

Addressing FGM is as complicated as the act itself is horrible. I deplore FGM. United States policy, articulated so forcefully by Secretary of State Albright, condemns it as a violation of human rights [? True? Or just cut the bit about human rights?]. Yet how do we encourage a people to turn away from attitudes and actions that are deeply ingrained in their culture? On issues like these, change, ultimately, must come from within the society itself. Eritrean women, as they are doing, must wage and win the struggle themselves. But we can help them. And to my mind, the most effective way to do that is to stress the stark facts: Not only does female genital mutilation violate the most fundamental rights of girls and women, it also results in terrible health problems that weaken society as a whole. The horrible effects of FGM are there for all to see in [percents would be good here] higher rates of infant mortality, maternal mortality, and morbidity. [Don't quite know what this last bit means -- is there a way to put it in more human language?]

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND -- PUBLIC POLICY MAKING FOR JOURNALISTS

1. How and why I switched

- Appeal of journalism when I get into it (post-Watergate, social change)
- How that was beginning to change with celebrity journalism
- The attractions of public service
- Circumstances of getting hired

2. Early introduction to the gray areas of public service and the unseen areas of news coverage

- Pat Nixon tribute
- how the agenda can be driven by politics -- and by news coverage.

3. Three ways to examine the coverage of Hillary Clinton

- 1) As the first "professional woman" as First Lady
- 2) As the first First Lady to take on a major policy role -- health care reform
- 3) As a First Lady

4. Extraordinary ambivalence and confusion over a women who presented so many paradoxes for the public and the news media

-- Already subjected to more scrutiny than almost any other First Lady (tea and cookies, Whitewater)

-- The NYT and Washington Post stories right after the Inauguration

-- Before long, rumors "reported" about her throwing lamps and Bibles at people, "fuming" in public, and eventually "ordering" the firing of the Travel office people

5. How health care reform set an imperfect context for understanding HRC and coverage of her

- Honeymoon period until The Politics of Virtue
- Tactical mistakes
- Too complicated to be digested by most of the press
- Without reporters really understanding who she was or what she was about, health care became her "norm"
- When health care failed, she needed to be re-categorized
- The Eleanor Clift piece -- the real story behind it

6. What the coverage in 1995 tells us

- The David Maraniss piece in January
- Her areas of focus during the year -- and what her activities said about her and who she was (mammograms and Gulf War syndrome, but also major new levels of discussion about women and children)
- The need for the press to categorize -- Devroy piece

7. What the Whitewater coverage tells us

- The coverage of the missing documents and the book
- Bill Safire
- NBC Nightly News
- Saint or Sinner?
- Hillary Unmasked?
- The RTC reports
- The Post's Whitewater coverage (indictment)
- The Newsweek story recently
- The Harris/Devroy piece (and ombudsman piece about it)

8. Conclusions

- A very polarizing figure
- A very knee-jerk and superficial approach to covering her
- "Formulaic" journalism taking over, where common sense, human sensibilities ought to be in place more often
- What Fallows and Kurtz warn us about



UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND AT COLLEGE PARK

COLLEGE OF BEHAVIORAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES • THE ACADEMY OF LEADERSHIP

March 3, 1997

Lisa Muscatine
Special Assistant to the President and Speech Writer
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Lisa,

Thank you so much for agreeing to speak with my journalism students at the University of Maryland's School of Public Affairs on Monday, April 14 from 1pm to 2:30 pm. The class will meet in the same room as last year, 1109 Van Munching Hall. The map of the campus indicates where the building is. David Falk (my co-teacher) or I will meet you in front of the building so we can direct you to the correct parking lot with the correct permit. (After dealing with the Secret Service, campus parking must seem insignificant. However, for those of us who regularly get \$40 tickets because of some obscure violation, it is a big deal and a hassle.)

As I mentioned, the course--Public Policymaking for Journalists is designed to provide the students who staff the Capital News Service (in Washington and Annapolis) with practical knowledge about the public policy process of local, state and national governments. Our emphasis is on providing insights into how the real world of politics works; what forces influence policy decisions and who key players are in developing and implementing public policy. Students get the most out of presentations which provide specific examples or anecdotes which illustrate aspects of public policy making.

We would like you to focus your remarks on the impact that the media has on public policy. We would like you to spend about 20 or 25 minutes sharing your views on the role of the media based on your experiences as a Washington Post reporter and now as an Assistant to the President and speech writer in the White House. We would then like to have students ask you any questions they may have.

If you have questions, please call me at 301-405-0388. I look forward to seeing you on the 14th and hope that your trip to Africa with the First Lady is enjoyable.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Mary".

Mary Boergers

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**UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND AT COLLEGE PARK**

COLLEGE OF BEHAVIORAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES • THE ACADEMY OF LEADERSHIP

FAX LETTER

February 6, 1997

Lisa Muscatine
Special Assistant to the President and Speech Writer
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Lisa,

I wanted to invite you to visit my course—Public Policy Making for Journalists again if you are available. The students got so much out of your presentation that I would really appreciate it if you could come this year to share your insights with them. I was hoping that you might be available on Monday, March 17 from 1pm to 2:30 pm at College Park in the Dean's Conference Room on the second floor. Please let me know if you will be able to join us that day.

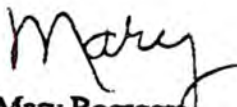
The course is being taught this year with David Falk, who served in a number of positions in Governor Schaefer's administration and was in fact Schaefer's lobbyist in Washington when he was mayor.

By way of background, the course is designed to provide graduate journalism students who staff the Capital News Service (in Washington and Annapolis) with practical knowledge about the public policy process of local, state and national governments. We focus on how policy is developed and implemented in the real world. If you can come, please try to include specific examples or anecdotes to give students a more concrete understanding of how things really work.

The format we would like to follow is for you to take 20 or 25 minutes to share the insights you have gained as a Washington Post reporter and now as an Assistant to the President and Speech Writer. We would then like you to answer any questions the student's may have.

If you have any questions please call me at 301-405-0388. I hope that you will be able to join us on March 17th, because the students are particularly interested in hearing what you have to say.

Sincerely,


Mary Boergers
Senior Fellow

Surinam

18TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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February 5, 1993, Friday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 1; Column 3; National Desk

LENGTH: 1218 words

HEADLINE: Hillary Clinton Visits Capitol In Vivid Display of Her Clout

BYLINE: By MICHAEL KELLY, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Feb. 4

BODY:

Demonstrating in unmistakable terms her intent to serve as the Administration's chief lobbyist and negotiator on health care, Hillary Rodham Clinton went to Capitol Hill today for closed-door policy discussions with leaders from both parties.

Mrs. Clinton's lobbying trip, extraordinary for a First Lady, was the latest manifestation of her influence. An unpaid volunteer with no official Government job, Mrs. Clinton has nevertheless emerged as the most important White House adviser on domestic issues.

The First Lady met on the second floor of the Capitol with the Senate majority leader, George J. Mitchell of Maine; with 28 more Democratic senators, and with two influential Republican Senators, Bob Dole of Kansas, the minority leader, and John H. Chafee of Rhode Island.

The meetings, by all accounts, broke no new ground on health care. But on a symbolic level they underscored the importance both of health care legislation to the Administration and of Mrs. Clinton within the power structure of Washington.

Behind Velvet Ropes

The clout of Mrs. Clinton was vividly captured in an image that was at once traditional and novel. As the journalists and the cameras waited in their usual fashion behind red velvet ropes and brass stanchions, the door to the Lyndon Johnson Room opened and Senator Mitchell came out, walking up, in the usual fashion, to stand before the battery of microphones and say a few words.

But the person walking at the Senator's side, and joining him at the microphones, and answering reporters' questions as the Administration's leading voice on a leading issue, was the President's wife, not a Cabinet Secretary -- and that is not part of the usual fashion at all.

Her expedition was only part of a daylong blitz of Congress by the Clinton Administration, as officials bustled about the halls and caucus rooms in a sort of traveling policy bazaar, seeking to sell ideas and buy support for the many

The New York Times, February 5, 1993

politically difficult causes President Clinton has embraced.

The First Lady's husband became the first chief executive in history to appear at the regular weekly meeting of Congressional Democratic whips, the three-dozen party officials responsible for lining up votes -- an event described by Representative Nita M. Lowey of Westchester County as "a real love-in." Mr. Clinton received a five-minute standing ovation from the 50 or 60 Democrats in attendance. "Euphoria doesn't go on forever," said Senator John Glenn of Ohio. "But it's the first time in 12 years Democrats have been in the White House, and the President needs a little time."

Gore on a Mission

Vice President Al Gore appeared on a separate mission to support the introduction today of a bill sponsored by Senator Carl M. Levin, Democrat of Michigan, to toughen disclosure requirements for lobbyists and to hold a news conference pushing the Administration's proposals to change campaign finance laws. Orbiting the stars along their own paths were such other luminaries as Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen; Leon E. Panetta, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, and Donna E. Shalala, the Secretary of Health and Human Services.

All these appearances, though, were, unexceptional. Presidents, Vice Presidents and Cabinet Secretaries go regularly to Capitol Hill, on missions of either pomp or circumstance. First Ladies are far more seldom seen.

Eleanor Roosevelt was the first First Lady to appear before Congress, testifying before the House District of Columbia Committee on the wretched conditions of nursing homes in the nation's capital. Lady Bird Johnson lobbied Congress behind the scenes for passage of the Highway Beautification Act. And Rosalynn Carter openly lobbied for passage of the Age Discrimination Act, the Older American's Act, the Rural Clinics Act and for the Administration's proposal to contain hospital costs.

Yet, Mrs. Clinton's visit today was of far more import than all of these.

Senator Is Delighted

Ever since she was named by the President to head the group charged with putting together a health care program, Mrs. Clinton has been lobbying members of Congress behind the scenes. A White House aide, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the First Lady had spoken on the telephone with at least a dozen senators.

One of them, Howard M. Metzenbaum of Ohio, pronounced himself delighted with Mrs. Clinton after a telephone conversation on Tuesday and the meeting today. "She's sharp, she's on the ball and I can't tell you what a real pleasure it is to be able to sit there with the wife of the President and have an open, warm conversation -- to be able to sit there and talk about your concerns with her, and call her Hillary."

By her high-profile appearance, placed on the public schedule and advertised by press aides for maximum attention, Mrs. Clinton signaled in a way official Washington cannot miss that she will be not only the person who shapes the

The New York Times, February 5, 1993

Administration's most important issue of domestic policy, but also the one who will attempt the politically complex matter of guiding it through Congress.

Speaking and Listening

In the meeting with the Democratic senators, Mrs. Clinton sat at the head a large horseshoe-shaped table, flanked by Senator Mitchell and Senator Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts. She spoke for about five minutes, said Senate and White House aides present, in general terms about the Administration's broad legislative goals, and about its willingness to work closely with Congressional leadership to achieve those goals. For the rest of the meeting, which lasted less than an hour, she mostly listened, as senators made their points.

In her remarks afterward, she stressed her intention to continue in the roll as the Administration's ambassador to Congress on this issue, praising the Democratic senators and saying that "on behalf of the President," she was "looking forward to working with them to come up with a piece of legislation that will respond to the very real needs that Americans have to make sure they're secure in the health care that is given to them and that the quality and choice available to them is what they expect."

She exhibited a touch for salesmanship in describing the health care issues in terms designed to make the case that overhauling the system would benefit people in a way they could clearly understand.

"I think that people know there's a problem," she said. "I mean, people who have been denied health insurance because of a pre-existing condition, who cannot change jobs because if they do, they lose the insurance for their spouse or their child, people who are laid off and lose their benefits, people who are in the 100,000 Americans a month who lose their health insurance, people who have to wait in long lines to immunize their children -- I think Americans know we have a problem."

Speaking to reporters later, White House aides left no doubt that Congress, and the public, will see more of the same in the coming weeks and months. "She has already taken the lead in speaking to members of Congress, and she will continue to take an active role in this process," said one aide. "It's all well and good to work with the committee to fashion a health care plan, but if Congress won't pass it, that won't do much good."

GRAPHIC: Photos: Hillary Rodham Clinton talking to reporters yesterday after a meeting with Senator George J. Mitchell, next to her, and other Democratic leaders about health care. Later, she met with Senate Republican leaders. (pg. A1); Hillary Rodham Clinton speaking yesterday with Senator Bob Dole during individual meetings with leaders from both parties on health care. (Paul Hosefros/The New York Times) (pg. A14)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 5, 1993

2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Newsweek

September 19, 1994 , UNITED STATES EDITION, UNITED STATES
EDITION

SECTION: National Affairs; Pg. 31

LENGTH: 627 words

HEADLINE: Hillary: Humbled, Bitter and 'Shellshocked'

BYLINE: By Eleanor Clift

BODY:

AMID ALL THE RUMORS about an impending White House staff shake-up, there is no mention of what Hillary Rodham Clinton thinks, or whom she wants in which job. During the '92 campaign no one made a move without first running it by the candidate's wife. Ad many of President Clinton's cabinet appointments and top staff jobs bore a clear Hillary stamp. That she has taken herself out of the personnel-and policy loop surprises some White House aides. But it seems she has no intention of reclaiming her role as de facto chief of staff. "She's shellshocked," says a friend, who predicts that Mrs. Clinton will act like much more traditional First lady for the rest of her husband's term.

Hillary's disengagement may be emotionally therapeutic. She has been humbled by the health-care fight and by how easily the historic moment of opportunity disintegrated into a raw partisan battle. "She's a little stung," says an aide. "She wants to take it easy for a while." She was once certain about her ability to judge people, confidantes say, but the experience of the last year has shaken her faith in her own political skills. She doesn't think it was a fair fight, and she is angry and bitter. At this point she is trying not to play the blame game, at least in public. In private, she fumes at everybody.

The surest sign of a chastened Hillary is her willingness to let chief of staff Leon Panetta have a free hand in trying to strengthen her husband's presidency. She thinks that Panetta, a Washington insider, may better understand the alien place. And if a shakeup means straining old friendships or alliances, it is better to let Leon do it than for her to get involved. The president was anxious to get back to work last week, but Hillary had no desire to return to Washington. She headed for Santa Barbara, Calif., where she extended her vacation a few days with old friends, Hollywood producers Harry Thomason and his wife, Linda.

A year ago Hillary wowed lawmakers with her command of health-care reform, but now she's as tired of them as they are of her. She will continue to be "a voice for health-care reform," says an aide. "But what she says will not be targeted to the latest moves of Congress." Like her husband, Hillary has decided that her political recovery depends on escaping from the minefields of the Hill to the safety of broad themes that most people can agree on. As part of that strategy, she is expected to begin speaking out against the violence in American society, particularly violence against children. Her goal is to rally

Newsweek, September 19, 1994

individual, corporate and community support, says an aide, not to engineer legislative solutions.

In dffigy: But Hillary's top priority is to ensure her husband's re-election. She hit the campaign trail last week, appearing with gubernatorial candidate Kathleen Brown in California, a critical state for Clinton in '96. The question is: will she be a liability? Polls show that the First Lady is almost as controversial a figure as her husband, with many voters uneasy over the activist role she chose. Last month in Owensboro, Ky., a smokers' rights group actually burned her in effigy-the mayor called it "an act of hate." But Clinton campaign strategist say Hillary is essential to turning out, Democratic votes, especially among women. In California a million women who voted in '92 stayed home from this year's primary; turn-out was the lowest ever recorded. "Those who love her really love her," says a White House aide. And those who don't won't have the old Hillary to kick around anymore.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: September 19, 1994

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The Washington Post

October 15, 1995, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A01

LENGTH: 1202 words

HEADLINE: First Lady's Softer Focus Follows Drop in Popularity; On Latin Tour, Traditional Role Is Revived

BYLINE: Ann Devroy, Washington Post Staff Writer

DATELINE: SANTIAGO, Chile, Oct. 14

BODY:

She watched children do a native dance and visited their classrooms to see their new computers. She spoke to parents about the importance of family and had tea with a group of prominent women. She addressed a university audience on the importance of education and revealed that her husband had given her a collection of 20 love poems for their 20th anniversary last week.

This is Hillary Rodham Clinton, among the most untraditional of 20th century first ladies, gone publicly traditional this third year of her husband's presidency. Here in Chile in the midst of a five-day Latin American goodwill tour, Clinton could be Barbara Bush or Nancy Reagan or Rosalynn Carter in the framing of a message with all the sharp political edges rubbed smooth and with virtually universal appeal.

While President Clinton, Vice President Gore and much of the Clinton administration is engaged this preelection year in a rough, nasty political battle with Republicans over the size and kind of commitment in people the federal government will make, Hillary Clinton, once on the policy frontlines, is nowhere to be seen.

White House aides describe her as being actively involved, as she always has been, in the political, policy and personnel debates within the White House. She helped enlist political consultant Dick Morris to direct Clinton political strategy and is said by aides to have helped frame the blistering attack on GOP Medicare and Medicaid cutbacks, to cite two examples. But in sharp contrast to her role in the bruising health care debate last year, her involvement now is exercised almost entirely in private.

"She is at the table when any important decision is made," said one senior official, "and she made the decision that she could be more effective if others were the political point men and she kept her head down." The result has been a new public persona that centers around politically safe issues in which she has been involved for decades, such as education and opportunity for women and girls. Her tone now is almost always so noncontroversial and nonspecific that even the most committed Republican would have trouble turning her words into an anti-Hillary theme. The first lady's role in constructing and avidly promoting

The Washington Post, October 15, 1995

the administration's doomed health care proposal and the controversies in which she played a major role -- the Whitewater investigations, her Arkansas trading in commodities futures, the firing of the White House travel office personnel -- made for a rare moment in American presidential politics: Hillary Clinton became a first lady whose public approval lagged behind that of her husband.

Pollsters do not routinely follow the public's opinion of first ladies except in times of high controversy. A president's wife, after all, cannot be replaced on the ticket with someone potentially more popular come reelection time.

But Republican pollster Richard Wirthlin has routinely put Hillary Clinton's name on a list of public officials voters are asked to rate on a "temperature scale" of one to 100, with 100 being the top in warm regard. For most of the Clintons' first two years in office, Hillary Clinton's ratings were in line with her husband's. But as the health care debate went sour last year and Hillary Clinton was portrayed as the architect of a big-government health care reform, her ratings began going south.

Today, Wirthlin's polls show her ratings at 44 percent, eight points behind the president and the lowest they have been at any point in his presidency.

Has the first lady, revered by feminists for her brainy policy expertise and outspoken liberalism, been silenced and re-invented in a more traditional version to protect her husband's reelection chances?

Her aides and political friends put the calculation differently. "I don't think she has been quiet on the issues that are important to her," said Lynn Cutler, the longtime Democratic activist. "I think getting into these political battles is appropriate for the president and his Cabinet but that it is more appropriate for her to stress these longtime commitments."

Since the Democrats lost control of Congress last November and the Clinton administration plunged into a six-month ordeal of self-analysis and repositioning, Hillary Clinton has not so much been hiding out as she has been going about her public life as most first ladies do, campaigning with her husband, speaking to selected groups on broad themes, and this year for the first time, traveling abroad as a goodwill ambassador.

In July, she began writing a newspaper column whose gentle political points are wrapped in a protective layer of domesticity. Later this winter, she will "re-emerge domestically," as one aide put it, with the publication of her book, "It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us." A high-profile book tour on the theme of improving the lot of the world's children, another safe subject, is being planned for December.

The only glimpse of the old high-profile Hillary Clinton appeared last month, during her participation at the United Nations Conference on Women in Beijing, where she delivered a well-received human rights message that was applauded even by Republicans. Her message, that "human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights" was part of her theme during her first foreign foray without the president, to the Far East last spring, and is part of her standard speeches in this trip.

If Hillary Clinton is not widely popular at home, she is treated virtually

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like a folk heroine abroad, particularly by women. One woman in the audience at her university speech on this trip said she had seen Clinton's address at Beijing and "clapped with joy for 20 minutes straight." Her speech here, Theresa Alvarro said, "was just wonderful. She is such an example to women around the world."

Feminists in the United States, who reveled in a powerful, activist first lady and then watched her troubled first two years unfold, see her new low profile as protection against Republicans lying in wait to use her role and views against the president.

Gloria Steinem, in a recent interview in the Progressive, said of the first lady's relative invisibility, "I think it's a tactical decision and I can understand it. There is a truly vicious organized effort against her. . . . But I miss her. She does make women proud."

And it is women who are turning out to be a key element in the president's reelection hopes. Besides being a key link to traditional Democratic constituencies, Hillary Clinton is seen inside the White House and the Clinton campaign as part of the effort to energize female voters who strongly prefer President Clinton to any of his potential Republican challengers in current polls but who stayed home in large numbers during the 1994 elections.

But analysts doubt Hillary Clinton, or any first lady, has anything more than a marginal impact on an election. As Cutler put it in a sentiment endorsed by more neutral analysts, "I think there is no question that Republicans think that by beating up on her, they can damage him. But his policies are the driving factor" in whether he will be reelected.

GRAPHIC: Photo, reuter; Chart, The Washington Post, First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton accepts a pine tree as a gift from two students in Santiago, Chile.
TAKING THE CLINTONS' TEMPERATURE (This chart was not available)

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February 09, 1996, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A01

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HEADLINE: Her Way Versus the Washington Way; Ambition and Suspicion in First Year Are Redounding on Hillary Rodham Clinton

BYLINE: John F. Harris; Ann Devroy, Washington Post Staff Writers

BODY:

Hillary Rodham Clinton came to Washington three years ago steeled for battle. Filled with grand plans for her husband and herself, the new first lady also was steeped in suspicion of the Washington culture -- from Capitol Hill to the news media, to the permanent staff of the White House itself -- she believed was out to thwart them.

She wanted Secret Service officers and a host of other support staff checked for loyalty. She wanted the administration to draft its own detailed plan for revamping health care, dismissing those who said President Clinton should lay down broad principles and leave the specifics to Congress. Later, she argued that the way to confront nascent investigations into the Whitewater and White House travel office affairs was to provide as little information to the media as possible.

Her mind-set, according to several people who watched her in action, divided the world between loyalists and nonloyalists; one former White House aide called it "an us and them mentality writ very, very large."

Today, as the Clintons head into a new battle for reelection, some close to her say the first lady realizes that her particular mix of instincts about Washington -- expansive ambition combined with a defensive operating style -- was highly combustible. But decisions made in that first year continue to carry large consequences.

The fact that investigations into Whitewater and the travel office now are focused on Hillary Clinton herself is arguably due in large measure to the climate of secrecy she imposed on those matters early on. That same mind-set has played a major role in the demise of the image -- if only partly the reality -- of the unabashed shared-power arrangement of the Clintons' first two years.

"Perhaps if we had been wiser in the ways of Washington. . . ." she mused during her recent tour to promote her new book on children during an interview with The Washington Post that touched on the Whitewater controversy. "And I mean this in all respects because obviously much of this is of our own making because we did not understand how this could have a life of its own."

At the start of the 1996 campaign, it remains unclear whether Hillary

HARRIS/
DEVROY 96

Clinton will prove a political asset or liability to her husband. Although most voters knew little about her at the start of the 1992 campaign, when she first came to widespread public attention defending her husband against allegations of womanizing, opinions quickly polarized. From mid-1993 until last year, according to periodic Washington Post-ABC News polling, fewer than 10 percent of Americans surveyed were unsure what their opinion was of Hillary Clinton. Her approval rating hovered fairly consistently around 50 percent.

It is only in the last six weeks, through potentially damaging new Whitewater revelations and a grand jury subpoena, that a significant number of Americans -- 36 percent of those polled nationwide in late January -- once again say they are unsure what to think of the president's wife. In late January, only 28 percent of those polled said they had a favorable impression of her, while 36 percent said they didn't know enough to have an opinion.

Official Role Diminishes

Some two dozen interviews with those familiar with Hillary Clinton's experience in Washington -- including current and former administration officials -- suggest that the power-couple presidency of the early Clinton years, symbolized by her stewardship of health care policy, is emphatically over. But these same sources, most of whom spoke only on the condition they not be identified, say it is wrong to conclude that the "thems" of Hillary Clinton's world have won the battle.

Even as Hillary Clinton's official role has diminished, she continues to exert vast -- sometimes decisive -- influence over administration policy and political strategy. It was Hillary Clinton, sources said, who helped usher Republican consultant Dick Morris onto her husband's political team in early 1995. And she argued in favor of the president's recent veto of a welfare reform bill that many liberals believed too harsh on children.

It is true also that Hillary Clinton has linked herself increasingly over the past year to issues concerning women and children, in a way that is more in keeping with what past first ladies have done. At the same time, a woman who has been a political activist for as long as her husband, as far back as the early 1970s, has scarcely drained her role of policy and ideological substance.

Would Barbara Bush, the first lady's advocates ask, have taken on her husband's opponents in Congress as "reckless" partisans pursuing "unjustified and inexplicable" policies, as Hillary Clinton did in a speech on Medicaid last September? Would Nancy Reagan have gone to Beijing to lead the U.S. delegation to an international summit on the role of women, as Hillary Clinton did that same month?

She is equaled only by Vice President Gore as a top administration adviser, said White House deputy chief of staff Harold Ickes. "She has the ear of the president, and it's important to understand that. They use each other as sounding boards," Ickes said. "She is not reluctant to give her advice, but I want to underscore it is advice. It's not a co-presidency."

She remains the most requested stand-in for Clinton on the '96 campaign trail, said deputy campaign manager Ann Lewis, who complains that the confusion about Hillary Clinton's role is a comment on the prejudices of others. "There's

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a rigid template a first lady has to fit into," Lewis said. "You're either the Dragon Lady or the Happy Homemaker."

She has been given a bum rap, said the president of the United States. "Look, health care is the toughest, meanest issue in the world," Clinton said in an interview last week. The administration made mistakes along the way, he said, "But I don't think these had anything to do with her being involved in it. . . . They were my mistakes and I was responsible for it. So I just think it's wrong to put it on her."

Might Hillary Clinton again take over stewardship of a major policy in a second term? "Absolutely," Clinton said in the interview. "But that'd be up to her."

Then, he modified his answer. "I guess the short answer to your question is I've given no thought to that one way or another," he said. "It hadn't crossed my mind."

Walking in Disguises

The question has crossed Hillary Clinton's mind. After the failure of the administration's health care initiative in 1994, people familiar with her work say, Hillary Clinton went into a season of doubt.

President Clinton once said he enjoys the White House so much that even the bad days are good, but that's not true for her. "For Hillary a bad day is a bad day," one White House aide said, and she had many of them in late 1994 and early 1995.

Sometimes, according to friends, she has felt a powerful need simply to get away from the confines of the White House. Occasionally, Hillary Clinton has donned a baseball cap, dark glasses, and a bulky coat and gone for long walks on the streets of Washington, accompanied only by a small Secret Service crew. Once some tourists, totally unaware of who they were talking to, asked her to snap their photo; Hillary Clinton obliged, and went on her way.

Upset at the rejection of her health care plan by both Congress and the public, uncertain of the reasons why, she agreed with the advice of some of the administration's political advisers that it was no longer wise for her to be wielding authority in a public way.

But the questions linger. Were the turning over to her of health care reform and her open participation in other big issues -- including the budget -- during the first two years in office bad ideas on their own? Or might have the nation's first experiment in giving formal power to a presidential spouse -- as opposed to the behind-the-scenes clout that many first ladies have wielded -- turned out differently if Hillary Clinton had done a better job?

Her detractors argue that one reason that Hillary Clinton didn't get what she bargained for in Washington is that she didn't live up to her end of the bargain. From the earliest days of the Clintons' political partnership in Arkansas, she was the one who was supposed to supply the things that he sometimes lacked. Her style was orderly and disciplined where he was exuberant and occasionally chaotic. Her judgment was reputedly cool and clear eyed, while his could be impulsive.

Yet the history of the first three years shows that many of the most spectacular misjudgments the administration bore her imprimatur. Mistrust of people outside her circle of loyalists was a common theme.

Her reluctance to disclose information in the Whitewater affair, say Republicans, has led to fundamental questions about her and her husband's integrity. Her pressure, according to White House aides, led to the controversial firing of the White House travel office staff. The practicing lawyer of the family, she played a major role in selecting the first two aborted candidates for attorney general, as well as in the appointment of now-resigned White House counsel Bernard Nussbaum.

And it was under her sponsorship that a roster of her former Rose Law Firm colleagues entered the administration, only later to come to grief. White House deputy counsel Vincent Foster committed suicide, former associate attorney general Webster L. Hubbell resigned after admitting to fraudulent billing practices at the firm in Arkansas, and former White House associate counsel William Kennedy III ran into problems after he failed to disclose that he had not paid taxes on his children's nanny.

Former representative Jim Cooper (D-Tenn.) had a close view of the administration's biggest setback, the health care initiative. He believes there is nothing inherently wrong with putting a first lady in charge of a major policy drive, and praises her intellect and compassion. The problem with health care, he concluded, was Hillary Clinton's political instincts along the way: She is a determined liberal at a time when most of the country is not.

After the administration's original plan -- which at the first lady's insistence was drafted at a series of unusual closed-door meetings -- ran into problems, Cooper said he argued in a meeting with the first lady and her health care aides that they needed to make significant compromises with moderate Democrats and Republicans if any reforms were going to pass.

"We were met with a cold shoulder," Cooper said. "There was a stubbornness that was perhaps the result of bad advice."

But one lobbyist who worked on health care reform said there was a built-in problem with putting the first lady in charge, quite apart from what this person called her "outstanding" abilities.

"There is a reluctance to tell the spouse of the president that she has a bad idea, so bad ideas live longer than they would otherwise," the lobbyist said. "You don't get that same reluctance with someone else, even if it's the chief of staff."

Instigating Change

It was a small step in the scheme of things, but it took on large symbolism in the early days of the Clinton administration. The White House announced it was overturning the practice of previous administrations by barring reporters from walking unescorted to the press secretary's office. At the time, the decision, which later was reversed, was widely reported to be the idea of aide George Stephanopoulos, and it became a metaphor for the youthful cockiness of

the new team in Washington.

In fact, several officials and former officials recall, Hillary Clinton instigated the move.

"She didn't exactly order any of it, but she made clear what she thought about reporters roaming around," one former official said, adding that the attitude has its roots in what she thought was invasive press coverage during the 1992 campaign. "She said the press were scum. That they would be standing around trying to read papers upside on people's desks and doing gotcha interviews and just trying to make us all look bad."

Earlier in the administration, Hillary Clinton read a gossip item in Newsweek reporting she had thrown a lamp at the president in a fit of anger. She later publicly and emphatically denied that the incident took place. But at the time, her anger was focused on the possibility that Secret Service agents out to discredit the new first couple had spread the story.

"She freaked," said a Democratic official involved in the campaign and the early part of the administration. "She could not abide the idea of having spies in her own home. She puts just an enormous store in having people around whose loyalty she trusts. Much more than he does. She really does have a feeling that if you are not with us, then you are against."

At that time, Hillary Clinton had yet to appreciate the advantages of openness and the hazards of secrecy in the Washington culture.

David R. Gergen, the Republican White House veteran brought in by Clinton to give a bipartisan flavor to his presidency, says he is convinced the special counsel and congressional Whitewater probes would never have happened had Hillary Clinton allowed a full disclosure of all the documents and records related to those issues.

"I strongly, strongly believe much of this would never have happened" had the Clintons "just disgorged all this stuff," allowed the press to have a few field days and then moved on, he said.

The handling of the Whitewater episode is, to many, a case study of how Hillary Clinton's efforts at damage control increased the damage. When the case took on new life during Clinton's second year in office because of criminal referrals made to the Justice Department, The Washington Post and other news organizations began beating down the White House doors to get answers to a series of perplexing and unanswered questions.

At the instigation of Gergen, he and a group of White House aides came to The Post to ask what it was the newspaper wanted to know. In a lengthy session with Post editors and reporters, White House aide Bruce Lindsey repeatedly made the case that the press would never be satisfied and would use whatever information was provided to hurt the Clintons and then ask for more. But Gergen, using a notebook, wrote down the documents and records sought and said he believed the White House could provide the information.

According to Gergen and others in the administration, when the group returned to the White House and began discussing how much information to supply, a fierce argument followed. One involved who remains in the administration said, "She

said no. The documents are so complicated and incomplete they will raise more questions than they answer, and we will have an unending series of stories. The press will take them and twist it and put it in the worse possible light and it will give our enemies ammunition. No. No."

The White House released nothing. Yet much of what Hillary Clinton fought fiercely to protect from public view two years ago now has been released under coercion, extracted by subpoena and congressional probe in a piece-by-piece manner.

One confidant who spoke to Hillary Clinton in that period said she asked why they didn't put the material out and get it over with. "She said, 'It's embarrassing. It's nothing wrong or illegal. It makes us look unsavory. It makes me look incompetent [as a lawyer].' "

In a recent interview on the Diane Rehm radio show, Hillary Clinton herself recalled that she rejected Gergen's advice, in part out of a belief at the time that whenever she provided answers on the Whitewater affair, all it did was spur a whole new round of questions and demands. But she acknowledged "mistakes in the way we have handled this."

Influence Still Felt

It used to be that Hillary Clinton's attendance at White House meetings was considered a symbol of her power. These days, some see her very absence as a symbol of the same.

"When you are the first lady, there's no meeting you need to go to to get your advice through," said one official.

In fact, Hillary Clinton has largely sworn off showing up at formal White House work sessions. One reason, according to some White House officials, is that she got tired of seeing accounts of what she believed and what she thought reported in news articles and in behind-the-scenes books about the administration.

But her influence is felt in two very specific ways.

The first uses the formal Office of the First Lady, which has a staff of 16, to carry out an agenda of travel and special policy projects that is more extensive than is generally publicized. She has supervised the administration's work on the mysterious illness known as Persian Gulf syndrome, for example, and during travels abroad has encouraged plans in less developed countries for greater investment in small businesses run by women.

The second avenue of influence is the one that numerous of her predecessors have used, the one that no amount of news coverage can touch. At the end of the day, she and her husband talk.

They talk, according to White House officials, about virtually everything. White House and campaign personnel, public policy, the coming campaign.

Tactical politics -- deciding what to say on the campaign trail on any given day, for instance -- is generally not regarded as Hillary Clinton's strong suit. But larger questions of political strategy -- formulating Clinton's broader

message -- is an area where the president covets her views.

Generally, according to one senior administration official, Hillary Clinton argues on behalf of the liberal side of any given question facing the White House. But this basic leaning can be overridden by a practical side. She was appalled by what happened to Democrats in the 1994 election, and under no illusions about what the result suggested for Clinton's reelection. So she encouraged, among other things, her husband's gravitation to political consultant Morris, a move many White House liberals deplored. And while she has been skeptical of Clinton devoting his presidency to deficit reduction, she favored his decision to match the Republicans in proposing a balanced budget in a fixed time period last June.

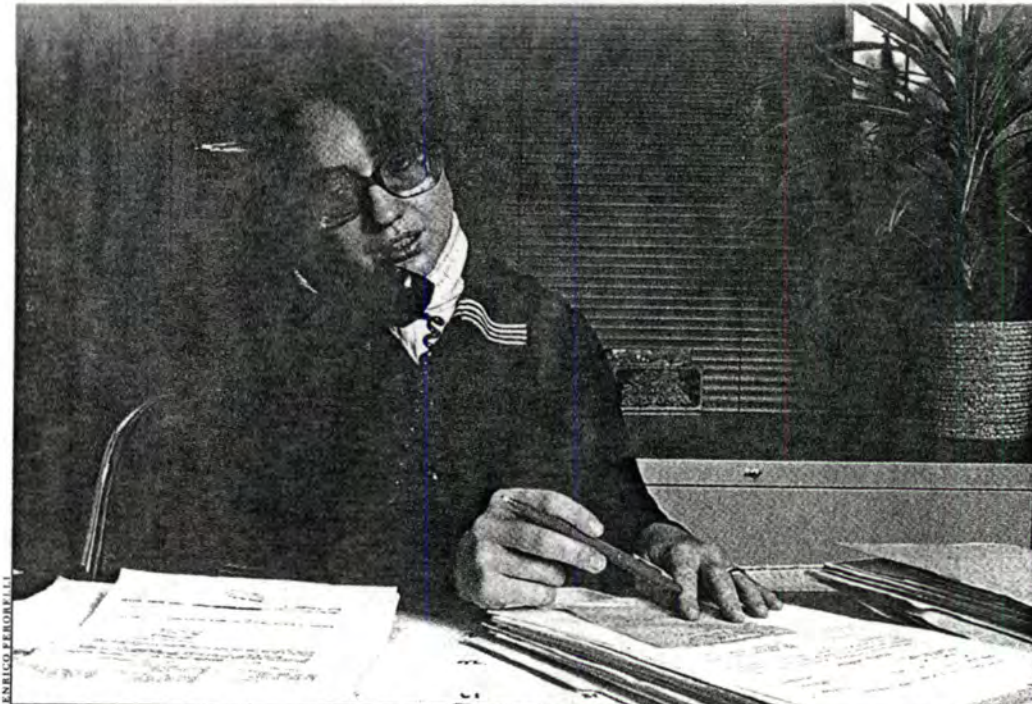
Hillary Clinton's advice doesn't come dressed in frilly lace. "She doesn't bite her tongue," least of all when speaking with her husband, said one senior White House official.

But the bluntness may reflect an intimacy of its own kind. The Clintons are so accustomed to talking about politics, one aide said, "they can go from talking about Chelsea's math homework one moment to welfare policy the next."

GRAPHIC: Photo, john mcdonnell; Photo, susan biddle, It is unclear at this point whether Hillary Rodham Clinton will be an asset or a liability to her husband, the president, in the 1996 elections. Subpoenaed to testify before Whitewater grand jury, Hillary Clinton spoke briefly with reporters before entering courthouse.

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At the bar: Mrs. Clinton, who joined Rose in the '70s, was under pressure to attract coveted clients

WHITEWATER

Hillary's Real Legal Problem

How trying to have it all landed her in deep trouble

BY DANIEL KLAIDMAN

HILLARY CLINTON IS SUCH AN IMPOSING figure, such a self-styled avatar of the modern successful woman, that it is easy to exaggerate her power—or her potential to abuse it. Central to the Whitewater scandal is the image of her as a wheeler-dealer, using her influence and savvy to win favors for her clients. The reality of Hillary Clinton's legal career, however, is more prosaic, as well as more human. A NEWSWEEK investigation of Mrs. Clinton's 15 years at the Rose Law Firm reveals a woman caught between the pressure to make money and her desire to play her many other roles (wife, mother, dogooder and pol). She tried to have it all—and got herself and her firm into trouble by spreading herself too thin.

No one who has worked with or against Mrs. Clinton doubts that she has the ability to be a truly skilled corporate or courtroom lawyer. What she lacked was time. "We're all very proud of Hillary," William Kennedy III, the chief lawyer in the Rose firm, told the American Lawyer in 1992. Tellingly, he added: "And if she had ever quit having two lives and concentrated on her law practice, she would have been a superb lawyer." Her colleagues quietly scoff at the idea that she was one of the top 100 lawyers in the United States, as she was ranked by the National Law Journal in 1991. Some doubt she was one of the top 100 lawyers in Little Rock.

A new report by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. is intriguing. After months of embarrassing news about suddenly discovered billing records and contradictory testimony from her intimates, the report seemed to buttress Mrs. Clinton's claims of innocence. (The White House got another break last week when Democrats at least temporarily curtailed the Senate's Whitewater probe.) The FDIC found no evidence she played a role in any scheme to defraud Madison Guaranty, the savings and loan at the heart of Whitewater. Mrs. Clinton did draft one document that was part of a suspicious real-estate deal called Castle Grande, but the FDIC found that she was unaware of any wrongdoing. Almost in passing, however, the report points out that the document was badly drafted and had to be redone. Mrs. Clinton had either written it in haste or lacked the necessary expertise.

When Mrs. Clinton chose the Rose Law Firm, the most respected in Little Rock, she had little interest in handling real-estate deals. She hoped to practice the specialty she learned at Yale Law School—family law. But custody cases are not big money-makers, and the firm's partners pressed her to get into more lucrative commercial litigation. Because she was the governor's wife and sat on several corporate boards, the firm hoped she would snare big clients. Her partners were disappointed. She did not

want to put in the time courting executives, explained a Rose lawyer. Because of her high profile, she was also an easy target for conflict-of-interest charges. During her husband's 1986 campaign, she was criticized for representing the state public-service commission in a dispute with a power plant. Eventually, she had to be walled off from any state work.

Reversed decision: Mrs. Clinton did bring in a few clients, like the Southern Development Corp., set up by private charities to provide business loans for the poor. But Southern's total billings—between \$100,000 and \$150,000 over six years—were barely enough to pay for Mrs. Clinton's secretary. A perfume manufacturer called Aromatic hired Mrs. Clinton in 1988 to sue another company. She won the case. But in 1994 an appeals court reversed the decision, accusing a Rose lawyer (not Mrs. Clinton) of deceptive actions "beyond the pale of acceptable behavior." One judge even wanted to make Rose pay the other side's attorneys' fees, a harsh and unusual punishment.

In the 1980s, any regional law firm hoping to make money could hardly avoid savings and loans. This was where the deals were. Mrs. Clinton denies she brought in Madison, whose owners, Jim and Susan McDougal, go on trial for fraud this week. But Susan McDougal told author David Maraniss in 1992 that "Hillary came in and was telling us the problem was finances and she was not bringing enough to her law firm. I remember Jim laughing and saying, 'Well, one lawyer's as good as another, we might as well help Hillary.'"

Mrs. Clinton's friends speculate she tried to cover up her association with the McDougals not because she had done anything wrong, but simply because she didn't want to advertise her involvement with an S&L whose failure ultimately cost taxpayers \$60 million. "Jim McDougal may not be Ivan Boesky," said a lawyer who is friendly with the Clintons, "but he's certainly not the kind of client Hillary wanted to brag about at American Bar Association meetings." Or on the presidential campaign trail. In 1988 she ordered the destruction of most of her legal files dealing with Madison, and in the 1992 campaign her billing records disappeared as well, surfacing only after they had been under subpoena for two years. Now, instead of the ABA—or even the national press—her audience is the Whitewater grand jury. ■

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HEADLINE: BAD NEWS, BAD NEWS;

JAMES FALLOWS EXAMINES THE DANGERS OF A CYNICAL PRESS

BYLINE: WALTER ISAACSON

BODY:

JOURNALISM MAKES DEMOCRACY POSSIBLE. It does so by giving citizens the information to make political decisions and the tools to participate in public life, both prerequisites of self-governance. Why then are people so cynical about the press? Because the press has become so cynical about politics, argues James Fallows in his devastatingly reasonable critique *Breaking the News* (Pantheon; 296 pages; \$ 23).

Increasingly, Fallows argues, journalists falsely pride themselves for being detached, indeed condescending, about the political process. Instead of trying to help people find common ground on complex issues--abortion, welfare reform, Medicaid--the media play up conflicts and cross fires in a quest for entertaining, diverting drama. "By choosing to present public life as a contest among scheming political leaders, all of whom the public should view with suspicion, the press helps bring about that very result."

Ouch. He has a point. Part of the problem is that it is easier for journalists to analyze the politics of an issue than the issue itself. When Bill Clinton was planning to restore relations with Vietnam, for example, the New York Times (like other outlets) led its story with the political perils facing a President who had avoided the draft. Fallows cites a series of similar cases: the crime bill's funding for more cops on the beat, the debate over immigration, raising Medicare premiums, ending welfare entitlements.

That's because speculating about political fallout is an endeavor in which reporters can feign expertise, and they can do it with a veneer of impartiality that is harder to maintain when assessing the actual merits of a proposal. "The effect is as flattening and mind-shrinking as if the discussion of every new advance in medicine boiled down to speculation about whether its creator would win the Nobel Prize that year."

Fallows goes a bit far in skewering the press for becoming too querulous about official pronouncements. That habit began with the deceits of Lyndon Johnson about Vietnam and Richard Nixon about Cambodia and Watergate--and for good reason. But he is right that the effort to be tough often degenerates into being merely snarling and snide, with an elitist irony substituting for honest skepticism. Reporters earn their investigative stripes by chasing scandals and catching politicians in flip-flops, which divert attention from truly important

Time, January 22, 1996

policy issues that must be resolved. "The result is an arms race of 'attitude,' in which reporters don't explicitly argue or analyze what they dislike in a political program but instead sound sneering and supercilious about the whole idea of politics."

Fallows is particularly brutal about the corrupting effect of journalists' taking huge fees (which they seek to keep secret) for speaking to corporate and special-interest groups, something most politicians are rightly barred from doing. Cokie Roberts of ABC and her husband Steve of U.S. News & World Report are politely zapped as exemplars of this buckraking game. But they are not the best examples of what is most insidious about the process. Far worse are those journalists whose eagerness to get such lucrative gigs causes them to scramble to get on the type of TV shoutfests that prize glib, contentious opinions and turn reporters into performers.

Sanctimony, of course, is also a journalistic sin, and Fallows could be faulted for that if his own credentials were not so pristine. As an author and magazine writer, his primary patrons have been the two living saints of thoughtful journalism, Charles Peters of the Washington Monthly and William Whitworth of the Atlantic Monthly, and he has done them proud. Although many of his criticisms are not new--they have probably been voiced by every President since George Washington and have been examined in greater depth by such books as Thomas Patterson's sharp 1993 treatise *Out of Order*--Fallows has the standing within the journalistic community to give them fresh force.

--By Walter Isaacson

GRAPHIC: COLOR PHOTO: VICKIE LEWIS, FALLOWS: Avoiding sanctimony [James Fallows]

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HEADLINE: The Cost of Celebrity

BYLINE: Richard Harwood

BODY:

Press critics have some of the characteristics of amateur dove hunters. We tend to be scattershots, making a lot of noise while rarely bagging any game.

James Fallows, author and magazine essayist, may be an exception. He has produced a book about journalism that seems to me well-aimed. It has a long title -- "Breaking the News: How the Media Undermine American Democracy." Its premise is uncomplicated:

"As journalism has become more star-oriented, individual journalists have gained the potential to command power, riches, and prestige that few of their predecessors could have hoped for. Yet this new personal success involves a terrible bargain. The more prominent today's star journalists become, the more they are forced to give up the essence of real journalism, which is the search for information of use to the public. The effects of this trade-off are greatest at the top of the occupational pyramid, which is why the consequences are so destructive. The best-known and best-paid people in journalism now set an example that erodes the quality of the news we receive and threatens journalism's claim on public respect."

The best-known and best-paid people in journalism are, of course, employed by the television networks. They have seven-figure incomes and are as familiar to the American masses as our presidents, professional athletes and entertainers. Their jobs provide them with neither the time nor the opportunity to do the research, reading and reporting required to make sense of the news -- to give it meaning and place it in perspective. And because of the perpetual race for ratings, they are often under pressure to entertain rather than inform.

So the news is often trivialized and sensationalized. The "boring" information important to the public often is not recognized or is sacrificed to commercial imperatives. These practices have had a profound influence on local television and radio broadcasters, as well as on newspapers and news magazines. Many of these have been redesigned to give them a television "look" or "feel," providing news in the form of snappy briefs that presumably emulate sound bites. Beyond that, we are influenced increasingly in our selection of the news by following the agenda set by the networks. It's quite an experience to walk around a newspaper newsroom these days and see half the staff watching CNN or the 6 o'clock news.

The Washington Post, January 08, 1996

Of greater significance, in Fallows's view, is the influence television has had on many of our leading newspaper and magazine journalists -- people of great talent and skill. They are not dumb. They know about the big money associated with television and, because they are human and normally acquisitive, they have found a way to get it. The golden goose is the television talk show, a form of news/entertainment that has grown enormously in the past 15 years or so. There are now dozens of programs -- both local and national -- modeled after such productions as "Meet the Press," "The McLaughlin Group," "Crossfire" and so on.

The producers of these programs want as performers journalists who bring with them a brand-name cachet that you can translate as institutional respectability -- The Washington Post, the Boston Globe, Newsweek, the New York Times, Time magazine, the Los Angeles Times. You won't find reporters or pundits from the Waukegan Sun or the Grand Island, Neb., Independent on these shows.

Although appearance fees are modest (a couple of hundred dollars), there is no shortage of journalists eager to perform on these programs, which to differing degrees combine moments of intelligent commentary with various forms of buffoonery. Whatever the quality of the productions, they give writers a degree of celebrity and opportunities to reap the substantial rewards found on the lecture circuit.

Thousands of colleges, universities, trade associations, lobbying groups, fraternal and civic organizations are eager to enliven their conventions, lecture series, seminars and annual meetings with the presence of a "celebrity" and are willing to pay very well for the service rendered. It is usually a 30- or 40-minute all-purpose speech suitable for any gathering, followed by a half-hour of Q & A. Ted Koppel was getting \$ 50,000 a gig before he quit the circuit. Cokie Roberts pulls down as much as \$ 35,000. Fees of \$ 5,000 to \$ 20,000 are commonplace. A journalist active on the speech circuit can easily earn \$ 100,000 or more each year, in addition to his salary. David Gergen, then of U.S. News & World Report, earned \$ 466,625 in speech fees alone in 1992.

There are costs involved in all this. Journalists who work the talk-show, lecture and book circuits are somewhat like the TV anchors who have little or no time for the hard work of reporting that underlies all good journalism. Their great talents are dissipated by the quest for money. Leonard Downie, executive editor of The Post, has noted this phenomenon: "They [a number of prominent writers] are no longer as good in print as they would have been if they didn't have this distraction and couldn't get all this money for saying the first thing that comes into their heads without having to think hard."

Are these the new role models for journalists? Are they not, as Fallows suggests, degrading themselves and journalism? To be entertaining they often are required to define all political issues and political personalities in terms of conflict, as if public service were the equivalent of mud-wrestling. This contributes significantly, Fallows argues, to the popular cynicism about government and the political process.

Fallows exaggerates, I think, the impact of the talk-show industry, which plays to a relatively small audience. Even the best shows -- "Meet the Press" and the David Brinkley production, for example -- rarely muster more than 2 or 3 percent of TV households. They are households with the demographic characteristics that ordinarily define "sophisticated" consumers, who are well

The Washington Post, January 08, 1996

equipped to deal with the bombast and excesses of talk show performers.

But Fallows raises important issues that ought to be of concern not only to the public but to the managers of the media, who can solve a lot of these problems by restricting the outside activities of their employees. ABC News, The Washington Post and the New York Times are some of the institutions that have taken steps in that direction. But a great deal remains undone.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 08, 1996



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403 4675 fax

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND AT COLLEGE PARK

COLLEGE OF BEHAVIORAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES • CENTER FOR POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND PARTICIPATION

January 30, 1996

Lisa Muscatine
Special Assistant to the President and Speech Writer
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Lisa,

I am really looking forward to seeing you again and appreciate your willingness to come to my class. Please let me know if any scheduling conflicts arise because the students are particularly interested in hearing what you have to say.

The course--Public Policy Making for Journalists--is being taught with Dr. Susan Schwab, Dean of the School of Public Affairs. It will be held on Monday, March 11th at College Park in room 1109 of Van Munching Hall from 1 pm to 2 or 2:30 pm.

By way of background, the course is designed to provide graduate journalism students who staff the Capital News Service (in Washington and Annapolis) with practical knowledge about the public policy process of local, state and national governments. We focus on how policy is developed and implemented in the real world.

The enclosed syllabus will give you an overview of the course. The topic we would like you to concentrate on is the role of the media in public policy. Please try to include specific examples or anecdotes to give students a more concrete understanding of how things really work. The format we would like to follow is for you to take 20 or 25 minutes to share the insights you have gained as a Washington Post reporter and now as an Assistant to the President and Speech Writer. The rest of the time, we would like you to answer any questions the student's may have.

I am also enclosing a parking pass and map of the campus. If you have any questions please call me at 301-405-0388. Thanks again. I will see you on March 11th.

Sincerely,

Susan

405-6429

Mary

Mary Boergers
Senior Fellow

18TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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The New York Times

February 5, 1993, Friday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 1; Column 3; National Desk

LENGTH: 1218 words

HEADLINE: Hillary Clinton Visits Capitol In Vivid Display of Her Clout

BYLINE: By MICHAEL KELLY, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Feb. 4

BODY:

Demonstrating in unmistakable terms her intent to serve as the Administration's chief lobbyist and negotiator on health care, Hillary Rodham Clinton went to Capitol Hill today for closed-door policy discussions with leaders from both parties.

Mrs. Clinton's lobbying trip, extraordinary for a First Lady, was the latest manifestation of her influence. An unpaid volunteer with no official Government job, Mrs. Clinton has nevertheless emerged as the most important White House adviser on domestic issues.

The First Lady met on the second floor of the Capitol with the Senate majority leader, George J. Mitchell of Maine; with 28 more Democratic senators, and with two influential Republican Senators, Bob Dole of Kansas, the minority leader, and John H. Chafee of Rhode Island.

The meetings, by all accounts, broke no new ground on health care. But on a symbolic level they underscored the importance both of health care legislation to the Administration and of Mrs. Clinton within the power structure of Washington.

Behind Velvet Ropes

The clout of Mrs. Clinton was vividly captured in an image that was at once traditional and novel. As the journalists and the cameras waited in their usual fashion behind red velvet ropes and brass stanchions, the door to the Lyndon Johnson Room opened and Senator Mitchell came out, walking up, in the usual fashion, to stand before the battery of microphones and say a few words.

But the person walking at the Senator's side, and joining him at the microphones, and answering reporters' questions as the Administration's leading voice on a leading issue, was the President's wife, not a Cabinet Secretary -- and that is not part of the usual fashion at all.

Her expedition was only part of a daylong blitz of Congress by the Clinton Administration, as officials hustled about the halls and caucus rooms in a sort of traveling policy bazaar, seeking to sell ideas and buy support for the many

28TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1993 The Washington Post
The Washington Post

February 5, 1993, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE B1

LENGTH: 1181 words

HEADLINE: Hillary Clinton Takes The Hill;
First Lady Is All Business In Her Health Care Hat

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Martha Sherrill, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

As she swept by white marble busts of white men, passed under the vaulted ceilings and through the ponderous atmosphere of the U.S. Capitol yesterday, Hillary Rodham Clinton made history. A black purse full of notes slung over her shoulder, followed by a small entourage of White House policy advisers, the First Lady arrived on Capitol Hill not as a ceremonial figurine, but as a working woman with a serious agenda: reforming health care.

And indeed, there she was -- coolly emerging in her black suit from a closed-door meeting in a Senate chamber with all the guys. Sitting at a conference table in the LBJ Room with 25 Democratic senators who offered her, one by one, their humble ideas for fixing health care and their assertions of how much they needed somebody to bring them together. Reporters and photographers outside struggling five-deep for access while one TV camera hit Sen. Thomas Daschle from South Dakota in the back during a meeting. Mrs. Clinton floating up to the bank of microphones next to Sen. George Mitchell and speaking with grace and gravity. Somehow, showing no need to nod and smile like so many First Ladies before her. After the cookies and the headband, the swearing-in coat and ball gown, the flap over her supposed name change, and all the other icons that have preceded her, she looked like she'd found her role.

It was the culmination of a remarkable seven days in the Hillary Clinton story during which she has displayed a versatility unmatched by all but the average working mother. It was a week in which she helped Chelsea with her homework, appeared on the front page of the New York Times bending over the Reagan china in a long black dress like a Martha Stewart cover girl, and yesterday, this: bringing the president's task force on health care reform to Capitol Hill [see related story on Page A10].

"The historic nature of the visit wasn't beyond me," said one White House aide in attendance. "I suppose that Lady Bird might have come up to ask for funding for flowers, but I don't think there's ever been anything like this."

In the past, on rare occasions, First Ladies have traveled to the Hill on business, but none has carried a briefcase so heavy with problems. Rosalynn Carter testified in support of her bill to reform the mental health care system.

2ND STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1994 Newsweek
Newsweek

September 19, 1994 , UNITED STATES EDITION, UNITED STATES
EDITION

SECTION: National Affairs; Pg. 31

LENGTH: 627 words

HEADLINE: Hillary: Humbled, Bitter and 'Shellshocked'

BYLINE: By Eleanor Clift

BODY:

AMID ALL THE RUMORS about an impending White House staff shake-up, there is no mention of what Hillary Rodham Clinton thinks, or whom she wants in which job. During the '92 campaign no one made a move without first running it by the candidate's wife. And many of President Clinton's cabinet appointments and top staff jobs bore a clear Hillary stamp. That she has taken herself out of the personnel-and policy loop surprises some White House aides. But it seems she has no intention of reclaiming her role as de facto chief of staff. "She's shellshocked," says a friend, who predicts that Mrs. Clinton will act like much more traditional First lady for the rest of her husband's term.

Hillary's disengagement may be emotionally therapeutic. She has been humbled by the health-care fight and by how easily the historic moment of opportunity disintegrated into a raw partisan battle. "She's a little stung," says an aide. "She wants to take it easy for a while." She was once certain about her ability to judge people, confidantes say, but the experience of the last year has shaken her faith in her own political skills. She doesn't think it was a fair fight, and she is angry and bitter. At this point she is trying not to play the blame game, at least in public. In private, she fumes at everybody.

The surest sign of a chastened Hillary is her willingness to let chief of staff Leon Panetta have a free hand in trying to strengthen her husband's presidency. She thinks that Panetta, a Washington insider, may better understand the alien place. And if a shakeup means straining old friendships or alliances, it is better to let Leon do it than for her to get involved. The president was anxious to get back to work last week, but Hillary had no desire to return to Washington. She headed for Santa Barbara, Calif., where she extended her vacation a few days with old friends, Hollywood producers Harry Thomason and his wife, Linda.

A year ago Hillary wowed lawmakers with her command of health-care reform, but now she's as tired of them as they are of her. She will continue to be "a voice for health-care reform," says an aide. "But what she says will not be targeted to the latest moves of Congress." Like her husband, Hillary has decided that her political recovery depends on escaping from the minefields of the Hill to the safety of broad themes that most people can agree on. As part of that strategy, she is expected to begin speaking out against the violence in American society, particularly violence against children. Her goal is to rally

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1995 The Washington Post
The Washington Post

October 15, 1995, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A01

LENGTH: 1202 words

HEADLINE: First Lady's Softer Focus Follows Drop in Popularity; On Latin Tour,
Traditional Role Is Revived

BYLINE: Ann Devroy, Washington Post Staff Writer

DATELINE: SANTIAGO, Chile, Oct. 14

BODY:

She watched children do a native dance and visited their classrooms to see their new computers. She spoke to parents about the importance of family and had tea with a group of prominent women. She addressed a university audience on the importance of education and revealed that her husband had given her a collection of 20 love poems for their 20th anniversary last week.

This is Hillary Rodham Clinton, among the most untraditional of 20th century first ladies, gone publicly traditional this third year of her husband's presidency. Here in Chile in the midst of a five-day Latin American goodwill tour, Clinton could be Barbara Bush or Nancy Reagan or Rosalynn Carter in the framing of a message with all the sharp political edges rubbed smooth and with virtually universal appeal.

While President Clinton, Vice President Gore and much of the Clinton administration is engaged this preelection year in a rough, nasty political battle with Republicans over the size and kind of commitment in people the federal government will make, Hillary Clinton, once on the policy frontlines, is nowhere to be seen.

White House aides describe her as being actively involved, as she always has been, in the political, policy and personnel debates within the White House. She helped enlist political consultant Dick Morris to direct Clinton political strategy and is said by aides to have helped frame the blistering attack on GOP Medicare and Medicaid cutbacks, to cite two examples. But in sharp contrast to her role in the bruising health care debate last year, her involvement now is exercised almost entirely in private.

"She is at the table when any important decision is made," said one senior official, "and she made the decision that she could be more effective if others were the political point men and she kept her head down." The result has been a new public persona that centers around politically safe issues in which she has been involved for decades, such as education and opportunity for women and girls. Her tone now is almost always so noncontroversial and nonspecific that even the most committed Republican would have trouble turning her words into an anti-Hillary theme. The first lady's role in constructing and avidly promoting

Clinton will prove a political asset or liability to her husband. Although most voters knew little about her at the start of the 1992 campaign, when she first came to widespread public attention defending her husband against allegations of womanizing, opinions quickly polarized. From mid-1993 until last year, according to periodic Washington Post-ABC News polling, fewer than 10 percent of Americans surveyed were unsure what their opinion was of Hillary Clinton. Her approval rating hovered fairly consistently around 50 percent.

It is only in the last six weeks, through potentially damaging new Whitewater revelations and a grand jury subpoena, that a significant number of Americans -- 36 percent of those polled nationwide in late January -- once again say they are unsure what to think of the president's wife. In late January, only 28 percent of those polled said they had a favorable impression of her, while 36 percent said they didn't know enough to have an opinion.

Official Role Diminishes

Some two dozen interviews with those familiar with Hillary Clinton's experience in Washington -- including current and former administration officials -- suggest that the power-couple presidency of the early Clinton years, symbolized by her stewardship of health care policy, is emphatically over. But these same sources, most of whom spoke only on the condition they not be identified, say it is wrong to conclude that the "thems" of Hillary Clinton's world have won the battle.

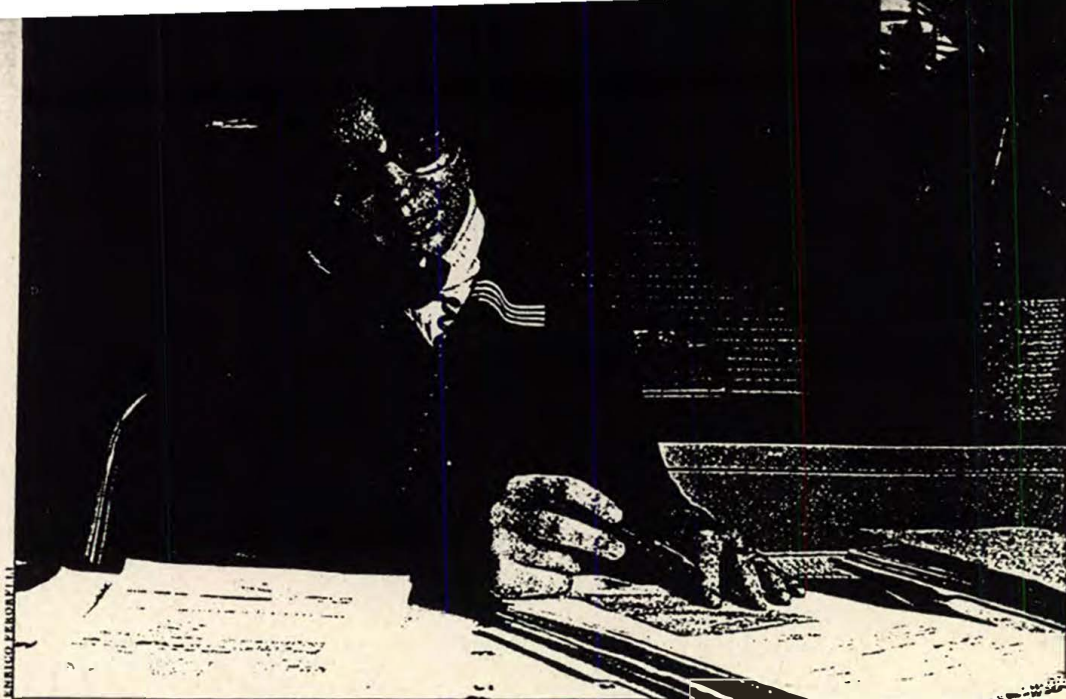
Even as Hillary Clinton's official role has diminished, she continues to exert vast -- sometimes decisive -- influence over administration policy and political strategy. It was Hillary Clinton, sources said, who helped usher Republican consultant Dick Morris onto her husband's political team in early 1995. And she argued in favor of the president's recent veto of a welfare reform bill that many liberals believed too harsh on children.

It is true also that Hillary Clinton has linked herself increasingly over the past year to issues concerning women and children, in a way that is more in keeping with what past first ladies have done. At the same time, a woman who has been a political activist for as long as her husband, as far back as the early 1970s, has scarcely drained her role of policy and ideological substance.

Would Barbara Bush, the first lady's advocates ask, have taken on her husband's opponents in Congress as "reckless" partisans pursuing "unjustified and inexplicable" policies, as Hillary Clinton did in a speech on Medicaid last September? Would Nancy Reagan have gone to Beijing to lead the U.S. delegation to an international summit on the role of women, as Hillary Clinton did that same month?

She is equaled only by Vice President Gore as a top administration adviser, said White House deputy chief of staff Harold Ickes. "She has the ear of the president, and it's important to understand that. They use each other as sounding boards," Ickes said. "She is not reluctant to give her advice, but I want to underscore it is advice. It's not a co-presidency."

She remains the most requested stand-in for Clinton on the '96 campaign trail, said deputy campaign manager Ann Lewis, who complains that the confusion about Hillary Clinton's role is a comment on the prejudices of others. "There's



At the bar: Mrs. Clinton, who joined Rose in the '70s, was under pressure to attract coveted clients

WHITEWATER

Hillary's Real Legal Problem

How trying to have it all landed her in deep trouble

BY DANIEL KLAIDMAN

HILLARY CLINTON IS SUCH AN IMPOSING figure, such a self-styled avatar of the modern successful woman, that it is easy to exaggerate her power—or her potential to abuse it. Central to the Whitewater scandal is the image of her as a wheeler-dealer, using her influence and savvy to win favors for her clients. The reality of Hillary Clinton's legal career, however, is more prosaic, as well as more human. A *NEWSWEEK* investigation of Mrs. Clinton's 15 years at the Rose Law Firm reveals a woman caught between the pressure to make money and her desire to play her many other roles (wife, mother, do-gooder and pol). She tried to have it all—and got herself and her firm into trouble by spreading herself too thin.

No one who has worked with or against Mrs. Clinton doubts that she has the ability to be a truly skilled corporate or courtroom lawyer. What she lacked was time. "We're all very proud of Hillary," William Kennedy III, the chief lawyer in the Rose firm, told the *American Lawyer* in 1992. Tellingly, he added: "And if she had ever quit having two lives and concentrated on her law practice, she would have been a superb lawyer." Her colleagues quietly scoff at the idea that she was one of the top 100 lawyers in the United States, as she was ranked by the *National Law Journal* in 1991. Some doubt she was one of the top 100 lawyers in Little Rock.

A new report by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. is intriguing. After months of embarrassing news about suddenly discovered billing records and contradictory testimony from her intimates, the report seemed to buttress Mrs. Clinton's claims of innocence. (The White House got another break last week when Democrats at least temporarily curtailed the Senate's Whitewater probe.) The FDIC found no evidence she played a role in any scheme to defraud Madison Guaranty, the savings and loan at the heart of Whitewater. Mrs. Clinton did draft one document that was part of a suspicious real-estate deal called Castle Grande, but the FDIC found that she was unaware of any wrongdoing. Almost in passing, however, the report points out that the document was badly drafted and had to be redone. Mrs. Clinton had either written it in haste or lacked the necessary expertise.

When Mrs. Clinton chose the Rose Law Firm, the most respected in Little Rock, she had little interest in handling real-estate deals. She hoped to practice the specialty she learned at Yale Law School—family law. But custody cases are not big money-makers, and the firm's partners pressed her to get into more lucrative commercial litigation. Because she was the governor's wife and sat on several corporate boards, the firm hoped she would snare big clients. Her partners were disappointed. She did not

want to put in the time court executives, explained a Rose lawyer. Because of her high profile, she was also an easy target for conflict-of-interest charges. During her husband's 1988 campaign, she was criticized for representing the state public-service commission in dispute with a power plant. Eventually, she had to be walled off from any state work.

Reversed decision: Mrs. Clinton did bring in a few clients like the Southern Development Corp., set up by private charities to provide business loans for the poor. But Southern's total billings—between \$100,000 and \$150,000 over six years—were barely enough to pay for Mrs. Clinton's secretary. A perfume manufacturer called Aromatique hired Mrs. Clinton in 1988 to sue another company. She won the case. But in 1994 an appeals court reversed the decision, accusing a Rose lawyer (not Mrs. Clinton) of deceptive actions "beyond the pale of acceptable behavior." One judge even wanted to make Rose pay the other side's attorneys' fees, a harsh and unusual punishment.

In the 1980s, any regional law firm hoping to make money could hardly avoid savings and loans. This was where the deals were. Mrs. Clinton denies she brought in Madison, whose owners, Jim and Susan McDougal, go on trial for fraud this week. But Susan McDougal told author David Maraniss in 1992 that "Hillary came in and was telling us the problem was finances and she was not bringing enough to her law firm. I remember Jim laughing and saying, 'Well, one lawyer's as good as another, we might as well help Hillary.'"

Mrs. Clinton's friends speculate she tried to cover up her association with the McDougals not because she had done anything wrong, but simply because she didn't want to advertise her involvement with an S&L whose failure ultimately cost taxpayers \$60 million. "Jim McDougal may not be Ivan Boesky," said a lawyer who is friendly with the Clintons, "but he's certainly not the kind of client Hillary wanted to brag about at American Bar Association meetings." Or on the presidential campaign trail. In 1988 she ordered the destruction of most of her legal files dealing with Madison, and in the 1992 campaign her billing records disappeared as well, surfacing only after they had been under subpoena for two years. Now, instead of the ABA—or even the national press—her audience is the Whitewater grand jury. ■

PUBLIC POLICYMAKING FOR JOURNALISTS

Van Munching Hall

Room 1109

Susan C. Schwab - 405-6429

Mary Boergers - 405-0388

Mondays 1:00-4:00 p.m.

Office Hours: *by appointment***I. Introduction**

Welcome to PUAF 698X: Public Policymaking for Journalists. This course is designed specifically for the College of Journalism students who staff the Capital News Service. The goal is to provide them -- you -- with practical knowledge about the public policy process, local, state and national governments, with particular emphasis on the State of Maryland. We underline *process* to highlight an important difference between this course and conventional courses on public policy, public management, or state and local government. Unlike them, this course focuses on the political, procedural and administrative realities of policy formation and implementation. We think this will prove an exciting and instructive format, and we look forward to working with you.

II. Course Requirements

The final grade will be computed as follows:

Mid-term Exam	20%
Course Project/Paper	30%
Class Participation	20%
Final Exam	<u>30%</u>
	100%

The course project entails doing the research for and writing a 20-24 page *analytical* paper about some specific policy -- local, state, federal or regulatory. It can be a policy which was enacted or failed. However, *how* and *why* that policy evolved and turned out the way it did is the focus of the paper, including the role played by the media. Group projects are acceptable, but in these cases each student must write a separate paper on a distinct aspect of the issue being examined. A brief project proposal is due at the start of class February 26; the paper itself is due at the beginning of class May 6. We will be happy to comment on a working draft if you care to submit one, and we promise to return it within one week.

III. Course Administration

This course was designed as a graduate level course. The readings are targeted toward the first half of the course in order to provide time to work on your paper. Please note that from time to time the class may meet in a different place or at a slightly different time than the normal one. If you have any doubts about a class meeting time or place, be sure to ask at the end of the prior class meeting.

IV. Readings

Klobuchar, *Uncovering the Dome*, Waveland Press, 1986
Smith, *The Power Game: How Washington Works*, Ballantine, 1988
Frese (ed.), *Maryland Manual, 1994-1995*, Maryland State Archives, 1994
Van Horn (ed.), *The State of the States*, C. Q. Press, 1993
Rosenthal, *The Third House: Lobbyists and Lobbying in the States*, C. Q. Press, 1993
Birnbaum and Murray, *Showdown at Gucci Gulch*, Random House, 1987
Selected Readings (handouts)

V. Weekly Topics, Assignments and Guests: *The readings listed below should be completed by the day indicated.*

January 29 Introduction to the Public Policy Making Process
What, Who, How and Why

February 5 Interest Groups, Lobbyists and Lobbying

The Third House, entire book
The Power Game, chapters 7 & 9 (pp. 119-159, 215-269)

Guest: Alan Rifkin, attorney and eminent Maryland Lobbyist - Confirmed

February 12 Power, Politics, Parties, and Processes

The State of the States, chapters 1, 4, 9
Maryland Manual, pp. 837-875 (Constitution)
The Power Game, chapters 1-6 & 18 (pp. 3-118, 656-678)

February 19 Case Study: The Vicissitudes of Building a Sports Stadium

Uncovering the Dome, all.

February 26 The Legislative and Budgetary Processes

The State of the States, Chapter 6

Maryland Manual, pp. 35-55

The Power Game, chapters 10, 13-14 (pp. 270-325, 445-557)

Guest: Allen Schick, SPA - Confirmed

****Research Paper Proposal Due**

March 4 The Chief Executive's Role and Power

The State of the States, chapter 5

Maryland Manual, pp. 23-34, 137-177

The Power Game, chapters 11 & 12 (pp. 331-445)

Rosenthal handout

Guest: William Donald Schaefer, Former Governor of Maryland - Confirmed

March 11 Mid-term Exam

Media and Public Policy - no readings

Lisa Muscatine, Journalist and White House Speech Writer - Confirmed

March 25 The Courts and Intergovernmental Relations

The State of the States, Chapters 2 and 7

The Courts and Social Policy, chapter 3 (handout)

Maryland Manual, pp. 607-664 - You can skip the biographies of sitting judges.

Guest Speaker

- April 1 How Public Sector Managers Influence Policy
- The State of the States*, chapter 8
The Power Game, chapter 8 (pp. 160-214)
- Jacqueline Rogers, SPA - Confirmed
- April 8 The Legislative Process in Federal Government
- Showdown at Gucci Gulch*, entire book
The Power Game, chapter 17 (pp. 639-655)
- April 15 The Making of Foreign Policy
- The Power Game*, chapters 15 & 16 (pp. 558-633)
- Guest: I. M. Destler, SPA - Confirmed
- April 22 Student Presentations
- No Reading Assignment; Work on Paper
- April 29 Student Presentations
- No Reading Assignment; Work on Paper
- May 6 Student Presentations
- No Reading Assignment; Work on Paper
- ** Papers due at beginning of class
- May 15-22 Final Exam Week - Date to be determined

85TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright 1996 The Christian Science Publishing Society
The Christian Science Monitor

January 30, 1996, Tuesday

SECTION: MEDIA; Pg. 1

LENGTH: 1130 words

HEADLINE: After Years of Being Bashed, Media Start to Bash Themselves

BYLINE: Alexandra Marks, Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

DATELINE: NEW YORK

HIGHLIGHT:

ISSUES PRESS JOURNALISTS

BODY:

WHEN then-Vice President Spiro T. Agnew blasted the media elite as "nattering nabobs of negativism," it was dismissed by much of the press as a cheap political shot. At the time, it may have been.

But in the intervening two decades, the American news media have undergone a transformation. The press is slicker and more sensational, cynical, and celebrity-driven than before. Scholars who track it say it also has grown much more opinionated.

Now, with public respect at low level, newspaper readership and network news audiences steadily declining, the media have begun looking in the mirror. And some are horrified by what they see: a reflection of Mr. Agnew's nattering nabobs staring back at them.

"It does seem that others in the professions are waking up to the fact that we've become our own worst enemy," says Howard Kurtz, the media reporter for The Washington Post. "To the extent that people are tuning out from the mainstream media, we bear most of the responsibility."

Mr. Kurtz's new book, "Hot Air: All Talk All the Time" (Times Books) hit the

newsstands last week. Just days before, his colleague James Fallows rattled the media with his latest book, "Breaking the News: How the Media Undermine American Democracy" (Pantheon Books).

Both say the press has given in to sensationalism, to catchy, vacuous sound-bites, and to a seeming obsession with political gamesmanship that doesn't mean much to most Americans.

"What I think is most destructive to the prospects for reasonable government is the instinctive concept that news is squabbling among politicians," says Mr. Fallows, the Washington correspondent of The Atlantic Monthly magazine and a National Public Radio commentator. "It's destructive because the message it gives out is that these guys are all just pro wrestlers trying to get different grappling holds on one another, so what's the point of even being involved in public affairs?"

The Christian Science Monitor, January 30, 1996

For many media critics, these are not new laments. But coming as the 1996 campaign is heating up and from within the media, they are viewed as refreshing.

"It's the mandarins turning against the house," says Syracuse (N.Y.) University professor Tom Patterson, whose book "Out of Order" (Vintage, 1994) outlined the media's fall into a kind of cynical, self-absorbed punditry. For decades, academics like Professor Patterson have raised alarms about the media's transformation into an elite club of political commentators that give the play-by-play of the Washington game while eschewing efforts to regularly explain the more complex issues.

"American public life is in trouble," says Ellen Hume, a reporter-turned-academic at the Annenberg Washington Program, a Washington-based think tank. "And journalists who could help are often doing more harm than good."

That contention and other criticism upsets many journalists. "I've spent my life trying to educate and inform people, trying to make Washington make sense to them," says one prominent reporter who declined to respond on the record.

There are plenty of examples of high-quality journalism. In fact, almost every major media outlet can point to a list of in-depth, informative, and well-balanced stories that grapple with difficult issues.

But there is also a solid body of evidence that indicates overall trends in the media are short-changing public debate.

A 1992 study found that the length of time television news allowed a politician to speak in his or her own words dropped from an average of 43 seconds in 1968 to just nine seconds in 1988.

A new study found that network-news coverage of presidential elections has shrunk by more than one-quarter from 1968 to 1992. Not only was there less news about who wanted to run the country, but the amount of time that politicians were allowed to speak also dropped by almost half. At the same time, reporters were on the air three times as often.

"In 1968, journalists often began and ended their reports with factual information," says Catherine Steele, a professor at Syracuse University and

co-author of the new study. "By 1992, they started off with opinion as often as fact, and they ended with a personal judgment of some kind 90 percent of the time."

That trend has helped create the celebrity journalists on weekend talk-shows. There, journalists debate the news of the week in a jocular fashion that is designed more to entertain than to inform.

"What's rewarded are extreme views and flamboyant personalities that shed very little light on the issues facing the country," says media reporter Kurtz.

Mr. Fallows says that such shows further undermine the press's credibility by making journalists hot items on the lucrative, special-interest lecture circuit. While he acknowledges money doesn't necessarily influence any reporter's work, he says it creates the same appearance of a conflict of interest that tars Washington politicians.

The Christian Science Monitor, January 30, 1996

"But what I find most egregious in a personal way is the pomposity with which people I know spout off for profit on things they don't know about," Fallows says. "The whole rent-a-pundit industry is really corrosive to such authority as the business still has."

Academics have also tracked the blurring of the line between the establishment prestige press and the sensational tabloids.

"First the National Enquirer shows up on the CBS Evening News in the famous Gary Hart photo; now it shows up quoted in The New York Times," says Robert Lichter, co-author of "Good Intentions Make Bad News" (Cowman & Littlefield, 1995).

Ms. Hume attributes the trend, in part, to the new, highly competitive environment. "One response has been to 'go tabloid' in a panic and try to reach for an audience that is leaving by grabbing them," she says. "It's basically 'news as voyeur entertainment' rather than 'news as something that you as a citizen are affected by.'"

Almost all the pundits agree the media have to take a hard look at themselves and make some substantive changes. Fallows compares it to the challenge faced by the United States military 15 years ago when it went through a painful soul-searching in order to regain its sense of values and credibility after the Vietnam War.

Such a process is already under way in local news, where a controversial movement called "civic" or "public" journalism is growing. There, reporters work to encourage civic action. When done well, advocates say, it increases voter turnout and community involvement. Critics are concerned that it prompts journalists to cross the line of objectivity, which could further damage the press's credibility..

"There are of course dangers in doing the news differently," Fallows says. "But my bottom line is that the dangers of keeping on the way we're going are much worse than trying something new."

GRAPHIC: PHOTOS: (PAGE ONE) MEETING THE PRESS: Hillary Rodham Clinton walks past

reporters and photographers as she arrives at a heavily guarded Washington courthouse Jan. 26 to testify before a grand jury on the Whitewater affair., CAMERON CRAIG/REUTERS2) 'What I find most egregious in a personal way is the pomposity with which people I know spout off for profit on things they don't know about. The whole rent-a-pundit industry is really corrosive to such authority as the business still has.' - James Fallows, The Atlantic Monthly magazine, VICKIE LEWIS/FROM 'BREAKING THE NEWS' 3) THE PRESS OF THE PRESS: News media on the campaign trail take aim in New Hampshire. TV newscasts gave candidates 43-second quotes in 1968; by 1988, the average was nine seconds., JIM BOURG/REUTERS

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: January 30, 1996, Tuesday

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March 29, 1993 , UNITED STATES EDITION

SECTION: NATIONAL AFFAIRS; Pg. 20

LENGTH: 1303 words

HEADLINE: Hillary's Hard Sell

BYLINE: BY ELEANOR CLIFT

HIGHLIGHT:

As the broad outlines of the First Lady's health-care plan become clear, her job has become even more complicated

BODY:

One day he was delivering a hypercharged speech on the Senate floor that painted Hillary Rodham Clinton's health task force as a dangerously secretive "shadow government." Three days later GOP Sen. Charles Grassley found himself seated just a few feet away from the enemy -- at her invitation. Grassley joked about being the only Republican aboard as he flew back to Washington in Hillary's government plane after attending a health-care forum in Iowa that she had moderated. An iconoclastic ex-farmer and a conservative, Grassley is an unlikely ally for the Clintons on health care or anything else. A White House aide dismisses him as "a Republican mouthpiece." But the Clintons need GOP support to pass health-care reform. If Hillary cannot win over the Grassleys of the world, the hope is that she can neutralize them so that more moderate Republicans will feel freer to support the president.

Pacifying Republicans is only one of the things Hillary has to worry about. After more than a month of meetings, speeches and visits to Capitol Hill, the broadest outlines of the First Lady's health-care plan are coming into view -- but her new job has become more complicated than even she may have imagined. She is barnstorming the country, building support for the idea of national health-care reform -- while refereeing fights over policy among staffers back in Washington. She is girding the White House for a fierce lobbying battle over the biggest piece of social legislation the country has seen since the New Deal. And she is doing it while the whole world is watching to see if Bill Clinton blew it by giving her that much responsibility.

Hillary Rodham Clinton is the kind of person who can will herself to do almost anything. Yet even she is daunted by the challenge of creating a health-care plan in a hundred days. As the May 3 deadline looms, Hillary is showing signs of stress. Trundling from one meeting to another last week, she confessed to "worrying, worrying, worrying about all this."

Being in charge of 500 policy wonks is Hillary heaven. But hammering out consensus is hell: hundreds of decisions have yet to be made. Some critics are asking what's the rush: why can't the administration take its time to both work out the details and line up legislative support? But Clinton aides believe they

must move fast to pre-empt the interest groups. There have already been so many leaks from the 34 working groups that White House communications aide David Dreyer jokingly opened an umbrella in a meeting last week. The leaks suggest a plan based on two concepts: managed competition, where businesses form large networks to better bargain for coverage, and global budgeting, a Big Brotherish idea that sets ceilings on what can be spent.

Within the White House, there is tension between those who want to move quickly toward universal coverage and those who think cost-cutting should be the primary goal. A long-time social activist, Hillary would like to be in the first camp. But she is a realist. If Bill Clinton fails to curb health-care costs, he will lose the benefits of deficit reduction in his economic plan. For now, says White House insiders, it looks like the deficit hawks are winning. It is likely that universal coverage will be phased in over several years, while cost controls will be slapped on immediately.

Hillary must also listen patiently to all the interest groups clamoring for a seat at the table. To satisfy federal "sunshine" laws, she will hold a public meeting of her task force this month. Most of the big-name groups are making a public show of how much they support reform. The American Medical Association, which for decades has fought government intervention, has adopted the slogan "A time for new partnership." The Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association has joined with consumer advocates to urge speedy universal coverage. But once the plan is announced, and the groups have some specifics to shoot at, the pleasantries will end. "They say they support 95 percent of what we're for," says a Democratic aide. "But how many millions will they spend to defeat the other 5 percent?" Opponents of sin taxes aren't waiting for the fine print. The public-relations firm of Fleishman-Hillard, representing the beer giant Anheuser-Busch, had the idea of recruiting organizers from the Clinton-Gore campaign to rally support against an expected tax on beer. But Hillary can play rough too. The White House is putting out the word that those who sign on will be writing their death warrant in Democratic politics.

Hillary is mounting a campaign of her own to counter the often phony grass-roots opposition ginned up by special-interest groups. The model is her husband's presidential race. Campaign manager Celia Fischer, a disciple of James Carville, Clinton's colorful presidential strategist, is already at work. Fischer placed a sign on her door that reads: NO POLICY WONKS, JUST ORGANIZERS. Plans call for a nationwide push to educate the public about what's in it for them. Videos will promote the plan, and there will be 800-numbers to call for information. The Clintons know that Congress, already on the spot to vote some \$ 300 billion in new revenues under the Clinton economic plan, will not vote for a second round of taxes without significant public pressure. (The Clintons are avoiding naming a price tag, but the minimum is likely to be \$ 30 billion.) Building the army for reform is made easier if Hillary is widely seen as a citizens' advocate, the role she has sought to create as she travels the country.

The interest groups hit by the plan will inevitably charge that reform is a code word for less health care than the middle class is getting under the current system. The right to choose your own doctor could become a rallying cry against a plan that will inevitably restrict choice. The specter of rationing will be invoked. The White House will combat these arguments by creating demons on the other side -- greedy doctors and insurance companies. Clinton's

Newsweek, March 29, 1993

defenders will argue that for a large chunk of the population, there is no doctor choice under the current system, while rationing is already dictated by ability to pay.

Having Hillary Clinton head the health-care task force makes it even more of a lightning rod. And yet she has managed to conduct most of her business beneath the media radar. She glides from meeting to meeting on Capitol Hill, her presence no longer considered worth remarking upon. And with only the perfunctory photo op, she rarely says anything that makes news. Once the plan is introduced, Hillary will let her husband take over as the main salesperson. She'll still be out there, but in a secondary role. "You'll never see a joint address," says an adviser. It will be his health-care plan, for better or worse.

Gearing Up for Battle: Four Key Players and What They Want

DOCTORS

Oppose price controls and rigid global budgets that impose penalties for spending above a set level. What a system that preserves patient choice of physicians and permits a fee-for-service option.

HOSPITALS

Oppose extension of Medicare payment system to everyone. Oppose tinkering with prices or reimbursement without restructuring health care into networks that include both doctors and hospitals.

DRUG COMPANIES

Oppose mandatory price controls but seek an antitrust waiver so companies can come up with voluntary price-increase restraints. Want to see drug coverage as part of the basic package of benefits.

INSURANCE COMPANIES

Oppose plans that would mandate a single regional purchaser of health insurance. Oppose premium caps; in setting premiums, want some allowances for variances such as age and sex.

GRAPHIC: Picture, The First Lady talks about rural health problems while visiting a farm in Iowa, JEFF DAVIS -- AP; Illustrations 1 through 4, no caption, BY DOUG ROSS

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

5TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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September 20, 1993 , UNITED STATES EDITION

SECTION: NATIONAL AFFAIRS; Pg. 37

LENGTH: 549 words

HEADLINE: 'The Second Blooming of Hillary'

BYLINE: ELEANOR CLIFT

BODY:

NOW IT'S HILLARY'S TURN. After months of keeping a low profile, Hillary Rodham Clinton will be all over the airwaves this week selling health-care reform. A top White House official calls it "the second blooming of Hillary," and it will feature the First Lady with her most reassuring bedside manner. Unlike most reform advocates who tend to spout jargon, Hillary's role is to get personal about the plan and make it user-friendly. Polls show that Hillary is a soothing salesperson, especially to senior citizens who remember the devotion she showed in dealing with her father's illness, and then his death, last spring. Her heavy schedule is the electronic version of making house calls. She'll hit all the media's stations of the cross, from the cheery morning anchors to Ross Perot's favorite host, Larry King. "This is her product," says a White House aide.

For the past eight months, Hillary has played the role of The Good Pragmatic. Contrary to the popular image of her as a wild-eyed liberal far to the left of her husband, Hillary was forced to reconcile her social vision with the realities of real politics. What she sacrificed in boldness, aides hope will increase the plan's chance of passage. During the drafting of the plan, Hillary occasionally came up against Ira Magaziner, the head of the president's health-care task force. Magaziner, whom one White House adviser describes as a "huge-package utopian," had grandiose plans that looked good on paper but would never survive in Congress. Hillary made him back off. "This is a very sober plan; it's not the Great Society," says Samuel Popkin, a political-science professor at the University of California, San Diego. Last week, behind closed doors, Hillary faced down critics in her own party over the administration's decision to cap social-welfare programs for the poor and the elderly.

Hillary has star status on Capitol Hill. When she arrives to brief members of Congress, Republicans as well as Democrats crowd themselves into the picture. She dazzles them with her command of health-care arcana, which she mastered in her lawyerlike way to the exclusion of most other policy matters. And unlike her husband, who couldn't swing a single GOP vote for his budget, Hillary is good at charming the opposition. She has courted Republicans for months, even coaxing Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole into saying positive things about health-care reform.

Mostly male world: As the first professional First Lady, Hillary is a bit of an oddity in the mostly male world of Congress. But that has worked to her

advantage. "She reduces people to jelly," says a White House aide, "because there's a contest to see who can suck up the most when she's in the room. It's just weird. I can't imagine it with any other public figure."

Hillary worked closely with Tipper Gore, the vice president's wife, who pushed for mental-health benefits in the plan. (Tipper became a believer when therapists helped the family cope with her son Albert III's near-fatal accident.) After the plan is unveiled next week, the two will join their husbands in a re-enactment of the campaign bus tour that helped launch the Clinton presidency. The hope is that the sequel will play on Capitol Hill as well as on the road.

GRAPHIC: Picture, The First Lady goes public: With Sen. Jay Rockefeller, ROBERT TRIPPETT -- SIPA

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

6TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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October 3, 1994, Monday, Late Edition - Final

SECTION: Section A; Page 12; Column 4; National Desk

LENGTH: 1757 words

HEADLINE: Hillary Clinton Says Administration Was Misunderstood on Health Care

BYLINE: By ADAM CLYMER, Special to The New York Times

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Oct. 2

BODY:

Hillary Rodham Clinton says she is willing to take some of the blame for the death of national health insurance legislation this year, for failing to anticipate the intensity and effectiveness of the opposition and for not realizing that the complexity of the Administration's original plan could work against it.

But the most frustrating failure she acknowledges is not getting the country to understand that the plan that the Clintons offered a year ago was an opening offer, "constructed to be deconstructed." Instead of being a basis for negotiations, she said, "it was described as an ultimatum by our opponents and therefore used to undermine the process of reaching agreement."

In the crucial period shortly after the bill was proposed a year ago, she said, the Administration failed to foresee the problems that negative advertisements would cause and missed a chance to put on advertisements of its own that could have inoculated the public against what she considers falsehoods to come.

With the analytical funeral dirges for health care being sung all over the capital, Mrs. Clinton is plainly concerned that most people blame the Administration for a large part of the failure. They accuse the Administration of inattention and arrogance, of tolerating delay that cost momentum and, most of all, of rigidity.

So, seeking to air her own, quite different conclusion, the leader of the Administration's health care effort discussed it in two interviews with The New York Times last week, arguing that "this battle was lost on paid media and paid direct mail." Sounding vexed rather than depressed, she reviewed the history of the Administration's 21-month effort to provide health insurance for all Americans.

"I just want the right lessons to be learned," she said. "When we keep this going, in whatever form we can finally manage to fight it through, I want the right battles to be fought."

Though she did not say what the Administration might do next, returning to

The New York Times, October 3, 1994

health care was plainly on her mind. Her discussion of past events is inhibited as she bites her tongue and declines to criticize either unreliable allies or particular foes.

For example, though other Administration officials, who refuse to be quoted by name, accuse various Republicans of breaking their promises to help, Mrs. Clinton speaks only generally, saying she was disappointed with them.

"From our perspective, we tried very hard," she said. "There were a number of Republicans in both the House and the Senate who repeatedly told me they wanted to be involved in health care reform.

"They thought there were ways to work out every objection that they had -- to an employer mandate or cost containment. But they were successively discouraged from ever engaging in any substantial discussions that could have led to those changes being made."

She did not even say much about Democrats who let her down, or about the interest groups that promised general support but delivered little more than backing for their particular interests.

As to the future of health care after the midterm elections, she said: "The President will have to do an assessment about what the Congress looks like, how we can better articulate what he's attempting to achieve, what are doable steps in legislation, what can be done through regulatory changes or executive actions. And all of that is being, you know, looked at right now."

While some analyses focused on how the Administration let the budget bill and then the North American Free Trade Agreement delay health care, and others focused on the plan itself as the biggest problem, the First Lady herself saw the weeks after its introduction as the crucial moment when the effort suffered grievously.

Attacks were beginning. "I did not appreciate how sophisticated they would be in conveying messages that were effective politically even though substantively wrong," she said, describing a "demonization of the Health Security Act."

She also acknowledged that she was not "prepared for the amount of resources that were readily available to the opposition," citing estimates that \$120 million to \$300 million was spent against the plan, compared with \$12 million to \$15 million she said was spent for it by the Democratic National Committee.

Most of the Administration's defense was carried in newspapers and on television, though it was sometimes limited when Congressional leaders asked her to stick to general principles rather than specifics. "I think in general the press rebutted a lot of claims," she said, "but if you don't rebut it in the forum in which the message is delivered, it goes unrebutted. So, that means if you don't have a radio campaign and a TV campaign and if you don't even know about the direct mail campaign, the people who are being influenced by that kind of opposition are going to remain influenced."

If the Administration had understood the seriousness of the early attacks, it might have responded, instead of relying on Congressional consideration to change the focus.

The New York Times, October 3, 1994

"If we had understood that," she said, "and we had raised enough money to run a series of ads which could have said something like, you know, 'This health care debate is just heating up. You are going to hear the most outlandish proposals. You are going to hear people say the President wants you to have government doctors and that, you know, the government is going to tell you what operations you can have or not. But, gee, they don't tell you that if you've got Medicare, and Medicare is paid for by a payroll tax.' And you could have done some sort of pre-emptive education that would have laid a better foundation, so that when people got this barrage of misinformation, they could have said 'Wait a minute, doesn't make sense.' "

But what the Administration most wanted to do then was to encourage compromise. "What we attempted to do was to keep talking about the principles while we searched for ways to hammer out legislative compromise that would still guarantee universal coverage," she said.

She insists that the Administration was ready to give way, early or late, on the most intensely disputed parts of the Administration bill presented last October. These included mandatory participation in the insurance-purchasing cooperatives called "alliances," a cap or ceiling on how fast insurance premiums would be allowed to rise and a generous benefits package that was attacked as too costly.

"We knew we would have to move off of mandatory alliances and the forum of the premium cap and the size of the benefit package," she said. "We anticipated doing that."

But she also said: "We never adequately got across to people, and we were then painted as being inflexible or unwilling to negotiate, when that is how we saw the whole process.

"What we were not willing to do is negotiate and get nothing in return, to give up on chunks of a coherent plan."

She said the "people who attacked portions of it without offering an alternative were not really negotiating," especially when they did not offer to vote for a plan if what offended them was removed.

But that willingness to negotiate was certainly not clear to many members of Congress at the time. The 1,342 pages of the bill conveyed the impression that the Administration knew precisely what it wanted.

Nor was it clear with whom anyone was supposed to negotiate. Was it Mrs. Clinton or Ira C. Magaziner, who had run the task force that developed the plan but came across to many members of Congress as remote and too sure of himself? Or was it somebody else on the White House staff? Nor did the situation in Congress, with five committee chairmen claiming jurisdiction, make for clarity.

And while the President and Mrs. Clinton continually spoke of their willingness to compromise, they occasionally slapped down their critics very bluntly. When she did so, that struck many Americans as odd for a First Lady. The White House staff boasted about how it was going to use its campaign skills to sell the country on the plan, and even called its health care communications center a war room. While the Administration talked of compromise, it conveyed a

The New York Times, October 3, 1994

readiness for combat.

The First Lady disputes the view that secrecy clouded the early months of the project. She said the heavy involvement of Democratic Congressional aides and Capitol Hill professionals on legislative drafting made it "the most open legislative process that I'd ever heard about."

She said the failure to provide "some regular contact with the press" was a mistake. It happened, she said, because "everybody involved with health care was basically told not to talk to the press." The reason was "that people did not want articles appearing about the health care legislation when everybody was focused on the budget." Mr. Magaziner recently said the trigger for that fear was a threat by Californians to vote against the budget bill after they heard the health care legislation might include a tax on wine.

Mrs. Clinton said the White House should have figured out "how could we have been more forthcoming with the press so that the press would not have bought into the right-wing attack about the 'secret process.' "

But while it was a conservative group that sued to open up task force deliberations, many newspapers also sought access. The emphasis on secrecy began when the health care task force was set up in the first weeks of the Administration. Congressional aides and others who worked on developing the plan were told not to talk to reporters, and the Administration tried to keep their names secret.

Even though she devoted more than an hour to each of the interviews at the White House, Mrs. Clinton argued that in the long run, post-mortems on health care were a sort of Washington fixation. "I don't think all this conversation about who won or lost in Washington, whether it be the President or me or Republicans or Democrats, really is relevant," she said.

What does matter, she said with a touch of the combativeness that infuriated some members of Congress, like Senator Bob Dole, the Republican leader, and lukewarm Democrats, was the fact that it was the "American people who are going to win or lose." She went on: "When the Congress recesses, every member of Congress is going to have health care benefits. So if they are back in the district and they get in a car accident, they don't have to worry. And that is not true for large numbers of their constituents in every single district in this country."

GRAPHIC: Photo: Hillary Rodham Clinton talked to reporters on Tuesday about the death of the health care bill. She was with Naina Yeltsin, the wife of the Russian President on a tour of the Kennedy Center in Washington. (David Scull/The New York Times)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 3, 1994

MEMORANDUM

TO: Lissa
FR: Becky
RE: Hillary Clinton and health care
DT: 3/7/96

Here are summaries of several articles which focus on Hillary Clinton and health care:

- "Hillary's Hard Sell"--Newsweek, March 29, 1993, by Eleanor Clift

This article describes Hillary's struggle to raise support for the administration's health-care plan.

Clift writes "After more than a month of meetings, speeches and visits to Capitol Hill, the broadest outlines of the First Lady's health-care plan are coming into view--but her new job has become more complicated than even she may have imagined. She is barnstorming the country, building support for the idea of national health-care reform--while refereeing fights over policy among staffers back in Washington. She is girding the White House for a fierce lobbying battle over the biggest piece of social legislation the country has seen since the New Deal. And she is doing it while the whole world is watching to see if Bill Clinton blew it by giving her that much responsibility."

Clift portrays the First Lady as both daunted and stressed by the challenge she faces. Yet, as the leader in charge, Hillary is working in her element, or as Clift calls it, in "Hillary heaven."

- "The Second Blooming of Hillary"--Newsweek, September 20 1993, by Eleanor Clift

In this article, Clift anticipates the reemergence of Hillary Clinton into the media limelight, as the First Lady prepared to set out on a renewed airwaves campaign to sell health-care reform. Clift describes the First Lady as the ultimate pragmatist, forced to reconcile her social vision with the realities of "real politic." Clift refers to Hillary's battles with Ira Magaziner during the drafting of the plan when she made him back off from his "grandiose plans that looked good on paper but would never survive in Congress." The First Lady was also able to succeed in the mostly male world of Congress, using what Clift describes as her lawyerlike manner to dominate debate and convert even the staunchest of opponents.

- "Hillary Clinton Says Administration Was Misunderstood on Health Care"--The New York Times, October 3, 1994, by Adam Clymer

Clymer writes that Hillary Clinton is willing to accept some blame for the failure to pass health-care legislation. Clinton believes that the administration failed to take into consideration the problems that negative advertisements would cause, and missed the chance to put on advertisements of their own. He quotes Mrs. Clinton as saying "We never

adequately got across to people, and we were then painted as being inflexible or unwilling to negotiate, when that is how we saw the whole process." Yet, the First Lady objects to the media's portrayal of health-care reform as a contest in which there exists a winner and a loser. It is, Mrs. Clinton declared, the "American people who are going to win or lose."

- "Her Way Versus the Washington Way; Ambition and Suspicion in First Year Are Redounding on Hillary Rodham Clinton"--The Washington Post, February 9, 1996, by John F. Harris and Ann Devroy

This article portrays the First Lady as being paranoid of any and all political opponents, as dividing the world between "loyalists" and "nonloyalists." The article proposes that it was this mindset of secrecy fostered by Hillary Clinton at the start of the administration which stands as the underlying cause for the present investigations into Whitewater and the travel office.

The article further concludes that it is unsure whether Hillary Clinton enters the 1996 campaign as either a political asset or liability to her husband. Her official role seems to have diminished since the failure of the health-care task force. Yet, the article declares that the First Lady is equaled only by Vice President Gore as a top administration adviser and remains the most requested stand-in for Clinton on the '96 campaign trail.

"But the questions linger. Were the turning over to her of health care reform and her open participation in other big issues--including the budget--during the first two years in office bad ideas on their own? Or might have the nation's first experiment in giving formal power to a presidential spouse--as opposed to the behind-the-scenes clout that many first ladies have wielded--turned out differently if Hillary Clinton had done a better job?"

The article also cites the First Lady as the instigator behind the administration's decision to overturn the practice of previous administrations by barring reporters from walking unescorted to the press secretary's office--another example of her supposed paranoia. "The handling of the Whitewater episode is, to many, a case study of how Hillary Clinton's efforts at damage control increased the damage. . . . The White House released nothing. Yet much of what Hillary Clinton fought fiercely to protect from public view two years ago now has been released under coercion, extracted by subpoena and congressional probe in a piece-by-piece manner."

1ST STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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February 09, 1996, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A01

LENGTH: 3122 words

HEADLINE: Her Way Versus the Washington Way; Ambition and Suspicion in First Year Are Redounding on Hillary Rodham Clinton

BYLINE: John F. Harris; Ann Devroy, Washington Post Staff Writers

BODY:

Hillary Rodham Clinton came to Washington three years ago steeled for battle. Filled with grand plans for her husband and herself, the new first lady also was steeped in suspicion of the Washington culture -- from Capitol Hill to the news media, to the permanent staff of the White House itself -- she believed was out to thwart them.

She wanted Secret Service officers and a host of other support staff checked for loyalty. She wanted the administration to draft its own detailed plan for revamping health care, dismissing those who said President Clinton should lay down broad principles and leave the specifics to Congress. Later, she argued that the way to confront nascent investigations into the Whitewater and White House travel office affairs was to provide as little information to the media as possible.

Her mind-set, according to several people who watched her in action, divided the world between loyalists and nonloyalists; one former White House aide called it "an us and them mentality writ very, very large."

Today, as the Clintons head into a new battle for reelection, some close to her say the first lady realizes that her particular mix of instincts about Washington -- expansive ambition combined with a defensive operating style -- was highly combustible. But decisions made in that first year continue to carry large consequences.

The fact that investigations into Whitewater and the travel office now are focused on Hillary Clinton herself is arguably due in large measure to the climate of secrecy she imposed on those matters early on. That same mind-set has played a major role in the demise of the image -- if only partly the reality -- of the unabashed shared-power arrangement of the Clintons' first two years.

"Perhaps if we had been wiser in the ways of Washington. . . ." she mused during her recent tour to promote her new book on children during an interview with The Washington Post that touched on the Whitewater controversy. "And I mean this in all respects because obviously much of this is of our own making because we did not understand how this could have a life of its own."

At the start of the 1996 campaign, it remains unclear whether Hillary

The Washington Post, February 09, 1996

Clinton will prove a political asset or liability to her husband. Although most voters knew little about her at the start of the 1992 campaign, when she first came to widespread public attention defending her husband against allegations of womanizing, opinions quickly polarized. From mid-1993 until last year, according to periodic Washington Post-ABC News polling, fewer than 10 percent of Americans surveyed were unsure what their opinion was of Hillary Clinton. Her approval rating hovered fairly consistently around 50 percent.

It is only in the last six weeks, through potentially damaging new Whitewater revelations and a grand jury subpoena, that a significant number of Americans -- 36 percent of those polled nationwide in late January -- once again say they are unsure what to think of the president's wife. In late January, only 28 percent of those polled said they had a favorable impression of her, while 36 percent said they didn't know enough to have an opinion.

Official Role Diminishes

Some two dozen interviews with those familiar with Hillary Clinton's experience in Washington -- including current and former administration officials -- suggest that the power-couple presidency of the early Clinton years, symbolized by her stewardship of health care policy, is emphatically over. But these same sources, most of whom spoke only on the condition they not be identified, say it is wrong to conclude that the "thems" of Hillary Clinton's world have won the battle.

Even as Hillary Clinton's official role has diminished, she continues to exert vast -- sometimes decisive -- influence over administration policy and political strategy. It was Hillary Clinton, sources said, who helped usher Republican consultant Dick Morris onto her husband's political team in early 1995. And she argued in favor of the president's recent veto of a welfare reform bill that many liberals believed too harsh on children.

It is true also that Hillary Clinton has linked herself increasingly over the past year to issues concerning women and children, in a way that is more in keeping with what past first ladies have done. At the same time, a woman who has been a political activist for as long as her husband, as far back as the early 1970s, has scarcely drained her role of policy and ideological substance.

Would Barbara Bush, the first lady's advocates ask, have taken on her husband's opponents in Congress as "reckless" partisans pursuing "unjustified and inexplicable" policies, as Hillary Clinton did in a speech on Medicaid last September? Would Nancy Reagan have gone to Beijing to lead the U.S. delegation to an international summit on the role of women, as Hillary Clinton did that same month?

She is equaled only by Vice President Gore as a top administration adviser, said White House deputy chief of staff Harold Ickes. "She has the ear of the president, and it's important to understand that. They use each other as sounding boards," Ickes said. "She is not reluctant to give her advice, but I want to underscore it is advice. It's not a co-presidency."

She remains the most requested stand-in for Clinton on the '96 campaign trail, said deputy campaign manager Ann Lewis, who complains that the confusion about Hillary Clinton's role is a comment on the prejudices of others. "There's

The Washington Post, February 09, 1996

a rigid template a first lady has to fit into," Lewis said. "You're either the Dragon Lady or the Happy Homemaker."

She has been given a bum rap, said the president of the United States. "Look, health care is the toughest, meanest issue in the world," Clinton said in an interview last week. The administration made mistakes along the way, he said, "But I don't think these had anything to do with her being involved in it. . . . They were my mistakes and I was responsible for it. So I just think it's wrong to put it on her."

Might Hillary Clinton again take over stewardship of a major policy in a second term? "Absolutely," Clinton said in the interview. "But that'd be up to her."

Then, he modified his answer. "I guess the short answer to your question is I've given no thought to that one way or another," he said. "It hadn't crossed my mind."

Walking in Disguises

The question has crossed Hillary Clinton's mind. After the failure of the administration's health care initiative in 1994, people familiar with her work say, Hillary Clinton went into a season of doubt.

President Clinton once said he enjoys the White House so much that even the bad days are good, but that's not true for her. "For Hillary a bad day is a bad day," one White House aide said, and she had many of them in late 1994 and early 1995.

Sometimes, according to friends, she has felt a powerful need simply to get away from the confines of the White House. Occasionally, Hillary Clinton has donned a baseball cap, dark glasses, and a bulky coat and gone for long walks on the streets of Washington, accompanied only by a small Secret Service crew. Once some tourists, totally unaware of who they were talking to, asked her to snap their photo; Hillary Clinton obliged, and went on her way.

Upset at the rejection of her health care plan by both Congress and the public, uncertain of the reasons why, she agreed with the advice of some of the administration's political advisers that it was no longer wise for her to be wielding authority in a public way.

But the questions linger. Were the turning over to her of health care reform and her open participation in other big issues -- including the budget -- during the first two years in office bad ideas on their own? Or might have the nation's first experiment in giving formal power to a presidential spouse -- as opposed to the behind-the-scenes clout that many first ladies have wielded -- turned out differently if Hillary Clinton had done a better job?

Her detractors argue that one reason that Hillary Clinton didn't get what she bargained for in Washington is that she didn't live up to her end of the bargain. From the earliest days of the Clintons' political partnership in Arkansas, she was the one who was supposed to supply the things that he sometimes lacked. Her style was orderly and disciplined where he was exuberant and occasionally chaotic. Her judgment was reputedly cool and clear eyed, while his could be impulsive.

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Yet the history of the first three years shows that many of the most spectacular misjudgments the administration bore her imprimatur. Mistrust of people outside her circle of loyalists was a common theme.

Her reluctance to disclose information in the Whitewater affair, say Republicans, has led to fundamental questions about her and her husband's integrity. Her pressure, according to White House aides, led to the controversial firing of the White House travel office staff. The practicing lawyer of the family, she played a major role in selecting the first two aborted candidates for attorney general, as well as in the appointment of now-resigned White House counsel Bernard Nussbaum.

And it was under her sponsorship that a roster of her former Rose Law Firm colleagues entered the administration, only later to come to grief. White House deputy counsel Vincent Foster committed suicide, former associate attorney general Webster L. Hubbell resigned after admitting to fraudulent billing practices at the firm in Arkansas, and former White House associate counsel William Kennedy III ran into problems after he failed to disclose that he had not paid taxes on his children's nanny.

Former representative Jim Cooper (D-Tenn.) had a close view of the administration's biggest setback, the health care initiative. He believes there is nothing inherently wrong with putting a first lady in charge of a major policy drive, and praises her intellect and compassion. The problem with health care, he concluded, was Hillary Clinton's political instincts along the way: She is a determined liberal at a time when most of the country is not.

After the administration's original plan -- which at the first lady's insistence was drafted at a series of unusual closed-door meetings -- ran into problems, Cooper said he argued in a meeting with the first lady and her health care aides that they needed to make significant compromises with moderate Democrats and Republicans if any reforms were going to pass.

"We were met with a cold shoulder," Cooper said. "There was a stubbornness that was perhaps the result of bad advice."

But one lobbyist who worked on health care reform said there was a built-in problem with putting the first lady in charge, quite apart from what this person called her "outstanding" abilities.

"There is a reluctance to tell the spouse of the president that she has a bad idea, so bad ideas live longer than they would otherwise," the lobbyist said. "You don't get that same reluctance with someone else, even if it's the chief of staff."

Instigating Change

It was a small step in the scheme of things, but it took on large symbolism in the early days of the Clinton administration. The White House announced it was overturning the practice of previous administrations by barring reporters from walking unescorted to the press secretary's office. At the time, the decision, which later was reversed, was widely reported to be the idea of aide George Stephanopoulos, and it became a metaphor for the youthful cockiness of

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the new team in Washington.

In fact, several officials and former officials recall, Hillary Clinton instigated the move.

"She didn't exactly order any of it, but she made clear what she thought about reporters roaming around," one former official said, adding that the attitude has its roots in what she thought was invasive press coverage during the 1992 campaign. "She said the press were scum. That they would be standing around trying to read papers upside on people's desks and doing gotcha interviews and just trying to make us all look bad."

Earlier in the administration, Hillary Clinton read a gossip item in Newsweek reporting she had thrown a lamp at the president in a fit of anger. She later publicly and emphatically denied that the incident took place. But at the time, her anger was focused on the possibility that Secret Service agents out to discredit the new first couple had spread the story.

"She freaked," said a Democratic official involved in the campaign and the early part of the administration. "She could not abide the idea of having spies in her own home. She puts just an enormous store in having people around whose loyalty she trusts. Much more than he does. She really does have a feeling that if you are not with us, then you are against."

At that time, Hillary Clinton had yet to appreciate the advantages of openness and the hazards of secrecy in the Washington culture.

David R. Gergen, the Republican White House veteran brought in by Clinton to give a bipartisan flavor to his presidency, says he is convinced the special counsel and congressional Whitewater probes would never have happened had Hillary Clinton allowed a full disclosure of all the documents and records related to those issues.

"I strongly, strongly believe much of this would never have happened" had the Clintons "just disgorged all this stuff," allowed the press to have a few field days and then moved on, he said.

The handling of the Whitewater episode is, to many, a case study of how Hillary Clinton's efforts at damage control increased the damage. When the case took on new life during Clinton's second year in office because of criminal referrals made to the Justice Department, The Washington Post and other news organizations began beating down the White House doors to get answers to a series of perplexing and unanswered questions.

At the instigation of Gergen, he and a group of White House aides came to The Post to ask what it was the newspaper wanted to know. In a lengthy session with Post editors and reporters, White House aide Bruce Lindsey repeatedly made the case that the press would never be satisfied and would use whatever information was provided to hurt the Clintons and then ask for more. But Gergen, using a notebook, wrote down the documents and records sought and said he believed the White House could provide the information.

According to Gergen and others in the administration, when the group returned to the White House and began discussing how much information to supply, a fierce argument followed. One involved who remains in the administration said, "She

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said no. The documents are so complicated and incomplete they will raise more questions than they answer, and we will have an unending series of stories. The press will take them and twist it and put it in the worse possible light and it will give our enemies ammunition. No. No."

The White House released nothing. Yet much of what Hillary Clinton fought fiercely to protect from public view two years ago now has been released under coercion, extracted by subpoena and congressional probe in a piece-by-piece manner.

One confidant who spoke to Hillary Clinton in that period said she asked why they didn't put the material out and get it over with. "She said, 'It's embarrassing. It's nothing wrong or illegal. It makes us look unsavory. It makes me look incompetent [as a lawyer].' "

In a recent interview on the Diane Rehm radio show, Hillary Clinton herself recalled that she rejected Gergen's advice, in part out of a belief at the time that whenever she provided answers on the Whitewater affair, all it did was spur a whole new round of questions and demands. But she acknowledged "mistakes in the way we have handled this."

Influence Still Felt

It used to be that Hillary Clinton's attendance at White House meetings was considered a symbol of her power. These days, some see her very absence as a symbol of the same.

"When you are the first lady, there's no meeting you need to go to to get your advice through," said one official.

In fact, Hillary Clinton has largely sworn off showing up at formal White House work sessions. One reason, according to some White House officials, is that she got tired of seeing accounts of what she believed and what she thought reported in news articles and in behind-the-scenes books about the administration.

But her influence is felt in two very specific ways.

The first uses the formal Office of the First Lady, which has a staff of 16, to carry out an agenda of travel and special policy projects that is more extensive than is generally publicized. She has supervised the administration's work on the mysterious illness known as Persian Gulf syndrome, for example, and during travels abroad has encouraged plans in less developed countries for greater investment in small businesses run by women.

The second avenue of influence is the one that numerous of her predecessors have used, the one that no amount of news coverage can touch. At the end of the day, she and her husband talk.

They talk, according to White House officials, about virtually everything. White House and campaign personnel, public policy, the coming campaign.

Tactical politics -- deciding what to say on the campaign trail on any given day, for instance -- is generally not regarded as Hillary Clinton's strong suit. But larger questions of political strategy -- formulating Clinton's broader

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message -- is an area where the president covets her views.

Generally, according to one senior administration official, Hillary Clinton argues on behalf of the liberal side of any given question facing the White House. But this basic leaning can be overridden by a practical side. She was appalled by what happened to Democrats in the 1994 election, and under no illusions about what the result suggested for Clinton's reelection. So she encouraged, among other things, her husband's gravitation to political consultant Morris, a move many White House liberals deplored. And while she has been skeptical of Clinton devoting his presidency to deficit reduction, she favored his decision to match the Republicans in proposing a balanced budget in a fixed time period last June.

Hillary Clinton's advice doesn't come dressed in frilly lace. "She doesn't bite her tongue," least of all when speaking with her husband, said one senior White House official.

But the bluntness may reflect an intimacy of its own kind. The Clintons are so accustomed to talking about politics, one aide said, "they can go from talking about Chelsea's math homework one moment to welfare policy the next."

GRAPHIC: Photo, john mcdonnell; Photo, susan biddle, It is unclear at this point whether Hillary Rodham Clinton will be an asset or a liability to her husband, the president, in the 1996 elections. Subpoenaed to testify before Whitewater grand jury, Hillary Clinton spoke briefly with reporters before entering courthouse.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: February 09, 1996

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October 15, 1995, Sunday, Final Edition

SECTION: A SECTION; Pg. A01

LENGTH: 1202 words

HEADLINE: First Lady's Softer Focus Follows Drop in Popularity; On Latin Tour, Traditional Role Is Revived

BYLINE: Ann Devroy, Washington Post Staff Writer

DATELINE: SANTIAGO, Chile, Oct. 14

BODY:

She watched children do a native dance and visited their classrooms to see their new computers. She spoke to parents about the importance of family and had tea with a group of prominent women. She addressed a university audience on the importance of education and revealed that her husband had given her a collection of 20 love poems for their 20th anniversary last week.

This is Hillary Rodham Clinton, among the most untraditional of 20th century first ladies, gone publicly traditional this third year of her husband's presidency. Here in Chile in the midst of a five-day Latin American goodwill tour, Clinton could be Barbara Bush or Nancy Reagan or Rosalynn Carter in the framing of a message with all the sharp political edges rubbed smooth and with virtually universal appeal.

While President Clinton, Vice President Gore and much of the Clinton administration is engaged this preelection year in a rough, nasty political battle with Republicans over the size and kind of commitment in people the federal government will make, Hillary Clinton, once on the policy frontlines, is nowhere to be seen.

White House aides describe her as being actively involved, as she always has been, in the political, policy and personnel debates within the White House. She helped enlist political consultant Dick Morris to direct Clinton political strategy and is said by aides to have helped frame the blistering attack on GOP Medicare and Medicaid cutbacks, to cite two examples. But in sharp contrast to her role in the bruising health care debate last year, her involvement now is exercised almost entirely in private.

"She is at the table when any important decision is made," said one senior official, "and she made the decision that she could be more effective if others were the political point men and she kept her head down." The result has been a new public persona that centers around politically safe issues in which she has been involved for decades, such as education and opportunity for women and girls. Her tone now is almost always so noncontroversial and nonspecific that even the most committed Republican would have trouble turning her words into an anti-Hillary theme. The first lady's role in constructing and avidly promoting

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the administration's doomed health care proposal and the controversies in which she played a major role -- the Whitewater investigations, her Arkansas trading in commodities futures, the firing of the White House travel office personnel -- made for a rare moment in American presidential politics: Hillary Clinton became a first lady whose public approval lagged behind that of her husband.

Pollsters do not routinely follow the public's opinion of first ladies except in times of high controversy. A president's wife, after all, cannot be replaced on the ticket with someone potentially more popular come reelection time.

But Republican pollster Richard Wirthlin has routinely put Hillary Clinton's name on a list of public officials voters are asked to rate on a "temperature scale" of one to 100, with 100 being the top in warm regard. For most of the Clintons' first two years in office, Hillary Clinton's ratings were in line with her husband's. But as the health care debate went sour last year and Hillary Clinton was portrayed as the architect of a big-government health care reform, her ratings began going south.

Today, Wirthlin's polls show her ratings at 44 percent, eight points behind the president and the lowest they have been at any point in his presidency.

Has the first lady, revered by feminists for her brainy policy expertise and outspoken liberalism, been silenced and re-invented in a more traditional version to protect her husband's reelection chances?

Her aides and political friends put the calculation differently. "I don't think she has been quiet on the issues that are important to her," said Lynn Cutler, the longtime Democratic activist. "I think getting into these political battles is appropriate for the president and his Cabinet but that it is more appropriate for her to stress these longtime commitments."

Since the Democrats lost control of Congress last November and the Clinton administration plunged into a six-month ordeal of self-analysis and repositioning, Hillary Clinton has not so much been hiding out as she has been going about her public life as most first ladies do, campaigning with her husband, speaking to selected groups on broad themes, and this year for the first time, traveling abroad as a goodwill ambassador.

In July, she began writing a newspaper column whose gentle political points are wrapped in a protective layer of domesticity. Later this winter, she will "re-emerge domestically," as one aide put it, with the publication of her book, "It Takes a Village and Other Lessons Children Teach Us." A high-profile book tour on the theme of improving the lot of the world's children, another safe subject, is being planned for December.

The only glimpse of the old high-profile Hillary Clinton appeared last month, during her participation at the United Nations Conference on Women in Beijing, where she delivered a well-received human rights message that was applauded even by Republicans. Her message, that "human rights are women's rights and women's rights are human rights" was part of her theme during her first foreign foray without the president, to the Far East last spring, and is part of her standard speeches in this trip.

If Hillary Clinton is not widely popular at home, she is treated virtually

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like a folk heroine abroad, particularly by women. One woman in the audience at her university speech on this trip said she had seen Clinton's address at Beijing and "clapped with joy for 20 minutes straight." Her speech here, Theresa Alvarro said, "was just wonderful. She is such an example to women around the world."

Feminists in the United States, who reveled in a powerful, activist first lady and then watched her troubled first two years unfold, see her new low profile as protection against Republicans lying in wait to use her role and views against the president.

Gloria Steinem, in a recent interview in the Progressive, said of the first lady's relative invisibility, "I think it's a tactical decision and I can understand it. There is a truly vicious organized effort against her. . . . But I miss her. She does make women proud."

And it is women who are turning out to be a key element in the president's reelection hopes. Besides being a key link to traditional Democratic constituencies, Hillary Clinton is seen inside the White House and the Clinton campaign as part of the effort to energize female voters who strongly prefer President Clinton to any of his potential Republican challengers in current polls but who stayed home in large numbers during the 1994 elections.

But analysts doubt Hillary Clinton, or any first lady, has anything more than a marginal impact on an election. As Cutler put it in a sentiment endorsed by more neutral analysts, "I think there is no question that Republicans think that by beating up on her, they can damage him. But his policies are the driving factor" in whether he will be reelected.

GRAPHIC: Photo, reuter; Chart, The Washington Post, First lady Hillary Rodham Clinton accepts a pine tree as a gift from two students in Santiago, Chile.
TAKING THE CLINTONS' TEMPERATURE (This chart was not available)

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 15, 1995



UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND AT COLLEGE PARK

COLLEGE OF BEHAVIORAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES • CENTER FOR POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND PARTICIPATION

FAX LETTER

April 8, 1996

Lisa Muscatine
Special Assistant to the President and Speech Writer
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Lisa,

The past few days I have been so sad. I have been numb since learning about the death of Sec. Ron Brown and Chuck Meisner. I had just spoken to both of them at the White House St. Patrick's Day party and once again found that they were such marvelous people. What a loss for the President, the Country and their family and friends.

Tragedies like this certainly underscore just how important it is to live life to the fullest. You just never know how long you have.

On a happier note, I want to thank you for taking the time to come to my public policy class. All of the student's were enthralled with your presentation. They told me that you were as wonderful as I had told them you would be. Knowing how busy you are I am especially grateful that you took the time to share your knowledge and insights with my students.

I am so excited that the First Lady will be speaking at the University's Graduation. Most of my students are graduating and they were also excited to have her here. Hopefully I will be able to get a ticket to here her speech. She is such an inspiring person.

Once again thanks for coming to my class. I hope we have an opportunity to talk again soon.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Mary".

Mary Boergers
Senior Fellow

28TH STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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February 5, 1993, Friday, Final Edition

SECTION: STYLE; PAGE B1

LENGTH: 1181 words

HEADLINE: Hillary Clinton Takes The Hill;
First Lady Is All Business In Her Health Care Hat

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Martha Sherrill, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

As she swept by white marble busts of white men, passed under the vaulted ceilings and through the ponderous atmosphere of the U.S. Capitol yesterday, Hillary Rodham Clinton made history. A black purse full of notes slung over her shoulder, followed by a small entourage of White House policy advisers, the First Lady arrived on Capitol Hill not as a ceremonial figurine, but as a working woman with a serious agenda: reforming health care.

And indeed, there she was -- coolly emerging in her black suit from a closed-door meeting in a Senate chamber with all the guys. Sitting at a conference table in the LBJ Room with 25 Democratic senators who offered her, one by one, their humble ideas for fixing health care and their assertions of how much they needed somebody to bring them together. Reporters and photographers outside struggling five-deep for access while one TV camera hit Sen. Thomas Daschle from South Dakota in the back during a meeting. Mrs. Clinton floating up to the bank of microphones next to Sen. George Mitchell and speaking with grace and gravity. Somehow, showing no need to nod and smile like so many First Ladies before her. After the cookies and the headband, the swearing-in coat and ball gown, the flap over her supposed name change, and all the other icons that have preceded her, she looked like she'd found her role.

It was the culmination of a remarkable seven days in the Hillary Clinton story during which she has displayed a versatility unmatched by all but the average working mother. It was a week in which she helped Chelsea with her homework, appeared on the front page of the New York Times bending over the Reagan china in a long black dress like a Martha Stewart cover girl, and yesterday, this: bringing the president's task force on health care reform to Capitol Hill [see related story on Page A10].

"The historic nature of the visit wasn't beyond me," said one White House aide in attendance. "I suppose that Lady Bird might have come up to ask for funding for flowers, but I don't think there's ever been anything like this."

In the past, on rare occasions, First Ladies have traveled to the Hill on business, but none has carried a briefcase so heavy with problems. Rosalynn Carter testified in support of her bill to reform the mental health care system.

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Eleanor Roosevelt appeared before the House District Committee to point out the sorry state of D.C.'s government -- prompting Chairman Jennings Randolph to observe, "Mrs. Roosevelt, you are the first First Lady of the land to appear before a congressional committee."

Hillary Rodham Clinton comes at a time when the Hill sits in a state of self-reformation -- everybody's in a mood to fix everything from campaign funding to ethics -- and now the most nightmarish mess of all: health care. "Mrs. Clinton obviously had a very strong understanding of this complex issue, and left everybody with a good feeling," said Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-Vt.). "This is the first time in my 19 years here that I think health care reform is going to happen."

Into the microphones, without appearing to take a breath, she launched into what is becoming the prime topic of anxiety in America: "I think that people know there's a problem. I mean, people who have been denied health insurance because of a pre-existing condition, who cannot change jobs because if they do they lose the insurance for their spouse and their child, people who are laid off and lose their benefits, ... the hundred thousand Americans a month who lose their health insurance, people who have to wait in long lines to immunize their children ...

"I think Americans know we have a problem, and it's just going to take a lot of hard work by a lot of us working together to come up with a system that will represent the best solution to the problems that people already know exist out there."

Mitchell has been toiling in health care for 10 years now -- last year he led an informal working group of Democratic senators who discussed the issue at great length -- but a consensus seemed beyond them.

And huge surprise! Consensus-building is supposed to be Clinton's greatest working strength. Was that a sense of hope growing there on the Senate side of the Capitol, suddenly, for a moment, that these vague and mysterious but wondrous talents -- along with her obvious power with the White House -- could move the bureaucratic mountain? "This is part of an ongoing process of consultation, which we hope and expect will culminate in the historic enactment of comprehensive health care reform legislation in this year," Mitchell said after the first meeting. "And I believe that when that happens, a major part of the credit will be due to the effort and the leadership of Mrs. Clinton."

The afternoon on the Hill -- which included a meeting with Republican Sens. Robert Dole and John Chafee -- is "just one of many such visits," said Melanne Verveer, the First Lady's deputy chief of staff and policy adviser, who came with President's Task Force on Health Care Reform members Judy Feder and Ira Magaziner and congressional liaison Chris Jennings.

"This was definitely more than a drop-by," said Lisa Caputo, the First Lady's press secretary. "This is Mrs. Clinton coming to the Hill and saying health care is a problem and health care is a priority for us."

An overview of her past week might lend some insight into the complicated nature of Mrs. Clinton's life -- and frankly, the nature of every working mother's life however grand or modest. She accompanied her husband to Thurgood

The Washington Post, February 5, 1993

Marshall's funeral last Thursday, oversaw the planning of her first official dinner with her social secretary, Ann Stock, on Friday, went to a weekend Cabinet meeting at Camp David on Saturday, attended the funeral of a close law school friend in Philadelphia and hosted a party for 130 guests including the nation's governors and their spouses at the White House on Sunday, helped Chelsea with her homework on Monday, cheered her first soccer game at Sidwell Friends on Wednesday.

She blurs the lines. Mrs. Clinton has begun to break the traditional boundaries of both traditionalists and feminists, and the range of her daily activities -- from laughing about Socks to talking domestic policy -- has confused the country at times, and certainly the media.

She asks to be taken seriously, but there she was -- anyway -- granting her first post-inauguration interview to New York Times food writer Marian Burros -- the conditions of which were that she would answer only questions about her entertaining style. She stood for the photograph, as any First Lady of this century would, in an evening dress, bending over the red china and pink tulips. She talked about vegetables and the new no-smoking policy at the White House.

Cynical media manipulation?

Was a signal being sent?

Was she trying to say DON'T BE AFRAID OF ME, I'M NOT THAT TOUGH?

Explained Lisa Caputo: "Marian just asked for a food story months ago."

Yesterday was another first. Hillary Clinton's first public appearance as a policy maker.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, HILLARY CLINTON AND SEN. GEORGE MITCHELL OUTSIDE THE MAJORITY LEADER'S OFFICES YESTERDAY. LARRY MORRIS

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: October 14, 1993

Master's Students

Four days/wk = Capital News Service

One day =

They come at public policy w/ cynicism + little knowledge

Most of ppl in govt — because want to do good

Policy making process

Media handler

Spinmeister

Don't want to be seen just as one-sided >

If I were a reporter now, how would I

cover Mrs. Clinton



UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND AT COLLEGE PARK

COLLEGE OF BEHAVIORAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCES ♦ THE ACADEMY OF LEADERSHIP

April 20, 1997

Lisa Muscatine
Special Assistant to the President and Speech Writer
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Lisa,

It was great to see you again. You seem to be weathering the long hours and stress of working in the White House (and your twins) very well.

It is exciting to know that you are working with the First Lady. As I tell everyone, she is the reason that I supported the President in 1992. I admire her for the way she has used her intelligence and talents to make a difference in so many areas. I also admire the President's willingness to publicly support her visible leadership role. Previous Presidents hid their wife's influence because they were too concerned about the political fallout.

I was embarrassed after class when I checked my voice mail to find out that you had been trying to reach me. You were wonderful to come despite the crisis at the office. I hope you didn't get fired. I wouldn't want to be responsible for your losing your job!

All of the students commented on how much they learned from your presentation. They appreciated your personal insights gleaned from working at the White House and seeing the effect that the media has on public officials and public policy. I could see them seriously considering what you had to say and weighing their responsibility as future journalists.

Thank you so much for your willingness to share with the students. It meant a great deal to all of us to have you at the class.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Mary", with a long, sweeping underline.

Mary Boergers