

Thanksgiving Day, 1996

Hillary called and we talked for nearly one hour. She at Camp David, Chelsea nearby. Back from Australia, Thailand, so I askedf about those places, she very very high on the, natural beauty moving, interesting history (she'd read Fatal Shores), palace in bangokok, and northern hills of Thgailand.

I complimented her on remarks to girls school there, designed to keep young women from selling themselves into prostitution. She told me some of conversations she had, some motjhers realizing they had to rprotect their daughters, but so many don't. I told her about my foster daughter, Tiarni, and about how HRC had inspired me to take on another, a girl, and how convinced I was that tens of thousands or more young women around the world were going to have a significantly ormarginally better life bec. they had heard and responded to her words. told her about Shirley Wms at Harvard saying so. HRC told me in Manila over 15,000 women filled their largest arena to hear her.

She knows that is important to do, but still frustrated. I told her about all my reading/thinking prior to talking at Harvard last week, and that I'd found no magic bullet. there are simply insolubles: being a pioneer in an anachronistic role. And then we talked extensively about some of the insights I'd stumbled across (she was esp. interested in two: mine, that in our system we've fused -owers of p.m. with majesty of royalty, and much of the symbolic stuff has been downloaded on First lady; AND Ken Walsh's observation that FL's have traditionally6 supplied healing, mourning, empathetic presence - now, role reversal, BC supplies empathy, HRC seen as the harder tougher disciplined one with an edge.)

She has about come to the conclusion that no matter what she does is going to piss off some people, so will just continue to be herself and let everybody else make whatever adjustments they have to. "I'm a proud woman." "I'm not stupid; I know I should do more to suck up to the press, I know it confuses people when I change my hairdos, I know I should pretend not to have any opinions -- but I'm just not going to. I'm used to winning and I intend to win on my own terms." "I know how to compromise, I have compromised, I gave up my name, got contact lenses, but I'm not going to try to pretend to be somebody that I'm not." I'm a complex person and they're just going to have to live with that. Why can't they just relax about it?

(Much of above prompted not only by general conversation but my spercifics that she could save herself a lot of grief by developing friendlier relations, even fake friendly, with press, and not changing her hairdo so much)

I also proposed that she choose just one or two things that really mattered to her, that she could claim as hers when she left office, and concentrate, focus on those. Her response: I don't have any real power to do anything. I can be an advocate, a cheerleader, a nag, an enthusiast, but no real power.

Diane - In that sense, neither does Bill, he has to persuade, advocate.

HRC - It's different, he can make things happen. and anyway, what I really love is policy, inventing policies, seeing them put into practice, making things work.

Diane - Disagree - advocacy a huge power

HRC - but that's not what I enjoy doing, want to do. I'd be happy in a little office somewhere thinking up policies, making things happen, refining them.

Much talk of healthcare reform, and how she got clobbered for it (no admission of guilt), and part of problem was when right wing early on sued her so she couldn't be as active as she wanted to be. We talked about how press now is freaking out when she mentioned she might play "formal" role in welfare reform, and GOP Governors, Engler in particular ("a genuinely mean man") said "the last thing welfare reform needs is Hillary screwing it up."

Note to self: tho she professes indifference to what people think, she is acutely aware of opinion polling on her. On balance, doesn't think she really hurt Bill, that she helped more than hurt. I told her about Burrell polls - how conflicted public is - yes to her having big say in policy, yes to testifying before Cong., but no to sitting in on Cabinet meetings, say in appt's. She says when her polls were really low, Bill's too, and then when his started climbing, her low ones didn't matter, and she does turn on and energize our base.

She thinks press complete hypocrites; say they want the truth, want power to be transparent, but in fact they prefer the backstage manipulation of B. Bush, N. Reagan, B. Truman, R. Carter. It's the honesty of their partnership that's driving them nuts and making her a target. On her death bed, wants to be able to say she was true to herself and is not going to do phoney makeovers to please others.

On trip - she was exhausted, mostly just wanted to relax and read - Bill "relaxes" by touring, shaking hands, meeting new people - when she didn't care to, they speculated she was "brooding, nursing her psychic wounds." Bullshit.

Modern Literature Books, 1996-7

David Guterson, Snow Falling on Cedars

John Berendt, Midnight in the Garden of Good and Evil

Alice Hoffman, Practical Magic

Carol Shields, The Stone Diaries

Gretel Erlich, A Match to the Heart

Harold Bloom, The Western Canon

Myra McLarey, Water from the Well

John Egerton, Southern Food

Nadine Gordimer, None to Accompany Me

Elizabeth Berg, The Pull of the Moon

Albert Camus, The First Man

Don Harington, Butterfly Weed

Kate Phillips, White Rabbit

Geraldine Brooks, Nine Parts of Desire

Horton Foote, The Young Man from Atlanta

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Dudge seriously ?

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**DRUDGE REPORT FINAL**

By Matt Drudge

Mon Jul 28 20:51:38 1997

*Dianna*

*Karen*

**WILLEY'S DECISION**

**\*\*WORLD EXCLUSIVE\*\***

**MUST CREDIT THE DRUDGE REPORT**

Kathleen Willey is looking for a lawyer. According to multiple sources in and out of government who have knowledge of the story, this former low-level White House staffer personally approached President Clinton a few years ago looking for more work and additional responsibilities, feeling underutilized in the Office of the Social Secretary.



The DRUDGE REPORT first noted on July 4 that NEWSWEEK ace investigative reporter Michael Isikoff was hot on the trail of a woman who claims to have been sexually propositioned by the President on federal property. "...Then he fondled me," she is known to have told Isikoff, the DRUDGE REPORT has learned from several sources.

Every attempt was made to reach Willey. Her phone number has recently been disconnected.

Shortly after the incident occurred, the woman, now believed to be Kathleen Willey, left her White House job. Isikoff has held back on the explosive story because the woman has refused to go on the record with her account. Nevertheless, the events surrounding Willey have become the talk of the Washington underground and threaten to undermine President Clinton's defense in the ongoing Paula Jones sexual harassment case.

It is not known if the woman has been in contact with the Jones camp, although one source at the WASHINGTON TIMES -- who has recently become familiar with the story -- suspects that she hasn't.

Others familiar with the situation suggest that Willey has clammed up and is not talking to anyone about what occurred, including Isikoff.

"If she is saying those things... she's lying, Drudge, don't report it," a White House official warned late on Monday.

The Willey story has spread throughout the Executive Mansion that has gone on alert for any and all Willey moves, or press.

One White House staffer strongly denies that a Kathleen Willey has ever been employed at the White House during the Clinton Administration.

Washington waits...

\* \* \* \*

**GAY 90'S**

Early talk around Hollywood has actor Rupert Everett a shoo-in for best supporting actor prizes during next year's award season for his role in SONY's MY BEST FRIEND'S WEDDING. Lip is especially strong for an Oscar win, making Everett the first openly gay actor to win the prize...

\* \* \* \*

**MRS. LIMBAUGH STARTING MAGAZINE**

Rush Limbaugh's wife, Marta, is keeping quiet about her new magazine VENT, reports Liz Doup in Tuesday's MIAMI HERALD. The debut issue of the

December 27 or 28 1998

Hillary called. First time we had spoken post-impeachment. Hardly spoke about "it" at all, except towards end of one hour conversation when she got into and made following observations: she always knew House would impeach, matter of partisan numbers, thinks WH gave process more stature than it deserved by all the high-powered attempts to get moderate GOP to come over. She thinks everything will be fine in the Senate. I told her I had called Ann Lewis, a rare occasion, because I felt WH was being too cocky, mouthy, and might inadvertently piss off Senate with its 100 egotists and powerful institutional patriotism; HRC clearly did not feel that was a threat as much as I did (do - am writing this 1/6/99)

She noted that it is terribly hard for her to play "only" the role she's playing now, ie, First Wife, First Lady - when she very much wants to be the litigator, the legal defender.

She's been having acute back problems, a dislocated sacroiliac, caused or precipitated by wearing high heels. She tried to keep it quiet, but then began all speculation that she was "hiding out", in psychic pain, etc.; really she didn't want people to know her vanity. She looked great in these shoes, wore them, threw out her back, exercised, got better - and then wore the shoes again, and this time the pain was the "worst ever". When "darling" Navy physical therapist came for assistance, after analysis and prescriptions she asked me "Then can I wear high heels again?" His response, "With all due respect Maam, why would you want to."

Other than back pain, which I gather has been excruciating, she sounded very up, almost jolly. Told me how she and Bill and Chelsea had been to church, to Chinese restaurant, to a Shakespeare play, greeted everywhere with wild applause and cheers - this, she said, is what drives their adversaries totally nuts, that they don't bend, do not appear to be suffering. She talked about this at length, how other people (she specifically cited Tony Coehlo) get some grief and give up. Not them. "Most people in this town have no pain threshold". She also said, and this is the second time I've heard her make this observation with respect to the Beltway Punditocracy, "We've rendered them irrelevant."

Most of our talk was the usual books and movies. Her absolute favorite movies were Elizabeth, Shakespeare in Love, Life is Beautiful. She hasn't started Poisonwood Bible yet. Has been reading stuff on Middle East - one by Arafat's mother-in-law, Ramoula Tawil, My Home, My Prison; and Martin Gilbert's latest. Also Troyat's biography of ----Catherine the Great??

One of the nicest parts, she said, of defeating d'Amato was for

what he did to Maggie and Susan Thomasses. But she also gave him credit for recognizing reality and trying to get NY House Repub's not to vote to impeach.

Talked about kids. When I told her about Kat's fragile Achilles tendons she said she'd check with her doctors, and Jan. 3 she called back with what she had learned; so nice of her to think of me and my kids.

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Transition

Personnel involvement

Actual move into WH

Selection of her personal staff

Arrangements re Chelsea

One criticism: spent too little time on organizing WH staf;  
was she consulted re Mac? Reactions?

Detected mood switch?

Questions re HC role; when started reading re predecessors;  
(how many books) when (if ever) did her desired role become clear;  
did she ask for health care? Title? Functions? who consulted and  
what was their advice? When met with, Talked to other First  
ladies?

Lessons from campaign?

Economic summit

Media

Inauguration (Jan. 20)

Most vivid memories in preparation

Meeting with Bushes

When actually viewed WH and reactions

Little girls w. Chelsea

Bus Trip from Virginia

Events at Lincoln memorial

Gala

Feelings re Blair House

Anxieties? Personal? Political? Who giving advice? Who  
gave best? What?

Prayer event

Inaugural itself and parade - what thinking; remember prayers,  
speeches, poem?



Balls - clothes, hair, jewelry

Open house

School friends

Sense of being watched; being listened to; story re throwing lamp etc.

Relations w. residence staff

How different from Mansion?

Jan. 20 - Inauguration

Jan. 22 - Zoe Baird withdraws

Whole process of selecting people; how did Hillary involve herself - certain areas and issues? equality issues? her network? greatest satisfactions and disappointments? concern re her influence being detected? Whole nannygate issue? At one point HC blamed for 2 failed AG nominations bec. of HC insistence on a woman.

Jan 25 - Announce HC health care head (First choice? Domestic Policy Council? Counselor?)

Jan. 26 - Visits PS 115 in NY; lunch with Jackie

Jan. 27 - first meeting of health care task force in OEOB

Jan. 29 - BC orders Pentagon to stop asking military recruits re sexual orientation

According to Vanity Fair, at end of bad week, HC suggests staff get-together, pep rally in East Room.

Jan. 30-31 Camp David retreat (Agenda; story of The Journey)

BC: Watch Super Bowl w. Gov's Richards and Cuomo; according to Van. Fair, HC helps plan for first official WH dinner that evening. and next day interview w. Marian Burros.

Feb. 1 - Chelsea miserable w. allergies; scrambled eggs; ate in kitchen; BC pumped from meeting w. governors. HC told me wished she hadn't taken health care - why?

Why all the meetings w. experts; could be held in private? HC battles to get health care included in econ plan; would have been

better??

Feb 3 and 4 - health care work all day  
(My meeting w. Mike Berman - he said never again let BC/HC do live together; makes him look soft & weak - her like his mother. She strongly enhances him; not sure what he does for her. He says word on the street is Mack will be gone by July.)  
Then went to Bat Cave - Jas., Paul, Mandy - all wildly concerned re lack of focus; transition terrible; where was econ plan? Why no AG? Why emphasis on Gays. Jas says can feel difference walking thru Atlanta airport; Mandy - sabotaging leaks. Want me to get BC to use more power language; be tough.) I relay all this to HC after dinner; she's well aware; doesn't know how to fix.

Dinner that night. w. Billy Graham, the Hornes, etc.

Feb. 7 - HC and Ira argue for medical price freeze (Agenda)

Health care

Feb. 14 - Valentine dner at Red Sage

Feb. 15 - BC gives first televised address from Oval office; pretty well panned.

Feb. 16 - Janet Reno named;

Feb. (18?)19 - "State of Union" - HC, Harry, Susan etc. worked all day; not in teleprompter; HC looking fabulous in red dress gets huge tribute; afterwards, staff celebrating in solarium; HC doing homework w Chelsea, Avenger Woman.

Feb. 21 or 22 - HC to NY for Eleanor Roosevelt fund-raiser

Feb. 23 - Reading papers w. HC; sick re children casual violence. BC bitching re slowness of FBI checks. At dinner, HC to BC at length on complexities of health care - thinks managed competition a crock; single-payer necessary; maybe add to Medicare. Candid assessment of assorted MC's all of whom, HC predicts, will arise to KILL them on this. BC tenderly hugging and thanking HC for sucking up to all thos ego's and taking all this shit. HC enjoyed the Women's Caucus meeting - get her views of women Congressmen?? HC tells BC there will be NO resolution in Bosnia (he's hopeful); Nunn should be unmasked as fraud; pharmac. co's behind Rubin, Altaman, etc. She's signalling him what a mess health care is, but also, sweetly, "Don't worry".

Constant out on the road health care forums

Van. Fair says on one day she has only one official item, meeting with women Senators re health care - but has 16 other meetings.

March 4 - HC really baffled, angered by DC attitude and ways. helped her arrange some of her things. Dinner at Nora w. Georgetown roommates.

March 7 - After visiting w. Webb and Vernon, come to play golf, HC and I take long walk on Mall, kite-flying, discuss old beau's, her Mom, etc.

March 8 - visit from Nixon (press says didn't meet)

March 9 - HC absolutely exhausted after another day on Hill. She's working hard on getting Byrd to let them put health care into budget reconciliation. Assessment of MC's - JNay Rockefeller; Dingell; Rosty.

March 10 - Federal Judge Royce Lamberth ruled HRC should be considered an "outsider" working for the govt.

March 11 - Another exhausting day on hill, dealing with Senate Republicans; HC endlessly patient, sees max of 3 or 4 votes there. Lunched w. LDF of NACP headed by first black woman grad of UVA law. Showed HC the "muffin" we get for breakfast.

March 12 - another day on hill; HC coiffed but looks beat. Press anger re ethics rules interfering with their big dinner and the embarrassment of disinviting their sources; confusion re HRC "provoking a constl. crisis." She acknowledged having been a bit hard on Bernie Nussbaum's asst: Don't give me hypotheticals? To Vince: Was I too hard? Vince: they don't know you as well as I do.

March 16 - tea for 10 First Ladies from Western Hemisphere

March 19 - morning "do" for Dem. Congressmen; visit with David Price - party unity appeals working thus far, but big flaw is trying to work with Personnel people at WH. HC hosting lunch for 25 campaign and WH staff when HC summoned to LR for Hugh's stroke. BC that night and next night, really on theme of being spied on, taped, watched, imprisoned. BC told me last 2,3 months hideously stressful, and has really never had a break since campaign. Said when he named W. Christopher to state, screwed up the transition. Said that HC also under great stress, and that he hadn't had time to really take care of her, be good to each other, except to acknowledge mutual stress.

April 4 - HC back, looking awful, must decide tomorrow re life support, nursing home, etc., all complicated by watching press. She resenting Liz Carpenter holding her to speech to 14,000 U. of Tex. students. Asked me re topic; I recommended values, family,

since all that been dropped from BC message.; later called me down to her bedroom - Hugh had died.

April 8 - fly back for funeral; seemed calm, repose

Easter Sunday at Camp David; then WH Easter Egg Roll

April 14 - Carville calls me; name one thing BC has done yet that Dukakis wouldn't have done; Volvo set.

April 19 - 86 Branch Davidians die

April 23 - HC feting 1800 WH volunteers.

Great discussions on use of makeup - how done, who pays, expense etc.

HC adamant; BC must devise new outside strategy; we're getting killed. Congress a bunch of whiners; no courage. Her health care plan will save billions in long run but will cost big \$ up front. don't work; only 3 days a week; only care for re-election. After 90 days Cong. has passed 7 n-brainer bills. BC clearly not ver y happy w. his own crew and advisers. HC urging hard ball.

HC now has 150,000 unanswered ltrs - says makes her "itch".

At Dave, HC cheered when asked what did he do in his former life: found jobs for people.

Over weekend, HC speaking to Dem. Senators at their retreat in Jamestown; lso to American Newspaper Publishers??? or just BC

April 24 - Chat w. Janet Reno; she concerned that HC resenting her "celebrity" status; Janet wants to connect w. HC; not communicate thru Carol Rasco. Finds HC a "mask"

April 29 - family bkfst; BC meeting w. generals; HC very much against any intervention - had been killing each other for 900 yrs.

May 1 - U. of Mich. commencement address

May 5 - HC & BC being photographed by Husef Karsh; white suit; he obviously taken with her - same lens as used on Eleanor. She asked about Gorb., DeGaulle; Martha Graham; Fr. Lloyd Wright; Pope John; Thatcher. In between HC calling MC's to lobby re health care. BC up for joint picture 0 "fuming" on her hair spray. Presented First Medal of Honor to Fulbright. Trying not to look at HC as Ann Moffo murdered the music. Bosnia on everyone's minds. Papers trouncing BC for admin. disarray, loss of New Democrat image, etc. while all press kvelling over HC.

May 8 - Mother's Day; Barnes exhibit

May 11 etc. - Amy around, typical, get friends

I gave Vince writings of Lani Guinier; he had not seen. Had HRC?

Met Queen Noor?

Saw Thunderbirds?

Harry auditing Transp. Office

Jim and I gave BC messages al la HC's instructions: stop ruminating aloud re Bosnia; HC exasperated by super=slow decision-making in West Wing but can't keep nagging and pushing Bill.

Also, HC growing concerned about all the Hollywood visitors, high profile encounters, Whoopi etc.

May 18 - Christophe haircut in CA

May 19 - WH fires travel staff

Tensions between BC and HC

Saint Hillary piece in NYT - I'm worried about how they'll tell her down if ever hear her swearing, discover she's strayed. She says not to worry; needs all that aura for health care.

HC says press furious about travel office is bec. it was their turf and their percs. She thought it was going to be "a bird on the ground."

HC says press has big ego's and no brains and they're just going to have to work them better; that her staff has figured it out and would be glad to teach BC's staff (but still tension between them) Will not, however, sacrifice her Maggie.

May 20 - Debate on health care plan Nichols/Gawande - all the immediate leaks to press

May 22 or 23 - HC, on treadmill, how furious she is; worked over weekend making some hard choices about how to shape up WH org.; worked through it all; felt good; now BC backing off those decisions. Almost desperate nuf to bring in Betsey, or Susan, but can't, and wishes Harold had clean bill of health.

Visit to Sharon Rockefeller's and lengthy discussion of superficiality of DC scene; most US Senators diseased from egomania; HC longing for Ark. Leg. Sharon: they have another life. HC dumfounded by people who look her in eye and lie to her.

Ann came to help w. mail; she's in despair over inadequacy of staff; need so many more.

Molly Shanley visiting; brought stuff from Valkill

Apparently there has been some reorg. of staff by this time and HC feeling upbeat and optimistic about it; yes, Gergen in, George

moved.

Still endless press about Saint Hillary piece by Michael Kelley

may 27 - House approves econ. package

May 28 - HC meets w. Gergen

May 29 - BC names Gergen as Counselor

June 14 - BC names Ginsburg to SC  
(Blows up at Britt Hume)

HC begins health care meeting by stressing secrecy; by next morning it was on front page of NYT, then Wall St. Jrnl - now all meeting scancelled except for her, HC, Ira and Bill.

June 25 - Senate passes BC deficit reduction bill

Trip to Japan

July 20 - Vince found dead; HC in Hawaii? We talked from Taho. I came. Got in late 7/26 - she sleeping; talked on 27th she and BC very much on edge. Pure pain.

July 28? - HC still having hard time functioning; We played tennis, swam, discussed Vince, his family, her mother. Questions being raised about handling.

HC saying it's time to stop complaining about DC and its insane process and just figure out how to make the crappy thing work.

Also during these days, mad that while she was gone, others tried to slip NAFTA in front of health care. she's bone tired. Why were we only 2 who didn't like Bridges of madison County?

HC still in despair that nobody in WH tough and mean enough.

July 29 - dinner w. Senators Lieberman, Kohl, Ron Dellums, lobbying for Senate bill.

Aug. 5 - House approves BC's tax bill

Aug. 6 - Senate passes budget plan 51-50

Trip to Japan

Vacatio - Colo, Ark, Martha's Vineyard

September 13 - Signing of Mideast peace accord

Sept. 22 - health care reform pkg. presented

Sept. 25 - HC on great Congressmen: Ted Kennedy, effective & caring; Jay Rock. (working to keep Perot shut up) Tom Daschel; David Pryor. Loathe Ray Thornton. HC loves having them on record, on feet cheering universal coverage. She'll be testifying 5 times.

Sept. 26 - HC getting makeup done while we chat. She wants to stay home and cram for her appearances, but BC wants her in NY for his first speech before the UN, so she's going. Gets home that night and must go to parent-teacher meeting at Friends (B upset that he won't get back in time). She helps me get ready for my testimony (choosing what to wear). She's begun to see that they don't really care about the issues but want to feel they're part of the process. so she's slobbering over their "craft" as she testifies.

Sept. 28 - Wishing her luck as getting hair and eyes done; BC comes in to kibbitz with new hairdresser, Sylvan, who tells his health care story to BC at her request. Says "one thing no one can fully guard against are health and love. B said that would be his next big initiative; insuring against the effects of destructive love.

Oct 2 - HC on Larry King Live - she glowed - a triumph. Thinking her next big pursuit will be violence. I mentioned Colin Powell. She mentioned how rude Marilyn Quayle at CP's retirement ceremony.

Birthday party!!!

Nov. 9 - US District Judge Lamberth says must turn over info requested re hlt care task force members

Nov. 17 - NAFA passes House

Nov. 20 - Brady Bill passes Senate

Dec. 3 - discuss books, movies, packwood (HC tired of all those whiney women, and she needs him on health care). I told her I'd been bonding w. creeps; she said that was the story of her whole past year. Fabio incident - sweeping her up, sending roses. Call from BC on road; very very affectionate

Perfect is the Enemy of Good.

Dec. 5 - visit in Dip Room w. Anna Perl, Scindler's list survivor. HC had remembered red dress from book we read long ago.

later, trying on all her holiday dresses - viewed old ones, yuk! Tried on old inaug. gown. Tried to walk, but had to stay under portico's. Volunteers putting up decorations. HC talked about Vince. Shame he wasn't there to see some of the triumphs. She's furious at Roger, postponing wedding!

Made Christmas cookies in kitchen.

Dec. 19 - State troopers

Christmas in White House

Visit here for Razorback game; morning in nightgowns, discussing books, Gore, teaching whole language.

Renaissance

1994

Jan. 6 - Virginia dies

jan. 9 - Russia?

Jan. 12 - BC agrees to appt. of special counsel

Jan. 22 - Camp David; BC on C-span; work on State of Union; she reviews, takes out, he puts back in.

Candid venting - HC furious at speechwriters, at mack, DEe Dee, Gergen, Bill. (But fixing him tea so he can talk.)

Feb. 9 - Salute to women in Clinton Admin. *Olympics*

March 7 - HC wants me to start oral history, because she sees the way this thing is going down. WH people just not good enough. Peter Principle. have exceeded their capacity. Mack, Deedee. At least in campaign Betsey and I fought back against sleaze; kept bad things from happening.

March 4 - Interview w. Elle; wellorganized well financed campaign to undermine BC and HC

March 5 - Bernie resigns

Mid-March - Webb resigns

March 22? - Chris Emery fired

april 2 - Talked from San Diego. Is trying to work through her anger so she can talk calmly to press. Told her about Tom Patterson's book (why didn't anybody tell her about it). Going to Charlotte, then Easter Egg roll, then week of health care forums. Why everybody so anxious to destroy them????

april 22 - Whitewater Press Conference

April/May - South Africa

May 11 - convers. w. both re Richard Arnold; in press, HC described



as coming home to lobby for Richard.

May 15 - HC enthralled by S. Afr. investiture; discussed characters there like Arafat, Aristide, how charismati Winnie is.

May 17 - after meeting w. Breyers, dinner w. Mary and Ted; morning after, HC furious at BC ruining himself and the Presy. She keeps trying to shape things up, knows what's wrong, but he can't fire people, exert discipline, punish leakers - throws tantrums, but when she does nothing lowers their respect. Now so desperate offered to loan them Maggie, but BC mad - now you do it. Never had strategy for Whitewater, troopers, Paula. Self-inflicted wounds. Inability to organize, make tough choices, drives her nuts.

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Finally, we talked. I'd tried the day after the Pres. public admission speech, and then again when they were at Martha's Vineyard, but - which is unusual - she didn't call back; and I thought and I understood why (and was correct). She just had to work things thru herself, could not speak until she had done some hard hard thinking, too personal to share.

When conversation first began, I told her I was coming next week (and she knew the dates) and asked if I could bring anything to her. She couldn't think of anything. We talked about books; she was esp. big on John Banville's *The Untouchable*, not so much for story as for writing; and *Memoirs of A Geisha*, which she (and I) had loved; transported into that culture, so incredibly conversational, and "what a woman had to do to get power." (Hmmm.) I told her about Kat, about going to the christening, seeing River Walk etc. We talked about my coming next week, Havel coming (who's requested Lou Reed as an entertainer, which is apparently a problem), and she told me to bring long skirt along in case there's a cancellation I can fill in, and meet him. Havel very very ill, they're trying surreptitiously to arrange for him to see a US specialist (as Czech Havel feels it would be politically incorrect for him to seek other medical help); he wants to come to show support for BC. Finally, could tell we were about to sign off when I decided to tell her the Gail Sheehy episode (Gail instructing me on friendship; how if I were really a good friend of Hillary's I'd give her a quote).

And that seemed to open the dam.

She was very apologetic (!!!) about not having talked to me sooner; she appreciated my note, knew I was pulling for her, thinking of her. Here's where she is. Is having to separate two very different things

a) the personal - he has been her best friend for 25 years, her husband for 23 years, they're connected in every way imaginable, she feels strongly about him and family and Chelsea and marriage and she's just got to try to work it through. She is not trying to excuse him; it was a huge personal lapse. And she is not taking responsibility for it. But, but, she does say this to put his actions in context. Ever since he took office they've been going thru personal tragedy (Vince, her dad, his mom) and immediately all the ugly forces started making up hateful things about them, pounding on them. They adopted strategy, public strategy, of acting as tho it didn't bother them; had to. She didn't realize toll it was taking on him.

She has staff she can vent with, can call Starr an SOB, etc.; she has friends like me she totally and completely trusts. He does not. Anything he says gets leaked to the world. She thinks she was not smart enough, not sensitive enough, not free enough of her own concerns and struggles to realize the price he was paying.

It was a lapse, but she says to his credit he tried to break it off, tried to pull away, tried to manage someone who was clearly a "narcissistic loony toon"; but it was beyond control. And, HRC insists, no matter what people say, it was gross inappropriate

behavior but it was consensual (was not a power relationship) and was not sex within any real meaning (standup, liedown, oral, etc.) of the term. As an aside, they got a letter from a psychologist who does family therapy and sexual infidelity problems: most men with fidelity problems raised by two women and felt conflicted between them; he'd read about Bill's bio; grandmother despised Virginia, tried to get custody of Bill; Bill adored by his mother, but she left him, etc. etc.

b) public perspective - she's loyal, thinks its appalling the hypocrisy, what is being done to country, to constitution. Bill has done brilliant things as president, she believes in those issues and causes and will continue to fight for them. (Pam had told me Melann gave a peptalk today to HRC staff; that HRC still committed and responsible and thinks much could be done and they must set an example.) What's with these Democrats?? She knew when she was fighting for healthcare that few of them had real convictions, but how about their own self-interest? Can't they see they're shooting themselves in the foot??

So -- she's in it for long haul. Party because she's stubborn; partly her upbringing; partly her pride -- but, mostly because she knows who she is and what her values and priorities are and she's straight with those -- she really is okay. Again she apologized for shutting me out before but she wasn't ready to talk to anyone yet, certainly not me, but knew I was there and was pulling for her.

April 2

HC called today; had talked to Jim several times recently re commodities trades etc. but she and I hadn't got to talk. Called from San Diego where they're vacationing - never saw blue sky - I told her about our cerulean sky, cedar waxwings, etc. Some chat about people, like Mary Joe; asked about Katr and I told her about her visit to South Bend; they had just had Holtz's to White House to spend night, for St. Patrick's day party.

Talked books - mostly Miss Smilla's Feeling for Snow, which she and I agreed was one of most compelling reads in recent years - HC wants to re-read; his concepts - like re Euclid's Law and how that fit with crystal formation, Greenland (she couldn't find all the places); how does author's mind work; how has he done os much so young.

Mostly, talked about how should she deal with all this shit. She thinks she's gotten thru some of her anger; is maybe about ready to meet the press (tho she's concerned she's more combative than Bill and won't be able to handle things so casually and low-key).

Mostly, she can't figure out why these people out there so anxious to destroy them. I told her I thought she was taking it to personally in sense that it's the media's mission nowadays to destroy and she and Bill just happen to be the victims de jour. Told her at length re Tom Patterson's Out of Order which she'll try to get before going to Syracuse Tuesday. (She's flying to Charlotte today for basketball, back to WH late tonight, then Easter Egg Roll , then off for week of healthy care forums.)

She listened, agreed somewhat, and also that because she and Bill triumphed despite press it heightened their antagonism. But still, what do you do. Howell Rains of NYT Editor viscerally hates them; wants to destroy. Wall st. Journal shows all the time. Even Len Downey, Wash. Post - she finally met with him - explained that BC literally forgot he'd helped his Mom with loan. He didn't believe her. She told reporter from NYT that she never told any kid to shred documents. "I've always had a reputation for honesty, I'm 46 years old, I'm wife of President of the US", but they printed story anyway. What do you do????

She wants me to think of anything more that's out there that we heard rumors of in campaign and send her memo, and I will.

Also wants me to reconstruct her first hellacious year, which I will.

Big concern now; American Spectator, of state trooper fame, now getting ready to run a big story on her "longstanding affair with Vince". What to do? If try to dissuade, send them a letter begging some concern for Foster family, the'll use it to hype the article.

Memo re BC's Supreme Court appointment: May 11, 1994

*Furious re Dale*

This morning called by Sen. David Pryor; what did I know; could I exert some influence re Richard Arnold. DP told me that Orrin Hatch had guaranteed to him all Repub. votes on Judiciary, maybe full Senate of Republicans, whereas on Babbitt - the other prime choice - would be "catastrophic". DP had been set to go out with BC and have a long talk and play golf over it yesterday afternoon, but when he got to WH Chelsea had come home from school with a hurt head (and HC not back from S. Africa) so BC grounded, and they just putted in back yard of WH and discussed this. DP also told me that Huckabee's asst. had requested from court in Texarkana all 240 pages of Richard's divorce - depositions, etc. etc. And apparently there's some ugly stuff. Concern re women's groups. Walter Hussmann was going to fly Connie Fails and Leslie Singer up to see BC today, happy to fly me too, everybody wanted Jim to call.

I decided to call myself. Left message w. Nancy Hernreich that I thought opposition from women's groups being exaggerated; that I'm on every feminist mailing, call network, etc. and nobody has ever said peep one to me; and I wanted BC to know that.

At 3 pm phone call came from BC; and he went through whole thing about why naming Richard would be so difficult. (Also said he'd really want to, but only - in whole White House - Mac and Bruce agreed with him; everybody else, even "moderates" like Gergen and Cutler, not for him bec. of political considerations)

*deal wrote never b/ Paula (dill)*

1. Ricki Seidman telling him how hot the women's groups were.) Phyllis Lichtman (?? - Eli's wife??) has really been trying to keep the women's groups in line since Paula Jones filing. Afraid appointing RA, after his Jaycee decision, but esp. joining all those Republican judges on the post-Webster decision, they might blow sky high. Timing bad. Richard apparently had given assurance to Dale, to David re Roe; and Kay had told BC that if Richard even thought about messing with Roe, what Lorena Bobbitt did to John would look like nothing!

2. Related but even more important, RA's health. This HC's big concern. BC had talked again to RA's doctor; really thought he could "guarantee" 5 years; after that guess work. This may be BC's only other appointment. At this point BC not sure he can get re-elected; they're killing him in the South, rise of fundamentalism, the Nazi's. Some of that he did to himself - gay rights in military. Others just hate the one who's in. (Of course if he names Babbitt, the Western Senators will try to do a number on babbitt as eco-freak, try to win back the West for GOP. At this point BC also said he did not want to name Breyer; didn't want to give a big deal to Massachusetts.)

3. Miller County divorce records. Apparently there are some messy allegations, and tho ex-wife now saying she's for him, Gail,

Catholicism - 10/15/11  
P in [unclear] court

will speak for him, stuff is in the record - apparently including other people - and no matter what Hatch says, this will come out, and will make it sound like the only friends BC has in Arkansas are adulterers. This thing is so sick, according to BC, in a way he wants to stand up to it, but will come out and will be part of the pattern of sleaze.

Mentioned that he discusse3d it with Henry Cisneros, who should know about these things. Cisneros said would be great if Senate would act right away; Arnold would be a dance. But will be at least 8 weeks, and by that time all the right-wing Nazi's andf the press will be onto this stuff and Richard will look like another shit.

4. One of the trooper's lies was about Kay. This in fact might be a good thing, absolutely a lie, could and would refute, and maybe woudl show how others are lies too. But still would bring it all up again and have to go through it.

Botton line: if this were his 3rd or 4th appointment, no question but what it would be RA; but may be only his second or last. If could get 3 or 4, they would persuade others. But, and this HRC's big concern, makes it appear he's not taking this, his greatest legacy, seriously, if will put on someone who may die in 5 years or less time.

We further discussed. I reminded him of how he had first wanted Cuomo the first time, this time, Mitchell, so if eh goes with Babbitt he is gtoing with the kind of profile he instinctively wanted on the first one. But I also said, quoting Jim Blair, that Richard had prepared all his life to be on the SC, just as BC had prepared all his life for the Presy; and maybe thousands of people found hundreds of faults, but he was THE BEST and so is RA. BC is furious about what has been done to Ark., how they've taken all the joy and happiness out of BC's victory, turned the state into a killing field - this would restore their pride and happiness.

(But note, later, when talked to HRC, she took exactly opposite take. Goddamn Hussman needs to know that it's his own goddamn fault; that he can't destroy everybody from Ark. and everything about the state and then not pay the price for his precious Richard. He needs to get the message bigtime, that Richard might have a chance next round if Hussmann and his minions will lay off all this outrageous lies and innuendo.) They shoudl ahve their noses rubbed into it.

My conclusion to BC, he shoudl go ahead and appoint RA, because that's what he really wanted to do.

He wanted me to talk to HRC, so we got plugged in (at one point had 2 White House operators trying to get me). HRC began by asking if Susan T. had told me that Capriicia had called her from Southn Africa - I said yes (obviously patti talked). Capricia denies having done it. So who called Susan. And what will Susan think of my repeating it. Well, I'm telling the truth; but who isn't? Why

would an impersonator call Susan. Very very strange. I'll ask HRC when I see her Sunday.

HRC - listened to what I had to say re women; thought those grassroots groups didn't count for much; it was the DC groups who would be doing damage, and obviously HRC concerned about eh "climate" because of the sexual harassment charge. Mostly, however, HRC wild about health thing - that BC wouldn't even think about naming someone from Neb. or Iowa if they had possible cancer threat - so why do it just because he knows the guy. irresponsible. And here's where she weighed in re Hussman etc. If HRC carried the day, and sounds as if she is, it will be Babbitt. She's not wild about him. Wishes there were a 3rd choice. But there isn't. Which in itself is very, very sad and strange.

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PRIVILEGED AND CONFIDENTIAL  
ATTORNEY WORK PRODUCT

TO: David Wilhelm Feb. 16, 1992  
FROM: Loretta Lynch and Nancy McFadden  
RE: Defensive Research - Tying up ends and seeing ahead

---

Possible Investigation Needs -- Not in Priority Order:

1. Exposing GF: completely as a fraud, liar and possible criminal to stop this story and related stories, prevent future non-related stories and expose press inaction and manipulation
  - GF and Ron Fuller
  - GF and Sheffield Nelson
  - Scotty Caroom
  - GF generally and semi-criminal activities
  - Joy Howland story -- and press non-coverage
  - Tim Lee Allen
2. Mississippi letter
  - prevention and increase PP comfort level
  - Mississippi - find out who else has been there and the system as structured in 69 - who had access then & how
3. Women:
  - Elizabeth Ward: picture from LN - existence and owner(s); determine attitude & check out background; Any Reep connections? When does Playboy come out?
  - Lencola Sullivan -- Larry Nichols info again -- nail the story down, determine attitude.
4. Jones/Holmes/Hussam/Patricia Unruh -- Tulsa/draft board/ SC Press story re: Pentagon Press story re: reep Ark dirty tricks Who are these characters (if/will they surface again)?
5. Arkansas Republicans & National Republicans - are they connected?
  - Sheffield Nelson at the White House
    - What does it fold into/mean, if anything?
  - Jones/Hussam/Holmes
  - or Rivers/Vigenault/Unruh
  - tie up relatively easily found facts (may or may not show broader connections)
6. Tully/Brennan/Vigenault/Unruh/Leonard/John Rivers (to feed to press)
  - Iran Contra -- Larry Nichols
  - Ark/RNC fights
  - dirty tricksters



7. BCCI and Jack Stephens --  
Mary Ann's story now (to feed to press)  
Republican team 100 and BCCI (to feed to press)
8. Other negative hits to get on top of -- prevent  
Drugs  
Break ins  
airplane ?

Other Information to Collect

Tracking & collecting names & relationships we know of  
Campaign clips/info  
Nexis searches of all names and companies  
Dialog searches of all companies/organizations  
FEC searches of all contributions  
Advisory commissions/jobs for Arkansans in D.C.  
Lawsuits/ Property - ownership/connections

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**Bill Clinton**  
**FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE**

March 17th 1992

TO: Bill Clinton  
Hillary Rodham Clinton  
Mickey Kantor (Chair, National Executive Committee)  
David Wilhelm (National Campaign Manager)  
Eli Segal (Senior Advisor)

FROM: Saul Hillel Benjamin *Saul*

SUBJECT: The "HRC" Campaign

Our common goal is to nominate and elect Bill Clinton as President. I understand that serious consideration is now being given to reorganizing our individual and collective efforts towards achieving that goal.

This memorandum is written out of 21 years of friendship and affection for both Bill and Hillary, and reflects (I trust) the lessons I've learned in my multiple careers as a college administrator (Dean and President and teacher), fund-raiser (for both charitable and political organizations), member of the Issues Staff for V.P. Mondale, administrative assistant to a former U.S. Supreme Court Justice, playwright and scriptwriter, and -- in general -- an evangelist for things in which I deeply believe. My faith in both Bill and Hillary is unequivocal, enduring; and yet to be fully called upon. And so, this memorandum: if any are unsettled by my ardor, at least let the merits of what I propose speak for themselves. That's my goal: to help clarify and advance our common enterprise.

I propose:

- o o A fundamental clarification and reorganization of Hillary's vital role in the campaign
- o o A specific description of how to accomplish that reorganization
- o o An account of how to staff this reorganized effort
- o o Suggestions about what issues (and venues) should focus Hillary's diverse contributions to the campaign
- o o A plan by which to fully fund this newly-configured operation by fully integrating "issues events" and "fund-raising" events for Hillary's forthcoming travel calendar, and supporting activities

Hillary has told me (bluntly, and I'm grateful for that instruction) that I should leave details for direct conversation with those asking these questions. I trust that those of us with both a sense of the trees and the forest will be able to make contributions to the work ahead.

November 5, 1992

Dear Betsey,

I'm going to put on paper what I have wanted to speak to you for months. You are one of the most intelligent and insightful people I have ever known, and your devotion to country, to equity, to justice - all make me proud to have been your friend. I have also, as you must know, been for many years your champion, your defender against all critics.

What I did not know, never having worked for or with you on a prolonged daily basis, is that all of those virtues are often overwhelmed in a tide of suspicion, feelings of being slighted, resentment and rage. And that these dark emotions not only swallow up your virtues, but threaten your ability to see reality and operate effectively.

I have now completed 70 or so interviews, and the common thread of almost all them is that this campaign, for all its organizational faults, was characterized by a great sharing of information, of mutual trust, of inclusion and cooperation. How sad that none of these characterized our department. How much better might we have performed if that had been the tone here as well?

The saddest thing of all to me is that what should have been and could have been your great triumph turned into your nightmare, AND that much of the angst was of your own making. I did not believe that at first, but having seen you turn on me and others, who were fully prepared to be your aides and allies, I am now convinced that many of your other "grievances" were also manufactured out of your own torment rather than reality.

Betsey, I cannot urge you more fervently than I am now doing to try - before you take on any other responsibilities - to seek help in overcoming your demons. I have always been rather skeptical of mental help, but I have seen a stepdaughter whose life has turned from constant darkness to genuine happiness through a combination of therapy and medication. It wouldn't be easy, but I fear you will live in torment until you get that kind of assistance, and never be able to fully exercise the great mind and heart that you possess.

If you need any kind of assistance (talking it out, financial, whatever), I am more than ready to help.

Very sincerely,

Diane

**GREENBERG-LAKE**THE  
ANALYSIS GROUP  
INC515 SECOND STREET NE  
WASHINGTON DC 20002  
202 547 5200*Please  
confidential  
please  
Betsey*

DATE: May 12, 1992  
 TO: Clinton campaign  
 FROM: Celinda Lake and Stan Greenberg

RE: Research on Hillary Clinton

Strategic Summary

We have already discussed many of these recommendations with Hillary Clinton's team and the other consultants, and a number of the steps outlined below have been partially or fully implemented. We thought it would be useful, nevertheless, to review and formally outline the conclusions drawn from the research. These are tentative conclusions which should help formulate ideas for the next phase of the research.

Hillary Clinton's problems are closely interrelated with Bill Clinton's problems, and she needs to take many of the same kinds of steps to surmount them. Moreover, voters' perceptions of her are directly influenced by how voters see Bill Clinton. If voters did not see him as weak politically, they might view Hillary's strength in a more positive light and her role as less salient.

The purpose of this memo is two fold: 1. to identify ways to reduce voters' discomfort with Hillary and 2. to identify ways to create advantages with her, particularly among key swing constituencies like college-educated voters, and upper income voters. That part of the research to date has been very under-developed. We have a few suggestions here; but the primary focus of the next phase of research is to develop that more.

First, voters need to meet the real Hillary Clinton. They have a distorted, limited, and overly political impression of her. They need to see and hear a broader, more diverse, and more personal portrayal of her character. Most people are familiar with Hillary Clinton the corporate lawyer, the political strategist, and the tough political wife. They don't know -- but;

**Hillary Clinton: Initial Research**

need to meet -- Hillary Clinton the mother, the activist, the daughter of middle-class parents, the romantic, the advocate for children and education, the working mother, and the career woman.

By focusing on Hillary Clinton's personal life, the campaign can powerfully communicate the values both Clintons share. This message is particularly important given the fact that George Bush's greatest domestic policy strength -- and his biggest advantage over Bill Clinton on the domestic front -- is family values. Barbara Bush has come to symbolize George Bush's commitment to traditional values and family; Hillary Clinton can be a powerful communicator of Bill Clinton's values message as well.

While voters genuinely admire Hillary Clinton's intelligence and tenacity, they are uncomfortable with these traits in a woman. She needs to project a softer side -- some humor, some informality. Voters need to see her relating to people. Like Bill Clinton, they need to meet her in more informal settings and longer formats. She needs to continue to be on talk shows.

Both Hillary and Bill Clinton are perceived to be too political, and both should avoid talking politics and strategy as they communicate their message. In part because voters think Bill Clinton may be too politically ambitious and suspect he may lack strength of character, they worry that Hillary Clinton is another Nancy Reagan. She may also to create some space for the campaign, and Bill Clinton, to more accurately define the candidate.

Voters also appear upset with Hillary Clinton because they believe she has not used her education, advantages, position, and strength to help people. The campaign needs to look for settings that communicate Hillary Clinton's warmth and compassion as effectively as, for example, Barbara Bush's efforts to help babies with AIDS have done for her. Although Hillary Clinton needs to emphasize the breadth of her commitments -- her efforts to improve education and her lifetime commitment to helping children -- she needs to pick one issue to highlight during the campaign, as Barbara Bush chose literacy in the last campaign. That issue should come out of her background in children and education.

Finally, both Bill Clinton and Hillary Clinton need to define the First Lady's role, develop a language that makes voters comfortable with Hillary Clinton in that role, and stick to it. Unfortunately, the role of First Lady appears to be one

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## Hillary Clinton: Initial Research

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of the last bastions of tradition. Voters' longing for a traditional First Lady are apparently accentuated by their fears that Bill Clinton may be weak and too political. Voters are much more comfortable with a "separate role," than they are with a "team." They want it clearly understood that they are electing Bill Clinton as president. They do not want a "Mrs. President" like Nancy Reagan or Rosalyn Carter, but they are comfortable with a strong First Lady who is an advocate for people and for the issues she (and they) care about.

Image

Voters have a positive personal image of Hillary Clinton but are less comfortable with her professional and political roles. On the positive side, they think she is smart and competent, strong, and loyal to Bill Clinton. Men and women repeatedly volunteered in our focus groups that she is "bright", "well-spoken", "pretty", "competent", "educated", "confident", "hardworking", "an active partner", "stands by her man", "loyal", "straightforward", "sophisticated", "supportive", "a good deal of spark". In national polling, 65 percent of voters have said she is tough, and 75 percent have said she is intelligent.

But Hillary's strengths can also be her weaknesses. Many voters were introduced to Hillary, like Bill, through the early controversies. While they admire the strength they saw in both, they also fear that only someone too politically ambitious, too strong, and too ruthless could survive such controversy so well. Many voters, particularly older voters and men, are uncomfortable with a woman who is as strong and aggressive as they perceive Hillary Clinton to be. They describe her as "too strong", "too outspoken". They perceive a political ruthlessness in her that is reinforced by their image of Bill Clinton. As one voter put it, "She knows what she wants and she will do anything to get it." Voters are particularly uncomfortable, at present, with anything smacking of politics or political ambition. (Black voters, we should note, feel least uncomfortable with her strength; she is unquestionably an asset in that community.)

Voters have some ambivalence about the roles Hillary Clinton has chosen. They describe her as a "modern woman", "going to make something of herself", but they don't know how comfortable they are with that kind of woman, especially as their First Lady. Eighty-four percent of voters say they would not be bothered if she had an independent career while in the White House, but a majority reject her in a cabinet role. Unfortunately, voters have concluded, based on their limited and distorted introduction

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to Hillary Clinton, that she would use her position as "a business woman", "a corporate lawyer who would use the President of the United States for connections for big business", "for the wealthy and a conflict of interest". Voters need to be reminded that Hillary Clinton will not continue to be a corporate lawyer while she is First Lady. They also need to hear her role defined in terms of advocacy and family, not politics.

While a majority of voters feel uncomfortable with Hillary's political role, they find her "straightforward" -- "more straightforward, not shifty". That is a clear advantage as the Clinton team confronts Bill Clinton's image of "being too slick". (What voters find slick in Bill Clinton, they find ruthless in Hillary.) Northerners, upper-income voters, college-educated voters -- especially younger men and working women -- find Hillary Clinton's roots and her "modern" side appealing. As one woman said, "she cuts against 'Bubba'".

Both Hillary and Bill Clinton stress, consciously and unconsciously, the fact that they are, in sharp contrast to George and Barbara Bush, the candidacy of the next generation. But voters have very mixed feelings about what that candidacy should represent. Both Clintons need to find a better language for communicating the generational contrast; the convention will afford them a key opportunity to express it.

### Diversity and Choices

Voters have had a very distorted, largely impersonal, and relatively limited introduction to both Hillary and Bill Clinton. They need a broader and more diverse introduction to Hillary to become truly comfortable with her. She can also be a valuable tool in giving voters a more personal introduction to Bill Clinton.

Voters don't know, for example, about critical pieces of her life: her family in Chicago, her role as a mother, activist, church goer, advocate. They know only that she is a "political strategist", "corporate lawyer", and "strong wife or political partner". One woman in a focus group put it well: "I don't know her enough, she is a little out of balance. She's too much. She needs to step back a little". Voters also need a "softer", "less political" introduction to Hillary Clinton. Her problems have clearly been accentuated by too much early exposure before voters were able to get to know her personally.

Hillary Clinton's peers like the fact that she is a modern woman, but they don't identify with her personal, largely because

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they aren't familiar with her personal background. They perceive her to be a rich woman with a nanny, if they knew about Chelsea at all, or a career woman who does not share their lives as mothers and career women juggling family and work and trying to make ends meet. Women have their own contradictions and insecurities about the many roles they fulfill, which heighten their ambivalence about Hillary's life. They wonder whether Hillary shares their values or understands their lives. Obviously, the "cookies and tea" remark only solidified this problem. Hillary Clinton's life and language ought to validate these women's lives -- not appear to challenge them.

Women voters' emotions, still deeply felt, about the "cookies and tea" remark illustrate the problem. This remark, already a part of folk culture, will not go away until voters get a broader and more personal introduction to Hillary Clinton.

She put women down. There is nothing wrong with being an ordinary housewife. It does not mean you are barefoot and pregnant.

I work too, not just bake cookies, and I take care of my family.

She put down people who aren't lawyers. I've got just as much brains as she does, so don't put me down with my kids.

She looks down at women who are not as educated as she is and not as high as she is. She's a snob.

I am willing to believe she made a mistake, that is was just a stupid comment, that was not meant to be interpreted the way it was. But I want to be sure that she did not mean and that she does not always speak without thinking. That she is not insensitive.

Voters needs to meet Hillary Clinton the mother, as well as Hillary Clinton the lawyer. They need to see and hear that she shares their lives. "She does not understand how I have to run around for day care and be sure I can pay for it," one woman complained. "She does not understand that I need to work for the money, not just the social engagement like her. She may be a hardworker, but she has never had a lifestyle like mine." On the otherhand, voters thought her particularly sincere and likeable when they saw her talking about motherhood and single mothers. They need to see more of that kind of engagement with people and

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their problems. Hillary Clinton should look for visual events that illustrate her life. She needs to talk about her life with Chelsea, her parents, and Bill Clinton. The campaign should think, for example, about including the Sunday school class she teaches in the campaign schedule. She could also do some events with PTO's that illustrate both her policy commitment to education and her personal involvement in her daughter's life.

At a basic level, voters need to learn that Hillary Clinton was brought up in a middle-class family and made her way through law school with a scholarship and jobs. Ironically, voters believe that both Bill and Hillary Clinton were born with silver spoons in their mouths. That image distances both of them from voters and makes it more difficult for them to distinguish themselves from the Bushes of Kennabunkport and Texas.

Less-educated voters are particularly distrustful and resentful of Hillary Clinton. She will probably continue to have the most appeal among younger, better-educated, higher-income, suburban voters -- key swing voters and among the most distrustful of Bill Clinton. In the recent Oregon primary poll, for example, college-educated women gave Bill Clinton a 29 percent favorable, 47 percent unfavorable rating; the same voters gave Hillary Clinton 36 percent favorable and 19 percent unfavorable. Similarly, primary voters with incomes over \$50,000 rated her 35 percent favorable and 15 percent unfavorable to his 40 percent favorable and 44 percent unfavorable. While voters invariably base their vote on the candidate and not the spouse, Hillary Clinton can be a valuable resource in the effort to appeal to these voters.

### Defining the Role of First Lady

Hillary and Bill Clinton need to define their future roles -- as President and First Lady -- in a way that puts voters at ease and then stick to that definition. Although voters express strong support for the concept of a First Lady with a career of her own, they don't want their First Lady to be a corporate lawyer -- the career they presume Hillary Clinton would choose to pursue in the White House. That role reinforces the worse images of Hillary Clinton -- too strong, too ambitious, too political, and too wealthy. She should clarify her plans, emphasizing the fact that she will not continue to be a corporate lawyer and clearly choose roles that avoid any appearance of conflict of interest.

Hillary Clinton needs to define her role in such a way as to reveal more of her humanity, her advocacy, and her compassion.

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She also needs to find ways and settings to show that side of herself in the campaign. Voters do not have a problem with a First Lady who is strong. In fact they have a very warm view of Eleanor Roosevelt, describing her as "warm, compassionate, humorous, humanistic, cared about people", "showed caring, reached out to people", "who put on a helmet and went down and saw the miners". They do not associate this kind of strength, however, with Hillary Clinton. As one woman said, "She is not Eleanor Roosevelt. Words are nothing, she has never gotten down and gotten her hands dirty."

Voters want to hear that Hillary Clinton will use her strength, talents, and position for people. "She has all the education in the world and she utilizes it for her profession," one voter observed in a focus group discussion. "Why hasn't she been more generous? What causes has she done?"

Voters also worry about Hillary's influence, which they think would be substantial, in part because they believe she would use her influence to further her own interests. One woman said, "she may have good qualities, but I worry about her influence". Voters do not know Hillary Clinton's values and background well enough to trust her choices or feel good about her likely influence in a Clinton White House.

Again, they need to hear of her commitment to education and children, particularly her lifelong work with the Children's Defense Fund. These are vivid images for women and an important element of the overall Clinton policy message, particularly for women voters. Hillary Clinton needs to choose a simple, well-defined "cause" that is consistent with her record of advocacy and seek ways to communicate her commitment to that cause throughout the campaign, in much the way that Barbara Bush spoke of her commitment to literacy during the last campaign.

### No Nancy Reagan

Unfortunately, Hillary Clinton's strong political and strategic role reminds voters very much of Nancy Reagan. They are sure, moreover, they don't want to have another Nancy Reagan in the White House. Voters will continue to associate Hillary Clinton with what they dislike about Nancy Reagan as long as they continue to perceive Bill Clinton as too slick and too political. Again, both Bill and Hillary Clinton need to guard against analyzing, or appearing to analyze politics and strategy in their campaign appearances.

Voters commented repeatedly that they felt Hillary Clinton

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was "getting in the way" of their really seeing and hearing Bill Clinton, a task they found hard enough to begin with.

I'd like her to step back and be out of the limelight.

I see alot of her and I just don't know if that is so good.

I want to vote for the President. I do not want co-candidates.

At 60 minutes, I liked her, but now let him shine more. Let us see him. She might be the brains behind him."

Voters' discomfort with Hillary Clinton's role in her husband's political life interact with their doubts about Bill Clinton, making voters more uncomfortable with her power and her political skills and constraining, of necessity, her role in the campaign. Voters feel, as one person put it, that "Nancy Reagan overpowered Ronald Reagan", and they don't want to that situation again.

Voters are particularly wary of the concept of having co-presidents. They they don't want any suggestion that someone who has not been elected will exercise presidential authority. "Will she be a co-President and have too much to say" one voter asked. "If he is in, he was voted in. We are not voting for her." Another added, "it would be wonderful to hire someone to do what she would do". Even voters who like Hillary Clinton and what she represents reject the hint of unelected presidential authority.

Obviously, Bill and Hillary Clinton have dealt with this issue successfully in Arkansas, and they need to bring many of the lessons learned there to the national campaign. Bill and Hillary need to develop a language that communicates her power and her relationship to him without making voters unduly uncomfortable. Both should emphasize the fact that they understand the voters are electing him, not them, President. However, the core of this problem will be solved when voters learn of Bill Clinton's strength and willingness to take on powerful political forces.

As we have noted before, voters need to hear more about the personal side of the Clinton's marriage; they need to understand that their relationship is more than a political partnership. Most importantly, they need to meet a much less political Bill and Hillary Clinton in this age of anti-political fervor. Voters want both the President and the First Lady to show commitment to policy, passion, advocacy, and to be outsiders. They need to

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learn of a couple -- one who grew up poor and one who grew up as part of the middle class; of a couple whose parents worked to give their children new advantages and taught them responsibility, hard work, and an appreciation for education; of a couple who both worked both their ways through law school on scholarships; who both returned to Arkansas rather than go to corporate law firms; who both have been strong advocates for people; and who share a strong family life and a great love of their daughter.

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Tomorrow is

Thursday

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BILL CLINTON

Yesterday the recurring shakes came over me again and to rid myself of them I decided to go and buy something for you as much to be doing it as actually to wind up with things.

Although I am ill and unevenly read there are some books that have made a deep mark on me or simply made me happy or taken me away for a while. At random almost I ran across these yesterday and decided to get them for you. Those you know already you can put to some use. Perhaps the others will bring you some of the good I found in them.

Solitude and Bread And Wine were selected less randomly than others for they are great books, though not so classic in the popular sense as to render their gift a cliché. The others were picked for various reasons bearing on how they seemed to me or how I thought they would touch you.

By the time I could call last night it was too late and I was too spent. Today is Thursday, I will be at the little place downtown in the Union at 11:30. If you aren't there, I'll understand. And if you are, I will.

At 3:30 this morning I fell asleep over Andrew Maxwell's To His Coy Mistress. It has been a while since I could feel something so sharply across three hundred years.

BILL CLINTON

I thought you might  
get a kick out of  
this ————— I was once  
even younger —————

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Just  
Parker  
King



Members Receive State Degree



Hot Springs Stardusters

place the good of the organization above personal preferences that are not objective.

Some tips are given so that voters might be better able to serve the organization in selecting candidates this year. Qualifications for selection of officers one should consider in voting are:

1. Dependability—Does the girl seeking this office understand and assume the responsibility of the office? Does she have the ability to carry out the demands of the office and the ability to see that they are done on schedule?

2. Efficiency—Does she manage her time well? Can she determine important issues without being sidetracked on unrelated ideas?

3. Sociability—Is she interested in people? Is she tactful in her dealings with them? These are two very important questions to decide before voting for the candidate since she will be working with and for other people.

4. Communication—Does she have a strong, but pleasing voice?

5. Scholastic abilities—Does she have the ability

and time to assume her FHA responsibilities. This is an important qualification, especially for the state and national officers, since much of their time will be devoted to the duties of the office.

7. Dedication—Will her responsibilities to FHA be met at all times?

If our organization is to prosper and grow, she must believe in and work toward these new horizons.

Holding an office in FHA is an experience never to be forgotten. Since everyone can not be an officer, we must keep in mind that a good follower is just as important as a good leader. When we elect our officers, let our vote be determined by the qualifications of the candidate rather than her popularity.

#### A DREAM BECOMES A REALITY

Ever since our eight state officers were installed last June and the 20 federation presidents elected, we have been dreaming of our 1963 State Convention. We discussed, planned, discussed, re-planned, and on March 15-16 our dream became a reality. Now it is just a memory, but we hope a memory to be cherished by the 12,000 persons who attended the meeting. The