company and societal obligations and that the error we make in "pitting stay-at-home moms against work-outside-of-the-home moms makes everyone a loser." Clinton should know: Still smarting over her "anti-cookie" gaff (having told a reporter that she'd rather practice law than stay at home baking cookies), she is critical of "the amount of energy that is wasted on public and private sniping over women's and men's choices and on stereotyping their values, abilities and predilections. Whatever our differences of opinion on these matters, they pale beside the needs of children. ..."

Look to the needs of all the children, she repeatedly suggests, and the right priorities will fall into place. Take the nostalgia in some quarters for "family values" that emerged from what she calls a "Norman Rockwell-like picture of American life half a century ago, one in which every household was made up of stable parents, two kids, a dog and a cat who all lived in a house with a manicured lawn and station wagon in the driveway." Since she grew up in a "Father Knows Best" family that she

IT TAKES A VILLAGE AND OTHER LESSONS CHILDREN TEACH US

By Hillary Rodham Clinton
 Simon & Schuster, 318 pages, \$20

believes fit that image, Clinton writes, "I understand that nostalgia. I feel it myself when the world seems too much to take."

But, she says, it's incumbent on Americans living in the '90s to know that few children lived in such families. "Ask African American children who grew up in a segregated society, or immigrants who struggled to survive in sweatshops and tenements, or women whose life choices were circumscribed and whose work was underpaid. Ask those who grew up in the picture-perfect houses about the secrets and desperation they sometimes concealed."

What Clinton would clearly like to retain from the notion of "family values" is a more caring America, a child-oriented America of neighborhoods and families (extended, single-parent and otherwise) that bring compassion and common sense to the tough decisions of modern life. She soundly knocks the idea proposed in the "The Bell Curve" — that "intelligence is fixed at birth" — as not only "unscientific" but "politically convenient" because it allows society to abandon disadvantaged children. "If we as a village decide not to help families develop their children's brains, then at least let us admit that we are acting not on the evidence but according to a different agenda."

Clinton turns time and again to both the metaphor and practical reality of "the village of work," tackling issues from discipline in an environment of love to the long-term effects of corporate support for employees with children.

Health Care

Perhaps most fascinating is to watch Clinton, the much maligned advocate of a national health care system she was forced to abandon early in her husband's administration, refocus her vision for the "guarantee (of) health care to all" through the lens of children's needs and 21st century economic realities. Provide prenatal care to every pregnant mother now, she says, and save on medical care for premature births later; offer sensible sex education now and lower the rate of abortions and teen births later; offer preventive and on-site health care to children and reduce emergency room and medical costs; assist employees with children and watch the bottom line increase; create "school-to-work" opportunities for failing students and reduce crime and welfare costs later.

Such ideas, couched in her affable, conversational style, make "It Takes a Village" an entertaining book of unseen power — but the impact of Hillary Clinton's genuine belief in a children-loving society remains in mind long after book's end.

'Roseanne's' Sir

So how will ABC's "Roseanne" dispose of John Goodman next season? (It is being said he won't return to the fictional Conner homestead.)

Well, how about playing to Roseanne's penchant for twisted irony? Roseanne could simply explain that the Goodman character had left her for another woman. Then, at the end of the year — if this is really Rosey's final stand — it could be revealed that Roseanne and her sister Jackie murdered Dan Conner and buried him under the house.

Just a thought, Rosey. Do with it what you will.

Elizabeth Taylor is, according to her press releases anyway, ready

Goss
 Liz Smith

for another Unfortunally comeback as unambiguously with her in movie to put years of her crises, will her aborted fame.

Taylor cinate the en-city to New York City.

TODAY

CONCERTS

Joseph Ognibene, horn, and Jane Jackson, piano, perform works by R. Strauss, Messiaen, Nielsen, Copland and Hindemith. 8:30 p.m. Noe Valley Ministry, 1021 Sanchez Street. (415) 282-2317.

THEATER

"Winter Games '96." Bay Area TheatreSports presents an improvisational theater team competition. 8 p.m. Bayfront Theater, Building B, Fort Mason. (415) 824-8220.

"One Hand, One Heart" is a cabaret show featuring the cast of "West Side Story." Proceeds benefit Under One Roof and Broadway Cares/Equity Fights AIDS. 8 p.m. Club Fugazi, 678 Green Street. (415) 421-4222.

COMEDY

All-Pro comedy showcase. 9 p.m. Cobb's Comedy Club, 2801 Leavenworth Street. (415) 978-4320.

Gay comedy open mike with Suzy Berger. 8 p.m. Josie's Cabaret, 3583 16th Street. (415) 861-7933.

EVENTS

Celebrate Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Day at a march and rally featuring ethnic music, food and dance, and an awards ceremony recognizing outstanding Bay Area residents.

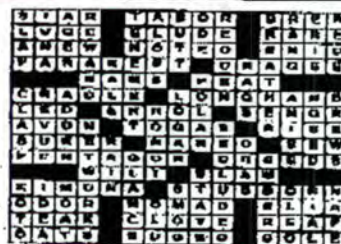
dents. The at 11:30 a.m. at Four after the ar Train from S 292-3157 f train ride at cisco rally b Yerba Buena ther King Jr. note spoke Brown. (415)

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The Film A "Skin Deep nation of n campuses. the event a entertain Theatre. 2 552-3456.

Comics, T po feature promos at a.m.-5 p.m. South Air San Franc

CROSSWORD SOLUTI



Solution to today's Comics Page Puzzle (Page E8)



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bc-pinkerton - a0925

(ndy) (ATTN: Editorial Page editors)

Pinkerton is a columnist for Newsday.

PINKERTON COMMENTARY: Stone-Tossing Mars Hillary Clinton Book

By James P. Pinkerton= Special to Newsday=

Hillary Rodham Clinton saint or sinner? Congenital liar or Eleanor Roosevelt redux? The first lady has been called all that and more in recent weeks. The Beltway buzz concerns whether she will testify before the Senate Whitewater committee, an event that would generate more media megawattage than Oliver North's Iran-contra hearings multiplied by Anita Hill's Senate testimony. All this speculation threatens to overshadow her new book, "It Takes A Village." This is a shame, because the policies she espouses are of more consequence than the personalities involved in the scandals, flaps and fiascoes that transfix Washington.

Clinton is direct. "All of us," she writes, "are responsible for deciding whether our children are raised in a nation that doesn't just espouse family values but values families and children." Americans can help, she adds, by offering more time, energy and the key word "resources."

Yet while Clinton quickly telegraphs her bottom line, much of her book could have been written by an apolitical expert such as Joyce Brothers whom she strongly resembles in the dust jacket photo. Her discussion of the practicalities of child-rearing, from breast-feeding to teen-disciplining, contains useful, even life-saving, advice. Pointing to the 40,000 head injuries kids get every year, she states that "Parents should be willing to go toe-to-toe with their kids over taking certain precautions, like wearing helmets." She conspicuously doesn't call for a law to back that recommendation.

Indeed, she endorses many conservative ideas, including experiments in mandating uniforms for public school students as some cities have done. She also backs public school choice and creation of innovative charter schools within the public system, and praises Bill Bennett and C. Dolores Tucker for their joint effort to shame Time-Warner and other media giants into dropping their "gangsta" rap acts and airing more "family sensitive" shows.

Yet her message of bureaucratic liberalism that came through so loud and clear in 1993-94 has been revised, not revoked. Beginning with her title, drawn from the African proverb, "It takes a whole village to raise a child," Clinton has instead attempted to reposition her ideas for the late '90s. She begins by subtly shifting the definition of "village." Most Americans associate "village" with traditional, organic community. But Clinton has a different usage in mind. There can be no return to the "good old days," she declares, adding that "The village can no longer be defined as a place on the map." In today's village, she argues, the government will be the chief.

Chapter upon chapter extols the wonderful bureaucratic programs she has visited in the United States and the wonderful bureaucratic countries she has seen overseas. Revealingly, one chapter is entitled "Let Us Build a Village Worthy of Our Children," which recalls the slogan of the British socialists after World War I. They would build, they pledged, "a nation fit for heroes." It didn't work out that way, but for the true bureaucratic believer, programatic failure never causes a loss of faith.

Not only does Clinton believe in full federal funding for everything, but she suggests many ways for Big Government to get bigger. For example, she worries that "family caregivers in America are often not regulated." Indeed, two-thirds of America's children are cared for in somebody's home. Social workers and their unions have long sought to "professionalize" child care; such a step would mean more tax-funded jobs for people like them. But would child care in America really improve if grannies and nannies were muscled out by a costly caste of providers and an intrusive cadre of enforcers?

Clinton is no ivory-tower dweller. Rather, in her down-to-earth conclusion, she expertly elbows her enemies in a fashion that recalls some

men who graced and disgraced the White House. She trickily lambastes those who adhere to ``the extreme anti-government position'' without ever naming anyone. And so, when she accuses foes of indulging in ``intense personal attacks on government officials,'' the reader is free to equate Rush Limbaugh, for example, with the Oklahoma City bombers. But why would anyone oppose Clinton's efforts to help children? Because, she informs us, such extremists seek ``not just to restrain government, but to advance narrow religious, political and economic agendas.''

Such motive-impugning detracts from a book that would otherwise be remembered as a sincere expression of the liberal creed. Clinton, whose own house seems glassier with each passing day, ought to consider that before she throws any more Nixonian stones.

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~ Members will receive a hand-delivered copy of *Our Hopes, Our Dreams* today ~

"There's no such thing as other people's children."

—Hillary Rodham Clinton



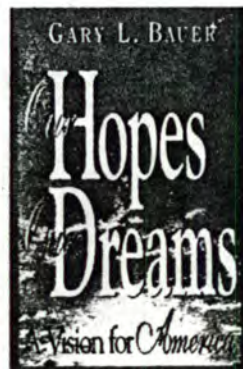
The first lady wants you to believe "it takes a village to raise a child." Gary Bauer wants you to know why the village can't replace Moms & Dads.

Mrs. Clinton actually believes "there's no such thing as other peoples' children." That's why her new book lays out ambitious plans for "the village" to raise America's children. She is determined to implement these and other plans through the power of the Federal government - radical plans like these that can only separate children from their parents:

- * "Children's Rights" to choose their own medical treatment, education, and entertainment, even without parental consent.
- * Abortion-on-demand for minors through taxpayer-funded health care.
- * Explicit sex education materials for all elementary school children.

But Gary Bauer's book *Our Hopes, Our Dreams* is a pro-family alternative to the first lady's far-

reaching plans. *Our Hopes, Our Dreams* is a positive vision for America's children. It's based on self-reliant families who don't need the counterfeit authority of the global "village," or the approval of government bureaucrats, to make the vital decisions in their lives.



This pivotal debate on the family will determine the future of how you will be allowed to raise your children. *Our Hopes, Our Dreams* outlines the issues and offers practical steps to ensure that the right to raise your family stays where it belongs - at home with you.

Order your copy today, then share this pro-family vision with your friends and neighbors, your co-workers, local libraries and church groups.

\$3.99 Suggested donation | To order, call Family Research Council, or visit your local Christian bookstore

* *Newsweek*, January 15, 1996



1-800-225-4008

Family Research Council 700 Thirteenth Street NW, Suite 500, Washington, D.C. 20005 Gary L. Bauer, President

95ARLA

TALKING IT OVER

BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

My daughter just turned 16. She can't wait to get her driver's license. She's thinking about college. And she is already a pro at talking on the phone.

To mark the occasion, Bill and I had a celebratory dinner for her at home and then took her to see "Les Miserables," one of her favorite musicals.

I look upon all of these developments with a mixture of joy and relief, and also a measure of maternal pride and humility in the young woman Chelsea is becoming. Still, the idea of my only child growing up and going out into the world fills me with more than a little anxiety.

As I write these words, I can see Chelsea rolling her eyes and saying, "Mom, have some faith."

It's just that the world is so different now than when I was growing up. (And worrying is, after all, an occupational hazard of motherhood.)

When I turned 16, my parents didn't have to feel anxious about my safety every time I ventured out in our suburban neighborhood or even to see a movie in Chicago. Television was limited to three networks, and in those days, "The Patty Duke Show" was about the raciest program we ever saw.

To be sure, girls today have more opportunities than they did 30 years ago. I remember how disappointed I was when, as a teen-ager, I wrote to NASA to inquire about my future prospects as an astronaut and received a letter back saying that women weren't allowed in the space program. (It didn't help to learn that my terrible eyesight would have disqualified me anyway!)

Now, girls can realistically dream of flying in space, piloting jet fighters and running Fortune 500 companies. They can be Supreme Court justices, network television anchors and big-city police chiefs. Or they can choose full-time motherhood and homemaking. The point is, it's now a choice.

But for all the changes we've seen, it's still tough to be a teen-ager today -- maybe tougher than ever.

In her best-selling book, "Reviving Ophelia," psychologist Mary Pipher warns that we live in a "girl poisoning" culture that demeans the intelligence and creative spirit of teen-age girls. Young women are not rewarded for having brains, strength or character but for their looks, sex appeal, popularity and even submissiveness.

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON 2/27/96

Page 2

Girls are bombarded with messages about what society expects of them and are taught to measure themselves against an impossible standard of physical perfection. They're supposed to be thinner, taller, sexier and prettier.

No wonder so many adolescent girls develop substance abuse problems, eating disorders or other self-destructive behavior. Like Ophelia in Shakespeare's "Hamlet," who inspired the title of Dr. Pipher's book, many girls reach adolescence and lose a sense of who they are and what they can be.

And they feel they have nowhere to go for help.

A wise friend once counseled me that teen-agers need as much time and attention from their parents as toddlers. In different ways, both are seeking independence. It was about the best child-rearing advice I ever got.

Like all parents of teen-agers, I've learned that there are times when my daughter is eager to talk and times when she doesn't want to say a word. And while it's not always easy to read signals from an adolescent, I've found that the most important thing a parent can do is keep the lines of communication open, no matter how distant or detached a teen-ager may seem.

Dr. Pipher recommends that parents look for things to praise and respect in a teen-age girl's behavior -- her insight, maturity or good judgment. "It is almost never helpful to label girls as young and immature," she says. "To girls, that feels contemptuous."

Most important, parents need to resist feeling hurt when an adolescent girl gives off signs of rejection. I know how hard this is: There have been times in the past when I've felt lucky my daughter was willing to be seen in my presence.

Parents also need to remember that as hard as it is to raise a child in today's world, it's much harder to be a child.

We never stop worrying about our children. But we can try, as Dr. Pipher says, to "stay reasonably calm through the storms" of adolescence.

The writer Elizabeth Stone once wrote that deciding to have a child "is to decide forever to have your heart go walking around outside your body."

For my part, when my daughter jumps behind the wheel of the car and takes off on her own soon, I'm sure I'll be filled with excitement at her newfound independence.

I'll also take a deep breath -- and hope for the best.

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February 27, 1996

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FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

*file ltrc
bio*

To: Milan Vex Vex Company: WH
Fax #: 202-456-6244 Date: 5/5/95 Time: _____

Number of pages including this cover sheet: 8

MESSAGE

Dear Milan,

Someone from the White House had recommended me as one of the tribute writers for the issue of the Annual Survey of American Law that is honoring Hillary.

I called you yesterday to double check some details of Hillary's past employment that were not on the official White House biography, but I was able to find the answers in my own files. The final essay is attached. If you spot any errors let me know.

Will I see you at the women's lunch on May 18th?

Warmest regards.

Yours,

Letty

Letty Cottin Pogrebin

*-for MV
Pam. Call Letty + tell her
there was one change on p. 1
~~about that~~*

PHOTOCOPY
HRC HANDWRITING

Tribute to Hillary Rodham Clinton

by Letty Cottin Pogrebin

As a professional scribbler, I usually find it hard to write about Hillary Clinton because of the journalistic imperative to avoid superlatives. Thankfully, no such rule applies at the Annual Survey of American Law, which means your tribute book will likely reflect a more authentic view of this remarkable woman than has been evident in the average "objective" media profile.

The fact is, one cannot talk about Hillary Rodham Clinton without using superlatives. The National Law Journal listed her among the "100 most influential lawyers in America" (one of only four women), and she appears in Best Lawyers in America, Who's Who in American Law, and the World Who's Who of Women. What interests me far more than her professional honors is the way her friends and colleagues talk about her, their recollections of her personal warmth, her lifelong commitment to justice, her breathtaking intellect, the balance of mind and heart, dazzling eloquence and down-home humor that make this woman so unique.

Hillary Clinton is not a recent invention of First Ladyhood; she has been who she is for more than 25 years. Her Wellesley classmates remember her as a pre-eminent intellectual but also as the kindest, most principled student leader on campus, totally focused, a gifted mediator, well-centered, and mature beyond her years. Several of her Yale contemporaries have told me she was not simply an editor of the Law Review but the smartest person

I did not try out for Law Journal
but served on ¹⁹⁸¹ Review Law & Social Action

(not woman, person) at the Yale Law School -- and unselfconscious to boot.

Sara Ehrman, a veteran Democratic activist who ran George McGovern's 1972 presidential campaign in South Texas, first met Hillary Rodham when she came to San Antonio as a volunteer. Ehrman remembers being bowled over by the young law student's grasp of arcane election law, but says the reason the two became friends and remain close to this day is because "Hillary's the best company in the world." In 1974, while she was serving on the Impeachment Inquiry staff of the Judiciary Committee working on the Watergate proceedings, Hillary Rodham was Sara Ehrman's houseguest for nine months.

As Ehrman tells it: "She was brilliant, she was a star, she could have done anything in Washington. When she came home one night and told me she'd decided to teach at the University of Arkansas and make a life with Bill Clinton, I said 'Are you out of your mind going to this Godforsaken place to marry this country lawyer?!' She just looked at me and said, 'Sara, I love him.' So I drove her to Arkansas, which was the most raucous, wonderful journey of my life. We laughed all the way through the Blue Ridge Mountains and the Shenandoah Valley. It took us four days because every 20 miles we stopped to go shopping."

Ambassador Mickey Kantor, now U.S. Trade Representative, joined the Legal Services Corporation Board in 1978 when Hillary Clinton was its Chair. "I can't say enough good things about her," he begins. "She had a tremendous dedication to local programs and a deep commitment to making justice accessible to

3

poor people in everything from spousal abuse cases to landlord-tenant or wage disputes. Plus, she could always balance conflicting interests, ideologies, and personalities on the board and among the lawyers and staff. The Corporation was never in better shape than when she chaired it."

Kantor, a friend for 17 years, believes the media has trouble capturing Hillary Clinton because she is so multi-dimensional. He describes her as a terrific wife, mother, daughter, sister, lawyer, public servant, and friend; someone with a great sense of humor, who has contributed so much to her community, is "extremely well-organized, speaks in perfect paragraphs, knows how to take complicated issues and break them down into manageable pieces, and operates as every good lawyer should -- zealously on behalf of the client."

Not only has she always been willing to take on intractable issues whether related to the legal system, quality education, or health care, but, Kantor says, by the example of her own strength and dignity "she is blazing a trail for future First Ladies -- or First Husbands. She is a fascinating combination of talents. For once, all the superlatives are true."

Elaine Weiss was Executive Director of the ABA Commission on Women in the Profession when Hillary Clinton was its Chair.

"Hillary was instrumental in getting the ABA to take an activist voice in advancing women's status," says Weiss. "She saw women's issues as economic issues. She'd go into a room full of predominantly white guys and their body language bespoke their discomfort. But she had this incredible ability to break down

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barriers and get men to listen to the problems of women. She came across very mainstream, and sounded so reasonable, and presented herself as a working lawyer just like them. And she got them to embrace change because of her leadership."

Under Hillary Clinton, the Commission held national hearings on the status of women in the profession. It published a report on gender bias in law schools, government, courtrooms, and Bar Associations. It identified the double barriers experienced by minority women lawyers. It developed policy manuals to guide law firms on how to better deal with parental leave, part-time work, or sexual harassment.

"A woman lawyer anywhere in the country, not just a Wall Street megastar, could take this manual to a partner and say, 'Look, we can work this out.' The Commission really made a difference in women's lives because of Hillary's efforts. And Hillary made a difference for me because she was a role model of a successful woman who never sacrificed her family or friends. Working for her was the best part of my life."

When Elinor Guggenheimer brought Hillary Rodham Clinton on to the board of the Child Care Action Campaign, on which I also served, I remember thinking Guggenheimer must have recruited her for show, because she was cute, young, blonde, and the wife of an up-and-coming governor. To my surprise, at the first meeting she attended, Hillary Clinton offered the most knowledgeable, clear-headed assessment of this country's child care crisis I'd ever heard in one mouthful. During the years we served together, I developed an abiding respect for her problem-solving skills and

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her genuine dedication to guaranteeing quality care to every American child.

"Hillary always approached the child care problem with passion but not emotionalism," says Guggenheimer. "She's not one of those simplistic 'I just love little children' types; she looks at what legislation is needed, what policy changes, what strategies. She brings cerebral power to her caring."

To Ellie Guggenheimer, there's much more to Hillary Clinton than her brains. "I never recognize her when I read about her in the press. They miss her whimsy and her sensitivity. Whenever she stayed over at our apartment in New York, we put her up on a convertible couch. She was First Lady of Arkansas at the time but she refused to be waited on by anyone. My husband Randy fell in love with her and he's a Republican. After one visit, she sent us a picture of herself and Randy on which she'd inscribed, 'Hope the tabloids don't find out about us.'"

Hillary Clinton's eloquence is the eighth wonder of the world. "She never speaks from notes and she never says er, ah, or um, no matter how complex the subject," says Guggenheimer. "I don't know how she does it."

I've marveled at the same phenomenon. In the summer of 1991, I organized a week-long series on family issues at the Chautauqua Institution and invited Hillary Clinton to speak on the challenge of blending marriage, work, and childrearing. When she took to the podium in front of 5000 people with not a shred of paper in hand, my heart stopped, but of course she gave a speech of great

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substance, an inspiring mix of personal experience and policy analysis -- and did so, indeed, without a stammer.

Leon Friedman remembers a recent Eighth Circuit Judicial Conference in Colorado Springs at which the speakers and panelists included Supreme Court Justices Byron White, John Paul Stevens, and Harry Blackmun, plus various Circuit and District Judges, a U.S. Senator and Congressman, the head of the CIA, and a passel of professors. Friedman, a Hofstra Law School professor, and Hillary Clinton of the Rose Law Firm, did joint service on a panel on "Recent Developments in the Area of Civil Rights." He took race, age, and disability, and she took sex discrimination.

"I was awed by her technical legal expertise," says Friedman, "but what really blew me away was the impromptu keynote address she gave earlier in the day when she was asked to stand in for her husband, the governor, who was called away on state business. She had no time to prepare, yet she got up there and, without a single note, gave a talk that was so perfectly parsed, so well-organized and elegantly presented that Justice Blackmun just kept raving, 'Wasn't Hillary wonderful? Wasn't she great?'"

"I remember how she summoned this very distinguished audience of 500 lawyers and judges to think about the well-being of the nation's children. She said we must start at the bottom, with attitudes and education. She cited a survey that asked Americans and Europeans, 'What is more important to your child's success: hard work or innate ability?' The Europeans said hard work, the Americans said innate ability. She speculated that America's sports culture may cause us to give too much credit to

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innate ability and we must do things at all levels of society to inspire education and hard work so every child can perform to his or her best potential.

"Most people are not used to hearing a woman do public policy analysis. Wives, especially, aren't supposed to effect policy. Wives are supposed to be there to open up the garden in the spring. But we lawyers can recognize intellectual excellence when we see it, and you couldn't miss it with Hillary. I came home and told everyone 'Watch out for this woman. You're going to hear more from her.'"

Hillary Rodham Clinton is a great national resource, a fine legal mind, an inspiration to aspiring women, a model of the loving yet autonomous wife, a consistent champion of children, and a good soul. I look forward to hearing more from her in the years to come.

LETTY COTTIN POGREBIN
Author

The Fight Over Orphanages

Welfare: Let's move to a discussion of what is best for the children that is open, honest and fair

BY HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
Hillary Clinton recently dismissed as "absurd" the idea of taking poor children away from their homes and putting them in orphanages. Newt Gingrich retorted by suggesting that the First Lady rent the 1938 movie "Boys' Town," adding, "I don't understand liberals who live in enclaves of safety who say, 'Oh, this would be a terrible thing. Look at the Norman Rockwell family that would break up.' The fact is we are allowing a brutalization and a degradation of children in this country, a destructiveness."
 NEWSWEEK asked Mrs. Clinton for her response:

I AM HEARTENED THAT the well-being of children and families increasingly is a focus of national attention as more and more Americans express their frustration with the failings of the welfare system, high rates of illegitimacy, irresponsible parenting, poor schooling, drugs and violence. And I applaud our nation's determination to do something about these problems.

Over the past 25 years I have spent a lot of time and energy working to strengthen families and help children. There is nothing about which I care more. I have volunteered in institutions serving children in homeless shelters, group homes, children's hospitals and schools. In Arkansas, I started programs to teach parenting skills to welfare recipients and worked with advocacy groups to improve education, health care and child care. I have served on committees to combat youth violence and child abuse. And I have written about the legal rights and responsibilities of children in their families and society.

I also understand the frustration that many Americans feel toward government bureaucracy. As a children's advocate and

lawyer, I waged plenty of my own battles with government and represented foster children and parents in lawsuits against government bureaucracies. On a more personal level, I have struggled with the anguish caused by terminating the parental



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

The First Lady: 'I doubt either mom would have given up Bill or Newt without one heck of a fight'

rights of mothers who desperately love their children but are unable to care for them. And I have had to explain to abused children, who fear loneliness more than harm, that being taken from the only home they know is for their protection and not their punishment.

Based on these experiences, I know that when any of us talk about what is best for children, we should start with a large dose of humility, and then be willing to struggle through the hard questions posed by the collapse of families.

Take the orphanages debate, for example. There is no doubt that many Americans have benefited from being raised by caring people in orphanages. On the other hand, I disagree with those who

suggest that children should be taken from their parents and put in orphanages solely because they were born out of wedlock and their parents are poor. This is big government interference into the lives of private citizens at its worst.

As we debate welfare reform, I hope we will learn from the recent verbal skirmishes over orphanages how public discussion of critical issues can be confused and bogged down by polarizing language. I agree with the recent comments of Speaker Gingrich, who said last week that the debate over orphanages had become distorted and cheap. Let's move on to a discussion that is open, honest and fair. If we do, perhaps we will be able to look back at the orphanage debate as a cautionary lesson in how to discuss sensitive and important matters, and not to characterize whole groups of

Americans with broad, unfair stereotypes that will not lead us to positive or fair solutions.

Like most Americans, I too am deeply disturbed by the outrageous rates of out-of-wedlock births and the welfare dependency they bring. And my heart breaks every time I hear another story about a mother or father who abuses, neglects or kills a child.

But more than two decades of working on children's issues has taught me that there are no simple solutions to such complex human problems. I also have learned that there are some absolutely bedrock principles when it comes to ensuring the well-being of children.

First, children are almost always best off with their families. Our legal system presumes that a child should be with his or her parents unless

there is convincing evidence that abuse or neglect threatens a child's well-being. That standard should not be changed. But we should look for better ways to identify children at risk, move quickly to help their families and, as a last resort, move children to the best possible out-of-home placement.

Second, those who believe poverty is a disqualification from good parenting probably have not been in the company of poor but hardworking parents. Both the President and the Speaker lost their fathers, one through death, one through divorce. Each of their young mothers eventually remarried, and each boy was then adopted by his new father. But one can only imagine what might have

happened if bad luck had left those young women alone and in poverty. I doubt either mom would have given up Bill or Newt to any orphanage without one heck of a fight.

Poor parents struggle every day to give their children the most with the least. And often they are among the best parents. They know children need a secure home, strong values, consistency and love. The love can be as rich and the values as sound in the homes of Watts as in Westchester, in Harlem as in Highland Park.

Those who think otherwise are letting a handful of sensational media stories create a false stereotype in their minds. After all, only a small fraction of the 14 million children classified as poor currently are placed in out-of-home care.

Third, it is important to support families with special problems, including poverty, before giving up on them. Certainly there are cases—too many, and tragically there seem to be more all the time—where parents abuse their children or are unable or unwilling to meet their family responsibilities. Instances of abuse and neglect occur in rich as well as in poor families. But we all know that poor families are more likely to feel the stress of economic troubles and be identified for government intervention. It is more cost-effective and realistic to help avoid family breakup. That is why the President signed the Family and Medical Leave Act, which enables parents to be good parents and good workers by giving them time off without fear of losing their job when a child is born or is sick.

The President also insisted in 1993 on giving working families earning less than \$26,000 a year a tax cut that averaged \$1,000 a family, so that their hard-earned dollars could be spent on their children instead of sent to the government.

The President's budget plan also included funding for family preservation programs like the one I recently visited in Los Angeles. That church-run program receives state and federal funds to help families stay together. The success stories I heard were impressive, and so was the fact that the work being done was cheaper than any foster care or orphanage could ever be.

'Children are almost always best off with their families'

Fourth, whenever dangerous circumstances do exist, children must be protected from harm and moved into alternative settings outside their family. But this should only occur as a last resort to keep the child safe.

When children are endangered and only the government has the right to intervene, government must act quickly and decisively to protect them. But removing children from their

parents is—and should be—difficult because of the seriousness of the matter, and because available options outside the family are not always good ones. Too often, children are left to languish in the insecurity of the foster care system or with inadequate institutional care. When the govern-

underlying principle in welfare reform. It is the crux of welfare reform legislation the President presented to Congress last year. And it is what the President was working for when he gave 24 states waivers to promote their own versions of welfare reform.

In the coming debate, I hope we can all agree to launch a national campaign to discourage teenage pregnancies and to require fathers to take responsibility for their children and pay child support when marriage doesn't occur or divorce does. We should insist that young men who casually father children admit paternity. We should help young women on welfare who are yearning to be good mothers acquire the skills they need to move out of welfare and into work. We should encourage the adoption of children who cannot be returned to their parents. We should insist that any institution we establish for children meet

standards of care and safety that we would demand for our own children.

I grew up in a Republican family and, although I'm now a Democrat, I always thought the Republican Party believed in the value of family—not in government intrusions into family life. It is my hope that we can now put the war of words about orphanages and the slogans about welfare families behind us and join together—as parents, teachers, ministers, community leaders and policymakers—to fulfill our responsibilities to America's children. Too often in the past, we've assumed that only the family, or only the government, was responsible for ensuring the well-being of children. But personal values and national policies must both play a role.

As the National Conference of Catholic Bishops said in its 1992 pastoral letter entitled, *Putting Families First*: "No government can love a child, and no policy can substitute for a family's care. But, government can either support or undermine families. There has been an unfortunate, unnecessary and unreal polarization in discussion [about] how best to help families. The undeniable fact is that our children's future is shaped both by the values of their parents and the policies of our nation."

I have a feeling if Father Flanagan were here to take part in this debate, his view would reflect the wisdom of the bishops. Taking responsibility for the children in our own lives and all children is the most sacred duty we have.



BOB NELSON—BLACK STAR

Promoting Father Flanagan: Gingrich autographs a photo from 'Boys' Town' at a Georgia screening

ment is forced to remove a child, it should be required to find the right solution promptly.

The point I have tried to make for years is that any decision to separate a child from his parents should be made solely on the basis of the child's safety and well-being. We should never permit children to be taken from their families simply because the parents are poor, unmarried or lacking education.

So let's put first things first. Our greatest energy should be spent promoting responsible parenting and independence from the welfare system—all with a view toward building strong families and creating conditions in which children can flourish. Children's welfare should always be the

The First Lady, Following the Leader

By Joel Achenbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

MIAMI

While the men convened at the old palace of Vizcaya and talked about trade and made important decisions affecting the entire Western Hemisphere, the First Ladies, *las primeras damas*, met across town at the Biltmore Hotel, and talked about children.

This was no tea. Hillary Rodham Clinton was in charge. It was called the Symposium on Children of the Americas, something Mrs. Clinton dreamed up for the spouses during the three-day Summit of the Americas. It was unclear precisely what would come of it. But then the entire summit was a little vague, seeming at times like a carefully choreographed show interrupted by random motorcades.

Mrs. Clinton carried papers with her. The other First Ladies, incompletely Rodhamized, had purses. The women in their power suits were as boldly colorful as Life Savers; the First Lady of the United States wore green, or maybe you'd call it *creme de menthe* (In other superficial news: Her hairstyle was a "very natural, soft, gentle cut, slightly underturned in the lower area," a spokeswoman for the Georgetown Klinger salon told the Miami Herald).

The symposium began with a plenary session, followed by breakout sessions, then lunch at a long banquet table. When the food was cleared Mrs. Clinton leaned forward, both elbows on the table, arms crossed, and asked for reports from the committee chairwomen.

It was a few minutes later, when the First Lady of Guyana was talking—"Obviously housing is an important aspect of giving our children the care they need. . . . We also discussed the need to reduce infant mortality. . . ."—that the event momentarily seemed a little surreal, like make-believe governance, an exercise in the correct identification of the obvious.

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WASHINGTON, From C1

fantasizing that they were Hillary Rodham Clinton; and she, fantasizing that she was across town at Vizcaya.

But that's speculation. You can't read Hillary Clinton from a distance. Unlike her husband, she's opaque. No stray emotion can poke through her public face. She's more presidential than the president.

Only at the very end of the symposium did she sound like something other than a precision instrument.

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In a shellshocked administration, there is possibly no job more perplexing than the non-job of First Lady. What is she, exactly? What's she supposed to do? She's a rogue figure in the White House, sort of unemployed at the moment, a nuclear missile without a silo.

She's a formidable weapon. Her mental clarity is awesome—without notes she can speak in complete paragraphs, talking and smiling at the same time, eyes scanning her audience, left, right. She bowled over Congress when she first testified on health care. She was completely poised when grilled by reporters on how she turned a thousand bucks into \$100,000 in the futures market. In the White House they call her the Big Girl.

She's still powerful, the one person who can't be fired, can't be ignored, can't be demoted in any technical sense of the word. But she can be made more ceremonial; she can be made wifer. Of course she and her aides deny that such a thing has happened. The counselor to the president, Thomas "Mack" McLarty, yesterday said, "I think Hillary will continue to be someone who is re-

spected and will make a very meaningful contribution to this administration and more importantly to the people of this country."

It's true that she's still out there, with a full public schedule. But she has no real agenda, just a theme: children. That is not exactly controversial. Even Harry and Louise like kids.

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A little outrage crept into Gore's voice. "What is she, Madonna? I don't think so. She doesn't have to reinvent herself after every album."

But Madonna's only crime was "The Girlie Tour." She didn't get any of the blame for the Republican takeover of Congress. These are delicate times for the First Lady. Liberals walk on tippy-toes. Her friends are being detonated left and right—indicted, fired, exiled. The right wing thinks Mrs. Clinton is a pinko. And a CBS News poll recently showed that more than half of Americans think it's inappropriate for a First Lady to be involved in policy.

First Ladies are never supposed to be political handicaps. "I cannot say that I agree with my husband on everything, but I will never tell you what I disagree with him about," she said recently. She can't make mistakes. She can't offend men, can't offend women. One of her problems has been fashion; the Europeans thought her frumpy. Her hair is a famous obsession (A couple of weeks ago she spoke to a group of women lawyers moments after a slide show of her career; "How many of you counted the different hairstyles in the slides? I got to 19 and quit," she said). Her life is like a giant wedding; everything must be *just so*. She smiles into bright lights and tries to step gracefully on the piece of tape on the floor marked "HRC."

Mrs. Clinton says she's not retreating. She points out that she's worked on children's issues for 25 years, since Yale Law School. "I did health care in part because you know I've always been focused on children's health," she says.

To advertise her new focus, she met Friday morning with the students of Charles Drew Elementary, a mostly African American school in the heart of Liberty City, a neighborhood where the riots in 1980 left 18 people dead, on a street that in recent years has been one of Dade County's worst drug zones. The students were lined up to greet her in the parking lot; the First Lady's aides shooed away adults who tried to crowd into the line of camera fire. Another photo opportunity came inside, where the student orchestra played "Oye Mi Canto" for the First Lady, and a first-grader serenaded her with the Whitney Houston song "I Will Always Love You." Then she answered questions in the caeterium. One tiny girl said, "How do you be a queen of the world?" The First Lady laughed, and told her the first thing she'd have to do is get a good education.

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that in Europe he had seen many castles. "We get to go see lots of castles," said the First Lady.

What does she like about being First Lady? "I like working on children's issues, like health and education and helping stop violence." Are there disadvantages to being First Lady? "The disadvantages are, you don't have any privacy, you can't walk out the front door, you can't go shopping by yourself. . . . Mostly the good parts are bigger and better than the other parts."

What's her most important job?

"My most important job is taking care of my family and taking care of myself and the people around me."

Then came a question from one of the bigger girls: How did she feel when she heard "rumors" about her and her husband?

"I didn't feel very good. Did you ever have anyone say things about you that weren't true and hurt your feelings? . . . You just try to ignore other stuff that people try to do to you."

At the end the kids gave her a report card, all A's, including A-plus for "effort" on health care. "I wish my father were here, I'd send it to him and say look at this," she said, a sweet thought, and a reminder of another thing she has lost since she arrived at the White House.

Later she toured a pediatric intensive care unit, and saw a miracle baby that survived after being born four months premature. That was closed to the press, but the photographers were allowed to shoot her aboard a mobile pediatric care van, standing next to a cute five-year-old. The child tried to find her heartbeat with a stethoscope, but couldn't. A few minutes later the First Lady gestured to the reporters and photographers crammed into one end of the van: "Maybe we should take care of all these people, see if they have a heart."

A First Lady is always in a bind: she's the perfect representative of women everywhere. On the first page of her official one-page biography, printed on White House stationery, it says that while First Lady of Arkansas "she worked as a full-time partner of a law firm, chaired an education committee that set public school standards in Arkansas, managed a home, and cared for her husband and child." It also says she has on many occasions spoken about the need "to find the right balance in our lives." You look at her balancing act and realize that she and every other working woman in the '90s is the heir to the Flying Wallendas.

She doesn't complain. She has endurance. The First Lady is a role model's role model, a 24-hour grown-up, always being responsible, someone you can't imagine engaging in the act of mindless play—unlike that big meatball of a husband. You often hear the word "admire" when people talk of her. It's a word one would use to describe someone at a distance, an icon.

When Tipper Gore heard that a reporter was doing a piece on the First Lady, she said, "Don't genderize it." Meaning, don't do another piece focusing on her status as a woman and wife rather than as a leader. "Don't genderize it. Everybody else does. Don't do it and you'll be a better man for it."

Alas, it's impossible. Her job is weird. She's the First Lady. The conundrum is right in the title.

The First Lady's Mission Impossible

Washington Post: December 14, 1994, C1

By Joel Achenbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

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"I didn't feel very good. Did you ever have anyone say things about you that weren't true and hurt your feelings? . . . You just try to ignore other stuff that people try to do to you."

At the end the kids gave her a report card, all A's, including A-plus for "effort" on health care. "I wish my father were here, I'd send it to him and say look at this," she said, a sweet thought, and a reminder of another thing she has lost since she arrived at the White House.

Later she toured a pediatric intensive care unit, and saw a miracle baby that survived after being born four months premature. That was closed to the press, but the photographers were allowed to shoot her aboard a mobile pediatric care van, standing next to a cute 5-year-old. The child tried to find her heartbeat with a stethoscope, but couldn't. A few minutes later the First Lady gestured to the reporters and photographers crammed into one end of the van: "Maybe we should take care of all these people, see if they have a heart."

A First Lady is always in a bind; she's the perfect representative of women everywhere. On the first page of her official one-page biography, printed on White House stationery, it says that while First Lady of Arkansas "she worked as a full-time partner of a law firm, chaired an education committee that set public school standards in Arkansas, managed a home, and cared for her husband and child." It also says she has on many occasions spoken about the need "to find the right balance in our lives." You look at her balancing act and realize that she and every other working woman in the '90s is the heir to the Flying Wallendas.

She doesn't complain. She has endurance. The First Lady is a role model's role model, a 24-hour grown-up, always being responsible,

someone you can't imagine engaging in the act of mindless play—unlike that big meatball of a husband. You often hear the word "admire" when people talk of her. It's a word one would use to describe someone at a distance, an icon.

When Tipper Gore heard that a reporter was doing a piece on the First Lady, she said, "Don't genderize it." Meaning, don't do another piece focusing on her status as a woman and wife rather than as a leader. "Don't genderize it. Everybody else does. Don't do it and you'll be a better man for it."

Alas, it's impossible. Her job is weird. She's the First Lady. The conundrum is right there in the title.

The Once and Future Hillary

Belying rumors of self-doubt, the First Lady reappears, unapologetic and as feisty as ever

By JAMES CARNEY WASHINGTON

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON HAS ALWAYS enjoyed walk-in rights to almost any important meeting at the White House. So when her husband sat down with top aides in the Cabinet Room to discuss his embattled presidency, it was a given that the First Lady would have a seat at the table. But instead of offering the brand of crisp analysis and shrewd advice she is known and admired for, the First Lady was quiet, listening while others did most of the talking. Afterward, one participant couldn't remember whether Hillary had said anything at all. As a friend and colleague put it, she was still "coming to grips" with the Democratic washout at the polls.

That was two weeks ago. Rumors swirled that she was in prolonged post-electoral shock, that she didn't understand November's results, that she was in denial, that she was rethinking her role as First Lady. But there was no self-doubt in the Hillary Clinton who charged back onto the political radar screen in a four-day media blitz last week. Though there were subtle signs of an effort to retool her image, she came across as cheerful, confident and as proudly unapologetic about her role as ever. The Republicans? Let her at 'em. She told a sympathetic crowd after accepting an award from the National Women's Law Center, "In many ways, our best days are ahead of us because there's nothing like a good fight for advocates to get energized."

During a speech in New York City, she dismissed as "unbelievable and absurd" a Republican welfare-reform proposal that calls for sending poor children to orphanages if their mothers, after a limited stay on welfare, cannot support them. Whitewater questions did not faze her. The First Lady continued to portray her family as victims of an affair she described as a "sideshow." Later in the week, however, her friend Webster Hubbell, who quit last March as Associate Attorney General, tentatively

agreed to plead guilty to charges brought by the Whitewater special prosecutor that he had committed mail fraud and tax evasion when he worked alongside Mrs. Clinton at the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock.

She remains unrepentantly suspicious of the press. Asked why it was so difficult to get an interview with her, she impatiently told *TIME* editors at a private lunch that there were more pressing things to do, adding with some exasperation that "some days my role is just to explain my role." To students at George Washington University, she defended her decision to be active in policymaking. "I don't see how I could change who I am because of the position I'm in: I actually think that in the long run if people have some better idea about you, it may be controversial, but at least they know where you stand."

In public and in private, she is fully convinced of the rightness of the Clinton agenda. She made mistakes, yes, but they were largely superficial. Much of the public simply didn't understand the truth about initiatives like health care and the President's original economic plan. "She is really angry," says a high-powered Democrat who has known the Clintons for 25 years. "She's angry at the election results [and] angry at how she's treated in the press. That's the way it is with Hillary. It's everyone else's fault." Putting it more circumspectly, one senior adviser to the President said the First Lady "is not as realistic as some of the rest of us" about voters' unhappiness with Clinton's first two years.

In their postmortems on the elections, many pollsters and analysts tagged the First Lady's health-care plan as a major factor in turning voters against the President and his party. Stanley Greenberg, the White House pollster, found that health care, more than

A lesson: it is not wise to link the First Lady's prestige so directly to controversial policy issues

anything else, drove independent voters away. Just last Thursday a federal judge ruled that the

health-care-reform task force, a sprawling, arcane and often secretive group led by the First Lady, was guilty of "misconduct" for withholding documents from the public. Last week Hillary conceded that "the perception" of the Clinton health plan "was one of Big Government."



But Hillary Clinton and the White House are drawing another lesson from the health-care debacle: it is not wise to link the First Lady's prestige so directly to controversial policy issues. It shouldn't happen again. As a senior White House official explains it, the First Lady "will stay engaged and remain an influence, but [her role] will be more informal. She won't be a point person on a given policy." The difference in her role, stresses the official, is one of "ap-

proach" and not intensity. "She's not going to start talking through a veil," says Planned Parenthood's Ann Lewis, a friend of Mrs. Clinton's.

Far from being an imposition, the change suits the First Lady. It will free her from being tied to one project, a fact that has led to "a lot of thought and discussion," says one of her aides, about how the new role will take shape. She is certain to spend more time on children's issues. One likely

FORWARD, MARCH: Hillary and Chelsea Clinton at the White House last week

task: promotion of a children's health bill. Unlike broader health reform, advocating a children's bill "is a no-loser," says a White House official. "It would be pretty hard to attack her for that." Similarly, Mrs. Clinton has said privately that she wants to get involved in juvenile-crime issues.

She will now be the cheerleader—not leader—of the main health-care initiative. In October, Leon Panetta, the White House chief of staff, ordered that control of the reforms be turned over to Robert Rubin and Carol Rasco, the President's top in-house economic and domestic-policy advisers. White House officials, however, insist that the downgrading and reshuffling of the agenda does not reflect badly on Mrs. Clinton. As a senior official explained last week, Panetta's decision "was less about Hillary than Ira," as in Ira Magaziner, the aide who masterminded the Clinton plan and whose manner alienated potential allies on Capitol Hill. Today the First Lady acknowledges that any reform that might emerge from the new Congress must take an "incremental approach"—the kind of change proposed by Republicans as a counter to the Clinton overhaul.

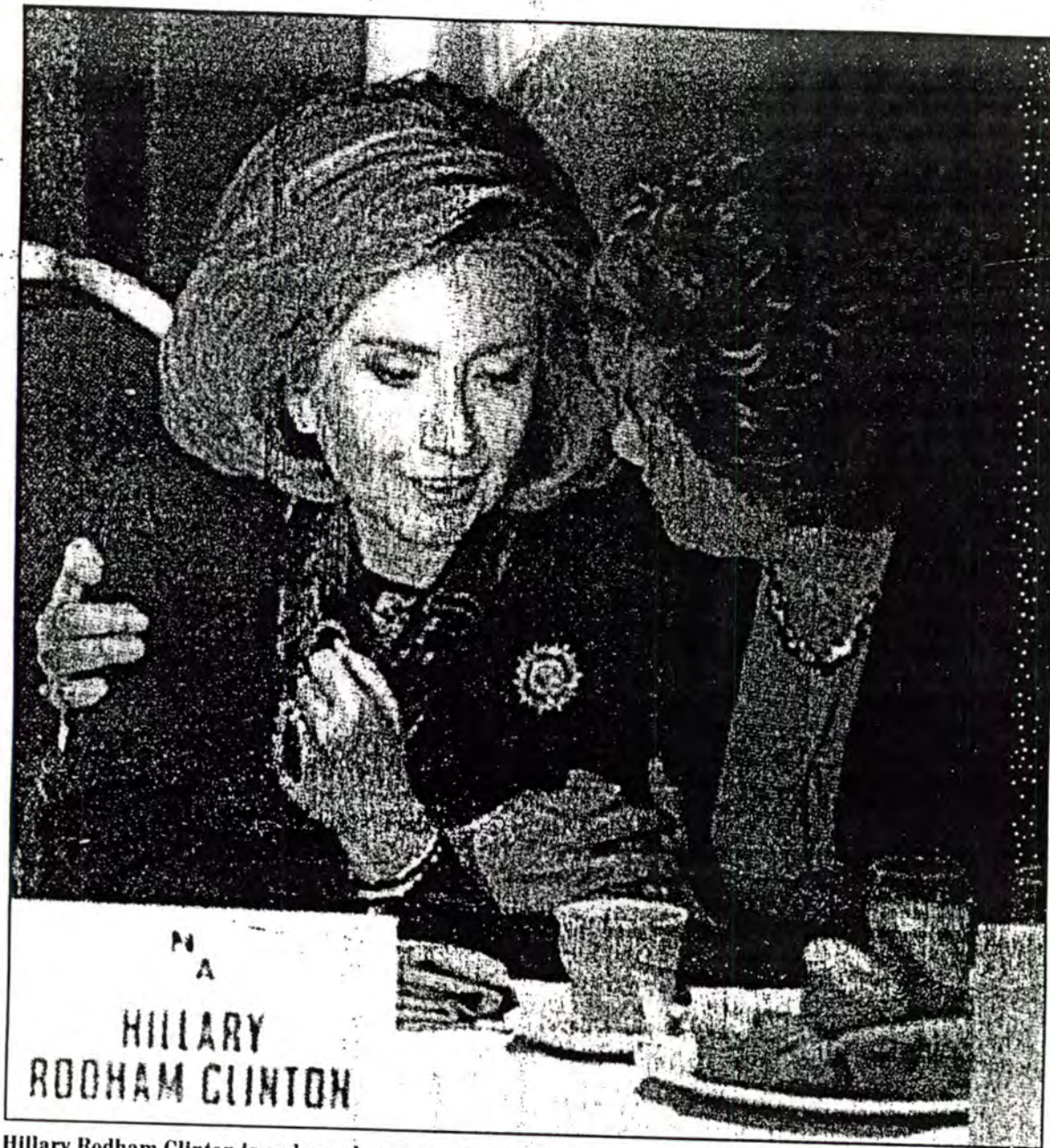
"She's far too pragmatic to be in denial" about the message voters sent Democrats, a supportive White House aide says of the First Lady. "She can be self-righteous, yes, but she is not a person to deny reality." Even Panetta, says a senior official, believes Mrs. Clinton "gets it. She knows what the basic problems were." The chief of staff makes a point of inviting her to strategy sessions because, as this official puts it, her presence "does help."

Indeed, say staff members, the First Lady can understand these times. Far from being the standard-bearer of liberalism in the White House, says an aide, "she's a lot more conservative than she's made out to be in the media." To stress the point, the First Lady reminded an audience last week that she was brought up in a staunch Republican family and was a "Goldwater girl" in 1964.

From the changing hairstyles that have become a source of self-deprecating humor to what little information about her that can be divulged, Hillary Rodham Clinton remains supremely in charge of her self-image. And officials in the White House know to be careful about what they say, even privately. "That's a touchy subject," sighed a top adviser to the President when asked about Mrs. Clinton. Another official joked that it was too risky discussing the First Lady over a White House phone. "You want me to talk about Hillary?" the official asked with mock incredulity. "This is not a secure line." And then he earnestly claimed he had nothing to say.

—With reporting by

Ann Blackman/Washington



Hillary Rodham Clinton is embraced yesterday by Matilda Cuomo, wife of the New York governor.

Hillary Clinton stands her ground

Widely criticized, she defends ideals

By John Aloysius Farrell
GLOBE STAFF

WASHINGTON — Of all the individual dramas cast by the national renunciation of Democrats on Election Day, few here have as much symbolic wallop or potential political consequence as the debate over the role of Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Battered in the public opinion polls, accused of saddling her party with a bloated health care plan, and subjected to vicious attacks by partisan journals and radio talk shows, Mrs. Clinton is again under fire.

In a series of public appearances since the election, however, Mrs. Clinton has made one thing clear: She will not be cowed into dropping her longtime ideals. At a time when

other Democrats are wavering, she has defended liberal goals and projects such as universal health care, foreign aid, Head Start and child immunization and nutrition programs.

Yesterday, Mrs. Clinton took a swing at incoming House Speaker Newt Gingrich of Georgia, who has

said private charities and orphanages may have to assume the responsibility of caring for children whose families are purged from government welfare rolls.

Without programs that offer job training, health insurance and child care to welfare recipients, Republican plans for abolishing welfare will leave "literally thousands and thousands of people on our streets" and lead to "the unbelievable and absurd

idea of putting children into orphanages," Mrs. Clinton told representatives from 54 women's organizations in New York.

Her resolve delights her legions of fans, but also energizes her right-wing critics, who have found her to be a tempting punching bag.

Mrs. Clinton's outspoken commitment alarms some of her husband's allies and advisers, who fear she will block their attempts to judge Clinton in a more centrist direction. They point to a CBS News poll this week that gave her a favorable rating of just 37 percent, and an unfavorable rating of 38 percent.

"She is a lightning rod for two sorts of people," said Ann Lewis, a longtime Democratic political operative and defender of Mrs. Clinton. "For people who really dislike everything about this administration, she becomes at once the most vulnerable ... and the most aggravating ... natural target."

"Secondly, within an internal power play ... she is sometimes used by people to cover" their lack of success, Lewis said. "It is a well-known Washington art form, and lately the new version of that is if only-the-president-listened-to-me-and-not-to-Hillary."

Because Mrs. Clinton has become a symbol for the changing role of women in US society, the saga of her own ups and downs may pack more emotional clout than her husband's political fortunes.

In a 90-minute appearance Tuesday at George Washington University, Mrs. Clinton acknowledged her role as a kind of national Rorschach test, an ink blot on which people impose their own feelings and preconceptions.

"For some people the First Lady



AP PHOTO

Cardinal John O'Connor bids farewell to Hillary Rodham Clinton yesterday in Manhattan.

may never cross their minds, so they don't want anything from her. Bless those people, wherever they are. I'm all for them," Mrs. Clinton said. "There are others who have different ideas about the role, have different conceptions about women's roles, and bring their own personal experience or beliefs to the interpretation of the role." She said some traditionalists find her independence "scary."

In liberal Democratic circles, and

among young women and professional women, Mrs. Clinton's support is strong. So, too, is her influence with the president. For both reasons her conservative Democratic critics couch their attacks carefully, and always anonymously.

As an example of her strong will and influence, however, Mrs. Clinton's critics point to her comments on the president's recent trip to the Philippines and Indonesia. Before

leaving Washington, President Clinton told the nation that he had gotten the message sent on Election Day that "the voters clearly all along had wanted smaller, more effective, less intrusive government."

Clinton's statements pleased moderates who want him to govern as a "New Democrat." But upon arriving in the Philippines, Mrs. Clinton undermined the administration's spin by saying that she wasn't sure

what the electorate's message was. In Indonesia, she told reporters that "I think the president has to stand for what he's stood for. He has to stick with his principles and protect the progress that has been made."

Such stands, and Mrs. Clinton's influence, will work to keep Clinton isolated on the political left, her critics say.

There is less reluctance to openly criticize the health care reform plan that Mrs. Clinton's task force drafted. Post-election polls show that the public viewed it as an unpalatable big-government social program.

"We got started too late on health care. We wasted the first year essentially waiting, and we spent too much time on a package which was too much Washington-oriented and not enough marketplace reforms," said Sen. John Breaux, a moderate Democrat from Louisiana. "Instead of debating the welfare system that everyone agrees serves no one very well, we spent our time on a do-it-all-at-once health proposal that many Americans felt was a take-from-me and give-to-them redistribution regime mandated by Washington."

"It is impossible to underestimate the amount of damage the health care bill did in shaping the image of President Clinton as a big government proponent," said Al From, president of the Democratic Leadership Council, a group of moderate Democrats that Clinton once led.

To such complaints, Mrs. Clinton pleads guilty-with-an-explanation. She concedes that her bill was complex and all-encompassing, but says now that it was only meant as a starting point in negotiations with Congress. Her true miscalculation, she said, was to put too much trust in Republicans who were actually scheming to be "conversation stoppers, not conversation starters."

The GOP, in return, says she was arrogant and intransigent.

Gingrich said: "I met with Hillary early on and said, 'Bring in a small bill, pass it by a big majority, have a signing ceremony, come back the next year ... you will get four bills passed before you get reelected and you will have incrementally passed a lot of change. You try to write a big bill and you will destroy yourself.'"

"She took notes, thanked me and left and promptly wrote a big bill. It was pretty inept," Gingrich said.

Such knocks, said Mrs. Clinton, need to be taken "seriously, but not personally." But it is not yet clear that she will serve again in a formal policymaking role.

"I think there is no reason Hillary can't continue to be the activist first lady she has always been. She can't change. You can't ask one person to be another overnight," said historian Doris Kearns Goodwin on CNN. "She is going to still be outspoken, she is not going to retreat to a ceremonial role."

And though she has reemerged as a confident, happy liberal warrior, there was one moment in Indonesia where her faith appeared shaken. Visiting a classroom of elementary school children, Mrs. Clinton was asked what her dreams were as a child. In a poignant moment, she walked up to the young girl who asked the question and spoke of how "my father and mother told both me and my brothers that both boys and girls could, with a good education, make decisions with their own lives."

"I studied very hard," Mrs. Clinton said, pointedly leaving open the question of whether she still has faith in her dream of fair and equal treatment.

Hillary Clinton, After the Avalanche

First Lady Not Going to Back Off Issues

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

Clearly in the holiday spirit, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton last night came up with an apt Thanksgiving analogy for life in the spotlight—and the turkeys she is forced to deal with.

Quoting a friend who reported that she had just celebrated her best Thanksgiving ever because her mother-in-law had not been around to carp and criticize every aspect of the meal, Clinton said, "I thought to myself, that's sort of like the media. It's like your mother-in-law coming for Thanksgiving dinner." Her comments, which drew loud laughter from the audience, came at a George Washington University class on the role of the First Lady, and Clinton proved herself politically savvy enough to note, a few minutes later, that she herself "had a great mother-in-law."

Following in the footsteps of Rosalynn Carter, Nancy Reagan and Barbara Bush, Clinton settled into a cozy, living-room-like setting of wing chairs and coffee table in the grand ballroom of the Mayflower Hotel to chat for nearly two hours with historian

See CLINTON, C10, Col. 1

CLINTON, From C1

Carl Sferazza Anthony about her life with President Clinton and her experiences on the job.

Dressed in a royal blue suit with large gold buttons, Clinton appeared to be in a surprisingly playful mood just three weeks after an election widely viewed as a repudiation of her husband's first two years in office—and in which her own role as head of the administration's health care task force has come in for a significant part of the blame for the Democrats' losses.

When Anthony asked her to share her reasons for marrying the president, Clinton answered, "It's not going to leave this room, right?" as she looked around at the crowded ballroom and rolling television cameras.

But she launched enthusiastically into a lengthy recital of their first date as Yale Law students, which started with a trip to register for the next semester's classes (Hillary Rodham said she was on her way to do that errand, and Clinton said he needed to register too, only to be embarrassed by the registrar, who saw him and exclaimed, "Bill, why are you here? You registered yesterday.")

It ended up with Bill Clinton managing to get the two of them into the Yale Art Gallery to see a Mark Rothko exhibit by promising the guard that they would help pick up trash around the building, closed because college workers were on strike. "There's more, but I'll keep that to myself," the First Lady said mischievously.

Clinton made little news last night, but did offer what may be her first public comments on a tabloid newspaper's report that she is pregnant with a space alien's child. "If the alien baby comes, we're ready,"

Clinton said: "I've always wanted a sibling for Chelsea."

She said Chelsea, now 14, would not be a fixture on the 1996 campaign trail. "I think she's very well-adjusted and because she's so well-adjusted you won't see very much of her."

Clinton said that she found some news coverage of her painful and wildly inaccurate ("Sometimes I read

about myself and I go, ooh, I don't like her at all") but said she had little choice on coming to the White House but to continue the visible public role she has always had. Had she acted differently, she said, "My husband and friends probably would have had me committed. . . . I, for better or worse, have spoken out on public issues for 25 years. Some kind of First Lady amnesia would not have been very credible."

Clinton said she will "absolutely" continue to be a voice for health care reform—but acknowledged that the sort of sweeping reform she proposed last year is an unlikely prospect. "He will continue to work on it, and so will I," she said. "Now we're going to have to look and see what can be accomplished—perhaps a more incremental approach."

Expressing hope for a continued bipartisan commitment to such programs as Head Start, child nutrition and food stamps, Clinton said, "I intend to do all I can to speak out on that and raise those issues."

But she also said that she has "gotten a little frustrated and itchy in the White House because I feel cut off from people," and that she

has been trying for several months to figure out how to "be better integrated in the community" through activities such as last week's visit to serve food at So Others Might Eat.

"I am going to get out more," she vowed. "I want to do it in a way that doesn't cause commotion and upset the institution. I really want to do

this as a person."

When a kindly questioner asked what she planned to do after a second term in the White House, Clinton said, "I expect I will have a chance to continue to work on issues that I care about, particularly children's issues . . . that is, after a very long vacation."

Close look at the numbers reveals true Clinton record

AUSTIN — Well, now, before the Republican side takes over the ball, let's tote up the score after the first half here.

— The deficit is down by \$691 billion (President Clinton's plan cut \$500 billion, and the rest kicked in from economic growth). This is the first time the deficit has gone down for three years in a row since Harry Truman was president. 11-19-94

— The economy (the gross domestic product) is growing at 3.4 percent. Unemployment is down to 5.8 percent — from 7.7 percent when Clinton took over. And Clinton is the only guy talking about training folks for good-paying jobs.

— Clinton and Vice President Al Gore have cut more than 70,000 federal employees through their "reinventing government" program.

— Alice Rivlin and Leon Panetta get credit for no more smoke and mirrors; the bad habits of 12 years of Republicans are wiped out. The budget numbers are real.

— In what may turn out to be his Most Significant Legacy, the Clinton administration has started chipping away at the civil service regulations that make it so difficult to fire incompetent federal employees.

— Another contender for Most Significant is the earned-income tax credit — the most important part of the first budget package — a tax break for the working poor, 14 million of the most deserving families in America. It rewards those who work and gives them an incentive to stay in low-income jobs rather than go on welfare. Taxes were raised only on the wealthiest 2 percent of Americans.

— Still another potential Most Significant: It took Clinton a long time to get his act in gear (typical Clinton), but when he did, his record for judicial appointments proved to be excellent. The American Bar Association rates 63 percent of Clinton's judicial nominees "well-qualified." That compares with Bush, 52 percent; Reagan, 53 percent; and Carter, 57 percent.

— The Family Leave Act.

— A national youth-service program that is already bigger than the Peace Corps at its peak.

— An improved and expanded college loan program with a much better repayment rate.

— A clean-up of Pentagon procurement practices, the kind that made \$700 toilet seats and \$800 hammers famous. Supply sergeants can now go buy at Target. Reagan and Bush were in office for 12 years and never touched the "waste, fraud and abuse" in the Pentagon.

— NAFTA.

— Democracy on the way to restoration in Haiti.



MOLLY IVINS

Columnist

— The Brady bill.
— The assault weapons ban.

— Motor-voter law makes it easier to register and vote.

The big failure was in health care. Clinton's reform plan had so many special interests out to beat it, you couldn't even count them — and they spent tens of millions

to do it. When Newt Gingrich asked pollsters last May what it would take to win the House, Republican pollster Bill McInturff told him "one of the most important predicates for Republican success was not having health care pass."

Here are some dandy new figures from a post-election joint survey by Harvard's School of Public Policy and the Kaiser Family Foundation. Test yourself on this.

The Harvard-Kaiser survey asked folks to list the largest federal expense today. Thirty percent said military spending, 27 percent said foreign aid, 19 percent said welfare and 15 percent said Social Security.

Here are the correct answers: Social Security accounts for 22 percent of total federal spending, the Pentagon for 19 percent, foreign aid well under 2 percent and (brace yourself) welfare is just over 1 percent. How close were you?

As long as we're on this happy track, here are some numbers about that famous 1 percent we spend on Aid to Families with Dependent Children, courtesy of the Center for Law and Public Policy via The New York Times' Bob Herbert: Thirty-eight percent of those on welfare are black, a percentage that has been going down since 1969, when it was 45 percent. About 72 percent of families on welfare have one or two children; families with four or more children are 10 percent of the total, and that number keeps going down. For all the focus on teen-age parents, only 8 percent of AFDC parents are under 20 years old. That's 8 percent.

Do you find that this does not accord with your impression of how costly welfare is in this country or of who is on welfare? Well, maybe you had better take a look at your sources of information. Who all has been blowin' in your ear, and what is their agenda? Maybe they don't want you looking at something else — say, the savings and loan scandal or the percentage of taxes now paid by corporations. Think that could be?

Columnist Molly Ivins writes for the Fort Worth Star-Telegram

Echos of Eleanor

ELLEN GOODMAN

What a heady time that was. Exactly a year ago, the headlines declared that Hillary had taken the Hill as if Congress were San Juan or Iwo Jima.

She came, saw and wowed the place, answering every question about the health care plan she had shepherded to the Capitol door. The members were in various stages of awe. The media was in full gush. Under the spotlight, under pressure, she was a pro.

But lately Hillary Clinton's schedule is a list of first lady photo ops. There was the day-care center in Conshohocken, Pa., the christening of a submarine in Groton, Conn., the Children's Hospital in Boston.

On Monday, when health care reform was officially declared dead, she wasn't even asked for a eulogy. On Tuesday, she was busy escorting Mrs. Yeltsin.

These have to be hard times for the president's wife, the woman-in-her-own-right, the confident

lawyer. Through the campaign and the early days of the administration when Hillary Rodham Clinton was the target of as much vitriol as I have ever seen, she took comfort in thinking about Eleanor Roosevelt's strength under fire. Indeed, moments before she went into the congressional hearing room last year, an aide whispered to Hillary, "This is Eleanor Roosevelt time."

Hillary chose Eleanor as her role model, a foremother or forefirst lady, while she was clearing a new path for women in the White House. But who will she look to now, at a moment of defeat, a time when the most secure of us would feel shaken and unsure about where to go next?

How about Eleanor Roosevelt?

I am told that the Clintons have a copy of Doris Kearns Goodwin's new book on their night table. I hope so. "No Ordinary Time" weaves together biography and policy, the private and the public, the Roosevelts' relationships and the course of World War II in a way as complex and layered as life itself.

But it challenges the view that most of us have of Eleanor the Icon who moved from the ugly duckling of her childhood to the strong woman in the White House. In real life, Eleanor Roosevelt faced continual crises and had to reinvent her role no less than three times while she was first lady.

When Franklin Roosevelt was elected in 1932, his wife was terrified that she would be locked into a ceremonial role, condemned to the one thing she couldn't bear: feeling useless. Again in 1940, when the prospects of war drew Franklin to foreign policy, Eleanor's working partnership in the New Deal was threatened, and she faced the same sense of loss.

Finally, when the war broke out, Eleanor - not Hillary, but Eleanor - took the first government job ever held by a first lady, at the Office of Civil Defense. When it blew up in her face, she had to reinvent her own role again.

Eleanor and Hillary are not

joined at the head. The times are different; so are their psyches and their marriages. But Hillary shares with her predecessor the need for a sense of purpose in life.

The Clintons came into office with experience as working partners. They believed that they had the people behind health care reform and all they needed was the policy. In the too-secret, too-expert, too-Beltway process of creating policy, they lost the people.

They can blame it on gridlock, on Republicans, on the media. Fair enough. But it was also bungled. I would be surprised if Hillary didn't share a sense of failure. Where do you go after you've walked into a propeller?

When a wounded Eleanor resigned from OCD, she was at her lowest moment. Gradually she found her work again, and went from being an inside player to an outside agitator. As Goodwin puts it, "She became a voice for people who didn't have access to the system." She brought that voice to FDR when it was welcome and when it wasn't. She helped this country to change.

Today more of us feel voiceless, angry, alienated. If there's a role waiting to be filled, it's hearing and raising that outside voice, bringing it in.

If Hillary Clinton chooses, as hinted, to focus on children, it won't be photo ops for long. The well-being of American children is at the matrix of private anxieties and public policies. She has the power and the voice to make that case.

In this era, women are routinely called upon to rewrite the script of their lives. Hillary Rodham Clinton has done it before. She'll do it again.

When she was feeling low during the campaign, the current first lady would hold imaginary conversations with the former first lady. She would hear Eleanor Roosevelt saying, "Get out and do it and don't make any excuses about it." It's still Eleanor Roosevelt time.

Ellen Goodman is a Globe columnist.

Newsweek

IT'S ABOUT TIME THAT A NATIONAL PUBLICATION recognized Mrs. Clinton for what she is: a decent, God-fearing American woman with a mind and soul dedicated to the common good. Most of all, I'm inspired by Mrs. Clinton's courage in withstanding the viciousness of the religious right; as a former marine, I say she merits a "well done" for discipline and coolness under fire. In keeping with my Catholic heritage and my parents' teaching, I ask God to keep the Clinton family well, and I thank God for the good works the president and Mrs. Clinton are doing for our country.

MARTIN YOUNG
FRESNO, CALIF.

Hillary Rodham Clinton, First Lady of the United States



Chicago native, Mrs. Clinton and her two younger brothers, Hugh and Tony grew up in suburban Park Ridge.



inois as a close-knit family. Here, she is pictured with her father Hugh, her mother Dorothy, and brother Hugh, Jr. Throughout her childhood, the foundations of her lasting commitment to family, work and service were established. It is this commitment and the belief that we "all have an obligation to give something of ourselves to our community," that has helped to shape her role as our nation's First Lady.

As a young student, Mrs. Clinton organized food drives, served in student government, and was a member of the National Honor Society. She was a member of the local Methodist youth group, and she was also a Girl Scout. As



First Lady, she currently serves as honorary President of the Girl Scouts of America. Here, Mrs. Clinton joined by girls from a local Girl Scout chapter as she tapes a public service announcement for the Girl Scouts.

During the twelve years that she served as First Lady of Arkansas, Mrs. Clinton worked as a full-time partner of a law firm, chaired the Arkansas Education Standards Committee, which was an education committee that set public



school standards in Arkansas, managed a home, and cared for her husband and daughter Chelsea. She also founded the Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families. She introduced a pioneering program called Arkansas' Home Instruction Program for Preschool Youth, which trains parents to work with their children in preschool preparedness and literacy. Mrs. Clinton also served on the board of the Arkansas Children's Hospital. In recognition of her professional and personal accomplishments, she was named Arkansas Woman of the Year in 1984.



Upon taking office, President Clinton made health care reform one of the highest priorities of his Administration. In 1993, he asked the First Lady to chair the Task Force on National Health Care Reform. During the next 19 months, Mrs. Clinton travelled across the country talking to doctors, nurses, health care professionals and people from all



walks of life about ways to improve the current health care system and how



to ensure that every American has the right to quality, affordable health care. Here, Mrs. Clinton

speaks at a health care rally at the University of Colorado.

When the Clintons arrived in Washington, D.C., Mrs. Clinton felt that she had not only public responsibilities as First Lady, but also the important private responsibility to make the historic, and formal, White House a true home for her



husband and their daughter Chelsea. For example, because the private living quarters did not have an informal place to gather for meals, she decided to have the serving kitchen on the second floor converted into a family kitchen. There, the three of them could gather around the table just as they had in Arkansas.

One of Mrs. Clinton's many responsibilities as First Lady is to oversee the White House Special Events. Here, the President and Mrs. Clinton greet a crowd of children and their parents for the annual White House Easter Egg Roll



Every year, children and their parents are invited to come and enjoy the festivities which include: Easter Egg hunts; Easter Egg rolls; a petting zoo, entertainment and face painting on the South Lawn of the White House and Ellipse Park.

The holiday season is another popular time at the White House. Every year, the Christmas tree in the Blue Room is a favorite attraction for the tour goers. For Christmas 1993, in celebration of the year of the American Craft, artisans from around the country were invited to contribute ornaments for the Blue Room tree, using the theme of angels. The tree skirt was hand-made by quilters from each of the 50 states and territories, and over 1,000 artists contributed to



the Christmas display. Here, Mrs. Clinton shows off the White House Christmas tree in the Blue Room.

Christmas 1994 features the new holiday card, by Thomas McKnight as well as a host of decorating



surprises still to come.

The First Lady is also an art lover. As she has said, sculpture happens to be one of her favorite art forms. In fact, her first date with President Clinton was in the sculpture garden at Yale University. As First Lady, Mrs. Clinton worked with the Committee for the Preservation of the White House, and the White House Historical Society to bring an



exhibit of 20th century sculpture to the First Ladies' Garden of the White House. The first part of the exhibit, which opened in October, 1994, included twelve pieces that are on loan to the White House from ten midwestern art collections. Mrs. Clinton and the Committee for the Preservation of the White House hope to continue the exhibit with pieces of sculpture from public art collections from every region of the country. In



establishing this exhibit, Mrs. Clinton wanted to showcase the best of American Sculpture, in America's home, making it accessible to the many people who visit the White House every day.

In July 1993, the First Lady accompanied the President on his first foreign trip as President to Tokyo, Japan for the



annual G-7 Summit of the industrialized nations. Here, they are greeted by Japanese school children on the streets of Tokyo. In the summer of 1994, they travelled to Naples, Italy, again for the G-7 Summit.

Mrs. Clinton is also a SERIOUS baseball fan! As a child, she attended Cubs games at Wrigley Field in Chicago with her father and brothers. Last year, she was invited to Wrigley Field to throw out the first ball of the Cubs' 1994

ason



ike her predecessors, Hillary Rodham Clinton brings to the role of First Lady her own special talents, experiences, ylc, and interests. As she continues her efforts to help others, she remains devoted in her commitment to her family, ork, and service.



An Interactive Citizens' Handbook



Twentieth Century American Sculpture at the White House

The twelve works of art selected from American art museums for this special exhibition span over seventy years of the 20th century, and represent a diverse and vital aspect of our cultural heritage. Conceived by Mrs. Clinton and drawn from public collections in the heartland of the nation and installed in the First Ladies' Garden of the White House, the exhibition has been organized under the auspices of the Association of Art Museum Directors.

Over half of the inclusions in this exhibition are by living American artists. Diverse in their ideas, idioms, and chosen medium, they span several artistic generations. Divided almost equally between figuration and abstraction, all evoke references to nature and the human figure. We hope you enjoy the following virtual tour of the exhibit.



"Observer" by Louise Bourgeois.

on loan from Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery, University of Nebraska at Lincoln.



"Five Rudders" by Alexander Calder.

on loan from the Washington University Gallery of Art, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.



"Whift Falls" by Brian Hunt.

on loan from the Akron Art Museum, Akron, Ohio.



"Farmer's Dream" by Richard Hunt.

on loan from the Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, Illinois.



"Curve VIII" by Ellsworth Kelly.

on loan from the Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.



"Standing Woman" by Gaston Lachaise.

on loan from the Milwaukee Art Museum, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.



"Diana" by Paul Manship.
 on loan from the Minnesota Museum of American Art, Saint Paul, Minnesota.



"Nectaeon" by Paul Manship.
 on loan from the Minnesota Museum of American Art, Saint Paul, Minnesota.



"Aurelia Number I" by Manuel Neri.
 on loan from the Laumeler Sculpture Park and Museum, Saint Louis, Missouri.



"Tropical Tree III" by Louise Nevelson.
 on loan from the Columbus Museum of Art, Columbus, Ohio.



"Valking Man" by George Segal.
 on loan from the Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, Minnesota.



"Shield" by Judith Shea.
 on loan from the Sheldon Memorial Art Gallery, Lincoln, Nebraska.

rs. Clinton's special thanks go to the Association of Art Museum Directors, the Iris and B. Gerald Cantor
 undation, George Neubert, J. Carter Brown, and the lending institutions for their time, energy, and wisdom in
 aking this exhibition possible.

To President and Mrs. Clinton,
with respect,
Allida M. Black

CC Lisa, Maggie,
Melanne ✓

Return to me

from HRC
good critique
of Lerner

Faith and Politics: Hillary Rodham Clinton and "The Politics of Meaning"

by Dr. Allida M. Black¹

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This article examines the influence of Paul Tillich and other neoorthodox Protestant theologians on Hillary Rodham Clinton's political philosophy, especially that portion of her politics espoused in the "politics of meaning" speech. After reviewing Mrs. Clinton's views, examining the views of Tillich and Niehbur, and critiquing the treatment both topics have received in the popular and political press, it concludes that any analysis of Mrs. Clinton's politics that does not treat her religious conviction seriously distorts her meaning and her politics. Dr. Black is the author of the forthcoming monograph *Casting Her Own Shadow: Eleanor Roosevelt's Influence on the Democratic Party and American Liberalism, 1945-1962*, as well as an anthology of Eleanor Roosevelt's speeches and articles. She would like to state for the record that she has no religious affiliation whatsoever. Dr. Black can be reached at 5429 North 24th Street, Arlington, VA 22205.

Last April, as her father lay dying, Hillary Rodham Clinton flew from Little Rock to Austin to deliver the Liz Carpenter Distinguished Lecture at the University of Texas. Although she had agreed to give the address months before, she had not written the speech or asked staff members to prepare one for her. Her aides expected an address on children and the problems they and their families face. The media expected a discussion on health care reform and the political dilemmas the Clinton health care package would encounter as it began to take shape.

Mrs. Clinton boarded the plane with another topic in mind—one that related not only to children and families and health care activists, but also to the dilemmas confronting Americans as a whole. "The desperate conditions in so many of our cities" saddened her. She wondered why so many communities became "filled with hopeless girls with babies and angry boys with guns," and "why ... in a country as wealthy as we are, that there is this undercurrent of discontent." The more she asked herself why, the more she "realize[d] that somehow economic growth and prosperity, political democracy and freedom are not enough." Americans "lack a sense that our lives are part of a greater effort, that we are connected to one another, that community means that we have a place where we belong no matter who we are." The country needed to take stock of its behavior and to reassess its attitude toward progress.

We need a new politics of meaning. We need a new ethos of individual responsibility and caring. We need a new definition of a civil society which answers the unanswerable questions posed by both market forces and the governmental one, as to how we can have a society

that fills us up again and makes us feel that we are part of something bigger than ourselves (Clinton 1993b).

Suddenly, Hillary Rodham Clinton found herself in the midst of a political firestorm because she tried to argue that policy alone cannot solve the problems of violence, drug addiction, greed, and self-absorption that threaten to undermine American communities; and that Americans have a responsibility "to define our institutional and personal responsibilities in ways that answer" this disconnectedness (Clinton 1993b).

The speech, now dubbed "the politics of meaning speech," surprised those unfamiliar with Mrs. Clinton's philosophy. After all, this was the woman dubbed a "feminazi" by radio pontiff Rush Limbaugh and depicted as the prototypical antifamily secular humanist by such diverse pundits as Pat Buchanan and Christopher Lasch (Clift and Miller 1992; Lasch 1992). Republicans had claimed the term family values as the conservative political mantra and refused to share the issue with the first lady. Moreover, public discussion of faith historically has been more associated with presidential aspirants than with the occupants of the White House. Indeed the only recent president who publicly discussed his faith was Jimmy Carter and he did so reluctantly (Ribuffo 1992). And, as several columnists reminded the first lady, Carter's ill-timed discussion of American "malaise" quickly backfired (Weisberg 1993).

Reporters and columnists rushed to ask "what exactly is she talking about?" (*New Republic* 1993) Images of Hillary as clergy appeared in all major weekly newsmagazines and several major newspapers. *U.S. News and World Report* entitled its review "Hillary, From the Pulpit" (Leo 1993). *The New York Times* painted her portrait as Joan of Arc and argued that she was more "preacher than politician" (Kelly 1993). *The National Review* lamented her "Long March through Epistemology" and brusquely dismissed her argument with the tag line "she has ideas above her station" (O'Sullivan 1993).

Nor did all of the problem coverage come from her critics. Michael Lerner, editor of the liberal Jewish monthly *Tikkun*, which had issued a call for a "politics of meaning" a few months before, flew to Washington to meet with Mrs. Clinton and to second her call for reevaluation. Unfortunately for the White House, Lerner's foray into the nation's capital was more an exercise in self-promotion than it was a serious discussion of the problems confronting the nation. Dauntless in his crusade to publicize *Tikkun*, Lerner seemed to claim credit for the speech when he appeared on nationally syndicated radio talk shows to argue *Tikkun's* philosophy must be taken seriously. A few days later the *Sunday Washington Post* published an extensive editorial entitled "Hillary's Politics, My Meaning" in which Lerner unabashedly declared that "the adoption of *Tikkun* magazine's politics of meaning might be the most important development of the entire

Clinton administration" (Lerner 1993). When the White House did not disassociate itself immediately from Lerner, the national press corps soon treated him as the first lady's "guru," writing that "Michael Lerner preaches 'the politics of meaning'—whatever that is—and the first lady is listening" (Allen 1993).

Stunned by the criticism the speech received in the press, the White House ceded ground to its critics. Consequently, when *New York Times* reporter Michael Kelly asked to interview the first lady for a *Sunday Magazine* cover story about her convictions, Mrs. Clinton agreed only to find herself and her views parodied. Photographed in a white suit against a white backdrop, the cover presented a chaste, pearl-clad woman with hands demurely linked in front. Emblazoned underneath was the title, "Hillary Rodham Clinton and the Politics of Virtue" (Kelly 1993). Suddenly, the first lady had gone from being Gloria Steinem to Carrie Nation, from being Bill Clinton's coconspirator to Michael Lerner's protégé.

Why did this happen? Is the first lady to blame for not articulating her philosophy in a more coherent manner? (Page 1993) Are the media to blame for allowing their cynicism to intrude into a spiritual discussion? (Wall 1993; Wills 1990; Lear 1993) Or is this just another example of American reluctance to allow religious values into the political arena? (Carter 1993).

The Speech did not originate overnight. It was not merely an impassioned reaction to the 16 days Mrs. Clinton spent at her father's death bed. It was not an unquestioning adoption of Michael Lerner's call to arms. Instead, it was the logical result of the first lady's 33-year study of Protestant theology. It is the influence of Paul Tillich, Reinhold Niebuhr, Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Martin Luther King, Jr., and other politically active theologians who believed that despite the innate frailty of human nature and the selfishness of many communities, "individuals are never as immoral as the social situations in which they are involved" (Niebuhr 1932).

Furthermore, the concept of "the politics of meaning" did not originate with Lerner and *Tikkun* but was rather appropriated by the journal as a way to unite its divergent philosophies. Although Lerner acknowledges that the phrase was first used by New Deal reformers, he never discusses its origins. Why he refuses to do so is not clear. Perhaps he did not know who coined the phrase, perhaps he did not want to discuss neoorthodox Protestant theologians in a journal founded to critique neoconservative Jewish thought, or perhaps he did not think that it was relevant to contemporary discussion. What is clear from a media standpoint, however, is that his refusal to discuss the origins of the term encouraged the media to interpret Mrs. Clinton's speech as a foray into "New Age mysticism" (Martin 1993; Grenier 1993). While it is difficult to determine who first used the phrase, it is clear that the term was popular among liberals who worked with or read Reinhold Niebuhr—notably, Eleanor Roosevelt. As Mrs. Clinton does now, Mrs.

Roosevelt used her position as first lady to argue that there was a "moral basis of democracy" which must be actively instituted if America were to live up to its rhetoric. Indeed, throughout her career, Mrs. Roosevelt encouraged audiences to recognize that politics had no meaning or value other than the commitment people brought to it (Roosevelt 1940; Black 1992).

Hillary Rodham Clinton knows this. Just as she knows how the press pilloried Eleanor Roosevelt for her venture into moral discourse. Yet Mrs. Clinton strode into this discussion convinced that it was her responsibility as first lady, as a Christian, and as an American to raise the issue. And the questions surfaced once again—what is the first lady saying, why is she saying it, and why is it such a volatile topic?

Politics

What is new about the politics of meaning speech is the reintroduction of the term, not the content. Indeed Mrs. Clinton discussed the issues of community values, individual rights and responsibilities, and spiritual commitment throughout her stay in Arkansas, throughout the 1992 presidential campaign, and throughout her first year as first lady (Clinton 1970, 1973, 1977, 1979, 1985, 1987, 1990, 1992, 1993a,b,c). The drama associated with her reappearance in Austin, after her sudden departure to Little Rock, coupled with her earlier appointment as co-coordinator of the White House Task Force on Health Care Reform, encouraged the national media to take this speech more seriously than the comments she had made before she became first lady.

If there is a coherent theme present in Mrs. Clinton's professional writings and campaign interviews it is that politics is more than elections, legislative debates, policy reviews, and advertising slogans. It is the attitudes and convictions that not only frame the political debate but also shape American mores. It is, to use de Tocqueville's famous phrase, those beliefs and actions that become America's "habits of the heart." As she told a reporter during the campaign, "if you worry as I do about what happens in our inner city, that's not just a political issue, that's a family issue, a cultural issue, an educational issue, [and an issue that affects] the changing economic fortunes of people" (Radcliffe 1993).

Mrs. Clinton believes that to study a problem without examining all the causes of that problem is an exercise in futility. This is, as the *Los Angeles Times* reported, "a complex, rather than purely ideological view of the issues" (Lauter 1993). In some ways, Mrs. Clinton's search for community is reminiscent of Schlesinger's search for "a vital center" in the 1950s (Schlesinger 1949). Both are concerned with tapping the heart of American culture in support of widespread mainstream reform. Both are worried that Americans have forsaken their civic commitment and, therefore, are easily

swayed into suspicious and detrimental action. Both reject extreme claims by the left and the right and try to appeal to traditional American values.

But their enemies are different—Schlesinger's Communism has been replaced by Clinton's "the sleeping sickness of the soul" (Clinton 1993b). And the consensus that the first lady searches for has more respect for diversity and spiritual development than Schlesinger's plea for anticommunist liberalism. "We must work harder to understand our differences and celebrate our diversity," she wrote in a widely distributed Christmas letter because "that spirit of justice, compassion and humility is a first step toward preserving our rich social fabric and defending our sense of community" (Clinton and Clinton 1993).

The first lady knows that this will not be easy. She knows that we will "have to learn to think in new ways" and that it will be a difficult process because it combines a liberal commitment to diversity and rights with a conservative commitment to responsibility. In a broader family spectrum than that championed by Dan Quayle, Mrs. Clinton combines a wider concept of community—"families, friendship networks, ... and voluntary associations"—with a more activist concept of individual responsibility and government service. And she advocates "a new kind of partnership" between government and business that would hold market forces accountable for the damage they have done to communities and families and that would stimulate different kinds of managerial and corporate priorities. As she told one reporter, markets are a "wonderful institution for ordering economic choices, but not for instilling meaning into life or maintaining culture" (Lauter 1993). The marketplace knows prices, not values (Clinton 1993b).

This is a stark variation of the Cold War pitch for consensus. Not only is the threat internal, but the consensus sought is much more diverse and less readily identifiable. It is a heartfelt political appeal for an ardent defense of individual rights balanced against a spiritual appeal to develop community consciousness. It is the struggle, Hillary Rodham Clinton once wrote her minister, to be a "mental conservative and a heart liberal" (Warner 1993). It is, to quote a Bonhoeffer analogy dear to her heart, the "difference between truth-telling and cynical exposure" (Nelson and Martin 1993).

In application, Mrs. Clinton's political philosophy can be broadly defined as follows: to connect American social problems with individual behavior, to promote policies and attitudes that encourage individuals and businesses to respect their communities and to act in ways that promote community values and preserve families, and to insure that individual rights are respected in the process.

The Clinton administration, with her prodding, is "trying to figure out how you begin to reinstall responsibility where it has been undermined." The first lady is resolute in her conviction that unless this issue is addressed and incentives are provided "to alter behavior and require people to be more

responsible, we're not going to get ahead of the curve on the serious problems—like the disintegrating families, crime and drugs—that afflict us. We have not done a good job in expecting people to exercise their rights responsibly and to be held accountable," she told an interviewer. "It's easy to place the blame on the top but it goes all the way down" (Clinton 1993a).

The challenge is to keep the focus on responsible communal policy while at the same time not overshadowing individual rights and action. When seen in this light, Hillary Rodham Clinton's tenure as chair of the Legal Services Corporation and the Children's Defense Fund are prime examples of the first lady's efforts to implement this approach prior to coming to Washington. As chair of these two activist legal organizations, she argued that individuals have economic, political, and social rights that need protection and they have the right to demand recognition of these rights. But she also forcefully argued that once these rights are secured, individuals have the responsibility to use them in ways that not only meet their individual needs but also contribute to the community in which they live. Thus, as chair of the Education Reform Committee for Arkansas, Mrs. Clinton respected teacher union arguments as long as they recognized the need for teacher certification and promoted the Home Improvement Program for Preschool Youngsters (HIPPY) by arguing that it was an antidote to "the breakdown in social values" undermining public education (Clinton 1985; Warner 1993).

While she wants all branches of government to develop programs that will encourage responsibility and respect for community mores, Mrs. Clinton also recognizes that the government should not institute programs that restrict the individual right to dissent or to challenge conventional social customs. For example, while Mrs. Clinton agrees that lesbian and gay partnerships should not be against the law, she also argues that the government should try to encourage practices which, while allowing for affectional, ethnic, racial, and religious differences, promote a shared respect of neighborhoods in particular and communities in general. She does not shy away however from suggesting that government should take action to encourage business to operate in a more community-oriented fashion.

Politics can only have this new meaning if Americans begin to abandon the cynicism that has crippled American politics and distorted American values. As she told the audience in Austin, "the signs of alienation and despair and hopelessness are all too common and cannot be ignored." Change is inevitable. But Americans must be on guard to make the changes that come more positive, more assertive, and more compassionate. "As soon as you notice the slightest sign of indifference, the moment you become aware of a loss of character or a serious lessening of enthusiasm, take it as a warning" because, for our society to improve and our politics to succeed, we must

be "willing to build the bridges necessary to fill our spiritual vacuum" (Clinton 1993b).

Faith

Hillary Rodham Clinton has studied Protestant theology longer than she has studied law and public policy. While over time she has changed her political philosophy, she has become more grounded in her faith. She does not hide or downplay her religious convictions. She has said that the person outside her family who had the greatest influence on her life was her youth minister, the Reverend Don Jones. She is on record as saying that meeting Martin Luther King, Jr. when she was 16 changed her life. Many reporters have noted that she keeps passages from the Bible and other theological works in her address book. Furthermore, her best friend has said that the best way to understand Mrs. Clinton is to understand her faith.

While the most objective reporters have dutifully mentioned this, they have not treated Mrs. Clinton's applied Christianity as an intellectual matter, but as "psychobabble," "spiritual babble," or "a mix of New Testament and Bill Moyers" (Page 1993; Kelly 1993; Lauter 1993; Murray 1993). Biographers who have treated her conviction seriously still refrained from making connections between her theological inquiries and her political philosophy (Radcliffe 1993; Nelson and Martin 1993; Warner 1993). So the woman who emerges from these depictions is a Methodist who read neoorthodox scholars, a Democrat who was once a Goldwater Republican and who is now married to the president of the United States, and a mother who is pleased that her daughter chose her mother's church over her father's Baptist one. The contradictions inherent in each of these snapshots go unnoticed.

To understand fully Mrs. Clinton's activism, one must first understand the basic tenets of Methodism, how she questioned those principles, and how they influenced her vision of the world.

This appraisal is superficial. It encourages analysis that focuses on present-day crises without considering the causes of the crises and the context in which they occur. It is ahistorical. To understand fully Mrs. Clinton's activism, one must first understand the basic tenets of Methodism, how she questioned those principles, and how they influenced her vision of the world.

Methodism traces its roots back to 18th century Britain when John Wesley gathered a group of earnest young men to methodically study the Bible. The view of the Gospel that emerges from this methodological inquiry is both realistic and joyous. Wesley's followers admit that the world is evil and has great potential for sin, but they also believe that a person, guided

by grace, can do something to stop society's descent into hell. This doctrine of Christian perfectionism, with its emphasis on active applied Christianity and an ardent desire to connect personal faith with social justice issues, is what separates Methodism from other Protestant denominations. It is also what appeals to Mrs. Clinton (Ahlstrom 1972; Balay 1992).

However, the initial bond that Hillary Rodham Clinton had with the church was not an activist conscience, but her family history. She not only grew up in the Methodist church but can trace her ancestors back to Wesleyan services in England. "As a young child I would hear stories that my grandfather had heard from his parents who heard it from their parents who were all involved in the great evangelical movement [Wesleyism] that swept England," she told a reporter for the *United Methodist Reporter*. Her immediate family were active members of First Methodist Church and a young Hillary Rodham not only attended religious services and Sunday school but also played on church athletic teams, acted in church plays, dined at church potluck suppers, and eagerly joined the church's youth league. From an early age, she felt comfortable in the church and felt a part of its community. "There was a sense in which the church was our second home" (Balay 1992).

Soon after Don Jones joined the staff of First Methodist in 1961, Hillary Rodham's commitment to Methodism expanded and became an act of faith and intellectual conviction. While she had been baptized earlier, she credits Jones with helping her apply her faith on a social level. "He was relentless," she told *Newsweek*, "in telling us that to be a Christian did not just mean you were concerned about your personal salvation" (Clift and Miller 1992).

Not content to discuss theology in an isolated setting, Jones took his youth group, which he now dubbed the "University of Life," into an inner-city recreation center to meet with Hispanic migrant worker associations and African-American gang leaders. There the groups critiqued the music of Bob Dylan, the poetry of e.e. cummings, and the paintings of Pablo Picasso. It was the only time Hillary Rodham had been to Chicago without her parents.

The sessions in Chicago startled Hillary Rodham. Not only was she out of the suburbs, but she was also discussing matters of faith with groups with whom she had no other reason to identify. Jarring images stayed with her—poverty; the tearful response of a young African-American woman to Picasso's "Guernica," "why did my uncle have to die because he was in the wrong place?"; migrant working mothers who had no place to leave their children when they went to work. In the midst of these sessions, Hillary Rodham, with Jones's assistance, organized volunteer child care for working migrant mothers (Warner 1993). Thirty years later she pointed to these meetings when asked to cite "a particularly powerful influence" on her professional and spiritual life. "Faith was something they really had to hang

on to. It was a definite decision—in many ways more difficult to them ... than for us. That made a big impression on me" (Balay 1993).

After the inner-city "University" sessions ended, Hillary Rodham began dropping by Jones's office after school to talk about the experience and to discuss world events and the role individuals could play in confronting them. "She was curious," Rev. Jones later recalled. "When introduced to a lot of new things, she was just insatiable." Here Jones introduced her to the great theologians who would help her crystalize her faith. By her senior year, Jones, who studied under Paul Tillich and describes his own faith as Christian existentialism, and Hillary Rodham had discussed excerpts from Niehbur's *Moral Man and Immoral Society* and the works of Paul Tillich and Dietrich Bonhoeffer. When she finished those, he changed approaches and gave her the sermons of Martin Luther King, Jr., the poetry of the Beats, and the novels of J.D. Salinger to study (Warner 1993; Nelson and Martin 1993).

By the time Hillary Rodham left Park Ridge, Illinois, for Wellesley College she had a clearly defined view of Methodism and Christian service. Bonhoeffer bolstered Methodism's commitment to Christian perfectionism with his unrelenting emphasis on the moral responsibility of every Christian to promote ethical human conduct. Niehbur's passion for political reform and social justice, balanced against his less than positive assessment of human nature, erased any logical reason for cynicism and criticized Christian political lethargy. And Tillich's perception of sin as alienation and estrangement and salvation as self-acceptance and reconciliation dramatically influenced Hillary Rodham's intellectual dedication to Methodism and conviction that to be a Christian and not to act in ways that build community is to turn your back on your faith (Ahlstrom 1972; Niehbur 1932, 1952; Church 1987).

As the following brief review of Tillich's theology illustrates, the view of the world that emerges from these theological inquiries bears a remarkable resemblance to the approach Mrs. Clinton uses in her professional writings and public addresses.

Tillich wrote that "being religious means asking passionately the question of the meaning of our existence and being willing to receive answers. It is the state of being concerned about one's own being and being universally." Consequently, when Hillary Rodham Clinton urged that Americans need to "break through the old thinking that has too long captured [them]" so that they can "redefine" their humanity, she issued a Tillichian call for American spiritual renewal. When Mrs. Clinton argued that Americans have lost spiritual contact with one another, she echoed the concerns Tillich raised when he lamented the "lost dimension of religion," the spiritual wasteland modern Americans encountered when they lost sight of their relationship to their world. When she told Americans that "part of the greatest challenge

of living is defining yourself in your moment, of seizing the opportunities that you are given and making the very best choices you can make," she merely paraphrased Tillich's call for a "radical realization of our predicament." Lastly, when she assumed that when moved to action Americans can reclaim the innate goodness and compassion that once characterized American communities, she embraced Tillich's belief in "the in spite of": his assertion that "in spite of the loss of dimension of depth [Clinton's "the lack of meaning in our collective lives"], its power is present, and most present in those who are aware of the loss and are striving to regain it with ultimate seriousness" (Clinton 1993b; Tillich 1958).

Public Reaction

"She's very committed and commitment often looks like ambition to an outsider," Brooke Shearer, a dear friend of Mrs. Clinton, admitted in 1992 (Abbott 1993). Indeed, Hillary Rodham Clinton's commitment to discussing personal values in a public arena, especially those expressed in the politics of meaning speech, has been interpreted by many in the political press as some sort of spiritual power play. "Yes, she is ambitious," Michael Kelly declared in his profile of her for *The New York Times*, "but she is ambitious to do good. And she is a radical in the sense that she thinks it's possible to make the world better, as she defines better" (Kelly 1993). Paul Gigot of the *Wall Street Journal*, following Kelly's lead, opined that "Mrs. Clinton now says her ambition is to find a new 'politics of meaning' ... She wants to lead nothing less than a 'remaking of the American way of politics, government, indeed life.' And you thought health care was a challenge" (Gigot 1993). *Business Week* concurred, declaring that Hillary Clinton's spiritual commitment is incompatible with "the hard work of running the government" (Nussbaum 1993). And in an article lampooning the speech, *Insight*, a *Washington Times* publication, declared that Roseanne Arnold's flippant discussion of her hallucinogenic experiences as Joan of Arc is just as sincere a demonstration of faith as Hillary Rodham Clinton's plea for community, writing:

you're skirting the fringes of hypocrisy here, Hillary, and I point this out to you as a friend and a fellow seeker of a meaningful life. But actions speak louder than words, and I don't see you giving up any power at all, not in search for meaning, not for spiritual values, not for anything (Grenier 1993).

Why did The Speech provoke such a harsh response? All Mrs. Clinton said was that American politics has lost its vision and its compassion, that the nation has become too self-absorbed for its own good, and that Americans are facing a spiritual crisis.

Is this a new argument? No.

Is this a grab for power? Again, no.

Is this a new role for the first lady to play? Not really. Eleanor Roosevelt wrote articles and gave lectures pleading for racial justice and social compassion while she lived in the White House and argued throughout World War II that the greatest danger to American democracy was not fascism, but America's behavior at home. Nancy Reagan invoked the collapse of family values when she urged Americans to "just say no." Even Barbara Bush implored Americans to rediscover community when she discussed Literacy Action and her husband's "thousand points of light."

So if Hillary Rodham Clinton's message is not new, why are so many afraid of it? Because, with one speech, she, whether intentionally or by fluke, struck at the heart of America's love-hate relationship with politics and religion, and its continuing struggle to reconcile feminism with family values and rights with responsibilities.

Americans are trapped in a cultural and spiritual oxymoron. All polls indicate that we are becoming an increasingly religious nation, with more Americans attending church services than all weekly sports events combined (Ribuffo 1993; Marsden 1990). Yet, while private faith is increasing, Americans are increasingly uncomfortable with political leaders who discuss their faith in public. As Gary Wills points out, "if religion intrudes too obviously, this is treated as an anomaly" (Wills 1990). Stephen Carter agrees, declaring that American "public culture more and more prefers religion as something without political significance, less an independent moral force than a quietly irrelevant moralizer, never heard, [and] rarely seen" (Carter 1993). Or, to use a more concrete example, when Hillary Clinton uses a depth of faith more commonly associated with Pat Robertson and Jesse Jackson to promote values espoused by Martin Luther King, Jr., Americans get nervous.

The American community of faith was not the only part of the nation put ill at ease by Mrs. Clinton's call for a politics of meaning. Americans more committed to secular politics also did not know how to respond to The Speech. Uncomfortable with religion, but committed to reforming community, they view religion as a sign of oppression rather than acceptance and openness. They are, therefore, opposed to any influence it might have in the political arena because they assume that its influence will restrict the good along with the bad. Plus, traditional liberals and conservatives are uncomfortable with her plea because she appeals to both groups to abandon the parts of their programs that fail and to adopt the successful suggestions of their rivals. This approach threatens existing political postures that have defined the political arena for the last two decades.

This leads to a final question. Should the White House be involved in this discussion at all, and if so, should the first lady initiate the public dialogue?

The presidency has been used frequently as a bully pulpit. Presidents from Teddy Roosevelt to Franklin Roosevelt to Lyndon Johnson to Ronald Reagan

unabashedly urged their constituents to embrace their particular vision of American society. However, when these men discussed values the values were connected to a specific political policy—the New Nationalism, the New Deal, the Great Society, the Reagan Revolution—rather than a specific crisis of mores and attitudes. Moreover, historians have proved repeatedly that the president helps set the moral tone of the political discourse.

If the president is charged with presenting a vision of the nation to the public, and is responsible for explaining why specific policies will complement that vision, why should that discussion be limited to pragmatic, quantifiable issues when so many of the problems in contemporary America defy such easy quantification and classification? The president should be accountable not only for presenting the program that s/he wants to implement, but also for telling the nation *why* that particular approach will work and *how* it will address the cultural and social problems that are intrinsically connected to every economic and diplomatic philosophy. If the president opts not to do this, to keep his/her real motivations secret, the public is denied both the information it needs to assess the program and its commander in chief as well as the communal inspiration that is necessary for the program to work.

As the president's partner, the first lady has a unique opportunity to augment her husband's administration. Traditionally this support has become a mixture of social, entertaining functions balanced against the promotion of a specific "cause"—White House restoration, the environment, mental illness, drug abuse, illiteracy—which somehow connects to the president's overriding theme. As a review of those projects illustrates, all are value-laden issues. Otherwise, "just say no" would never have been sold as a public service theme.

Hillary Rodham Clinton's most public foray into this arena is both a logical extension of the first lady's role and a radical departure from it. She promotes the traditional values of family, compassion, service, and community while she helps shape the public debate on health care and welfare reform. She preaches the values of family and community in heartfelt, theological eloquence, has testified before five Congressional committees in two days, and continues to help orchestrate the most important domestic initiative of her husband's presidency.

She is not simply a mother, a wife, a lawyer, a lay theologian, or a skilled political arbitrator, but is all of these rolled into one. She is a feminist, who is guided by faith and empowered by education, who is committed to restoring family values, broadly defined, to the center of the political arena.

She presents her complexity to the public in a way that challenges the nation to confront its propensity to stereotype that which it does not understand. She is not simply a mother, a wife, a lawyer, a lay theologian, or a skilled political arbitrator, but is all of these rolled into one. She is a feminist, who is guided by faith and empowered by education, who is committed to restoring family values, broadly defined, to the center of the political arena.

Regardless of one's opinion of Hillary Rodham Clinton's interpretation of the Bible or her politics, she is an integral part of the political landscape for, at least, the next three years. If she continues to address the "sleeping sickness of the soul" which undermines America's respect for community and spiritual values, in all likelihood, the majority of Americans will react with some sense of dis-ease. Yet this is exactly why Mrs. Clinton should continue discussing this dilemma. Americans need to understand that they should practice what they believe and that when different creeds and communities are respected, individual faith is not a threat to democratic government.

As Gary Wills has written:

Religion has been at the center of our major political crises, which are always moral crises—the supporting and opposing of wars, slavery, or corporate power, of civil rights, of sexual codes, of 'the West,' of American separatism and claims to empire. If we neglect the religious element in all those struggles, we cannot understand our own corporate past; we cannot even talk meaningfully to each other about things that will affect us all (and not only the 'religious nuts' among us) (Wills 1990).

In short, if Americans neglect to treat Hillary Rodham Clinton's faith as seriously as we treat her politics, we will never understand her motivation, her policies, or her politics. ■

Notes

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PINNING DOWN HILLARY

Is Hillary Rodham Clinton a crusader or a hypocrite? The prism of her personality constantly casts new images, and she is notoriously resentful of justifying herself. But as the stakes get higher, Mrs. Clinton sits down with **LESLIE BENNETTS** to face the touchy issues of her power, her accountability, and her relationship with Vincent Foster

To see the First Lady, a reporter enters the White House through the pressroom, which is littered with supine bodies lounging in the languid but slyly watchful repose of zoo animals who know it's not feeding time yet. Walk down a short corridor alongside the Rose Garden, with its peekaboo view of the Oval Office, turn a corner, and you are in the residence. "It's really not that big a house," remarks the White House staffer who parks me in the Map Room to await the First Lady. A white-jacketed butler brings a glass of water, positions it on a tiny table beside the throne-

like rose silk wing chair where she will be sitting, smiles silently, and vanishes.

Yesterday's *Washington Post* offered up the White House usher recently fired by Mrs. Clinton; although aggrieved, he volunteered helpfully that the First Lady never did throw a lamp at her husband, as was widely rumored last year. In this house, a public museum under constant occupation by often hostile forces, the walls not only have ears, they seem almost porous. A reception is going on in the next room, and my entire conversation with Mrs. Clinton is punctuated by the muffled chatter and hurrahs of applause we hear through the wall. The sense of being surrounded is overwhelming.

A Clinton friend told me that after the inauguration, Hillary and Chelsea set out to explore the White House. The armed guards on the roof brought them up short; that was when it really dawned on them that they had just moved into a



fortress. "Hillary's reaction was awe; it was like some 18th-century castle," the friend told me. "On so many levels, we transform our presidents and First Ladies into royalty, and then we attack them for acting like royalty. But when you're in a fortress, you develop a fortress mentality."

And that's even without Whitewater. When Mrs. Clinton arrives to see me, she is accompanied by her press secretary, who positions her chair in between ours and interjects warnings like "You need to do that off the record," along with reminders that a group of senators is waiting and the First Lady has to get on up to the Hill. The atmosphere is about as intimate as Grand Central station.

Notwithstanding all the distractions, at first Mrs. Clinton seems her usual preternaturally poised self. This is the face she shows the world: coolly self-possessed no matter how acute the stress, her composure never faltering for an instant. This is the Hillary who will finally hold an extraordinary press conference several weeks hence, smoothly explaining away all the errors and contradictions in the White House accounts of her financial history, her expression so calm she might be making small talk about the weather instead of submitting to detailed questions about commodities trading and tax returns. This is Hillary the consummate politician, a woman who can calibrate the req-

many times Mrs. Clinton uses the word "bad." It comes up in different contexts, and she never applies it to herself, but she doesn't need to, the aura of sadness hangs over her, as tangible as a haunting whiff of perfume. By any measure it has been a difficult year, with more than its share of personal losses, from the deaths of her father and the president's mother to Vincent Foster's suicide.

But the other emotion that simmers beneath her measured words is rage. Despite her efforts to contain herself, Mrs. Clinton is clearly furious. By the time she calls her press conference in late April, she will have worked through such untidy emotions with her usual machine-like efficiency, processing the messy raw material of human angst and converting it into a perfect public façade. But today, with me, she is still struggling. The process has not been completed yet—she is still agonizing over her failure to stem the onslaught, and privately she has admitted to friends that she is devastated by the attack. Soon she will have figured out how to handle the situation and conceal her vulnerability, but what I am seeing today is Hillary in transition, a woman the public rarely glimpses—one whose eyes betray her grief and whose words, despite her steely self-control, all too often betray her anger.

Sometimes it comes out as mere testiness, as when I ask whether the White House is what she expected, after having achieved the goal her husband had worked toward ever since he was a teenager. To my amazement, she snaps: "That is just such a myth! If you think leaving Yale Law School and going to Arkansas to be in public life is the route to the presidency—I mean, people have this idea that somehow he sat around from the age of 16 thinking, 'Oh, O.K., I'll go home to Arkansas'—Arkansas, a state that most people had never heard of, let alone been to—and I will teach law, and then I will run unsuccessfully for Congress, and then I will be elected governor, and then I will lose, and then I will have to fight my way back, and I will end up being president—that is absurd!" Her tone is withering.

Taken aback, I refrain from pointing out that it was Clinton himself who said he wanted to be president ever since he shook hands with John F. Kennedy at the age of 16. I ask Mrs. Clinton again whether her current life is what she expected. "The public life part of it is—the doing-the-work part of it is," she says. "I was in public life separate from my husband, before I ever married my husband. I cared about issues affecting children and families since I was in high school." She regards me fiercely. "I really believe in service," she adds. "I think it's the way you fully round out a life and learn about yourself and enter fully into the human condition. It comes from my religious beliefs and from my own personal experience. Being able to help people in small ways, as well as trying to make changes you believe will help large numbers of people, is very important to me. Being involved in health-care reform, which I believe in passionately, is one of the most

I've never been called arrogant in my life before!
I find that the most astonishing charge.

quisite tone for any occasion with exquisite precision, whether turning in a flawless performance under unprecedented interrogation in Washington or hitting the road in a determined effort to promote her health-care program and divert headlines from Whitewater. Barnstorming from Denver to St. Louis a few days ago, she had dark circles under her eyes and looked as if she hadn't had a good night's sleep in weeks, but for every audience she was smiling and gracious, always ready with a light quip to put her listeners at ease.

Today she is calm and businesslike, but her blue eyes are somber; sometimes they look past me into the far distance, as if contemplating the ghosts that hover inescapably over any consideration of the last year. Later on, playing back the tape of our conversation, I am struck by how

important things I could dream of having any role in. So that part has been very gratifying."

Mrs. Clinton sighs resignedly. "And I'm now appreciative that at each point in our nation's history there comes a certain level of criticism and questioning that you have to accept," she says, selecting her words carefully, "that you cannot blow off, which has been my inclination in the past, and I admit that, because I find it hard to take seriously. Maybe coming from the private sector, with one foot in the public sector, gives me a somewhat different take on all of this. The idea of it is hard to accept, but I now accept it. So what I'm trying to do is to figure out how to perform effectively in the role my husband has asked me to fulfill, particularly with respect to health care—and that means I have to better appreciate what the environment expects, and I'm trying to do that."

With impressive self-control, she allows no petulance in her tone as she continues evenly, "It is very hard, when people lie about you and attack you, not to feel anger. I have struggled with this, because there's no human being who, if he were walking down the street and someone shouted an insult at him or got in his face and said terrible things about him, would not respond. Bill and I are in this position where it's apparently fair for people to say anything they want about us, but we have to rise above it. If we act human, which is to say we resent it, we get angry about it—that somehow diminishes us. I find that very difficult to understand. So I am trying very hard to come to grips with that... I don't like people impugning my motives and saying bad things about me."

But characteristically, she approaches personal attacks as if they were simply policy questions to be analyzed and solved like any other problem. "What I've tried to do, as I've realized this is not going to go away, as absurd as it is, is to put myself in other people's positions and sort of break down my own personal reactions so that I can say to myself, Why are they saying this? How does it look from the outside? What do I have to do to be more effective and helpful to these people, so I can correct their misimpressions?"

Her tone is resolutely reasonable; she peers solidly at me, as if I were a particularly obtuse student and she were wondering how to help me overcome my regrettable ignorance. "I don't want people having the wrong impressions of me. If some right-wing operative wants to dislike me for their own reasons, there's nothing I can do about that, but I want other people to reach their judgments about me based on the best available information, and not be influenced by the sort of sleight of hand that goes on, about what is being portrayed to them. So that's what I'm trying to understand and work through on my own."

Well, not exactly on her own. I have been summoned to the White House for what was initially advertised as some substantial one-on-one time with the First Lady, although it turned out to be neither substantial nor strictly

one-on-one. The arrangements were accomplished through a protracted series of negotiations via several intermediaries, with Mrs. Clinton's press staff working overtime to try to control the content of our conversation and of the ensuing article. I have also been offered interviews with a number of Mrs. Clinton's friends, but given the uniformity of their testimony, they appear to have been carefully briefed about the current party line; one person after another makes the same points in virtually the same words and then reports back to the White House, which seizes upon snippets of conversation taken out of context and sends out more queries to ascertain my intentions once again, as if in an endless game of telephone.

My invitation is but one small part of an all-out White House campaign to resuscitate Mrs. Clinton's badly tarnished image. A politically savvy group of friends and associates—the "Committee to Reinvent Hillary," as one sardonic observer describes it—has been holding secret meetings in Washington to devise an emergency strategy to reverse the devastating tone of recent press coverage. Despite Mrs. Clinton's well-known aversion to the press (an attitude one Washington media figure describes as "Fuck you, we hate the press, we don't have to do it their way!"), interviews with the First Lady are soon popping up faster than croissants, each conducted under strictly controlled conditions, each delivering Mrs. Clinton's well-packaged message, each accompanied by its own benevolently smiling photograph.

In these interviews, Mrs. Clinton admits she's made mistakes, but that acknowledgment is generally overshadowed by her more characteristic stance of sanctimonious rectitude, which is often framed in religious terms. By the time she does her press conference, she will have worked up an utterly convincing tone of humility, but right now she hasn't mastered it yet; for Hillary Clinton, humble is very hard. Her sense of humor falters when she's under attack as well. Her friends speak glowingly of Mrs. Clinton's wit, and I frequently saw it in action during a long day on the road, when she used humor very effectively to charm her public audiences. But when I finally sat down to talk to her in person, she seemed defensive and grim, with no hint of the self-deprecating humor that made Barbara Bush so likable. Mrs. Clinton's pious self-righteousness is one of the reasons her emerging imperfections have driven her detractors into such a frenzy, but for a long time the White House response only reinforced the impressions that led to outraged howls of hypocrisy in the first place. Is it mere coincidence that the Clintons, besieged by accusations of venality, started calling attention to their Christian bona fides, as the president did in a two-part ABC News report on his religious beliefs? His wife ups the ante by implying that their detractors will ultimately face an even harsher judge than the one in the White House:

"You read some of the attack pieces about me and it is just amazing," she says, shaking her head. "I find it impossible to believe that people who call themselves Christians could engage in such behavior. And as my husband has said on several occasions, we take bearing false witness against people very seriously. It's one of the com-

mandments, and we try consciously not to pass on stories or say things we can't prove. I'm not saying we always meet that; the reason it's one of the commandments is that we all fall short. But that people would say and do things that they have to know are untrue, or if they took the time to inquire would know are untrue, is very sad to me."

Like many of the Clintons' pronouncements, this is a wee bit disingenuous; until her press conference, Mrs. Clinton was not in the habit of subjecting herself to substantive inquiry, and even this conversation was granted on the understanding that I would not ask specific questions about Whitewater. During my allotted half-hour, Mrs. Clinton's press secretary hovers anxiously, ready to extricate her with breathtaking suddenness if the going gets tough, which is precisely what happens. This caution may be understandable, given the rabid media climate. However, such restrictions have done little to alter the widespread perception that Mrs. Clinton's role confers great power without much accountability.

Indeed, for much of the spring, similar criticisms were heard in remarkably disparate quarters. "If you go into the big leagues, you've got to play by the rules of the game, but she's trying to have it both ways," charged Phyllis Schlafly, the anti-feminist president of the Eagle Forum. "Now that the going's got tough, she's retreated behind the First Lady shield, and it's like 'You can't attack me!'" The comments from the opposite end of the political spectrum were eerily similar: "If you're going to play with the big boys, you've got to play by the rules the power players play by, and one of them is accountability," said a liberal Washington feminist. "You can't take a dive."

While Mrs. Clinton will reluctantly reach the same conclusion in the coming weeks, even that will not resolve some larger questions. On this very day, the morning papers reflect the prevailing confusion over the proper role for a president's spouse. While the news pages carry grim stories about the toll of Whitewater, *The Washington Post's*

"Home" section features a cover story about the new Hillary Clinton tulip, a lovely blush-pink blossom that conjures up visions of afternoon teas and white gloves—as does the very title "First Lady," which increasingly seems like a ludicrous anachronism.

On any given day inside the Beltway, criticisms of Mrs. Clinton range from her conduct as a Little Rock lawyer in private practice as far back as the 1970s to gossip that the First Lady hasn't made enough effort to entertain the Senate wives since arriving in Washington. Feminists laud Mrs. Clinton for her accomplishments, then privately turn around and bemoan her route to power. "It's innately not feminist to derive your power from the person you sleep with," says one. "We all want to believe Hillary can climb mountains and be this new kind of partner, but nepotism always breeds this kind of difficulty."

Although Mrs. Clinton is only the second First Lady

ever to establish her own separate executive offices in the West Wing, she rejects both the idea that she has assumed unprecedented power and the suggestion that she has often avoided the kind of accountability routinely endured by other public officials. She prefers to place her situation in a historical perspective, pointing out that First Ladies have always contended with such criticisms. "I think it has a lot to do with the ambivalence that people have about women, period," she says. "That seems to be cross-generational. It may take different historical forms, depending upon whether we're in the early 19th century or the late 20th century, but the bottom line on a lot of this criticism is: Who is this woman and why is she there? Well, everyone who is in the White House is there because the president chose that person, starting with the vice president and going all the way down to the person who Xeroxes things. I think the fair question is: What does this person believe that might influence the president or public policy? And unlike a lot of my predecessors, I am very up-front about what I believe in. I don't think you could argue that I'm more or less influential with my husband than many of the women who have been here. I might even suggest that I am less influential, because my husband is someone who seeks opinions from a very broad range of sources."

This is patently ridiculous; no First Lady has ever been lauded responsibility for a major policy question like health care reform. But Mrs. Clinton's expression is bland and unblinking. "Much of the influence that First Ladies have exercised in the past has been extremely private and totally unaccountable. Nobody had any idea what she was saying to him about anything. My belief is that each woman has to fashion this undefined role for herself—and maybe at some point a man will have to do the same. I have always been an up-front person. I have always felt that public policy was important, and that we could make a difference, whether my husband was governor or president, and this is how I have conducted myself."

"I think it's humorous that people would say I need to do press conferences," she adds mirthlessly. "I have probably been more accessible to the press than any of my predecessors, with the exception of Eleanor Roosevelt."

Clintonites love to invoke Eleanor Roosevelt, who has been enshrined as an icon in our national history but who, in her own time, was widely reviled. "Although E.R. gave virtually all her money away to needful people and helpful causes, she was endlessly attacked by Republicans as a thief, a cheat, a tax-dodger, a misuser of office and influence," reports Blanche Wiesen Cook, author of *Eleanor Roosevelt, Volume 1, 1884-1933*. Both Mrs. Clinton and her friends bring up Mrs. Roosevelt so often that it's clear they're hoping for a similar evolution in popular consciousness about the current First Lady. Mrs. Clinton finally capitulated to the Roosevelt precedent in holding a press conference, but in the weeks leading up to it she was still very defensive about the perception that she had not responded to many important questions.

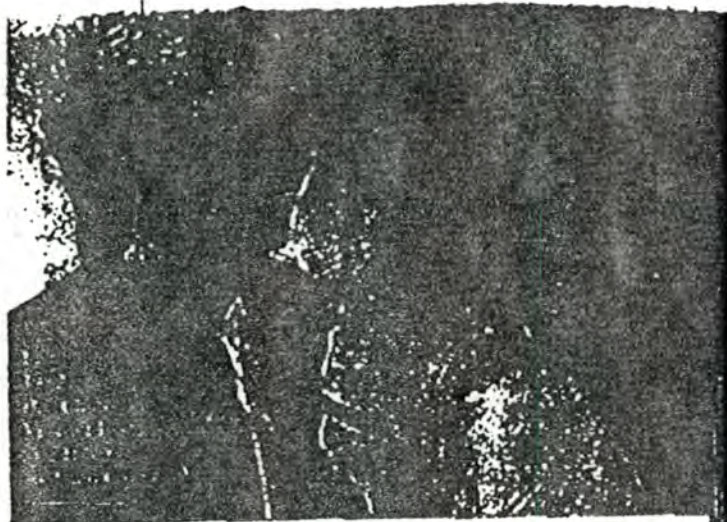
"We've been answering those questions for two years," she tells me impatiently. "They are the same questions, with the same answers. I think a lot of this is a little disingenuous."

genuous. People keep asking questions that we keep answering; they just don't like the answers. If they don't want to believe we lost money in Whitewater, that's their choice, but that doesn't change the truth: we lost money in Whitewater. You know, if they don't want to believe that we paid back all our loans, and we never did business with an S&L, fine, they don't have to believe it—but that doesn't change the truth... They can ask me from now to doomsday—they're going to get the same answer, because it's the truth."

Catching herself, she pauses and takes a deep breath. "I think it is regrettable that there seem to be both commercial reasons and political reasons why people want to undermine the presidency and the people associated with him, basically making up stories or spreading rumors and innuendo for which there is no basis. I don't mind a fair, honest give-and-take. If somebody in Congress disagrees with our approach to health care on ideological reasons, let's just try to have a good, healthy debate about it. But if somebody in Congress wants to twist and distort the truth for political purposes, I think that is very sad."

Mrs. Clinton also rejects the idea that she could be accused of arrogance, a word that arises regularly in discussions about her, whether on policy issues such as her closed-door approach to the health-care task force or on public-relations gaffes such as the firing of the usher. "I've never been called arrogant in my life before!" she exclaims. "I find that the most astonishing charge, and I think it's very sad. Again, I think it's being promoted for political and ideological reasons, and I regret that anybody would take it seriously.... I mean, I've never heard that before. I know that I am fair game; I understand that. I have read enough history to know that no matter what I do I will be fair game. If I had chosen not to do anything with respect to public policy, then people would have been hammering the doors down trying to figure out what I was really saying to somebody or what issues I was really concerned about. Instead of focusing on health care.... I understand completely that there is a no-win kind of zero-sum game when it comes to being 'First Lady.'" She pronounces this with exaggerated emphasis, as if it were such a curious locution it should have quotes around it.

Mrs. Clinton is particularly exercised about criticism of the way her health-care proposal was developed. "There has never been a piece of legislation written in public," she says indignantly. "I don't know what these people are talking about. I mean, there is no secret here. There is no decision that has been made. What we tried to do was respond to the president's directive to work as quickly as



“If we’ve proved nothing else,
we’ve proved we are resilient.
We know how to fight;
we can take these people on.”

possible to come up with a health-care proposal. It wasn't as though we were going to come up with a health-care proposal and then impose it on the country. The whole thing is a public process. If you go back and look, the people who made that claim were right-wing operatives. The press never wants to talk about who faxes them all this stuff, who calls them up, who invites them to come to their secret headquarters devoted to destroying Bill and Hillary Clinton. I don't understand why that isn't as much fair game as what we do.... But this is a no-win situation. Because no matter what the prevailing stereotype of womanhood is at any historical moment, there are going to be people on all sides of it, and you can't please them."

She leans forward earnestly. "I think it is such an important lesson for girls, and women—to be true to yourself. Do what is right for you. Too many girls and too many women are pushed into saying and doing things because other people want them to. I was raised by two parents with unconditional love, who instilled in me a very strong belief in myself. Now, that may be scary to some people—I can't help that—but this is the way I was raised, and I am grateful for it. So I can't be something other than what I am, and what I am is someone who wants to be part of helping to change this country. That is what I have done for the 25 years I have (Continued on page 154)

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(Continued from page 109) been involved in social action."

There is no question that Mrs. Clinton has been targeted for fierce and often vicious attacks by right-wing activists who portray her as a radical harridan bent on destroying the American way of life. Just as Eleanor Roosevelt was demonized by Republicans as "Lenin in skirts," Mrs. Clinton has been denounced as "the czarina of health care" and a closet socialist. Moreover, her critics have skillfully exploited such caricatures as a potent fundraising tool for conservative causes. "There is a tremendous fear of her out there," according to Richard Norman, a Republican direct-mail fund-raiser whose clients include Oliver North. Conservatives believe that "Hillary is dangerous," Norman says, "committed to an agenda, and she is ruthless."

But Mrs. Clinton knows who her real

constituency is. Among more moderate segments of the political spectrum, Mrs. Clinton often elicits passionate enthusiasm. "I think she's an outstanding role model," said Kristi Meyers-Gallup, a 30-year-old St. Louis woman whose comments were typical of those I heard from female admirers ranging from senior citizens to college students. "She's today's woman. She's so savvy, and she's her own person. I think she's as sharp and manipulative as anybody else, but I don't think that's bad. I feel the Clintons are more real than any presidential candidates I've seen."

It may be their very realism that causes them so much trouble. By early spring, hostility toward the Clintons had reached savage proportions among the Washington press corps, many of whose members are of the same baby-boom generation as the president and his wife. Some commentators have suggested recently that the depth of the media's animus toward the president is related to the fact that "his character holds up a mirror to their own," as Frank Rich put it in

The New York Times. The subtext of a good deal of Clinton analysis seems to be "This guy isn't any better than I am—how come he's president?"

Responses to Mrs. Clinton are even more complicated. "Hillary Clinton is a national Rorschach test of how people feel about the changing roles of women and men," says Ann Lewis, a former political director of the Democratic National Committee who is now a Washington consultant. "She gets tremendously deep personal support, especially from working women who are trying to juggle responsibilities and live lives for which there is no blueprint. At the other extreme, there's a set of men whose self-image has been that of political insiders, who are almost enraged at the way politics is changing and women are challenging the rules, which they think they wrote. I've been taken by surprise by the depth and bitterness of the resentment. This flood of bile has come out in the guise of insider political commentary, what you get is a kind of 50s sitcom: the lovable, bumbling husband, Dagwood Clinton, who takes naps and manages

for snacks, and his competent wife, Bloodie Rodham, who's making all the important decisions, and the poor schnook doesn't even notice. That is the oldest stereotype, that if a woman has power it has to be at the expense of a man. But it's a set of people who live between New York and Washington that are having a hard time. Their self-image is being sophisticated and knowing everything that's going on, but they have been surprised by Hillary Clinton. Their assumption has always been that she had to be a political liability, that for a spouse to go beyond a rigid stereotype has to be a problem. The fact is that it's not a problem for the voters. It's the future of American politics."

It may also be the future of the American home. However, Mrs. Clinton—much to her own detriment—has managed to ensure that the domestic parts of her life are not nearly as visible as the public parts. You almost never see at-home pictures of Mrs. Clinton with her daughter or even her husband; their domestic life is largely off-limits to the prying eyes of the press, but the consequence is that many people refuse to believe Mrs. Clinton even has a domestic life. "She is a very private person, and she protects herself and her family fiercely," says Tipper Gore, the vice president's wife. "Perhaps the flip side of maintaining that privacy is that you don't show yourself the way you really are, and that allows others to fill the void with a stereotypical image. Clearly, she feels you should be judged on the public record, and the rest of your life is yours."

In fact, when you talk to any of Mrs. Clinton's longtime intimates, the Hillary that emerges is so different from her public persona that the exercise assumes the surreal quality of a *Rashomon* experience. Those who know her best describe an intensely loyal friend who is always there in times of trouble and who remains thoughtful and caring no matter what the outside pressures on her. They describe a mother who has always made her child her priority, a devoted daughter who is constantly on the telephone with her own mother. Mrs. Clinton's friends also make a point of refuting the widespread assumption that the Clintons' marriage is some kind of cynical political arrangement rather than a "real" marriage, whatever that is.

"They're fun together, and they are sexy together," attests the actress Mary Steenburgen, an Arkansas native. "I've sat next to them on airplanes when the whole time we were talking he was rubbing her feet. It's very much a marriage of two whole people. Is it perfect? Absolutely not. I have no idea whether he was ever unfaithful to

Hillary; I've never heard anything about it from either of them, and I am a close friend. But whatever it is, they worked it out together, and they continue to work on it. They're having a ball together, but the culture penalizes them for the fact that they haven't lied and pretended to be Ozzie and Harriet. I think they've tried to be inordinately honest, without airing every facet of their lives."

The Clintons' friends see Hillary as someone with whom they've shared family barbecues and bike rides, Easter-egg hunts and children's baseball games, Halloween parties and bowling parties. The all-American mom-in-sweatpants such friends describe scarcely resembles the yuppie-frenetic-in-a-power-suit who figures so prominently in right-wing nightmares.

Somewhere in the middle are the not unsympathetic onlookers who perceive Mrs. Clinton largely in terms of her professional identity as a smart, tough lawyer—and of her take-no-prisoners political image. Both of those impressions are amply documented. While Republicans may quarrel with her conclusions on health care, Mrs. Clinton gets high marks for her performance from both sides of the aisle on Capitol Hill. "She has a remarkable grasp of the complexities of very difficult issues," says Sheila Burke, Senator Bob Dole's chief of staff and resident health-care expert. "I think she's terrific, and extraordinarily effective."

Nor do those who have seen Mrs. Clinton in action question the role accorded her by her husband. "I've seen them both make presentations, with dozens of senators at the table, and she's better than he is," says one insider. "And these guys know it. They've sat in rooms with her, and they've sat in rooms with him. He's good—he's very good. She's just fucking perfect."

But perfection elicits mixed reactions. "Her powers of communication are so awesome that men are intimidated around her," says Senator David Pryor, an Arkansas Democrat. "Powerful leaders are awed."

Even those who love Mrs. Clinton acknowledge that they find her formidable. "She's tough," attests Nancy Snyderman, a San Francisco surgeon who became close friends with Mrs. Clinton while both were living in Little Rock. "I would not like to be on the other side from her. She handled my divorce... and she just sort of laid down the law. With my divorce, a friend of mine asked Hillary, 'Who's the best attorney in town to handle this?' and she said, 'I am.' For me, it was like a combination of going to a friend, going to your

mother, and going to the principal. Whenever she told me to do something, I would always be worried that I hadn't done what I was supposed to do. I felt like, 'Oh shit, is she going to yell at me?' But I felt so confident with her as my attorney. She's like a bulldog. She's so tough she's invincible. She said, 'Jump,' I said, 'How high?' I would never cross her."

Those who do often come to regret it. "She has a reputation for vindictiveness," says one observer who privately refers to the First Lady as Evita Rodham Clinton. "If you disagreed with her, your life was hell. She would cut off your access; you became a nobody."

Such ruthlessness was vividly revealed during the catastrophically mismanaged nomination of Lani Guinier as assistant attorney general in charge of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department. Guinier had been a longtime friend of the Clintons, who even attended her wedding in 1986. But after her nomination drew bitter fire from conservatives who attacked her as the "Quota Queen," Guinier was astonished to find Mrs. Clinton beating a hasty retreat. At one event, Guinier approached her in a receiving line to congratulate her on a recent speech. "Hillary sort of flinched and withdrew, as if she didn't want to be seen with her in public," reports one observer. Then Guinier went to the White House for a last-ditch attempt to salvage her nomination, and ran into Mrs. Clinton in the West Wing.

"She breezed by me with a casual 'Hi, kiddo,'" Guinier later wrote in her book, *The Tyranny of the Majority*. "When somebody tried to tell her that we were in the White House to strategize on my nomination, she turned slightly and said, 'Oh.' She turned, full circle this time, and, to no one in particular, announced, 'I'm 30 minutes late to a lunch.'"

That was the last Lani Guinier saw of Hillary Clinton; neither the president nor his wife has contacted their former friend since Clinton succumbed to the flak and withdrew her nomination. Guinier has maintained a discreet silence about her feelings, but friends say she was deeply pained at the way Mrs. Clinton gave her the brush-off. "She was sending a very clear message—not just that she didn't want to be seen in public with Lani Guinier, but that Lani Guinier was an unwelcome, uninvited, and unwelcome," reports someone who witnessed the White House encounter.

That capacity for cold bloodedness comes as no surprise to some of those who have worked for the Clintons. During the presidential campaign, sources say, even the highest-ranking Clintonites

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used to talk privately about "what a shrew Hillary is, how difficult she is to get along with, how people hated her," as someone privy to such discussions put it.

Mrs. Clinton's friends implicitly acknowledge such seeming contradictions. "Hillary is so multifaceted, it's hard to get one picture," Sayderman explains. "She's a complicated person, and she's putting her complexities out in public. It's like sensory overload. People want her in a package, and you can't package Hillary Clinton."

The same might be said of many other women who are shouldering new responsibilities. But that process continues to produce enormous social upheaval and discomfort, and one joke making the rounds this spring served as a pointed reminder of how threatened some people are by forceful women of any description:

Question: Who's the most feared and hated woman in America?

Answer: Tonya Rodham Rohrer.

Some analysts suspect that Mrs. Clinton seemed particularly sorry in the aftermath of the Anita Hill affair and the so-called "year of the woman" in politics. "She represented all the hopes and wishes of many women who woke up and got angry in that campaign year," says Susan Faludi, the author of *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women*. "Hillary Clinton is frightening to men who fear the ultimate consequences of women's anger over inequality. You look at all the cartoons where Clinton is in disguise or in a dress or in a baby carriage, and she's wearing the pants, and you see the anxiety. Because masculinity is so dependent on women being dependent on men, for women to challenge that role is to emasculate the man in their life. Promoting stories about Clinton's philandering is another way of attacking Hillary, because if she had been a more feminine and devoted wife he wouldn't be running around, so that's the price you pay, girls—if you have any professional or public aspirations, your man is going to stray, and you'll have only yourself to blame."

Faludi acknowledges that some women find Mrs. Clinton threatening as well. "I think it's because they saw her calling their bluff," she says. "If you re-create her as a demon, you can say, 'It's a good thing I didn't go out there and get that law degree, because look what it does to women—it turns them into monsters.' She

makes some women uncomfortable because she makes them question themselves and look at things they may not want to look at."

Nevertheless, while Mrs. Clinton is a groundbreaker, she is far from unique, even in her longtime role as the major family breadwinner. A growing number of women earn more money than their husbands do, and many empathize with the economic pressures on her as she supported her husband's political career. Mrs. Clinton is quite aggrieved by public criticism of moneymaking ventures such as the killing she made in commodities-futures trading. She has always understood that she was the one who had to make the money, but she also understood that she had to fulfill that responsibility while constantly looking over her shoulder.

"They can ask me from now to doomsday—they're going to get the same answer."

"It was something we knew was inevitable if he were going to be in public life in Arkansas, because salaries were the lowest in the country," she says. "It does weigh heavily. I think from time to time it was a pretty substantial burden on me personally. But in the balance of our marriage, it was something I was glad to do. . . . And because I tried very hard not to be compensated at all through my law firm for any representation my firm did that could in any way be related to the state, I voluntarily suppressed my income for years and years."

This is a classically Clintonesque defense: true in most respects, but deliberately misleading in certain particulars. While Mrs. Clinton did forgo her share of the revenues her law firm earned by representing state agencies, she collected her portion of the profits when the Rose Law Firm handled state bond issuances.

After that became a political issue for her husband, she returned the money and later, during the presidential campaign, claimed that she had "never, ever" profited from state business. When her staff discovered a six-year-old memo covering her decision to relinquish the bond profits, they were aghast, but succeeded in keeping the memo's existence secret until after the election.

Such machinations notwithstanding, Mrs. Clinton clearly did make considerable financial sacrifices, both to accommodate her husband's political career and in pursuit of her own agenda as self-appointed do-gooder. She feels those sacrifices keenly, and they exacerbate her ire at the tenor of some of the questions directed at her. When the Clintons first bought a house in Arkansas, they were asked where they had gotten the money, and Mrs. Clinton said it was from savings and a gift from her parents. Last March, after *The New York Times* revealed that she had made nearly \$100,000 in her brief commodities-trading career in the late 1970s and used some of that money as a down payment on the house, some observers accused her of having been less than forthright in describing those profits as savings. Such interpretations set Mrs. Clinton off like a rocket.

"Where do they think my savings came from?" she exclaims in exasperation. "They came from money I made! I find this absolutely amazing, that these people are moving to the level of paranoia. When I made money, I put it in my savings account. . . . By the time I bought that house, I had closed any commodities-trading accounts, and that money was in my savings account. I personally do not believe that this level of paranoid, conspiracy-driven investigation is appropriate of anybody in public life, not just me. This is a matter that goes way beyond me. It is just absurd. If you take historical precedent, no president has ever had any of his activities before he became president investigated like this. And a lot of people came into office having made a lot of money, and with people knowing they made money through friends. We came in having lost money. We came in with very little in the way of resources. We are subjected to a whole new set of standards. We don't have a vacation house in Maine, we don't have a ranch in California, we don't have a cottage on the shore of Maryland—we don't have any of those things."

"So how many times do we have to say, over and over again, I am—we spent our lives primarily in public service. Even my law practice was subordinated to our pub-

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lie service. I took leaves of absence to work in my husband's campaign, to head our education-reform efforts. I did huge pro bono projects. I'm not asking for any credit for that. I'm just asking for, if you're going to go after whether, when I said savings, I was thinking ahead to what some 25-year-old reporter behind a computer could spit out in his lexicon of questions—no, I wasn't! I was doing the best I could to live my life—and I think we've done a pretty darn good job of it. So I don't think half of what's going on is appropriate or necessary or relevant. I have reluctantly concluded that, given the mind-set and given the business pressures at work on the media, this is a new world we are living in, with new standards that nobody understands. I have no reason to fear people knowing the truth. I get infuriated when people print lies and uncorroborated accusations against either me or my husband. We deserve better than that."

It has become popular to cast the Clintons' problems in terms of the small-town environment that spawned their political careers; in the last few months, a common refrain inside the Beltway has been the charge that the incestuous interweaving of business and politics that has emerged as standard operating procedure in Little Rock just doesn't make it in the big leagues. "They tried to bring Dogpatch to Washington, and it doesn't play," says one insider derisively.

Mrs. Clinton finds such characterizations facile and dishonest. "I don't believe Little Rock is some unique situation," she declares. "I think if you go anywhere in this country... people do business with people they know. I don't understand why this has come as a revelation. I'm not about to get into the same sort of name-calling and finger pointing that people have enjoyed at our expense. But I could go chapter and verse talking about lawyers I know in New York City or Washington, D.C., and their intricate interconnections with people in business and the press and politics. I can guarantee you that those kinds of relationships carry with them a certain informality that arises when you know people. You don't do business with strangers; you do business with people you know. We did absolutely nothing out of the ordinary or wrong in those years in Arkansas."

Many observers would quarrel with

that perception, but some of the Clintons' problems undoubtedly derive from the expectations they themselves raised when they came into office vowing to hold their administration to higher ethical standards than their predecessors. As the discrepancies in their accounts of Whitewater and other financial dealings piled up and the White House resorted to ignominious locations like the Minnesota assertion that a previous explanation of Hillary's commodities trading was "no longer operative," the Clintons' unyielding insistence on their own absolute purity seemed ever more egregious. Nevertheless, Mrs. Clinton's view of herself as a moral and social crusader is no mere political affectation; it has deep roots in the Methodist tradition in which she was raised. "Historically, Methodists combined personal piety and social piety, meaning assuming a sense of social responsibility for reforming the world, rather than simply emphasizing personal redemption," explains Don Jones, Hillary's youth minister back in Park Ridge, Illinois, 30 years ago.

But Jones, now a professor of social ethics at Drew University in New Jersey, also cautions against oversimplification. "I don't think of Hillary as being a purist," he says. "This paragon of moral rectitude—that's not the whole Hillary. Hillary is a paradox. She's also a lawyer who sometimes looks at the world as a lawyer. There's a tension between Hillary the human being of moral rectitude and the Hillary who knows the rough-and-tumble of political life. I admire her integrity, but she is also quite pragmatic and interested in getting things done. She knows that politics is the art of the possible, and I don't think any of us can say we have clean hands while doing our work. We live in a world of ambiguity, and we all draw lines."

Mrs. Clinton's usual stance doesn't acknowledge a lot of ambiguity; as far as she's concerned, her hands are clean and anybody who thinks otherwise is being willfully malicious. "I've bent over backwards to be as free of any hint of wrongdoing in my law practice as I could be," she says with asperity. "I practiced law and taught law in Arkansas for 18 years, and so far as I can tell, there's very little they can come up with. But in hindsight, you can make anything look different than it looked at the time. I don't think I have any reason to apologize for anything I did. In retrospect, do I wish I had never invested in Whitewater? Do I wish that I had never had even a minor and insignificant role in representing Madison Savings and Loan? Sure, because I wouldn't have to answer ques-

tions about me then. But I think if you take the law practice of anyone who practiced law for more than 10 years, a person of ill will, a person of a conspiratorial mind-set, could come up with a list of suspicious questions....

"It is sad that some people are given free rein to conduct witch-hunts for their own purposes, but I can only tell you what I did and what I tried to do. If I had known that in the climate of 1994 people would be making judgments that I think are wholly unfounded, I would have said, Gee, you'd better not do that, Hillary. But then, as a friend of mine from New York said, 'Well, now I've got it—you're not supposed to make money, you're not supposed to lose money!' I mean, I don't know how you live in the world these people want to impose upon you."

If such dilemmas reveal conflicted expectations about women and money, the sexual innuendo that has swirled around Mrs. Clinton reveals even more striking conflicts about women and sex. Ever since she arrived at the White House, the rumors have been as widespread as they are contradictory: some of her detractors can't even decide whether she's a promiscuous lesbian or a promiscuous heterosexual. Mrs. Clinton's close friends find some of the stories hilarious. "There was one rumor that she was having an affair with Mary Steenburgen and the Secret Service had to step over their bodies on the floor," says Nancy Snyderman, who is close to both women. "We had a good laugh over that one."

But even with her intimates, Mrs. Clinton maintains a zone of privacy whose boundaries they sense and observe. "In some ways, she's a better listener than talker," muses Snyderman. "She keeps things very close to the vest. She's a great sounding board, and she's great at getting you to talk, but I've never heard her volunteer a lot of stuff. I've never talked to Hillary about her husband. I've never been invited to."

It is curious but true that certain friends who have laughed with Mrs. Clinton over the rumors that she is a lesbian have never broached the subject of the other leading sexual scenario about her, which is that she and Vincent Foster were lovers. When I finally ask Mrs. Clinton about it, the mini-drama that ensues is like a paradigm of her defiant public stance, her refusal to engage in matters she sees as irrelevant and politically motivated, and the problems that kind of resistance has caused her.

For a moment, she seems stunned by the question, and she hesitates. When

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she speaks, her voice is small and desolate. "That's one of the sad lies," she begins, and trails off, as if lost in thought. "I find it so regrettable that anybody would try to hurt"—she pauses—"his memory or his family for political purposes against me. That is so wrong." She pauses again, her eyes reddening as if she's holding back tears.

"And it is a lie?" I ask.

"It is," she says, but so faintly her words are almost inaudible. "And it's so unfair..."

I ask why she thinks all this keeps coming up.

"I don't know, but I don't want to comment on this stuff. I mean, you know, and I'd like that to be off the record. . . I don't want to say anything about it. I don't want to answer it. I don't want to dignify it. That's the other position they put us in."

Her press secretary, who has momentarily left the room, returns and is clearly horrified by what she is hearing. "You need to do that off the record," she says hastily. Mrs. Clinton says it is off the record, and a discussion ensues about her response to my question about Vincent Foster. I explain later to the press secretary that I have a problem with putting quotes off the record retroactively just because someone subsequently reconsiders something she has said—particularly when the speaker is experienced in public life and knows perfectly well from the outset what the rules of the game are. I also point out to Mrs. Clinton that unless such rumors are refuted they tend to persist, as this one has for many months, taking on some truly baroque permutations.

"I understand the dilemma I'm in, but I can't answer every one of these terrible crackpot vicious rotten stories, and I don't think I should have to," Mrs. Clinton says angrily. "I think we have so severely undermined the capacity of the country to make decisions, because we tear everybody down. . . I sure think we're headed toward disaster. I just think that everybody who is doing this stuff has to understand that if you make money off of or gain political advantage out of deliberate malicious falsehoods you are building on very shaky foundations, and I think our country deserves better than that. . . If the press becomes the handmaiden of the political right, which it is

becoming—from the so-called liberal press all the way to the attack dogs of the right wing—then you can't expect people to have any trust in what they read or see, and if they can't trust what they read or see, how can they make the decisions that are essential to keeping our democracy going? There's a lot at stake here, far beyond what happens to Bill and me. If we've proved nothing else, we've proved we are resilient. We know how to fight; we can take these people on. I'm not worried about that. I just don't want to have to compete in that arena. This stuff means nothing in the life of the country. What we ought to be hearing about is what kind of health-care system we're going to have. We are challenging established interests."

The subject of established interests comes up frequently in conversations with Mrs. Clinton's defenders, who charge that not nearly enough attention has been paid to the role of the powerful interest groups she has threatened. "You look at the different things she's taken on—the hospitals, the pharmaceutical industry, the insurance companies, the pension funds, the physicians, the health-care people. To take on any one of those, you'd have a backlash, and to take on all of them, you have a tremendous force that's rolling back up and threatening to engulf her," says Ana Henry, an old friend and an attorney who teaches at the University of Arkansas business school. "She's been willing to take the lead on health-care reform, and when you see what's happening to her you understand why no one else has been willing to."

Critics have made much of Mrs. Clinton's hostility toward releasing information and subjecting her affairs to the scrutiny of a special prosecutor, and many commentators decided that her resistance to disclosure indicates that she has something significant to hide. Her intimates see it differently, suggesting that this reveals more about Mrs. Clinton's stubbornness and stiff-necked sense of her own righteousness than it does about any potential wrongdoing.

Back in 1988, Nancy Snyderman split up with her first husband and moved to the West Coast. She was pregnant at the time, and whispers soon began circulating through Little Rock that Bill Clinton was the baby's father. During Clinton's presidential campaign, written accounts of that rumor were anonymously sent to various news media, including the *National Enquirer*, which jumped on the story. "I called Hillary and said, 'This is coming down the pike and I've got to do some-

thing to save my reputation,'" Snyderman reports. "Hillary was very much the attorney. She said, 'We know it's not true; don't give them the courtesy of responding to it. Don't dignify it.'"

But Snyderman was torn, particularly when she received contradictory advice from other media-wise sources. "I had my Hollywood P.R.-type slick friends saying, 'Do a full-court press! You've got to do damage control,'" says Snyderman, who is also the medical correspondent for *Good Morning America*.

She ended up heeding that advice rather than Mrs. Clinton's; she submitted to an interview with the *National Enquirer*, complete with her baby's birth certificate and DNA tests proving that Clinton was not the child's father, and the tabloid printed her refutation of the story. "I never had an affair with Bill Clinton, nor did he ever ask," Snyderman says.

However, she views the whole saga as providing an illuminating parallel to Mrs. Clinton's later approach toward Whitewater and related issues. "To Hillary, it was like 'We know this is ridiculous, so we're going to take the high road,'" Snyderman explains. "When Hillary knows something is ridiculous and shouldn't be allowed to take up a lot of space, she sort of stonewalls and says, 'This is not important; let's move on to things we know are of significance.' The problem is that those things can come back around to bite you in the rear end. To her, these are private matters; this is not for public consumption. I think she feels like 'We don't owe anybody that kind of information when we know the truth.' These are people who have fought for years to keep their private life private and their public life separate. Hillary sees the junk as temporary pain. She knows she only has so much time, and she knows she has to keep forging ahead."

Whatever facts eventually emerge on the Whitewater affair, its handling has revealed a key aspect of Hillary Clinton and some of her associates. "They have this view that this is the smart people's administration, and they're so smart they're not practical," says one Washington politico who knows the Clinton inner circle. "They think that anybody who has a different view is stupid, so they don't take them seriously, and I think that's what's gotten them in so much trouble. It sets a tone of arrogance, elitism, and disdain for people of opposing views."

Mrs. Clinton is certainly disdainful of

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her critics; no matter how troubling the questions that arose, for months she acted as if a political vendetta were the only possible motive for raising them. One consequence was a growing consensus on the Washington dinner-party circuit that Mrs. Clinton wasn't as smart as everyone had presumed; despite her much-vaunted political skills, she hadn't been clever enough to finesse Whitewater.

Then came the press conference. Announced suddenly only a few hours before Richard Nixon died (an event the Clintons had known was imminent for two days), its timing was masterful. The First Lady staged her performance on a Friday afternoon, thereby consigning the news to the relative oblivion of Saturday. On a weekend fraught with turmoil and bloodshed abroad, the press conference was immediately eclipsed, virtually disappearing in an avalanche of foreign news and Nixon eulogies. Mrs. Clinton's demeanor was brilliantly calculated as well; by this time she had contrition down pat. Hillary the Warrior had metamorphosed into Hillary the Submissive, pretty in pink, just as the proud Hillary Rodham had once been transformed into Mrs. Hillary Clinton when the price of defiance got too high. This is a woman who will, in the end, do whatever is necessary to achieve her goal, no matter how bitter the pill she must swallow. She will even smile for her enemies. "This is really a result of our inexperience in Washington," she said apologetically, as modest as a country bumpkin still getting used to the big time. "I really did not fully understand everything that I wish now I had known."

While that spin neatly mirrored the conventional wisdom, those of a more Machiavellian mind-set toyed with other explanations for Mrs. Clinton's long delay in capitulating to the inevitable. "The Clintons are the most successful scandal managers in the history of American politics," noted one savvy observer on Capitol Hill. "People like David Ogden have been advocating this press conference since January. Why would the Clintons have let these hundred days go by before having it? Either you had a hundred days of rank and newfound stupidity, or a hundred days of fear of how much guilt could be uncovered. It's a huge hit this administration has taken, at a time when they needed their greatest strength. It's

terribly inconsistent to conclude that Hillary was just naive; it doesn't go with anything else you know about her."

Perhaps not, but it would be embarrassing for anyone to display the failings revealed by the Clintons of late—errors on tax returns, "forgotten" profits, sloppy business practices, stunning lapses in professional judgment and ethical sensitivity. For a woman who has always taken such pains to appear perfect, who only a year ago was sanctified as Saint Hillary by no less august a presence than *The New York Times*, such humiliating exposure must have been excruciating. Few public figures have had as much experience as Mrs. Clinton in toughing it out, but admitting she is fallible may well have been even more painful.

Nevertheless, whatever tears are shed by Hillary Clinton, they will not be seen in public. "She's got this monumental tolerance for adversity, and that makes people mad, too," observes Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, the television producer and member of the Clinton inner circle. "People want to see her cry, and they won't get to. That doesn't mean she won't cry, but she's very private, and she won't cry for any of her detractors."

Mrs. Clinton's pride is matched by her immense discipline, a strength that allows her to put aside her troubles as if by sheer effort of will. The same week Webster Hubbell, her former law partner, resigned from the Justice Department to deal with charges of financial malfeasance back in Little Rock, White House dinner guests were surprised by how lighthearted the First Lady appeared. "She was in a good mood all night," said Carl Starvazza Anthony, the author of a two-volume history called *First Ladies: The Saga of the Presidents' Wives and Their Power*. "With the president, there was more gravity; I'm not sure whether that's just the implicit burden of the presidency, but there was a wistful quality. But she seemed positively jovial."

For public consumption, Mrs. Clinton takes pains to put her situation in perspective. "You know, you have a choice, whatever your circumstances are," she says. "You either become overwhelmed by life or you continue to try to challenge yourself to grow and enjoy the days that you're given—and that has always been the way I've lived. I'm not saying it's easy. I'm not saying there are not days when you wish for it all to go away and you can have some peace and quiet for maybe a week. But this is my life, and I'm very proud of my life."

She starts me right in the eyes, her head held high. "I like my life," she says defiantly. "I am just grateful for all the opportunities I've had, and along with the good comes a lot of hard parts. . . . I think there are points in each person's life when you face a turning point. Do you become overwhelmed by whatever life has dealt you? Do you let the hard times outweigh all the good? Do you give in to anger or bitterness or insecurity, or do you fight against that? I mean, we all have that choice every day. Each one of us has those challenges."

Watching Mrs. Clinton confront hers, America seems to be puzzled more than anything else, unable to assimilate so much contradictory information and unsure of how to compute the bottom line—not only on the complexities of Whitewater but of the First Lady herself. "The remarkable thing about the whole affair is that Americans may end up knowing less about Hillary Clinton than they thought they knew beforehand," *The Economist* observed recently. "The conventional wisdom has been that while Bill was the chameleon with slippery views, Hillary was the one with firm principles. But she is an enigma to many Americans. . . . In her own way, she is as much a chameleon as her husband. Certainly she is clever, focused and a role model to millions, but for which role? She has as many of them as she has hairstyles: First Lady, political strategist, lawyer, wife, mother, cookie-baker, health-care reformer, *Vogue* picture-pusher, intimidator, charmer."

Which role, indeed? Calling someone a chameleon implies that there is something false about each appearance he or she takes on, as if such different identities must be motivated by an impulse toward subterfuge. Few people seem to consider the possibility that all the facets of the prism might produce an equally true picture, and that the real person they are trying so hard to discern cannot be understood except as the sum total of everything they see, and much they are not privy to as well.

"She's still new to all of us," says Buffy Caffritz, co-chair of the Kennedy Center Honors Gala and a noted Republican hostess in Washington. "It's like an onion; we're still peeling off the skin here. Nobody can rush to judge. We're watching it all unfold."

"What she's really showing people is that all of us have multidimensional lives," says Susie May, a Little Rock friend. "She is living one right in front of us." □

PINNING DOWN HILLARY

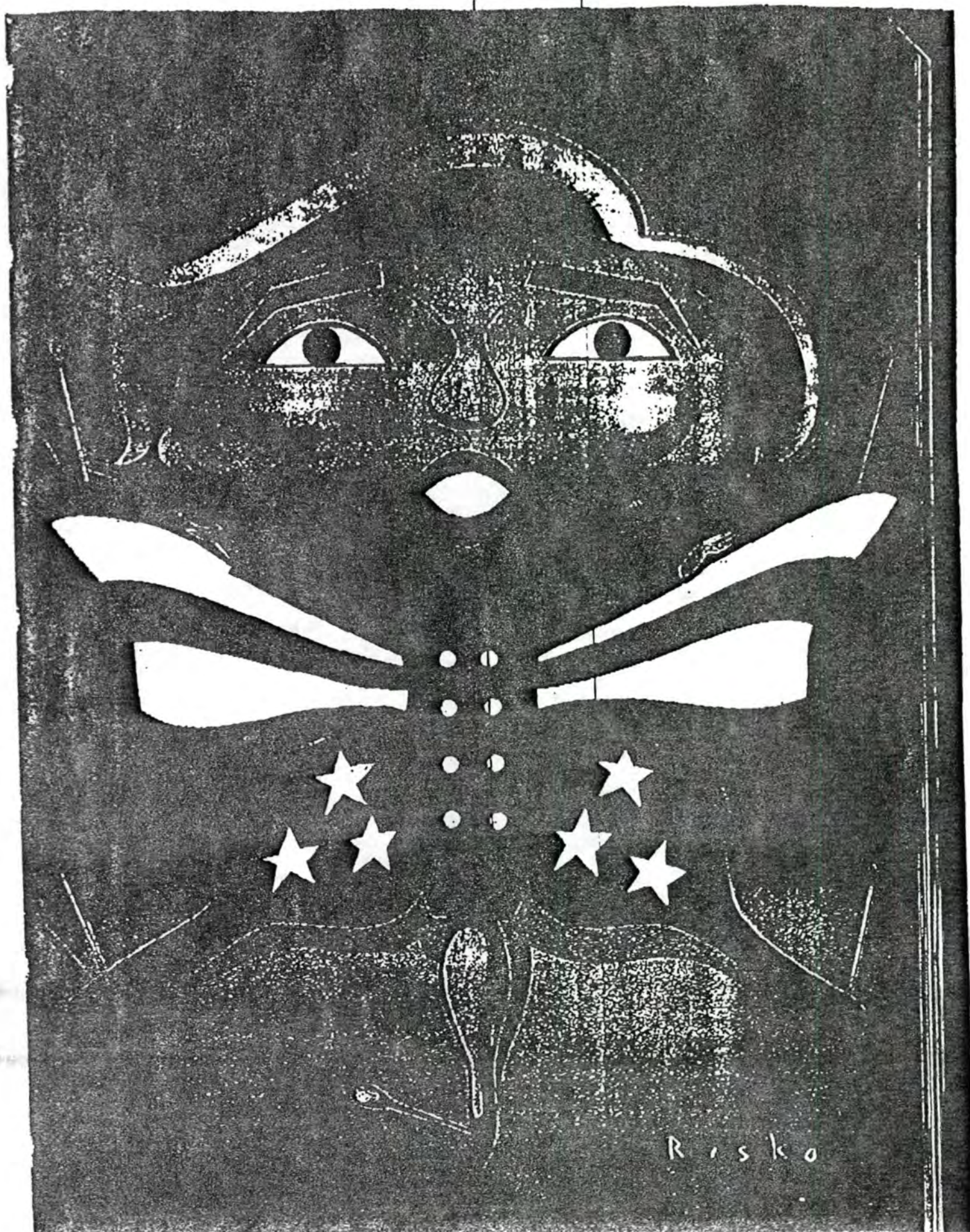
Is Hillary Rodham Clinton a crusader or a hypocrite? The prism of her personality constantly casts new images, and she is notoriously resentful of justifying herself. But as the stakes get higher, Mrs. Clinton sits down with **LESLIE BENNETTS** to face the touchy issues of her power, her accountability, and her relationship with Vincent Foster

To see the First Lady, a reporter enters the White House through the pressroom, which is littered with supine bodies lounging in the languid but slyly watchful repose of zoo animals who know it's not feeding time yet. Walk down a short corridor alongside the Rose Garden, with its peekaboo view of the Oval Office, turn a corner, and you are in the residence. "It's really not that big a house," remarks the White House staffer who parks me in the Map Room to await the First Lady. A white-jacketed butler brings a glass of water, positions it on a tiny table beside the throne-

like rose silk wing chair where she will be sitting, smiles silently, and vanishes.

Yesterday's *Washington Post* offered up the White House usher recently fired by Mrs. Clinton; although aggrieved, he volunteered helpfully that the First Lady never did throw a lamp at her husband, as was widely rumored last year. In this house, a public museum under constant occupation by often hostile forces, the walls not only have ears, they seem almost porous. A reception is going on in the next room, and my entire conversation with Mrs. Clinton is punctuated by the muffled chatter and bursts of applause we hear through the wall. The sense of being surrounded is overwhelming.

A Clinton friend told me that after the inauguration, Hillary and Chelsea set out to explore the White House. The armed guards on the roof brought them up short; that was when it really dawned on them that they had just moved into a



R i s k o

fortress. "Hillary's reaction was awe; it was like some 18th-century castle," the friend told me. "On so many levels, we transform our presidents and First Ladies into royalty, and then we attack them for acting like royalty. But when you're in a fortress, you develop a fortress mentality."

And that's even without Whitewater. When Mrs. Clinton arrives to see me, she is accompanied by her press secretary, who positions her chair in between ours and interjects warnings like "You need to do that off the record," along with reminders that a group of senators is waiting and the First Lady has to get on up to the Hill. The atmosphere is about as intimate as Grand Central station.

Notwithstanding all the distractions, at first Mrs. Clinton seems her usual preternaturally poised self. This is the face she shows the world: coolly self-possessed no matter how acute the stress, her composure never faltering for an instant. This is the Hillary who will finally hold an extraordinary press conference several weeks hence, smoothly explaining away all the errors and contradictions in the White House accounts of her financial history, her expression so calm she might be making small talk about the weather instead of submitting to detailed questions about commodities trading and tax returns. This is Hillary the consummate politician, a woman who can calibrate the reg-

many times Mrs. Clinton uses the word "bad." It comes up in different contexts, and she never applies it to herself, but she doesn't need to, the aura of sadness hangs over her, as tangible as a haunting whiff of perfume. By any measure it has been a difficult year, with more than its share of personal losses, from the deaths of her father and the president's mother to Vincent Foster's suicide.

But the other emotion that simmers beneath her measured words is rage. Despite her efforts to contain herself, Mrs. Clinton is clearly furious. By the time she calls her press conference in late April, she will have worked through such untidy emotions with her usual machine-like efficiency, processing the messy raw material of human angst and converting it into a perfect public façade. But today, with me, she is still struggling. The process has not been completed yet—she is still agonizing over her failure to stem the onslaught, and privately she has admitted to friends that she is devastated by the attacks. Soon she will have figured out how to handle the situation and conceal her vulnerability, but what I am seeing today is Hillary in transition, a woman the public rarely glimpses—one whose eyes betray her grief and whose words, despite her steely self-control, all too often betray her anger.

Sometimes it comes out as mere testiness, as when I ask whether the White House is what she expected, after having achieved the goal her husband had worked toward ever since he was a teenager. To my amazement, she snaps: "That is just such a myth! If you think leaving Yale Law School and going to Arkansas to be in public life is the route to the presidency—I mean, people have this idea that somehow he sat around from the age of 16 thinking, 'Oh, O.K., I'll go home to Arkansas'—Arkansas, a state that most people had never heard of, let alone been to—and I will teach law, and then I will run unsuccessfully for Congress, and then I will be elected governor, and then I will lose, and then I will have to fight my way back, and I will end up being president—that is absurd!" Her tone is withering.

Taken aback, I refrain from pointing out that it was Clinton himself who said he wanted to be president ever since he shook hands with John F. Kennedy at the age of 16. I ask Mrs. Clinton again whether her current life is what she expected. "The public life part of it is—the doing-the-work part of it is," she says. "I was in public life separate from my husband, before I ever married my husband. I cared about issues affecting children and families since I was in high school." She regards me fiercely. "I really believe in service," she adds. "I think it's the way you fully round out a life and learn about yourself and enter fully into the human condition. It comes from my religious beliefs and from my own personal experience. Being able to help people in small ways, as well as trying to make changes you believe will help large numbers of people, is very important to me. Being involved in health-care reform, which I believe in passionately, is one of the most

I've never been called arrogant in my life before!
I find that the most astonishing charge.

quisite tone for any occasion with exquisite precision, whether turning in a flawless performance under unprecedented interrogation in Washington or hitting the road in a determined effort to promote her health-care program and divert headlines from Whitewater. Barnstorming from Denver to St. Louis a few days ago, she had dark circles under her eyes and looked as if she hadn't had a good night's sleep in weeks, but for every audience she was smiling and gracious, always ready with a light quip to put her listeners at ease.

Today she is calm and businesslike, but her blue eyes are soulful; sometimes they look past me into the far distance, as if contemplating the ghosts that hover inescapably over any consideration of the last year. Later on, playing back the tape of our conversation, I am struck by how

important things I could dream of having any role in. So that part has been very gratifying."

Mrs. Clinton sighs resignedly. "And I'm now appreciative that at each point in our nation's history there comes a certain level of criticism and questioning that you have to accept," she says, selecting her words carefully, "that you cannot blow off, which has been my inclination in the past, and I admit that, because I find it hard to take seriously. Maybe coming from the private sector, with one foot in the public sector, gives me a somewhat different take on all of this. The idea of it is hard to accept, but I now accept it. So what I'm trying to do is to figure out how to perform effectively in the role my husband has asked me to fulfill, particularly with respect to health care—and that means I have to better appreciate what the environment expects, and I'm trying to do that."

With impressive self-control, she allows no petulance in her tone as she continues evenly, "It is very hard, when people lie about you and attack you, not to feel angry. I have struggled with this, because there's no human being who, if he were walking down the street and someone shouted an insult at him or got in his face and said terrible things about him, would not respond. Bill and I are in this position where it's apparently fair for people to say anything they want about us, but we have to rise above it. If we act human, which is to say we resent it, we get angry about it—that somehow diminishes us. I find that very difficult to understand. So I am trying very hard to come to grips with that. . . . I don't like people impugn my motives and saying bad things about me."

But characteristically, she approaches personal attacks as if they were simply policy questions to be analyzed and solved like any other problem. "What I've tried to do, as I've realized this is not going to go away, as absurd as it is, is to put myself in other people's positions and sort of break down my own personal reactions so that I can say to myself, Why are they saying this? How does it look from the outside? What do I have to do to be more effective and helpful to these people, so I can correct their misimpressions?"

Her tone is resolutely reasonable; she peers solicitously at me, as if I were a particularly obtuse student and she were wondering how to help me overcome my regrettable ignorance. "I don't want people having the wrong impressions of me. If some right-wing operative wants to dislike me for their own reasons, there's nothing I can do about that, but I want other people to reach their judgments about me based on the best available information, and not be influenced by the sort of sleight of hand that goes on, about what is being portrayed to them. So that's what I'm trying to understand and work through on my own."

Well, not exactly on her own. I have been summoned to the White House for what was initially advertised as some substantial one-on-one time with the First Lady, although it turned out to be neither substantial nor strictly

one-on-one. The arrangements were accomplished through a protracted series of negotiations via several intermediaries, with Mrs. Clinton's press staff working overtime to try to control the content of our conversation and of the ensuing article. I have also been offered interviews with a number of Mrs. Clinton's friends, but given the uniformity of their testimony, they appear to have been carefully briefed about the current party line; one person after another makes the same points in virtually the same words and then reports back to the White House, which seizes upon snippets of conversation taken out of context and sends out more queries to ascertain my intentions once again, as if in an endless game of telephone.

My invitation is but one small part of an all-out White House campaign to resuscitate Mrs. Clinton's badly tarnished image. A politically savvy group of friends and associates—the "Committee to Reinvent Hillary," as one sardonic observer describes it—has been holding secret meetings in Washington to devise an emergency strategy to reverse the devastating tone of recent press coverage. Despite Mrs. Clinton's well-known aversion to the press (an attitude one Washington media figure describes as "Fuck you, we hate the press, we don't have to do it their way!"), interviews with the First Lady are soon popping up faster than crocuses, each conducted under strictly controlled conditions, each delivering Mrs. Clinton's well-packaged message, each accompanied by its own benevolently smiling photograph.

In these interviews, Mrs. Clinton admits she's made mistakes, but that acknowledgment is generally overshadowed by her more characteristic stance of sanctimonious rectitude, which is often framed in religious terms. By the time she does her press conference, she will have worked up an utterly convincing tone of humility, but right now she hasn't mastered it yet; for Hillary Clinton, humble is very hard. Her sense of humor falters when she's under attack as well. Her friends speak glowingly of Mrs. Clinton's wit, and I frequently saw it in action during a long day on the road, when she used humor very effectively to disarm her public audiences. But when I finally sat down to talk to her in person, she seemed defensive and grim, with no hint of the self-deprecating humor that made Barbara Bush so likable. Mrs. Clinton's pious self-righteousness is one of the reasons her emerging imperfections have driven her detractors into such a frenzy, but for a long time the White House response only reinforced the impressions that led to outraged howls of hypocrisy in the first place. Is it mere coincidence that the Clintons, besieged by accusations of venality, started calling attention to their Christian bona fides, as the president did in a two-part ABC News report on his religious beliefs? His wife ups the ante by implying that their detractors will ultimately face an even harsher judge than the one in the White House:

"You read some of the attack pieces about me and it is just amazing," she says, shaking her head. "I find it impossible to believe that people who call themselves Christians could engage in such behavior. And as my husband has said on several occasions, we take bearing false witness against people very seriously. It's one of the com-

mandments, and we try consciously not to pass on stories or say things we can't prove. I'm not saying we always meet that; the reason it's one of the commandments is that we all fall short. But that people would say and do things that they have to know are untrue, or if they took the time to inquire would know are untrue, is very sad to me."

Like many of the Clintons' pronouncements, this is a wee bit disingenuous; until her press conference, Mrs. Clinton was not in the habit of subjecting herself to substantive inquiry, and even this conversation was granted on the understanding that I would not ask specific questions about Whitewater. During my allotted half-hour, Mrs. Clinton's press secretary hovers anxiously, ready to extricate her with breathtaking suddenness if the going gets tough, which is precisely what happens. This caution may be understandable, given the rabid media climate. However, such restrictions have done little to alter the widespread perception that Mrs. Clinton's role confers great power without much accountability.

Indeed, for much of the spring, similar criticisms were heard in remarkably disparate quarters. "If you go into the big leagues, you've got to play by the rules of the game, but she's trying to have it both ways," charged Phyllis Schlafly, the anti-feminist president of the Eagle Forum. "Now that the going's got tough, she's retreated behind the First Lady shield, and it's like 'You can't attack me!'" The comments from the opposite end of the political spectrum were eerily similar: "If you're going to play with the big boys, you've got to play by the rules the power-players play by, and one of them is accountability," said a liberal Washington feminist. "You can't take a dive."

While Mrs. Clinton will reluctantly reach the same conclusion in the coming weeks, even that will not resolve some larger questions. On this very day, the morning papers reflect the prevailing confusion over the proper role for a president's spouse. While the news pages carry grim stories about the toll of Whitewater, *The Washington Post's*

"Home" section features a cover story about the new Hillary Clinton tulip, a lovely blush-pink blossom that conjures up visions of afternoon teas and white gloves—as does the very title "First Lady," which increasingly seems like a ludicrous anachronism.

On any given day inside the Beltway, criticisms of Mrs. Clinton range from her conduct as a Little Rock lawyer in private practice as far back as the 1970s to gossip that the First Lady hasn't made enough effort to entertain the Senate wives since arriving in Washington. Feminists laud Mrs. Clinton for her accomplishments, then privately turn around and bemoan her route to power. "It's innately not feminist to derive your power from the person you sleep with," says one. "We all want to believe Hillary can climb mountains and be this new kind of partner, but nepotism always breeds this kind of difficulty."

Although Mrs. Clinton is only the second First Lady

ever to establish her own separate executive offices in the West Wing, she rejects both the idea that she has assumed unprecedented power and the suggestion that she has often avoided the kind of accountability routinely endured by other public officials. She prefers to place her situation in a historical perspective, pointing out that First Ladies have always contended with such criticisms. "I think it has a lot to do with the ambivalence that people have about women, period," she says. "That seems to be cross-generational. It may take different historical forms, depending upon whether we're in the early 19th century or the late 20th century, but the bottom line on a lot of this criticism is: Who is this woman and why is she there? Well, everyone who is in the White House is there because the president chose that person, starting with the vice president and going all the way down to the person who Xeroxes things. I think the fair question is: What does this person believe that might influence the president or public policy? And unlike a lot of my predecessors, I am very up-front about what I believe in. I don't think you could argue that I'm more or less influential with my husband than many of the women who have been here. I might even suggest that I am less influential, because my husband is someone who seeks opinions from a very broad range of sources."

This is patently ridiculous; no First Lady has ever been lauded responsible for a major policy question like health care before. But Mrs. Clinton's expression is bland and unblinking. "Much of the influence that First Ladies have exercised in the past has been extremely private and totally unaccountable. Nobody had any idea what she was saying to him about anything. My belief is that each woman has to fashion this undefined role for herself—and maybe at some point a man will have to do the same. I have always been an up-front person. I have always felt that public policy was important, and that we could make a difference, whether my husband was governor or president, and this is how I have conducted myself."

"I think it's humorous that people would say I need to do press conferences," she adds mirthlessly. "I have probably been more accessible to the press than any of my predecessors, with the exception of Eleanor Roosevelt."

Clintonites love to invoke Eleanor Roosevelt, who has been enshrined as an icon in our national history but who, in her own time, was widely reviled. "Although E.R. gave virtually all her money away to needful people and helpful causes, she was endlessly attacked by Republicans as a thief, a cheat, a tax-dodger, a misuser of office and influence," reports Blanche Wiesen Cook, author of *Eleanor Roosevelt, Volume I, 1884-1933*. Both Mrs. Clinton and her friends bring up Mrs. Roosevelt so often that it's clear they're hoping for a similar evolution in popular consciousness about the current First Lady. Mrs. Clinton finally capitulated to the Roosevelt precedent in holding a press conference, but in the weeks leading up to it she was still very defensive about the perception that she had not responded to many important questions.

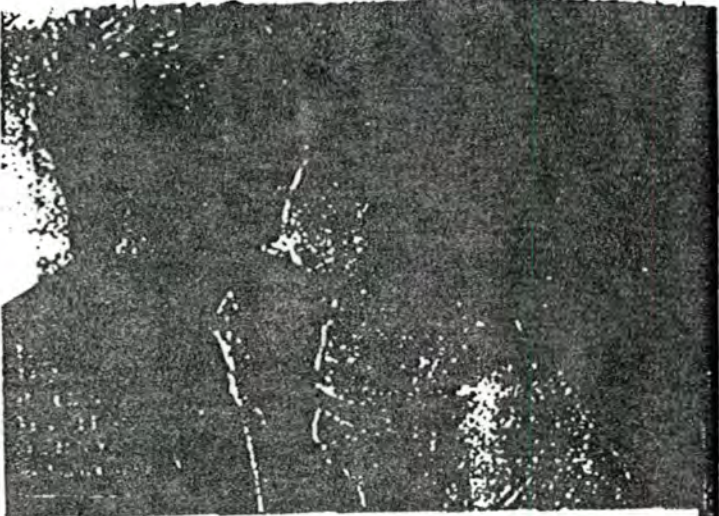
"We've been answering those questions for two years," she tells me impatiently. "They are the same questions, with the same answers. I think a lot of this is a little dis-

genuous. People keep asking questions that we keep answering; they just don't like the answers. If they don't want to believe we lost money in Whitewater, that's their choice, but that doesn't change the truth: we lost money in Whitewater. You know, if they don't want to believe that we paid back all our loans, and we never did business with an S&L, fine, they don't have to believe it—but that doesn't change the truth... They can ask me from now to doomsday—they're going to get the same answer, because it's the truth."

Catching herself, she pauses and takes a deep breath. "I think it is regrettable that there seem to be both commercial reasons and political reasons why people want to undermine the presidency and the people associated with him, basically making up stories or spreading rumors and innuendo for which there is no basis. I don't mind a fair, honest give-and-take. If somebody in Congress disagrees with our approach to health care on ideological reasons, let's just try to have a good, healthy debate about it. But if somebody in Congress wants to twist and distort the truth for political purposes, I think that is very sad."

Mrs. Clinton also rejects the idea that she could be accused of arrogance, a word that arises regularly in discussions about her, whether on policy issues such as her closed-door approach to the health-care task force or on public-relations gaffes such as the firing of the usher. "I've never been called arrogant in my life before!" she exclaims. "I find that the most astonishing charge, and I think it's very sad. Again, I think it's being promoted for political and ideological reasons, and I regret that anybody would take it seriously.... I mean, I've never heard that before. I know that I am fair game; I understand that. I have read enough history to know that no matter what I do I will be fair game. If I had chosen not to do anything with respect to public policy, then people would have been hammering the doors down trying to figure out what I was really saying to somebody or what issues I was really concerned about, instead of focusing on health care.... I understand completely that there is a no-win kind of zero-sum game when it comes to being 'First Lady.'" She pronounces this with exaggerated emphasis, as if it were such a curious locution it should have quotes around it.

Mrs. Clinton is particularly exercised about criticism of the way her health-care proposal was developed. "There has never been a piece of legislation written in public," she says indignantly. "I don't know what these people are talking about. I mean, there is no secret here. There is no decision that has been made. What we tried to do was respond to the president's directive to work as quickly as



“If we’ve proved nothing else,
we’ve proved we are resilient.
We know how to fight;
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possible to come up with a health-care proposal. It wasn't as though we were going to come up with a health-care proposal and then impose it on the country. The whole thing is a public process. If you go back and look, the people who made that claim were right-wing operatives. The press never wants to talk about who faxes them all this stuff, who calls them up, who invites them to come to their secret headquarters devoted to destroying Bill and Hillary Clinton. I don't understand why that isn't as much fair game as what we do.... But this is a no-win situation. Because no matter what the prevailing stereotype of womanhood is at any historical moment, there are going to be people on all sides of it, and you can't please them."

She leans forward earnestly. "I think it is such an important lesson for girls, and women—to be true to yourself. Do what is right for you. Too many girls and too many women are pushed into saying and doing things because other people want them to. I was raised by two parents with unconditional love, who instilled in me a very strong belief in myself. Now, that may be scary to some people—I can't help that—but this is the way I was raised, and I am grateful for it. So I can't be something other than what I am, and what I am is someone who wants to be part of helping to change this country. That is what I have done for the 25 years I have (Continued on page 154)

HILLARY

(Continued from page 109) been involved in social action."

There is no question that Mrs. Clinton has been targeted for fierce and often vicious attacks by right-wing activists who portray her as a radical harridan bent on destroying the American way of life. Just as Eleanor Roosevelt was demonized by Republicans as "Lenin in skirts," Mrs. Clinton has been denounced as "the crarina of health care" and a closet socialist. Moreover, her critics have skillfully exploited such caricatures as a potent fundraising tool for conservative causes. "There is a tremendous fear of her out there," according to Richard Norman, a Republican direct-mail fund-raiser whose clients include Oliver North. Conservatives believe that "Hillary is dangerous," Norman says, "committed to an agenda, and she is ruthless."

But Mrs. Clinton knows who her real

constituency is. Among more moderate segments of the political spectrum, Mrs. Clinton often elicits passionate enthusiasm. "I think she's an outstanding role model," said Kristi Meyers-Gallup, a 30-year-old St. Louis woman whose comments were typical of those I heard from female admirers ranging from senior citizens to college students. "She's today's woman. She's so savvy, and she's her own person. I think she's as sharp and manipulative as anybody else, but I don't think that's bad. I feel the Clintons are more real than any presidential candidates I've seen."

It may be their very realness that causes them so much trouble. By early spring, hostility toward the Clintons had reached savage proportions among the Washington press corps, many of whose members are of the same baby-boom generation as the president and his wife. Some commentators have suggested recently that the depth of the media's animus toward the president is related to the fact that "his character holds up a mirror to their own," as Frank Rich put it in

The New York Times. The subtext of a good deal of Clinton analysis seems to be "This guy isn't any better than I am—how come he's president?"

Responses to Mrs. Clinton are even more complicated. "Hillary Clinton is a national Rorschach test of how people feel about the changing roles of women and men," says Ann Lewis, a former political director of the Democratic National Committee who is now a Washington consultant. "She gets tremendously deep personal support, especially from working women who are trying to juggle responsibilities and live lives for which there is no blueprint. At the other extreme, there's a set of men whose self-image has been that of political insiders, who are almost enraged at the way politics is changing and women are challenging the rules, which they think they wrote. I've been taken by surprise by the depth and bitterness of the resentment. This flood of bile has come out in the guise of insider political commentary, what you get is a kind of 50s sitcom: the lovable, bumbling husband, Dagwood Clinton, who takes naps and runs things

for snacks, and his competent wife, Blondie Rodham, who's making all the important decisions, and the poor schnook doesn't even notice. That is the oldest stereotype, that if a woman has power it has to be at the expense of a man. But it's a set of people who live between New York and Washington that are having a hard time. Their self-image is being sophisticated and knowing everything that's going on, but they have been surprised by Hillary Clinton. Their assumption has always been that she had to be a political liability, that for a spouse to go beyond a rigid stereotype has to be a problem. The fact is that it's not a problem for the voters. It's the future of American politics."

It may also be the future of the American home. However, Mrs. Clinton—much to her own detriment—has managed to ensure that the domestic parts of her life are not nearly as visible as the public parts. You almost never see at-home pictures of Mrs. Clinton with her daughter or even her husband; their domestic life is largely off-limits to the prying eyes of the press, but the consequence is that many people refuse to believe Mrs. Clinton even has a domestic life. "She is a very private person, and she protects herself and her family fiercely," says Tipper Gore, the vice president's wife. "Perhaps the flip side of maintaining that privacy is that you don't show yourself the way you really are, and that allows others to fill the void with a stereotypical image. Clearly, she feels you should be judged on the public record, and the rest of your life is yours."

In fact, when you talk to any of Mrs. Clinton's longtime intimates, the Hillary that emerges is so different from her public persona that the exercise assumes the surreal quality of a *Rashomon* experience. Those who know her best describe an intensely loyal friend who is always there in times of trouble and who remains thoughtful and caring no matter what the outside pressures on her. They describe a mother who has always made her child her priority, a devoted daughter who is constantly on the telephone with her own mother. Mrs. Clinton's friends also make a point of refuting the widespread assumption that the Clintons' marriage is some kind of cynical political arrangement rather than a "real" marriage, whatever that is.

"They're fun together, and they are sexy together," attests the actress Mary McCormack, an Arkansas native. "I've sat next to them on airplanes when the whole time we were talking he was rubbing her feet. It's very much a marriage of two whole people. Is it perfect? Absolutely not. I have no idea whether he was ever unfaithful to

Hillary; I've never heard anything about it from either of them, and I am a close friend. But whatever it is, they worked it out together, and they continue to work on it. They're having a ball together, but the culture penalizes them for the fact that they haven't lied and pretended to be Ozzie and Harriet. I think they've tried to be inordinately honest, without airing every facet of their lives."

The Clintons' friends see Hillary as someone with whom they've shared family barbecues and bike rides, Easter-egg hunts and children's baseball games, Halloween parties and bowling parties. The all-American mom-in-sweatpants such friends describe scarcely resembles the yuppie-from-hell-in-a-power-suit who figures so prominently in right-wing nightmares.

Somewhere in the middle are the not unsympathetic onlookers who perceive Mrs. Clinton largely in terms of her professional identity as a smart, tough lawyer—and of her take-no-prisoners political image. Both of those impressions are amply documented. While Republicans may quarrel with her conclusions on health care, Mrs. Clinton gets high marks for her performance from both sides of the aisle on Capitol Hill. "She has a remarkable grasp of the complexities of very difficult issues," says Sheila Burke, Senator Bob Dole's chief of staff and resident health-care expert. "I think she's terrific, and extraordinarily effective."

Nor do those who have seen Mrs. Clinton in action question the role accorded her by her husband. "I've seen them both make presentations, with dozens of senators at the table, and she's better than he is," says one insider. "Add these guys know it. They've sat in rooms with her, and they've sat in rooms with him. He's good—he's very good. She's just fucking perfect."

But perfection elicits mixed reactions. "Her powers of communication are so awesome that men are intimidated around her," says Senator David Pryor, an Arkansas Democrat. "Powerful leaders are awed."

Even those who love Mrs. Clinton acknowledge that they find her formidable. "She's tough," attests Nancy Snyderman, a San Francisco surgeon who became close friends with Mrs. Clinton while both were living in Little Rock. "I would not like to be on the other side from her. She handled my divorce . . . and she just sort of laid down the law. With my divorce, a friend of mine asked Hillary, 'Who's the best attorney in town to handle this?' and she said, 'I am.' For me, it was like a combination of going to a friend, going to your

mother, and going to the principal. Whenever she told me to do something, I would always be worried that I hadn't done what I was supposed to do. I felt like, 'Oh, she is she going to yell at me?' But I felt so confident with her as my attorney. She's like a bulldog. She's so tough she's invincible. She said, 'Jump,' I said, 'How high?' I would never cross her."

Those who do often come to regret it. "She has a reputation for vindictiveness," says one observer who privately refers to the First Lady as Fvita Rodham Clinton. "If you disagreed with her, your life was hell. She would cut off your access; you became a nobody."

Such ruthlessness was vividly revealed during the catastrophically mismanaged nomination of Lani Guinier as assistant attorney general in charge of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department. Guinier had been a longtime friend of the Clintons, who even attended her wedding in 1986. But after her nomination drew bitter fire from conservatives who attacked her as the "Quota Queen," Guinier was astonished to find Mrs. Clinton beating a hasty retreat. At one point, Guinier approached her in a receiving line to congratulate her on a recent speech. "Hillary sort of flinched and withdrew, as if she didn't want to be seen with her in public," reports one observer. Then Guinier went to the White House for a last-ditch attempt to salvage her nomination, and ran into Mrs. Clinton in the West Wing.

"She breezed by me with a casual 'Hi, kiddo,'" Guinier later wrote in her book, *The Tyranny of the Majority*. "When somebody tried to tell her that we were in the White House to strategize on my nomination, she turned slightly and said, 'Oh.' She turned, full circle this time, and, to no one in particular, announced, 'I'm 30 minutes late to a lunch.'"

That was the last Lani Guinier saw of Hillary Clinton; neither the president nor his wife has contacted their former friend since Clinton succumbed to the flak and withdrew her nomination. Guinier has maintained a discreet silence about her feelings, but friends say she was deeply pained at the way Mrs. Clinton gave her the brush-off. "She was sending a very clear message—not just that she didn't want to be seen in public with Lani Guinier, but that Lani Guinier was an unwelcome, unlovable," reports someone who witnessed the White House encounter.

That capacity for cold bloodedness comes as no surprise to some of those who have worked for the Clintons. During the presidential campaign, sources say, even the highest-ranking Clintonites

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used to talk privately about "what a shrew Hillary is, how difficult she is to get along with, how people hated her," as someone privy to such discussions put it.

Mrs. Clinton's friends implicitly acknowledge such seeming contradictions. "Hillary is so multifaceted, it's hard to get one picture," Sayderman explains. "She's a complicated person, and she's putting her complexities out in public. It's like sensory overload. People want her in a package, and you can't package Hillary Clinton."

The same might be said of many other women who are shouldering new responsibilities. But that process continues to produce enormous social upheaval and discomfort, and one joke making the rounds this spring served as a pointed reminder of how threatened some people are by forceful women of any description:

Question: Who's the most feared and hated woman in America?

Answer: Tonya Rodham Robbitt.

Some analysts suspect that Mrs. Clinton seemed particularly scary in the aftermath of the Anita Hill affair and the so-called "year of the woman" in politics. "She represented all the hopes and wishes of many women who woke up and got angry in that campaign year," says Susan Faludi, the author of *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women*. "Hillary Clinton is frightening to men who fear the ultimate consequences of women's anger over inequality. You look at all the cartoons where Clinton is in diapers or in a dress or in a baby carriage, and she's wearing the pants, and you see the anxiety. Because masculinity is so dependent on women being dependent on men, for women to challenge that role is to emasculate the man in their life. Promoting stories about Clinton's philandering is another way of attacking Hillary, because if she had been a more feminine and devoted wife he wouldn't be running around, so that's the price you pay, girls—if you have any professional or public aspirations, your man is going to stray, and you'll have only yourself to blame."

Faludi acknowledges that some women find Mrs. Clinton threatening as well. "I think it's because they saw her calling their bluff," she says. "If you re-create her as a demon, you can say, 'It's a good thing I didn't go out there and get that law degree, because look what it does to women—it turns them into monsters.' She

makes some women uncomfortable because she makes them question themselves and look at things they may not want to look at."

Nevertheless, while Mrs. Clinton is a groundbreaker, she is far from unique, even in her longtime role as the major family breadwinner. A growing number of women earn more money than their husbands do, and many empathize with the economic pressures on her as she supported her husband's political career. Mrs. Clinton is quite aggrieved by public criticism of moneymaking ventures such as the killing she made in commodities-futures trading. She has always understood that she was the one who had to make the money, but she also understood that she had to fulfill that responsibility while constantly looking over her shoulder.

"They can ask me from now to doomsday—they're going to get the same answer."

"It was something we knew was inevitable if he were going to be in public life in Arkansas, because salaries were the lowest in the country," she says. "It does weigh heavily. I think from time to time it was a pretty substantial burden on me personally. But in the balance of our marriage, it was something I was glad to do. ... And because I tried very hard not to be compensated at all through my law firm for any representation my firm did that could in any way be related to the state, I voluntarily suppressed my income for years and years."

This is a classically Clintonesque defense: true in most respects, but deliberately misleading in certain particulars. While Mrs. Clinton did forgo her share of the revenues her law firm carried by representing state agencies, she collected her portion of the profits when the Rose Law Firm handled state bond issuances.

After that became a political issue for her husband, she returned the money and later, during the presidential campaign, claimed that she had "never, ever" profited from state business. When her staff discovered a six-year-old memo covering her decision to relinquish the bond profits, they were aghast, but succeeded in keeping the memo's existence secret until after the election.

Such machinations notwithstanding, Mrs. Clinton clearly did make considerable financial sacrifices, both in accommodate her husband's political career and in pursuit of her own agenda as self-appointed do-gooder. She feels those sacrifices keenly, and they exacerbate her ire at the tenor of some of the questions directed at her. When the Clintons first bought a house in Arkansas, they were asked where they had gotten the money, and Mrs. Clinton said it was from savings and a gift from her parents. Last March, after *The New York Times* revealed that she had made nearly \$100,000 in her brief commodities-trading career in the late 1970s and used some of that money as a down payment on the house, some observers accused her of having been less than forthright in describing those profits as savings. Such interpretations set Mrs. Clinton off like a rocket.

"Where do they think my savings came from?" she exclaims in exasperation. "They came from money I made! I find this absolutely amazing, that these people are moving to the level of craziness. When I made money, I put it in my savings account. ... By the time I bought that house, I had closed my commodities-trading accounts, and that money was in my savings account. I personally do not believe that this level of paranoid, conspiracy-driven investigation is appropriate of anybody in public life, not just me. This is a matter that goes way beyond me. It is just absurd. If you take historical precedent, no president has ever had any of his activities before he became president investigated like this. And a lot of people came into office having made a lot of money, and with people knowing they made money through friends. We came in having lost money. We came in with very little in the way of resources. We are subjected to a whole new set of standards. We don't have a vacation house in Maine, we don't have a ranch in California, we don't have a cottage on the shore of Maryland—we don't have any of those things."

"So how many times do we have to say, over and over again, I think—we spent our lives primarily in public service. Even my law practice was subordinated to our pub-

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lie service. I took leaves of absence to work in my husband's campaign, to head our education-reform efforts. I did huge pro bono projects. I'm not asking for any credit for that. I'm just asking for, if you're going to go after whether, when I said savings, I was thinking ahead to what some 25-year-old reporter behind a computer could spit out in his lexicon of questions—no, I wasn't! I was doing the best I could to live my life—and I think we've done a pretty darn good job of it. So I don't think half of what's going on is appropriate or necessary or relevant. I have reluctantly concluded that, given the mind-set and given the business pressures at work on the media, this is a new world we are living in, with new standards that nobody understands. I have no reason to fear people knowing the truth. I get infuriated when people print lies and uncorroborated accusations against either me or my husband. We deserve better than that."

It has become popular to cast the Clintons' problems in terms of the small-town environment that spawned their political careers; in the last few months, a common refrain inside the Beltway has been the charge that the incestuous interweaving of business and politics that has emerged as standard operating procedure in Little Rock just doesn't make it in the big leagues. "They tried to bring Dogpatch to Washington, and it doesn't play," says one insider derisively.

Mrs. Clinton finds such characterizations facile and dishonest. "I don't believe Little Rock is some unique situation," she declares. "I think if you go anywhere in this country... people do business with people they know. I don't understand why this has come as a revelation. I'm not about to get into the same sort of name-calling and finger pointing that people have enjoyed at our expense. But I could go chapter and verse talking about lawyers I know in New York City or Washington, D.C., and their intricate interconnections with people in business and the press and politics. I can guarantee you that those kinds of relationships carry with them a certain informality that arises when you know people. You don't do business with strangers; you do business with people you know. We did absolutely nothing out of the ordinary or wrong in those years in Arkansas."

Many observers would quarrel with

that perception, but some of the Clintons' problems undoubtedly derive from the expectations they themselves raised when they came into office vowing to hold their administration to higher ethical standards than their predecessors. As the discrepancies in their accounts of Whitewater and other financial dealings piled up and the White House resorted to ignominious locutions like the Minnesota assertion that a previous explanation of Hillary's commodities trading was "no longer operative," the Clintons' unyielding insistence on their own absolute purity seemed ever more egregious. Nevertheless, Mrs. Clinton's view of herself as a moral and social crusader is no mere political affectation; it has deep roots in the Methodist tradition in which she was raised. "Historically, Methodists combined personal piety and social piety, meaning assuming a sense of social responsibility for reforming the world, rather than simply emphasizing personal redemption," explains Don Jones, Hillary's youth minister back in Park Ridge, Illinois, 30 years ago.

But Jones, now a professor of social ethics at Drew University in New Jersey, also cautions against oversimplification. "I don't think of Hillary as being a purist," he says. "This paragon of moral rectitude—that's not the whole Hillary. Hillary is a paradox. She's also a lawyer who sometimes looks at the world as a lawyer. There's a tension between Hillary, the human being of moral rectitude and the Hillary who knows the rough-and-tumble of political life. I admire her integrity, but she is also quite pragmatic and interested in getting things done. She knows that politics is the art of the possible, and I don't think any of us can say we have clean hands while doing our work. We live in a world of ambiguity, and we all draw lines."

Mrs. Clinton's usual stance doesn't acknowledge a lot of ambiguity; as far as she's concerned, her hands are clean and anybody who thinks otherwise is being willfully malicious. "I've bent over backwards to be as free of any hint of wrongdoing in my law practice as I could be," she says with asperity. "I practiced law and taught law in Arkansas for 18 years, and so far as I can tell, there's very little they can come up with. But in hindsight, you can make anything look different than it looked at the time. I don't think I have any reason to apologize for anything I did. In retrospect, do I wish I had never invested in Whitewater? Do I wish that I had never had even a minor and insignificant role in representing Madison Savings and Loan? Sure, because I wouldn't have to answer ques-

tions about me then. But I think if you take the law practice of anyone who practiced law for more than 10 years, a person of ill will, a person of a conspiratorial mind-set, could come up with a list of suspicious questions....

"It is sad that some people are given free rein to conduct witch-hunts for their own purposes, but I can only tell you what I did and what I tried to do. If I had known that in the climate of 1994 people would be making judgments that I think are wholly unfounded, I would have said, 'Gee, you'd better not do that, Hillary. But then, as a friend of mine from New York said, 'Well, now I've got it—you're not supposed to make money, you're not supposed to lose money!' I mean, I don't know how you live in the world these people want to impose upon you."

If such dilemmas reveal conflicted expectations about women and money, the sexual innuendo that has swirled around Mrs. Clinton reveals even more striking conflicts about women and sex. Ever since she arrived at the White House, the rumors have been as widespread as they are contradictory: some of her detractors can't even decide whether she's a promiscuous lesbian or a promiscuous heterosexual. Mrs. Clinton's close friends find some of the stories hilarious. "There was one rumor that she was having an affair with Mary Steenburgen and the Secret Service had to step over their bodies on the floor," says Nancy Snyderman, who is close to both women. "We had a good laugh over that one."

But even with her intimates, Mrs. Clinton maintains a zone of privacy whose boundaries they sense and observe. "In some ways, she's a better listener than talker," muses Snyderman. "She keeps things very close to the vest. She's a great sounding board, and she's great at getting you to talk, but I've never heard her volunteer a lot of stuff. I've never talked to Hillary about her husband. I've never been invited to."

It is curious but true that certain friends who have laughed with Mrs. Clinton over the rumors that she is a lesbian have never broached the subject of the other leading sexual scenario about her, which is that she and Vincent Foster were lovers. When I finally ask Mrs. Clinton about it, the mini-drama that ensues is like a paradigm of her defiant public stance, her refusal to engage in matters she sees as irrelevant and politically motivated, and the problems that kind of resistance has caused her.

For a moment, she seems stunned by the question, and she hesitates. When

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she speaks, her voice is small and desolate. "That's one of the sad lies," she begins, and trails off, as if lost in thought. "I find it so regrettable that anybody would try to hurt"—she pauses—"his memory or his family for political purposes against me. That is so wrong." She pauses again, her eyes reddening as if she's holding back tears.

"And it is a lie?" I ask.

"It is," she says, but so faintly her words are almost inaudible. "And it's so unfair..."

I ask why she thinks all this keeps coming up.

"I don't know, but I don't want to comment on this stuff. I mean, you know, and I'd like that to be off the record. . . . I don't want to say anything about it. I don't want to answer it. I don't want to dignify it. That's the other position they put us in."

Her press secretary, who has momentarily left the room, returns and is clearly horrified by what she is hearing. "You need to do that off the record," she says hastily. Mrs. Clinton says it is off the record, and a discussion ensues about her response to my question about Vincent Foster. I explain later to the press secretary that I have a problem with putting quotes off the record retroactively just because someone subsequently reconsiders something she has said—particularly when the speaker is experienced in public life and knows perfectly well from the outset what the rules of the game are. I also point out to Mrs. Clinton that unless such rumors are refuted they tend to persist, as this one has for many months, taking on some truly baroque permutations.

"I understand the dilemma I'm in, but I can't answer every one of these terrible crackpot vicious rotten stories, and I don't think I should have to," Mrs. Clinton says angrily. "I think we have so severely undermined the capacity of the country to make decisions, because we fear everybody down. . . . I sure think we're headed toward disaster. I just think that everybody who is doing this stuff has to understand that if you make money off of or gain political advantage out of deliberate malicious falsehoods you are building on very shaky foundations, and I think our country deserves better than that. . . . If the press becomes the handmaiden of the political right, which it is

booming—from the so-called liberal press all the way to the attack dogs of the right wing—then you can't expect people to have any trust in what they read or see, and if they can't trust what they read or see, how can they make the decisions that are essential to keeping our democracy going? There's a lot at stake here, far beyond what happens to Bill and me; if we've proved nothing else, we've proved we are resilient. We know how to fight; we can take these people on. I'm not worried about that. Just don't want to have to compete in that arena. This stuff means nothing in the life of the country. What we ought to be hearing about is what kind of health-care system we're going to have. We are challenging established interests."

The subject of established interests comes up frequently in conversations with Mrs. Clinton's defenders, who charge that not nearly enough attention has been paid to the role of the powerful interest groups she has threatened. "You look at the different things she's taken on—the hospitals, the pharmaceutical industry, the insurance companies, the pension funds, the physicians, the health-care people. To take on any one of those, you'd have a backlash, and to take on all of them, you have a tremendous force that's rolling back up and threatening to engulf her," says Ann Henry, an old friend and an attorney who teaches at the University of Arkansas business school. "She's been willing to take the lead on health-care reform, and when you see what's happening to her you understand why no one else has been willing to."

Critics have made much of Mrs. Clinton's hostility toward releasing information and subjecting her affairs to the scrutiny of a special prosecutor, and many commentators decided that her resistance to disclosure indicates that she has something significant to hide. Her intimates see it differently, suggesting that this reveals more about Mrs. Clinton's stubbornness and stiff-necked sense of her own righteousness than it does about any potential wrongdoing.

Back in 1988, Nancy Snyderman split up with her first husband and moved to the West Coast. She was pregnant at the time, and whispers soon began circulating through Little Rock that Bill Clinton was the baby's father. During Clinton's presidential campaign, written accounts of that rumor were anonymously sent to various news media, including the *National Enquirer*, which jumped on the story. "I called Hillary and said, 'This is coming down the pike and I've got to do some-

thing to save my reputation,'" Snyderman reports. "Hillary was very much the attorney. She said, 'We know it's not true; don't give them the courtesy of responding to it. Don't dignify it.'"

But Snyderman was torn, particularly when she received contradictory advice from other media-wise sources. "I had my Hollywood P.R.-type slack friends saying, 'Do a full-court press! You've got to do damage control,'" says Snyderman, who is also the medical correspondent for *Good Morning America*.

She ended up heeding that advice rather than Mrs. Clinton's; she submitted to an interview with the *National Enquirer*, complete with her baby's birth certificate and DNA tests proving that Clinton was not the child's father, and the tabloid printed her refutation of the story. "I never had an affair with Bill Clinton, nor did he ever ask," Snyderman says.

However, she views the whole saga as providing an illuminating parallel to Mrs. Clinton's later approach toward Whitewater and related issues. "To Hillary, it was like 'We know this is ridiculous, so we're going to take the high road,'" Snyderman explains. "When Hillary knows something is ridiculous and shouldn't be allowed to take up a lot of space, she sort of stonewalls and says, 'This is not important; let's move on to things we know are of significance.' The problem is that those things can come back around to bite you in the rear end. To her, these are private matters; this is not for public consumption. I think she feels like 'We don't owe anybody that kind of information when we know the truth.' These are people who have fought for years to keep their private life private and their public life separate. Hillary sees the junk as temporary pain. She knows she only has so much time, and she knows she has to keep forging ahead."

Whatever facts eventually emerge on the Whitewater affair, its handling has revealed a key aspect of Hillary Clinton and some of her associates. "They have this view that this is the smart people's administration, and they're so smart they're not practical," says one Washington politico who knows the Clinton inner circle. "They think that anybody who has a different view is stupid, so they don't take them seriously, and I think that's what's gotten them in so much trouble. It sets a tone of arrogance, elitism, and disdain for people of opposing views."

Mrs. Clinton is certainly disdainful of

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her critics; no matter how troubling the questions that arose, for months she acted as if a political vendetta were the only possible motive for raising them. One consequence was a growing consensus on the Washington dinner-party circuit that Mrs. Clinton wasn't as smart as everyone had presumed; despite her much-vaunted political skills, she hadn't been clever enough to finesse Whitewater.

Then came the press conference. Announced suddenly only a few hours before Richard Nixon died (an event the Clintons had known was imminent for two days), its timing was masterful. The First Lady staged her performance on a Friday afternoon, thereby consigning the news to the relative oblivion of Saturday. On a weekend fraught with turmoil and bloodshed abroad, the press conference was immediately eclipsed, virtually disappearing in an avalanche of foreign news and Nixon eulogies. Mrs. Clinton's demeanor was brilliantly calculated as well; by this time she had contrition down pat. Hillary the Warrior had metamorphosed into Hillary the Submissive, pretty in pink, just as the proud Hillary Rodham had once been transformed into Mrs. Hillary Clinton when the price of defiance got too high. This is a woman who will, in the end, do whatever is necessary to achieve her goal, no matter how bitter the pill she must swallow. She will even smile for her enemies. "This is really a result of our inexperience in Washington," she said apologetically, as modest as a country bumpkin still getting used to the big time. "I really did not fully understand everything that I wish now I had known."

While that spin neatly mirrored the conventional wisdom, those of a more Machiavellian mind-set toyed with other explanations for Mrs. Clinton's long delay in capitulating to the inevitable. "The Clintons are the most successful scandal managers in the history of American politics," noted one savvy observer on Capitol Hill. "People like David Ogden have been advocating this press conference since January. Why would the Clintons have let these hundred days go by before having it? Either you had a hundred days of rank and newfound stupidity, or a hundred days of fear of how much guilt could be uncovered. It's a huge hit this administration has taken, at a time when they needed their greatest strength. It's

terribly inconsistent to conclude that Hillary was just naive; it doesn't go with anything else you know about her."

Perhaps not, but it would be embarrassing for anyone to display the failings revealed by the Clintons of late—errors on tax returns, "forgotten" profits, sloppy business practices, stunning lapses in professional judgment and ethical sensitivity. For a woman who has always taken such pains to appear perfect, who only a year ago was sanctified as Saint Hillary by no less august a presence than *The New York Times*, such humiliating exposure must have been excruciating. Few public figures have had as much experience as Mrs. Clinton in toughing it out, but admitting she is fallible may well have been even more painful.

Nevertheless, whatever tears are shed by Hillary Clinton, they will not be seen in public. "She's got this monumental tolerance for adversity, and that makes people mad, too," observes Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, the television producer and member of the Clinton inner circle. "People want to see her cry, and they won't get to. That doesn't mean she won't cry, but she's very private, and she won't cry for any of her detractors."

Mrs. Clinton's pride is matched by her immense discipline, a strength that allows her to put aside her troubles as if by sheer effort of will. The same week Webster Hubbell, her former law partner, resigned from the Justice Department to deal with charges of financial malfeasance back in Little Rock, White House dinner guests were surprised by how lighthearted the First Lady appeared. "She was in a good mood all night," said Carl Sferrazza Anthony, the author of a two-volume history called *First Ladies: The Saga of the Presidents' Wives and Their Power*. "With the president, there was more gravity; I'm not sure whether that's just the implicit burden of the presidency, but there was a wistful quality. But she seemed positively jovial."

For public consumption, Mrs. Clinton takes pains to put her situation in perspective. "You know, you have a choice, whatever your circumstances are," she says. "You either become overwhelmed by life or you continue to try to challenge yourself to grow and enjoy the days that you're given—and that has always been the way I've lived. I'm not saying it's easy. I'm not saying there are not days when you wish for it all to go away and you can have some peace and quiet for maybe a week. But this is my life, and I'm very proud of my life."

She stares the right in the eyes, her head held high. "I like my life," she says defiantly. "I am just grateful for all the opportunities I've had, and along with the good comes a lot of hard parts. . . . I think there are points in each person's life when you face a turning point. Do you become overwhelmed by whatever life has dealt you? Do you let the hard times outweigh all the good? Do you give in to anger or bitterness or insecurity, or do you fight against that? I mean, we all have that choice every day. Each one of us has those challenges."

Watching Mrs. Clinton confront hers, America seems to be puzzled more than anything else, unable to assimilate so much contradictory information and unsure of how to compute the bottom line—not only on the complexities of Whitewater but of the First Lady herself. "The remarkable thing about the whole affair is that Americans may end up knowing less about Hillary Clinton than they thought they knew beforehand," *The Economist* observed recently. "The conventional wisdom has been that while Bill was the chameleon with slippery views, Hillary was the one with firm principles. But she is an enigma to many Americans. . . . In her own way, she is as much a chameleon as her husband. Certainly she is clever, focused and a role model to millions, but for which role? She has as many of them as she has hairstyles: First Lady, political strategist, lawyer, wife, mother, cookie-baker, health-care reformer, *Vogue* picture-power, intimidator, charmer."

Which role, indeed? Calling someone a chameleon implies that there is something false about each appearance he or she takes on, as if such different identities must be motivated by an impulse toward subterfuge. Few people seem to consider the possibility that all the facets of the prism might produce an equally true picture, and that the real person they are trying so hard to discern cannot be understood except as the sum total of everything they see, and much they are not privy to as well.

"She's still new to all of us," says Buffy Caffritz, co-chair of the Kennedy Center Honors Gala and a noted Republican hostess in Washington. "It's like an onion; we're still peeling off the skin here. Nobody can rush to judge. We're watching it all unfold."

"What she's really showing people is that all of us have multidimensional lives," says Susie May, a Little Rock friend. "She is living one right in front of us." □

LADIES' HOME JOURNAL VISITS

THE WHITE HOUSE



All photos, Chris Hartlow

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IN 1989, *LADIES' HOME JOURNAL* BEGAN A SEARCH FOR WOMEN WHOSE LIVES WE WOULD FOLLOW THROUGHOUT THE 1990S AS PART OF AN INNOVATIVE ORAL-HISTORY PROJECT KNOWN AS VOICES OF THE DECADE. THOUSANDS OF READERS RESPONDED, AND WE SELECTED FIVE WHO WE FELT REPRESENTED A CROSS SECTION OF AMERICAN WOMEN. THEY ARE: DIANE BISHOP, THIRTY-SIX, OF MALVERN, PENNSYLVANIA; DANA CRONE, THIRTY-FIVE, OF EMINENCE, INDIANA; MOLLY MINNICK, THIRTY-FIVE, OF ST. JOHNS, MICHIGAN; PAULETTE POLLEY, FORTY-FIVE, OF AKRON, OHIO; AND ANNE WEATHERILL, FORTY-NINE, OF CORPUS CHRISTI, TEXAS. IN THE YEARS THE *JOURNAL* HAS CHRONICLED THEIR LIVES, THESE WOMEN HAVE GONE THROUGH EXPERIENCES, BOTH JOYFUL AND SORROWFUL, THAT ARE SIMILAR TO THOSE OF MILLIONS OF AMERICAN WOMEN: MARRIAGE, DIVORCE, LOSS OF A JOB, STARTING A NEW BUSINESS, MOVING TO A NEW TOWN, DISCOVERING A FAMILY SECRET, DECIDING WHETHER TO HAVE ANOTHER CHILD. (FOR MORE ABOUT EACH WOMAN, SEE PAGE 274.)

THIS YEAR, IN ADDITION TO THE ANNUAL INTERVIEW WITH EACH WOMAN, EDITOR-IN-CHIEF MYRNA BLYTH DECIDED TO ARRANGE A VISIT TO THE WHITE HOUSE SO THE GROUP COULD MEET WITH THE MOST CONTROVERSIAL, AND POWERFUL, AMERICAN WOMAN OF THE 1990S: HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON. HERE, EXCERPTS FROM THEIR REVEALING, SURPRISINGLY INTIMATE TALK CONDUCTED IN THE WHITE HOUSE'S HISTORIC MAP ROOM.



Anne: What is the best thing about being First Lady—and what has been your biggest disappointment?

Hillary: The best thing is being able to feel that I'm trying to help people and that I'm trying to help my husband. It's very exciting to meet people and share their lives in a way that I could not have if I were doing anything else. And then to see the way you actually *can* do things that change people's lives—I mean, everything from responding to mail to working on projects that make the student-loan system in our country more accessible

to people.

Probably the most disappointing thing is how much attention is given to things that don't make any difference—and how easy it is today in our country for people to lie about you. I don't know how else to say it. You find yourself being characterized in ways that are totally untrue and there's no way to really get ahead of it. So that has been very disappointing, because I feel that it's such a privilege to be in public life and I'm so proud of my husband, and it's so difficult to live day after day with

the kinds of attacks that he is subjected to. But, unfortunately, it goes with the position.

Paulette: How do you cope with the stress?

Hillary: I find a great deal of support

from and good times with my husband and daughter. We do a lot together: We play cards together. We watch a lot of sporting events together. That's a real release, especially for my husband. Also, we watch a lot of movies. Probably the best thing about living in the White House is we have a movie theater! That is terrific. Then, on my own, I read a lot, I pray a lot; sometimes I go for a long walk or a bicycle ride. Sometimes I just call up a friend of mine, somebody I trust and can just talk to and know that she's there for me.

I try to be there for my friends, too. I've had so many of my friends come to visit me here. That's another benefit—you've got a lot of space for guests. I've had friends from high school, college and Arkansas. And they come and we stay up late.

Dana: Is it like slumber parties?

Hillary: Yeah, it is kind of like slumber parties.

[Laughter]

Paulette: I imagine that maintaining this contact with your *(continued)*





(continued) friends is what's helped you to stay in touch with ordinary women and what their concerns are.

Hillary: You know all the years my husband was governor, people didn't drive me around, people didn't guard me. I'd get in my car, go to work, and maybe I'd go downtown for lunch or run over to my daughter's school for something. Or I'd run errands and then on Saturday I'd load her in the car and we'd make the rounds that you have to make, because we did

shopping now?

Hillary: I can go shopping, but it is a *really* big burden. And my husband cannot do *anything*. He has to take an entourage of people with him, and it is very hard on him, because he is a real person and he loves talking to people.

But now he's always surrounded. I

the press following you?

Hillary: Only at Camp David. For reasons I really don't fully understand, the press feels it has to go everywhere.

Dana: How does that affect your marriage?

Hillary: Well, it doesn't affect our marriage so much, because it is something that together we are able to talk about and share our feelings about. But it affects our ability to have our relationships with other people be as normal as possible. That's what's

there are some highs and lows to raising a young woman. I've often wondered what that's like for you here in the White House.

Hillary: That is probably the question I have worried over more than anything else. Both my husband and I made the decision early on that since he was going to be in public life, even back in Arkansas, we would do everything we could to keep her life as normal as possible. That meant saying no to a lot of things. It meant



hard. We have good friends here in town, and we occasionally have tried to spontaneously go see them. [But] it just turns into this huge ordeal. By the time you get all the cars lined up and the press is ready to go, what had been a great idea turns into just another event.

Molly: You've mentioned Chelsea. I have a fourteen-year-old daughter who will turn fifteen soon, and of course I adore her, but

protecting her and not subjecting her to the kind of interest the press has.

I've worked very hard on that. Now, there are some people who will say, "Well, you never hear or see her; they must not care about her. . . ." You can never please people and you've got to keep doing what you think is right, and what we know is right is protecting her so she can have her own life.

I had an experience last spring that brought



a lot of our shopping ourselves. I had no idea what it would be like coming here.

Diane: You mean you never get to go

don't have quite that kind of burden, thank goodness.

Dana: Do you and your husband ever get away—the two of you, without



that home. One of the networks was doing an interview with my husband, and they were relentless in requesting some kind of film footage around Chelsea. And we kept saying, "No, no, no." So, after we said no about a million times, they finally accepted it. Then the interviewer said

to me, "Well, you made the right decision. I wouldn't let my daughter be interviewed either."

I said to him, "Why did you put me into such a position where I had to keep saying no?" He said, "Well, because we thought maybe you would give in. And it would make for good

television." I said, "But not for good parenting." He said, "That's right."

Diane: How do you stop from losing your temper when you encounter things like that?

Hillary: It's hard. . . . What I've unfortunately learned is that it's very hard in the public eye to act in a way that you

would act normally in your personal life, because people then draw all sorts of conclusions from it. So maintaining a calm appearance is very important. And I work on that all the time—it's not easy, I have to tell you.

Dana: Since I own a hair salon, I've noticed

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INSIDE THE JOURNAL KITCHEN



Dear LHJ:
When my husband and I were in West Palm Beach, Florida, we had dinner at Sala del Toro at the jai alai grounds. Dessert was a white-chocolate mousse with raspberry sauce that was heavenly! I would love to be able to serve it to company.

—Anne Griffin
Blackwood, New Jersey

WHITE MAGIC

Cooking white chocolate is a delicate matter—the secret is to melt it gently over very low heat. Executive chef Fred Nolte serves his rich dessert in a sumptuous setting: in a champagne glass adorned with dark-chocolate shavings.

Melt 8 ounces premium or imported white chocolate, chopped, with 1 cup heavy or whipping cream in medium saucepan over very low heat, stirring frequently, until completely smooth. Cool completely to room temperature. Beat 1 more cup heavy cream with a pinch salt in mixer bowl. Whisk one quarter of the whipped cream into cooled white-chocolate mixture, then fold in remaining whipped cream. Spoon into champagne or dessert glasses. Cover and refrigerate 2 to 3 hours. Serve with Raspberry Sauce and semisweet chocolate shavings (optional). Makes 8 servings.

Raspberry Sauce: Process 1 package (10 oz.) frozen raspberries in light syrup in food processor. Strain through sieve, discarding seeds. Makes 1 cup.

RECIPE INDEX

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Peter Andio

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you change your hairstyle a lot—and I love this one. But is there a reason that you've changed it so many times?

Hillary: Ever since I was a teenager I have experimented with my hair because I get bored with it. I really do. You know, it's the one part of your body that you can change easily. I mean, exercise is so hard. [Laughter] So I'm always doing something different with it. It's been fun for me. Choosing clothes is also fun for me, because it's not anything I've ever been particularly concerned with in my earlier life.

Molly: To go back to Chelsea—do you control her television-watching?

Hillary: Well, we did all during the time she was growing up. We were very strict about how much and what kind of television she could watch. There were some things we would let her watch regularly, but usually with my husband or me. We were also very careful about movies. You know, we just wouldn't let her go to movies. Now, as she's gotten older, even though she sees things with her friends or at friends' houses that I wouldn't personally approve of, she sees it with the background of our values.

Diane: Do you ever worry about your husband's safety or your own?

Hillary: I never used to worry about it.

But I am very disturbed by what I see as an increase in violence. I hope with some of the changes we're making in Washington, we'll begin to get that under control. But I'm really troubled by the sort of meanness—the mean-spirited things people are saying on the radio talk shows and in some of the other arenas. They're doing it to be sensational, and they're doing it to make money. I understand their motivation, but I don't know that they understand how that often can unhinge people who are themselves not very stable. That troubles me. **Paulette:** We're fortunate enough to have a place in history by being *Ladies' Home Journal's* Voices of the Decade. What would you like your place in history to be?

Hillary: I don't have any idea. I was always hopeful that whatever I did during my life, I could feel that I'd made a contribution to help other people. That is the most important thing to me. So I hope that history will say that I tried to speak for people who often don't get heard and that I tried in some way to make our country more sensitive and caring about people. We're at a funny point in history, I think. All the time I was growing up, the world seemed frightening, but also stable. You had the United States versus Communism. You could know where you stood, and you didn't have to really worry too much

about that. The world is totally changing, in some ways that are very, very good. The freedom that's come to Eastern Europe and places like that is a real triumph of the human spirit. We have to celebrate that. But it does mean that there are no more easy ways.

So all of us are being really challenged to maintain our values, our faith, our relationships, as we're pushed into a very different world. I think as a result of that, there's a lot of confusion and insecurity that gets both acted out between people and gets projected out on the President and other people in public life.

To some extent that's what's happened to us personally. Everyone around this table, I am sure, has not had her life turn out exactly as she would have expected and has had changes in her life even in the last several years that were never expected.

Myrna: Last night we were talking about the health-care issue, to which you've devoted so much time. Do you feel the work you've done is going to come to some kind of fulfillment?

Hillary: Well, I really hope so. I'm even more convinced now than I was when I started of how important this is for every family because no family is secure. The great lesson to me is here we are in the richest country in the world with by far the finest medical facilities and personnel, and yet we (continued)

LHJ visits the White House

continued

don't make all of our people secure.

Myrna: Has your experience working on health care been frustrating?

Hillary: It's been a real learning experience. What has happened is that groups that profit from the existing system are extremely well financed and powerful, and they have launched a very effective campaign over the last year and a half to confuse people and to make people afraid. The opponents say, "You're trying to get the government to take over the medical system." Totally untrue, but it scares people. Or we're going to take away your choice of doctor. Totally untrue, but people don't know who to believe. And if you're sitting at home, you see an eight-second television news story where somebody in the administration says, "We're going to preserve your choice of doctor." Then you see very well-produced ads that run around the news, and then you get a mailing. How do you know what to believe?

Unfortunately, we're living in a time when it is increasingly difficult, if you're in public life, to get your side of the facts out, because unless it is sensationalistic, or about conflict, it isn't considered very newsworthy. That's been frustrating.

And that gets me back to the era that we're in. I worry very much about how we keep a democracy going when people don't know who to believe, when they think everybody's in it for themselves, when they don't think there's any objective facts out there.

Myrna: What's the issue you're going to work on next, after health care?

Hillary: I'm going to get back to all the work I have done over the years on behalf of children and families.

My belief is that a family is the result of both their own values and the society in which they live, and that both have to work hard to support families. I believe in the last couple of decades we have not done as good a job on either the personal family front or on our society's obligations. I think one of the ways to focus that is around this whole issue of violence and what it does when it renders people so insecure that they cannot even let their children go out and play, they cannot feel comfortable in their own homes.

So I'm going to get back to what we're doing with and for our children and how we can help families to be stronger, to take care of their own children better.

Anne: In what ways do you feel that the American woman has benefited from your being the First Lady?

Hillary: Well, I can't really speak to that, but I hope that one of the ideas that I believe very strongly is being communicated, and that is that women should be (continued on page 278)

VOICES OF THE DECADE—1994

Each year, Contributing Editor Kathryn Casey interviews the five women who comprise *Ladies' Home Journal's* Voices of the Decade oral-history project on women's lives in the 1990s. The complete text of all the interviews conducted with these women for the project will be placed in the Schlesinger Library of Radcliffe College, as a resource for scholars.

The night before their visit with Mrs. Clinton, the group gathered at the historic Hay-Adams Hotel to talk about the past year.

Diane Bishop, 36; systems auditor, Malvern, Pennsylvania; husband, Dave, general contractor;

son, Sean, 9; step-daughter, Leigh Ann, 9

After years of battling an autoimmune disorder, Diane has begun a new medication regimen that has kept the illness at bay for nearly a year. So she felt strong enough to make a job change. As a computer-systems auditor, she now spends a third of her time traveling around the world.

These days, her home life seems equally idyllic. After six years of single motherhood, she describes her two-year marriage as a godsend.

Yet perhaps as an outgrowth of the years of uncertainty, she admits, "It's almost an automatic thing to worry about the rug being pulled out from under me. But I'm working at getting over that."

Dana Crone, 35; beauty-shop owner/operator, Eminence, Indiana; husband, Jack, farmer; children, Molly, 12, Ty, 11, Casey, 7 It's been an exciting year for "The Out-back Hair Shack," the beauty salon Dana opened next to her home on the family farm last year. "I made three times what I'd made the year before, working for someone else," Dana says.

This year, in particular, the added income will come in handy. Scarce rain crippled the grain yield, and bumper crops in other Midwest states caused prices to plummet.

But their three children are thriving, and the Croneses' marriage is back to normal after a difficult year of confronting a long-kept family secret: Tonya, the twenty-two-year-old daughter Jack fathered in his youth, sought the couple out. "She's a member of the family now," says Dana.

Molly Minnick, 35; genetic social worker, St. Johns, Michigan; husband, Dave, physician; stepchildren, Brandon, 18, Julie, 15; son, Andy, 7

"It's everything we really wanted," Molly says about the new home she and her husband built in St. Johns, a town in central Michigan. "I think we're really going to be happy here." Laying down roots is particularly satisfying because it's the Minnicks' sixth move in two years.

Ironically, after years of discussing the possibility of a second child, the Minnicks have finally made the decision to have another baby, but even fertility drugs failed to enable Molly to conceive.

Now the couple are assessing how far they are willing to go to remedy the situation.

Paulette Polley, 45; college instructor, Akron, Ohio; daughters, Nicole, 17, Alycia, 14

The last year has had its ambiguities for Paulette, whose twenty-three-year marriage came to an end when her divorce from husband William, a physician, became final in June. "I feel like I'm ready to begin a new life," she says. "Yet there are still touches of sadness."

Overall, though, she describes the two

years since the separation as fruitful. Her girls have fared well, and they've given her a lot of emotional support. After years of being a well-to-do doctor's wife, Paulette is grateful she has a career of her own to sustain them.

And Paulette has discovered that she doesn't always have to be with someone, and that it's often enjoyable just being alone. When she does want company, that hasn't been lacking. "I've been pleasantly surprised," she says.

Anne Weatherill, 49; writer/editor, Corpus Christi, Texas; husband, Jim, commercial pilot; daughters, Maryanne, 26, Christine, 21 "It's been an interesting summer. My whole life changed," Anne says.

In June, Anne and her husband sold their home and moved from Clarkston, Washington, after Jim's employer, Continental Airlines, closed its route to nearby Spokane. They chose Corpus Christi as their new home because of the city's proximity to the airline's Houston hub.

Since the move, Anne has had more to get used to than the Texas heat and humidity. She left behind not only her job on a daily newspaper in Washington State but her two grown daughters. "I miss them like crazy," she admits. "But in a sense I feel like Jim and I are starting a second marriage."



Washington memento (from left): Dana, Paulette, Diane, Anne and Molly meet the First Lady

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respected for the choices they make and not be criticized or put down. Because given the fact that we are all living so much longer, which is wonderful, women are going to have many stages in their lives. And they may at some points in their lives be full-time homemakers and mothers, and they may at other points be full-time in the world of work outside the home.

For most women it will be a balancing act between home and work. What I really regret is the way some groups try to pit women and their choices against each other, instead of celebrating the fact that women now have a much greater range of choices.

Molly: Have you ever given thought to, or do you have any desire whatsoever, to hold the office of the presidency?

Hillary: No; no! [Laughter]

Myrna: Mrs. Clinton, thanks for spending all this time with us.

Hillary: Well, I am so glad that you did this, and I think you're all very brave, sharing the stories of your lives. Will you all tell me how this process has made you feel? Has it been exciting for you? Has it been a little scary at times?

Dana: For me, it was exciting in the beginning, but then when you go through a very difficult year, which we all did, then that's hard.

Molly: Because we promised we'd share.

Dana: You kind of dread that; you're not sure how people are going to react.

Hillary: How have your family members and friends and relatives reacted?

Dana: They love it.

Molly: My husband's always nervous, though.

Paulette: Let me share something with you. Back in the 1940s, my parents used to live in Washington, D.C., and my dad was a driver for the Navy. He used to make deliveries to the White House, through the back door. So this is really a kicker for my parents, that fifty years later their daughter is coming as an invited guest! [Laughter]

Hillary: Oh, isn't that neat.

Diane: I've done two things to make my mother really proud of me: give her her first grandchild and come visit Hillary.

Molly: Yeah, my mom wanted me to tell you how proud she is of you. She appreciates the time that you have put into this position.

Hillary: Thank you. I am so impressed at how you have all been through this process for several years and you still seem to be cheerful and optimistic about it, which I think is a real tribute to both the format and to the sensitivity. And also to each one of you!

What makes Oprah run?

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so good about her own life, she's determined to help her audience better theirs.

A WOMAN OBSESSED

The first part of the two-day session, a *Ladies' Home Journal* exclusive, starts in Winfrey's plush Harpo Studios office in Chicago. The office is unusually quiet today during the show's final week of summer break. Settling between the colorful needlepoint pillows on her terracotta-color leather couch, Winfrey radiates calm and control. She's clearly ready to talk about the agony and the ecstasy of being in the best physical and emotional shape of her life. Her hair is woven into braids à la Whoopi Goldberg. (The classic pouf Winfrey wears during the TV season is taking a break to accommodate her swimming lessons.) She is wearing a long, black Jil Sander apron dress with matching sandals, an elegant Bulgari watch and earrings, and tortoiseshell eyeglasses. Unlike the Everywoman image she conveys on her show, this Oprah has the presence of a sophisticated powerhouse.

Considering her self-made wealth (her estimated worth is \$250 million) and her influence (her show is watched by fifteen million viewers daily), Winfrey literally may be the most powerful woman in the country. But, most important, now she feels she's finally gained power over herself.

"Last year I asked [God] for freedom. Did I not come out of myself in a big way, breaking out of that fat shell?" says Winfrey with a proud smile. "And this year I asked for clarity. I have become more clear about my purpose in television and this show."

Her "purpose" is a constant obsession these days. Every day, Winfrey says, she wakes up and asks herself, "What do I want?" and "What am I willing to sacrifice for it?" She asks herself these questions about love, work and life in general, but every morning when the alarm clock sounds she is especially focused on the activity that's most important to her right now: running. "Running is the greatest metaphor for life, because you get out of it what you put into it," declares Winfrey, who completed a 13.1-mile half-marathon under an alias in August 1993 and plans to run a grueling, full 26.2-mile marathon in Washington, D.C., this fall.

Like many runners, she glories in effort and pain. "This is the hardest thing there is for me. Nothing is harder—work, accomplishments, achievements—than the actual mental and physical discipline that it takes to do this," she says. "[But] this is what I have to do to

get the kind of mental and physical sharpness that I want."

THE TOUGHEST DECISION

What Winfrey *doesn't* want these days, she says with absolute certainty, is marriage. Although she's well aware that her audience is eager to see her marry Stedman Graham, the live-in boyfriend to whom she became engaged two years ago, there will be no wedding anytime soon. "The reason I'm not married is because there really is no reason to be. There really isn't," she says. "I deeply regret being so insensitive about making the announcement about being engaged . . . and we're not married *not* because there are any problems," she adds, a defensive edge to her voice.

These days Winfrey is willing to face every issue head on, including her noisy biological clock. "So, yes, it's ticking. So what?" she says. "It's what I'm doing in this moment that really matters, and if I am supposed to have children, I will, and I will *know* that."

Winfrey's newfound ability to make tough decisions isn't limited to her personal life. This summer she finally dealt with a long-standing management problem involving Debra DiMaio, the show's executive producer and a longtime personal friend. DiMaio was brilliant, but she had a reputation for making everyone beneath her so miserable that several top producers were planning to quit if Winfrey didn't step in, according to a published report. DiMaio resigned in June, after being with the show since its beginning. "A lot of the producers had difficulty with the way Debbie dealt with them," says Winfrey, resignedly folding her hands in her lap. "And my only problem over the years with Debbie has been the way she dealt with people. I've done the show for so long with her, and she was my right hand and my left hand and part of my brain. So I just would not even imagine doing it without her." Is DiMaio's departure a decision she would have been able to make two years ago? "No," she says, her voice steady, calm and low.

The change at Harpo will mean infinitely more work for Winfrey: She'll have to attend the weekly story meetings that she trusted to veteran DiMaio, and she won't have the security of DiMaio's advice. But ever the student of life, Winfrey turns the experience into a lesson. "Now that I am [doing the show without her], I think, Oh, *this* is what I was supposed to be learning?" she says, as if talking to herself. "Yes, the show is evolving, and now it is time for *you* to take complete control."

Winfrey demonstrated her "complete control" potential in June 1993, when she decided at the last minute to hold back her autobiography. (continued)

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